Negotiating professional identities in a liberalized Sub-Saharan economy:

A case of University of Zambia faculty

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the development of professional identity among faculty members at Zambia's flagship university, the University of Zambia (UNZA), at several epochs in the institution's history. The study explores how faculty identities emerged, shifted and were reconfigured in response to the shifts in the political economic landscape of the country. These shifts included

the movement from a strong socialist orientation in the post-independence era (1964-1991) to a neoliberal system from 1991 to the 2016. The research data was collected through close to eight months of fieldwork at the Great East Road campus of UNZA between May 2016 and January 2017. The primary instrument of data collection was a semi-structured interview I conducted with 30 academics, representing three generations of faculty at UNZA, the first generation from 1966 to 1990, the second generation from 1991 to 200, and the third generation from 2000 to the present.

The findings of the study suggest that there are several identities that have emerged over the past five decades of UNZA's history dependent on the subject positions availed by the political economy of higher education. In the early years, marked by an abundance of funding from the federal government, the faculty tended to occupy subject positions connected to the discourse of national building and the liberation of Southern Africa. This led to the emergence of nation-builder academics and liberation-scholar academic. With the overhaul of the socialist system in 1991, new subject positions opened in the 1990s as entrepreneurial motivations started to drive academic work. In this age, the scientrepreneur academics came to the fore and prided themselves for being hunter-scholars. With the further entrenchment of neoliberal discourses and practices of accountability, efficiency and competitiveness after 2000, the

development of scholarly identity became a struggle to become academically alive, in an ontological sense, marked by the importance of being mentioned by other scholars, leaders in the university, as well as multilateral and bilateral donor agencies. This study concludes that there is a need for the development of policies that reduce excessive teaching and community service demands on faculty, particularly early-career faculty, and reduce the number of challenges the faculty face in negotiating their professional identities.

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Chapter 1: Discovering the Problematic

What happens to the professional lives of faculty when a national, public university founded by a post-colonial socialist state with a non-profit orientation changes its policies so that private funding and a market-oriented approach to research become central features of university life? In 1996, the Republic of Zambia made such a change in enacting a new policy on education known as *Educating Our Future* (EoF). This policy was a response to two decades of economic decline that followed the immediate post-independence socialist period from 1964-1974. In 1964, Zambia, formerly known as Northern Rhodesia, gained independence from Great Britain, and, four years later, the first president, Kenneth Kaunda, instituted a set of reforms aimed at nationalizing assets, such as the copper mines, and promoting a socialist philosophy that became known as humanism (Kandeke, 1977). However, in the 1970s, the reforms under Kaunda were put to the test when the worldwide drop in copper prices and sharp increase in the price of oil led to the beginning of two decades of severe economic turmoil in the country.

Thus, in 1991, a new party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) under Frederick Chiluba, came to power and moved the country sharply away from socialism and humanism and toward a neoliberal platform marked by the privatization of education and other social services, and a greater role for the

market in public life. [1] This shift in economic policy began with a series of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in the 1980s proposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The SAPs were aimed at reducing state control of the economy and expanding private sector participation in economic and educational activities (Mama, 2006).

These reforms were reflected in the national EoF policy in three primary ways. First, the policy promoted deregulation of higher education by reducing state restrictions and control over the higher education sector. Deregulation opened up the sector for investment and private sector participation by ensuring, for instance, that “the human, material, financial and other resources in the control of the private sector be channeled without hindrance into the education sector” (Ministry of Education [MOE], 1996, p. 4). Thus, deregulation transformed the higher education sector from the socialist system characterized by government financing and control of the sector, to a neoliberal model which allowed multiple entities from the private sector to participate in the financing and provision of higher education.

Second, EoF laid the foundation for the proliferation of private universities in Zambia by asserting that government would support the initiatives of “private

[1] Neoliberalism will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two, but it is important to note here that it is a political-economic philosophy characterized by two broad beliefs: one, the primacy of the free market, and, two, minimal state intervention in the regulation of the economy (Harvey, 2005).

organizations and individuals in establishing private universities" (MOE, 1996, p. 108). Accordingly, between 1996 and 2012, a total of seventeen private universities had been created in the country (Mwelwa, 2014). The rise in the number of private universities ushered in a competitive higher education climate in which the public higher education institutions (HEIs), such as the University of Zambia (UNZA), were expected to develop a "greater spirit of competitiveness and better awareness and of the importance of marketing themselves more aggressively" (p. 102). Shortly after EoF went into effect, in anticipation of a competitive higher education climate, UNZA, the flagship university, began to undertake 'strategic planning' to increase revenue generation through competitive fees, consultancies, investments and partnerships. The most recent of these strategic plans, the University of Zambia Strategic Plan [UNZASP-2013-2017], for example, seeks to reposition the university within the global knowledge economy by offering "industry-relevant products" such as graduates and research "outputs" (University of Zambia (UNZA), 2012, p. xii). This reflects the competitive spirit with which the institution has begun to approach its functions.

Finally, EoF fundamentally transformed the funding regime for higher education by declaring that public HEIs needed to increase their sources of revenue and take initiatives to mobilize "non-government" sources of finance. By non-government sources of money, EoF meant the commercial and industrial

entities operating within Zambia's "climate of economic liberalization" (p. 102). EoF expected the HEIs, for their part, "to become entrepreneurial and profit-motivated" (p. 102). By entrepreneurial, EoF was referring to the need for HEIs to conceive of the services they offered, "whether these be teaching, research, teaching, consultancies and use of facilities" (p. 102), as potential sources of revenue. Thus, EoF re-defined the services offered by HEIs as commodities, which could be sold to generate revenue for the institutions. Because of this policy, revenue generation has come to define the priorities of UNZA and the Copperbelt University (CBU), the second public university that was established in 1988. A substantial portion of these revenues was to come from applied research carried out by faculty members at the country's two public universities. This would mean that the research was no longer fully or partially funded by the state but would be financially supported and subsequently owned by private corporations (Slaughter, Sheila, & Leslie, 1997).

The implications of the neoliberal reforms proposed in EoF and their continued influence as reflected in the UNZASP 2013-2017 for UNZA and for the professional lives of its faculty have not been studied closely. To date, there has been no research conducted in Zambia to explore how faculty members have experienced this shift from socialism to neoliberalism. We do not yet know what happens to the professional lives of faculty when major changes in the political

economy of higher education, predicated on macro-economic reforms of liberalization and privatization, re-configure relations within the institution and redefine its interactions with the central government, with other private and public institutions, and with corporate entities within and outside Zambia. To address these gaps in knowledge, I embarked on this study to explore the professional lives of faculty at UNZA to understand how the EoF policy and the UNZASP-2013-2017 policy reconfigured faculty experiences in terms of teaching, conducting research, and engaging in community service in Zambia.

Research Questions

In this study, I analyze the formation professional identities of faculty in this complex and dynamic environment precipitated by the neoliberal reform of higher education in Zambia. My overarching question was: How do the professional identities of faculty at UNZA emerge, shift, and become reshaped due to shifts in the political economy of the country? I was particularly interested in how faculty views on their professional lives may have changed over time from the post-independence period to the present neoliberal era though I had anticipated that there would few faculty who had taught throughout this entire period. However, I focused on faculty members who had been at UNZA since the 1960s because these were likely to have experienced the pre-neoliberal times and the current neoliberal era. The main research question was expanded

by three sub-questions exploring change over time in three domains:

a) How have faculty identities changed over time since the creation of UNZA in 1966?

b) How did the introduction of neoliberalism in Zambia affect the identity of the faculty at UNZA?

c) In the context of the neoliberal reforms of higher education in Zambia, how do early-career academics resist, appropriate and adapt the discourses and policies associated with this reform?

In the rest of this chapter, I give a brief description of the key concepts that shaped my study, which are discussed in greater depth in Chapter Two, followed by an introduction to the methodological approach I used in the study. I then give an overview of the research context in the Republic of Zambia. This is followed by the significance of the study. I then discuss my positionality as a researcher in this study. Finally, I summarise this chapter and give a summary of the rest of the chapters in the disseratation.

Key Concepts

Four principal concepts shaped the content and approach in this study. The first, as briefly discussed above, was neoliberalism. Neoliberalism refers to an economic and political philosophy that is marked by the privatization of education and other social services and a greater role for the market in public

life. In the Zambian context, neoliberalism in higher education is synonymous with liberalization, which means the lessening of government regulations and restrictions in the higher education sector to ease greater participation by private entities to encourage the development of the sector. Liberalization underpins both EoF and UNZASP 2013-2017. For instance, EoF provides that “within the framework of Zambia’s liberalized economy” the “universities and other higher level institutions will be given equal opportunity of access to government consultancies for which they will be expected to *compete* on an equal footing with other applicants” (MOE, 1996, p. 100; emphasis added).

Second, I used the concept of academic capitalism to interpret the political economy of higher education in Zambia. This concept, per Montero (2010), helps to explain the effects of the entrepreneurial university upon academic work. By entrepreneurial university, Montero means a university that is concerned with how best to generate the most profit through the sale of research, expertise, and consulting. Academic capitalism, originally postulated by Slaughter and Leslie (1997), suggests that higher educational institutions have become entrepreneurial in character in that they must locate sources of funding outside the traditional supplier of finance, the state. This is capitalism because it involves faculty members engaging in “market-like behaviors” such as marketing and selling “a wide range of products commercially in the private

sector as a basic source of income" (Rhoades &Slaughter, 2009, p. 37). This was a useful concept for my dissertation because Zambian HEIs have been involved in revenue generation since EoF went into effect in the mid-1990s. Both the EoF policy and UNZASP 2013-2017 contend that due to financial limitations, academics ought to teach, conduct research, and engage in consultancies and in other forms of academic knowledge production for revenue generation purposes.

Third, I drew on the concept of commodification as another manifestation of neoliberalism in higher education. Commodification is a form of entrepreneurial behavior among HEIs that reflects the influence of the neoliberal agenda. By commodification, I mean the process of ascribing monetary or exchange value to the output of HEIs. In higher education commodification, can be understood as the process by which institutions begin to be entrepreneurial by treating research and the education they offer as products that can be exchanged to raise money for the institution (Ozga, 1998).

Fourth, the concept of new managerialism also informed my work. Ozga (1998) defines it as the transmission system of business-like models of decision making into higher education. New managerialism focuses on explaining the systems of administration and management that enable commodification and monetization—meaning the act of assigning monetary value to knowledge.

More specifically, this concept refers to the techniques, values, and practices "derived from the private sector of the economy to the management of organizations concerned with the provision of public services, and to the actual use of those techniques and practices in publicly funded organizations" (Deem, 2001, p. 10). Thus, strategic management principles are transferred from private industry to the public education sector in pursuit of efficiency, effectiveness, and excellence as central values for university functioning and restructuring.

In the Zambian context, one sees the influence of new managerialism in the EoF policy. It declared that public HEIs, such as UNZA, were to develop strategies for revenue generation by becoming entrepreneurial and profit motivated, and that they needed to harness a greater sense of competitiveness and awareness of the importance of aggressively marketing themselves. Thus, EoF facilitated the transmission of market-based behaviors such as competitiveness, aggressiveness in marketing strategy, and an entrepreneurial character for the faculty members so that HEIs could profit from monetary and other resources available in the private sector.

There are added ways in which strategic management principles have been transferred from private industry to the public education sector in pursuit of efficiency, accountability, and excellence as central values for university functioning and restructuring. UNZASP 2013-2017, for instance, in its situational

analysis, acknowledged the business opportunities in the liberalized market economy of Zambia by pointing out that UNZA is "operating in a liberalized economy in which investment opportunities are numerous" and that it can become self-sustaining through fee payments from students (UNZA, 2012, p. 12). To capture full-fee paying students, UNZA has expanded its enrollments substantially since 2000, when the self-sponsorship scheme was introduced, to boost the financial resource bases of three admitting schools in the University of Zambia, namely, Education, Humanities and Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences (UNZA, 2004). By the 2014 academic year, almost eighty percent of the institution's 21, 000 students were full-fee paying individuals, and the government sponsored only twenty percent (UNZA, 2014). In contrast, in 1974, one hundred percent of the students at UNZA were sponsored by the government (Chipindi, 2009).

In sum, the four concepts of neoliberalism, academic capitalism, commodification of knowledge and new managerialism enabled me to consider how the professional lives of faculty at UNZA may have been affected by changes in the political economy of higher education in Zambia. Neoliberalism provided the broad framework through which I tried to understand the transformations that had taken place in Zambian economy in since the 1990s. Academic capitalism, on the other hand, enabled me to explore the specific

neoliberal forces that were relevant to higher education in Zambia. It provided a concept to explain how scholars in the field of education were interpreting the neoliberal discourses that were relevant to higher education. Commodification helped me to understand how EoF envisaged UNZA surviving on non-governmental sources of revenue. Finally, new managerialism helped me to illuminate the specific processes that facilitate the transfer of decision-making models from the market into higher HEIs.

Methodological Approaches to the Study

The university's neoliberal reforms during the past few decades raised crucial questions about the professional lives of the faculty who handle the institution's core functions of teaching, research, and community service. In the absence of an empirical study investigating the implications of this intersection of economic policy reform and the functions of the university, scholars do not know how faculty in Zambia were negotiating their encounter with the elements of neoliberalism that have come to characterize the university's central mission. The re-configuration of higher education in Zambia was situated within the wider neoliberal re-configuration of HEIs around the world (see for instance, Giroux, 2002; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Read, 2009).

My study sought to explore the reconfiguration of higher education in Zambia and the implications of such reconfigurations on the faculty in the

contemporary academy. This means that my primary interest was in faculty experiences and perceptions of their professional life rather than studying the efficacy of neoliberal reforms on the institution itself. I sought to explore the perspectives of the faculty at UNZA, through their voices and narratives, to understand what it meant to be living the life of a faculty member in a neoliberal higher education environment.

The overarching methodology in this dissertation was the case study. The case study approach involves the study of one site, such as one higher education institution (Dressman, 2008; Merriam, 2002; Yin, 1994). This approach enabled me to analyze real-life situations at UNZA and the multiple components that shaped those situations, (Fryberg, 2006; Ruddin, 2006). By using this methodology, I hoped to make visible the intersection of neoliberal reforms at the macro-level and the study of the micro-level of the professional lives of faculty at UNZA. This approach required me to be in the field for a period. Thus, I was there as a researcher from May, 30, 2016 to March, 30, 2017.

To gather data, I used two primary research instruments. First, I conducted semi- structured interviews with faculty at UNZA about their experiences, understandings, and perceptions of neoliberal reforms in higher education and the implications of these reforms on their professional lives.

Second, I conducted document analysis of policies and institutional documents to find key themes and phrases that could potentially link the academic environment to the development of faculty identity. Through this case study of faculty life at UNZA, I have developed an understanding of the development of faculty identity from the perspectives of three generations of faculty members.

The Research Context

The Zambian academy was an ideal context in which to study the professional lives of faculty in a neoliberal era. In the first place, Zambia was the first country in central Africa to embrace neoliberal reform through the SAPs in the early 1990s (Adams, Berzonsky, & Keating, 2006) . Zambia embraced plural[2] politics in 1990 and immediately afterwards embarked on an adjustment of the structure of its economy. Its immediate neighbour to the east, Malawi, did not undertake these reforms until the mid 1990s. Zambia's neighbour to the south, Zimbabwe, is yet to fully undertake these neoliberal reforms. Zambia's neighbour to the north, the Democratic Republic of Congo, has not only resisted neoliberal reforms of the economy but is still trying to wave off a gruelling invasion from its neighbours, which began soon after the fall of Zairen hardliner Joseph Desire Mobutu Sese Seko in 1999. In brief, the Republic of Zambia was

[2] Between 1972 and 1991, Zambia was under a one-party state in which the United National Independence Party (UNIP) was the only legal political party in the country.

a pioneer in the region in embracing the macro-economic reforms that emphasized the primacy of the private sector in driving the economies of highly indebted poor countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. These reforms coincided with a shift of ideological allegience from socialist and communist pursuasion to the pro-capitalist message brought by multi-lateral aid agencies and western development partners.

Second, the national policy on education, enacted in 1996, speaks directly to the tenets of neoliberalism in a number of ways. For instance, the primacy of market forces is recognized and institutionalized as a viable strategy. The 1996 Zambian policy on education conveys no doubt about the importance of the private sector in education. Second, intra-university products and services are assigned monetary value in terms of how the national policy on education speaks about them as well as how the University of Zambia's Strategic Plan theorizes about the institution's role in the knowledge economy. Thus, the Zambian context is an ideal setting to implement a study on the implications for faculty professional identity that result from a re-configuaration of the higher education space along neoliberal lines.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its potential to explore the narratives, voices, and experiences of faculty about how their professional lives as

academics have undergone a re-constitution in a corporatized campus milieu. One of my goals has been to add these African faculty perspectives and experiences to the ongoing research on faculty development globally (Altbach, 1984; and Altbach, 2004). I hope that the voices and experiences of my participants can elicit more discussion and offer recommendations for staff development at the University of Zambia and other public universities in the country and in Sub-Saharan Africa. An understanding of how faculty develop their professional identities in a liberalized market economy might yield critical insights into the future configuration of the higher education enterprise and the knowledge production functions of higher education institutions.

Exploring how the neoliberal forces of privatization, liberalization, and corporatization are perceived, appropriated, adapted, and contextualized within the Zambian academy, as part of the neoliberal reform of higher education, is also significant because the success of such reforms in one context (the Global North) does not guarantee that they will work as intended in another region. This is particularly important because national contexts differ in terms of political history, the gravity of economic problems previously or presently faced, and the extent to which the country embraces the notion of a free market economy as prescribed by the IMF and the World Bank. In this regard, examining perceptions, voices, and experiences of faculty at UNZA not only produces

knowledge on regional and institutional approaches to neoliberal reform of higher education, but it also offers insights into the impact of these neoliberal forces in improving on higher education.

This study can build on scholarship on how policy and ideas travel and how they get localized and gain different forms and meanings (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014). Ideas of neoliberal reform typically originate from Western countries (Philip Altbach, 2004). The rationales and values of entrepreneurial forms of higher education emanate not only from the epistemological and ontological standpoints of seminal western thinkers but also their cultural and axiological standpoints (Crotty, 1998; Leisyte, 2015; Ramirez, 2006). Therefore, it is important to explore how neoliberal forces are appropriated by local actors in a non-western context—UNZA faculty in this case—and how they are re-configured in relation to local realities, meanings, and contexts (Dean, 2012). It is also important to highlight the ways that such localizations embody universal principles in global contexts. Similarly, the study can provide an opportunity to compare theoretical assertions of the impact of neoliberalism on higher education in general to actual processes, perceptions, and experiences of faculty whose identities and roles have been altered by the on-going reconfiguration of higher education in Zambia. This can illuminate the intricacies of neoliberal reform of higher education in the global South and provide room for

future comparative studies on the corporatization and commodification of knowledge.

This knowledge is particularly critical in Zambia, where the establishment of several new universities and the upgrading of colleges into bachelor's degree awarding institutions is planned (see Mwelwa, 2014 for instance). The University of Zambia, as the top-ranked learning institution in the country, has been designated as the higher education industry leader in the production of human resources for the new universities (UNZA, 2012). These insights from my study might have implications for decision-making on the scalability of staff development programs. The knowledge generated by my dissertation may thus be at once useful not only to the new universities in Zambia but also to UNZA itself.

The significance of this study for the field of Comparative and International Development Education (CIDE) lies in charting of new ground in the study of the impact of neoliberalism on the professional identities of faculty in a locale that is understudied, namely, sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the steadily growing literature on neoliberalism and higher education, most of the studies have been conducted in Europe, the U.S., and the Asian Pacific region(Jackson, 2004). In contrast, this study will look at the impact of neoliberalism in southern Africa, an area where higher education is undergoing

neoliberal reforms but has not been studied extensively.

Summary of Chapters

Each of the six chapters in this dissertation serves a specific purpose in addressing the problematic of the study. In this chapter, I have articulated the problematic of the study, namely, the dearth of literature addressing the impact of neoliberalism on the professional identities of university faculty in the global south. Therefore, the purpose of the study is to examine how faculty articulated their identities in view of the neoliberal reform of higher education in Zambia.

In Chapter Two, I situate this dissertation in its field, namely, the literature on neoliberalism and higher education. I develop my conceptual framework and trace the historical origins of neoliberalism. I argue that the coming together of poststructuralist theory, neoliberalism and higher education is necessary to understand the material and contextual conditions faced by faculty members in the Global South.

In Chapter Three, I describe the methodology and the methods employed to collect data. The data collection instruments included semi-structured interviews, document analysis. I also address issues of data and process credibility and ethical considerations.

In Chapter Four, I examine the historical shifts in the development of faculty identity. I argue that several subject positions were available to for the

faculty to articulate their professional identities at different times in the history of UNZA. I show how the life an academic was lived at the intersections of various macro, national and institutional discourses at any time. This historical sketch is meant to set the stage for the claims on the impact of neoliberalism on faculty identity that I make in Chapter Five.

In Chapter Five, I present and analyze data concerning the ontological dilemmas that faculty negotiated within a campus milieu characterized by tremendous material constraints and immense responsibilities emanating from the accountability and efficiency agendas. These early-career academics demonstrated a lot of agency in articulating their identities amid competing research agenda s from corporate and industrial entities situated outside the academy.

In the final chapter of this dissertation, I return to the problematic of the study and highlight the major theoretical, practical and policy-related contributions of my study. In this chapter, I explain that my study sought to explore how faculty at UNZA developed their professional identities at different times since the institution was created in 1966.

Chapter 2: Situating the Study in its Fields

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the problematic of my study within the conceptual and theoretical literature on neoliberalism and higher education. In the first section of this chapter, I begin by giving a brief background of neoliberalism. In the second section of the chapter, I situate my problematic within poststructuralist theory to illustrate how neoliberalism and its attendant concepts have affected the professional lives of faculty in contemporary academia. Poststructuralist theory not only serves as a significant piece of my theoretical framework but also serves as the lens through which I examine the impact of neoliberal forces on the professional lives of the faculty at UNZA. I then review studies that apply a post-structuralist lens and employ the concepts of governmentality and discourse in discussing the production of subjectivities in the neoliberal university. In the section that follows, I explore the limited scholarship on how faculty members in the global South are affected by neoliberal forces. I will argue that because neoliberal discourses can be found in mainstream national policy on higher education in Zambia, there was a need to undertake the current study that explores how faculty experience or make sense of neoliberal reforms of higher education. In the final section of this chapter, I will give a summary of the literature review and illuminate the gaps in knowledge.

The Conceptual Framework

Neoliberalism is a concept that can be summarized in three ways: First, the concept is associated with the reduction of the role of the state in economic management as well as deregulation, which means the reduction of government regulation in the economy (Clay, 2008). This is effected by cutting public expenditures for social services, which include reducing government support to education and healthcare, as well as a trend toward greater participation by private actors in public life, and in higher education provision and finance (Giroux, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Second, the concept is characterized by the rule of the market, which means liberating free/private enterprise from restrictions imposed by the state (government), no matter what social damage may result, including the effect of families' ability to afford basic social services such as education and health. This has led to privatization, which means to sell state-owned enterprises, goods, and services to private investors (including public education services). Finally, the elimination of the concept of "public goods" or "community" means the individual has the core responsibility to manage his own life (Ross & Gibson, 2007, p. 3).

Third, neoliberalism is characterized by the propagation of the idea that the production and use of knowledge and information can be conceived of as a marketable commodity. Therefore, neoliberal reform of higher education has led

to the institutionalization of entrepreneurial and managerial modes of organizing HEIs stimulated and advanced by the promotion of business-like relations between the HEIs and industry, commerce, and government. Harvey (2005) argues that under neoliberalism, the state targets public assets and public institutions, such as universities and research laboratories, to be corporatized, commoditized and privatized.

Background of neoliberalism

There are three economic theorists who can be cited as the originators of neoliberalism. The concept has been traced to the writings of Freiderich August von Hayek (Steger & Roy, 2010), to the theories of monetarism espoused by economist Milton Friedman, and to public choice theory propounded by James Buchanan (Roberts, 2007). Writing in the 1940s, Hayek argued that individual freedom was the hallmark of European civilization and proposed actions aimed at institutionalizing individual freedom in the running of economic affairs. He averred against the regulation of any individual economy in the world, and denounced the planned socialist economy in which the entrepreneur worked for a central planning body. Hayek, therefore, asserted that increasing economic freedom would lead not only to rapid economic growth and the development of science and technology, but also to the "undesigned and unforeseen by-product of political freedom" (Hayek, 1944, cited in Kohl & Farthing, 2006, p. 16). For

Hayek, individual freedom in society was a key aspect in the development of modern European history. Individual effort could lead to a "complex order of economic development" but which required political freedom (Hayek, 1944, p. 12). In neoliberal regimes, individual freedom has come to occupy a place of importance alongside the primacy of the market. According to Saunders (2013), it means that the individual has been re-conceptualized as a rational being, homo economicus, capable of making rational choices and taking advantage of the free market to take care of his or her basic needs.

The theory of monetarism, on the other hand, also argues for the economic freedom of individuals in society, but its advocates proposed that the state needed to examine two issues to create the most significant opportunity for economic growth. First, the theory suggested that government control of the economic affairs needed to be checked. Friedman (1962), for instance, proposed that there was a need to decrease the role of the state in the management of economic affairs: “scope of government must be limited, and government power must be dispensed with” (p. 2). Second, the theory postulated that capitalism was necessary for political freedom since it contributed to the separation of economic power from political power. Friedman, therefore, concluded that it was plausible to view the free market as an efficient mechanism for ensuring the development of society: it was “clear how a free market capitalist society fosters freedom” (p.

19). These views were the beginnings of the philosophy of neoliberalism, which today is so widespread that more than two-thirds of the countries in the world have adopted it (Harvey, 2005).

Finally, the origins of neoliberalism can be traced to the theory of public choice. This theory was as a set of propositions about politics, which argued that the freedom of the public to choose what sort of goods and services it wished to obtain was crucial for economic development and needed to be guaranteed. Buchanan, the founder of public choice theory, argued that public choice was very critical for the development of society in general. Per Buchanan (1993), the failure of political systems in some communities could be attributed to the absence of public choice. He asserted, for instance, that:

> Public choice has been influential through its ability to explain the observed failures of political processes, whether these are socialist efforts to control whole societies by command or particularized efforts at sector-by-sector politicization. The consequences of public choice will presumably be reflected in the increased difficulty that collectivist control advocates will face in restoring the status quo ante in nonwestern regimes and in expanding the range of politicization in Western settings. (p. 67)

Thus, the public choice theory proposed that public choice should be institutionalized and guaranteed for economic development to occur. In this regard, Buchanan asserted that there should be a “marketization of the public sector through the deliberate actions of the state" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p.

319). By marketization of the public sector, Buchanan implied that the free market should take charge of the public affairs, so that public choice may be guaranteed. Buchanan went on to distinguish two kinds of states in the realm of economic management: the protective state and the productive state. By protective state, Buchanan meant a country that develops a robust set of constitutional rules while the productive state allows free participation where the state acts merely as a 'policeman' to regulate market flow positively (Olssen & Peters, 2005). He then criticized the protective state as an obstacle to the best functioning of the economy in that it developed substantial legislation in the management of public affairs, which served to constrain economic activity. The productive state, in contrast, was hailed as a catalyst for the growth of any economy in that it allowed free participation of individuals in the economy and acted only to regulate the market flow positively (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962).

The Spread of Neoliberalism

From these origins, neoliberalism was born and its principles, such as de-regulation and free-market economics, were to spread in North America, Europe and parts of Asia. Per Harvey (2005), the concept began to “exert practical influence in a variety of policy fields, as a new economic orthodox regulating public policy at the state level in the advanced capitalist world occurred in the United States and Britain in 1979” (Harvey, 2005, p. 22). In the Anglo-American

academy, neoliberal theory became a dominant discourse when the Nobel Prize in Economics was awarded to Hayek in 1974 and Friedman in 1976 for their work in economic theory. Based on Hayek's and Friedman’s political and economic research, for instance, Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990), and Ronald Reagan (1981-1988) formulated policies on 'free' trade and established the 'open' market during the 1980s (Roberts & Peters, 2008, p. 14).

In May 1979, Margaret Thatcher was elected as the Prime Minister of Britain with a strong mandate to reform the economy. The British Prime Minister went on to introduce monetary policy reform aimed at ameliorating the stagnation and inflation of the British economy that had started with the rise in oil prices in the 1970s (Harvey, 2005). Harvey (2005) argues that to reduce taxes, liberalize exchange rates control, reduce regulations, privatize state-owned industries and dismantle the power of the trade union, Thatcher instituted a policy agenda that hailed the primacy of the free market. As part of privatization, Thatcher’s government sold the national freight corporation, British Aerospace, British Rail, British Airports Authority, British Petroleum, British Steel, a vast amount of public housing units, and several water and power utilities.

Across the Atlantic, Ronald Reagan was elected President of the United States of America in 1981, two years after Thatcher had assumed power in Britain. At the time, the US was also faced with the problem of economic

stagnation and hyperinflation. To tame these problems, Reagan undertook economic reform that reflected the neoliberal economic paradigm, particularly the minimization of state intervention in the economy. Based on public choice theory, Reagan tried to introduce neoliberal policies of decentralization and individual choice in the economic realm. Reagan believed that a government decentralized to state and county level could handle the market and the economy efficiently. Economic analysts in the Reagan administration argued that state intervention in the economy was endemically problematic and detrimental to economic growth (Thorsen & Lie, 2006). Thus, to overcome stagflation of the American economy, Reagan introduced legislation that deregulated the telecommunication industries and the savings and loans industries. Large parts of the federal land were also transferred from the government into private hands. Besides, the social welfare apparatus was significantly overhauled, for instance through the reduction of aid to support families with dependent children, school lunch programs and medical assistance (Steger & Roy, 2010).

In Latin America during the same era, particularly in Chile, military ruler Augustino Pinochet introduced economic reforms such as deregulation measures to promote trade and privatize the state-owned industries, including the post office and public utilities. Influenced by a group of economists known as the “Chicago Boys,” Pinochet introduced wide-ranging economic reforms that were

premised on the supremacy of the free market. The Chicago Boys were a group of Chilean economists trained at the University of Chicago who were loyal to Friedman, (Harvey, 2005; Hall, Massey, & Rustin, 2013; Klein, 2007). The US government, together with several American corporations, introduced and implemented the 'Chile Project,' which helped to train these Chilean economic students at the University of Chicago in free market principles (Steger & Roy, 2010).

In South and East Asia, market-oriented economic reforms also came to the fore in 1978, when the Chinese President Deng Xiaoping took the initiative to liberalize the communist-led economy (Harvey, 2005). Xiaoping proposed a model of economic management that combined the state's socialist philosophy and the ideals of the free market economy. According to Thachil (2009), this Chinese model appropriated a neoliberal economic ideology while at the same time maintaining the socialist political apparatus of China. In pursuit of efficiency, productivity, and competitiveness, Xiaoping proposed the privatization of state-owned companies as part of the economic restructuring. The liberalization of state-owned firms was also undertaken to increase the competitiveness of China in its global exports. Although competitiveness was not initially achieved in China, it is important to note that the attempts at neoliberal reforms here were

later to lead to an institutionalization of this paradigm across most of Asia by the 1990s (Harvey, 2005; Thorsen & Lie, 2006).

Since these early beginnings, neoliberalism has spread rapidly to many countries. As it has spread, its influences began to manifest themselves in HEIs in Europe, the Americas, Asia and in Africa as well. It became common for universities to adopt entrepreneurial models of knowledge production, research, teaching and community service. Some universities, formerly in the US and Europe and now increasingly in the Global South, have not only developed profit-making activities but have also become business corporations. According to Ball (2013), some significant universities in the US and Europe are heavily involved in the education business and which qualify to be called business corporations because of the extent of their marketization.

There are two principal ways in which the neoliberal policy agenda has spread around the world of higher education. First, the neoliberal policy agenda is transported through international agencies, for instance, the World Bank, the IMF, and some agencies of the United Nations. Torres (2009) argues that calls for the liberalization of trade in various services, including higher education, facilitate the importation of neoliberal agendas into the development policies of countries in the Global South, such as Zambia. For instance, Matheson (2000) contends that the propagation of liberalization by international organizations such

as the World Trade Organization (WTO) has been responsible for widespread privatization of social services in the developing countries: "the WTO aims to liberalize the service sector further. The immediate impact would be the privatization of some services that have so far been provided by governments. Governments would be obliged to sell off such services as housing, education, and water" (cited in Hill, 2007, p. 122). Ball (2013) also contends that liberalization of education services led to the transfer of neoliberal policy and practice from the Global North to the Global South. This in the way of 'best practices' such as strategic management and 'empirically tested' policy options such as fiscal management, that some universities in Europe and America offer as solutions to the problems of education in the developing countries.

The second way that a neoliberal policy agenda has spread is that countries in the Global South are compelled to adopt neoliberal policy reforms because of the conditions for loans set forth by the IMF and the WB (Klein, 2007; Moyo, 2009). As a criterion for getting financial support from these international financial institutions (IFIs), developing countries, like Zambia, are left with no choice but to re-adjust their economies through SAPs. These SAPs tend to spread neoliberal economic discourses such as privatization, deregulation and free-market principles because they require developing countries to adopt such strategies if they wish to obtain financial assistance from the IMF and the WB. As

I have pointed out earlier, the entry of market-based discourses into mainstream educational policy in Zambia was predicated on the conditions set by IMF and the WB in the 1980s and early 1990s. The SAPs were reflected in the EoF policy document, which transformed the higher education sector in the country by institutionalizing privatization, deregulation, and marketization in the sector.

In sum, neoliberalism as a political-economic theory was first postulated in the 1940s through the theories of individual choice, monetarism, and public choice. The theory was then popularized in the 1970s and 1980s by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. Finally, the influence of neoliberalism was spread around the world through several means, including the IFIs, and most notably through the IMF and the World Bank. In the section that follows, I discuss each of the related concepts that undergird neoliberalism.

Academic Capitalism

Academic capitalism is a central concept that shaped my understanding of the implications of the entrepreneurial university on the professional lives of UNZA faculty. The theory advances the proposition that HEIs should view their teaching, research, and consultancies as revenue-generation pursuits. This means that faculty members must think of themselves as capitalists because of the declining role of the state in providing sufficient financing to HEIs. Universities become increasingly reliant on private non-government sources of

income. The need for alternative sources of finance compels the institutions to promote research pursuits that are likely to generate income. Revenue can be made from the private sector, or from strategic external partnerships with corporations, and networks or assemblages. The assemblages can comprise of researchers, policymakers, academics and policy practitioners who together can help to fill the gap left by the state as the principal supplier of finance (Auranen & Nieminen, 2010; Geuna & Nesta, 2006). Thus, it has become common to look at the central activities in higher education, which consist of teaching, research, and service, as forms of capital to generate a profit for the university.

Some scholars have reported growing enthusiasm for academic capitalism by university administrations, including the invocation of intellectual property rights and the resultant limited or restricted sharing of information among academics, as well as the escalation of university-industry linkages (Levidow, 2007; Mathison & Ross, 2002; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). For example, Mathison and Ross (2002) contend that neoliberal reform of higher education has profoundly transformed the purpose of the institutions. They argue, “the university's role as an independent institution is increasingly threatened by the interests of corporations in both subtle and obvious ways." Besides, the university faces decreased which has made universities "increasingly susceptible to the influence of big money and threatens the academic and direction of

research" (cited in Hill, 2007, p. 117). Levidow (2007) reports that from the 1980s onward, it has become a worldwide trend for universities to adopt commercial models of knowledge, skills, curriculum, finance, accounting, and management organization. Many universities in North America and beyond have embraced entrepreneurial modes of operation and decision-making (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Roberts, P. & Peters, 2008). Finally, Torres and Schugurensky (2002) contend that while funding for public higher education has declined the world over, universities are pressured to relinquish a significant portion of institutional autonomy to accommodate market demands and a new set of control strategies emanating from the state.

Academic capitalism also leads to the blurring of institutional and disciplinary boundaries. According to Henkel (2005), academics in the UK are increasingly identifying with wider audiences to ‘market’ their knowledge and expertise and adopting more sophisticated professional roles, such as a closer alignment of their research and consultancy to the needs of commercial entities. The professional lives of faculty have begun to extend from teaching and research to academic entrepreneurship through the invocation of scientrepreneur academic identities (Karhunen and Olimpieva, 2016). The professional identities of faculty, particularly in the sciences, have also been transformed by the addition of multiple layers of corporate and academic roles because of the

"gradual elision of the divide between the commercial and scholarly world" (Lynch, 2006, 2006, p. 7). In Zambia, too, we see the emergence of this type of scientrepreneur to emphasize the closer alignment between academic and entrepreneurial dimensions of faculty identity, as I elaborate in Chapter 4.

Academic capitalism has additionally led to the production of what Leisyte (2015) has called hybrid academic identities. Due to the allure of commercially-funded research, some academics have responded by adopting a hybrid identity that comprises a focal academic self and a secondary commercial persona. By focal academic self, Leisyte means the part of faculty's identity that is primarily concerned with the core functions of teaching, research and community service. By commercial persona, Leisyte refers to the emerging disposition among some faculty to retain openness towards commercial pursuits either within or outside of the university. In the profit-making scenario of academic capitalism, a faculty member can become another actor in the political and economic exchanges between multiple actors within the free market. The professional lives of the faculty are renegotiated and reasserted as academics encounter new expectations and pressures in their work environments (Shore & Wright, 2000). Academic capitalism has also expanded the roles of faculty to include entrepreneurial roles in their work portfolios. According to Leisyte (2015),

"academics are choosing their roles from a more diversified pallet of roles ranging from teaching to academic entrepreneurship" (p. 64).

Academic capitalism has also changed how faculty members form their academic identities. For example, a study by Henkel (2005) explores how faculty identities were changing in the UK in the changing policy context of neoliberal reform. It illuminates the changes in the dynamics between individual faculty, their disciplinary affiliations, as well as the universities within which academic identities are formed and sustained. The empirical basis of the study consists of data from interviews and documentary analysis undertaken for two studies of higher education reforms and science policy in the late 20th century. One is a three-country study of England, Norway and Sweden, and the other a study of academic responses in England.

Henkel finds that within the British academy, the neoliberal project has transformed the nature of interactions among faculty. For instance, the interactions between the discipline (of the academic), the institution and the individual faculty have become more complex. Whereas in pre-neoliberal times, academics primarily drew their identity from their departmental, and therefore their disciplinary, affiliation, neoliberal reform has resulted in a change in that academics are now expected to engage across the boundaries of their departments or disciplines as much as within them. Following this view, Gibb,

Haskins, and Robertson (2009) opine that the contemporary university in the Global North has come under pressure to move away from the simpler, more satisfied and autonomous environments to highly entrepreneurial application and innovation-driven environments. By simpler and more autonomous environments, Gibb, Haskins, and Robertson mean that the university environment of the past was merely a place of wonder, self-cultivation, and thinking.

Some scholars, such as Lynch (2010) have also commented on the deterioration in the academic environment of the contemporary neoliberal university. For instance, Henkel asserts that the negotiation of multiple relationships characterizes the neoliberal university. Thus, academic work begins to take place in domains defined by numerous interests: “the context is not only more pluralist. Money increasingly dominates it …the financial needs of the universities and the potential returns from scientific success” (2005, p. 172). Lynch also argues that audit technologies introduced into the neoliberal university are “a recipe for self-display and the fabrication of image over substance… Trust in professional integrity, and peer regulation has been replaced with bibliometric indicators” (2010, p. 55). Gibb et al., similarly contend that the academic environment of universities in the 21st century can be contrasted with the “static environments (which) lend themselves to more predictable and routinized bureaucratic patterns of response” (2009, p. 12).

In the case of Zambian higher education, I observe academic capitalism in the EoF and UNZASP 2013-2017 and recent policy pronouncements by the Minister of Education. EoF, for instance, provides that the HEIs in Zambia must incorporate an entrepreneurial and profit-motivated orientation in the way they conceptualize their activities, and they must strive to "market themselves more aggressively" (MOE, 1996, p. 105). The UNZASP 2013-2017 also reveals overt attempts towards the creation of strong links with industry and the corporatization and marketization of the mission of the university. For example, the plan seeks to reposition UNZA for global excellence and a competitive environment and to "develop the capacity to engage in entrepreneurship and business for sustainability and competitiveness in the knowledge economy" (UNZA, 2012, p. 55). Moreover, the Minister of Education in Zambia has recently directed that faculty in Zambia should not only be academicians but also entrepreneurs. The minister stated that: "we are looking for men and women who are not only academics but who are also entrepreneurs that can look at the university as an income generating activity" (Funga, 2015, p. 1). Thus, academic capitalism can be observed in the Zambian higher education sector. Questions remain, however, about whether the impacts of academic capitalism such as those reported in the studies of Henkel (2005) and Leisyte (2015) are also occurring within the Zambian academy.

Commodification

Commodification is the second concept that shapes my understanding of the neoliberal university. Neoliberal reform of higher education has precipitated the rise of university practices based on the commodification of knowledge. I treat commodification as a separate concept in my conceptual framework because it is a specific and essential dimension of academic capitalism that needs to be highlighted. Commodification is a form of entrepreneurial behavior among HEIs that reflects the influence of the neoliberal agenda. Per Ball (2013), in its current usage:

> Commodification encompasses both an attention to the naturalization of changes, which are taking place in the everyday life of our production and consumption activities and more general processes of capitalism and its inherent crises and instabilities, which underpin the search for new markets, new products, and thus new sources of profit. In fetishizing commodities, we are denying the primacy of human relationships in the production of value, in effect erasing the social. (p. 4)

In other words, Ball means that the value of an item is reflected not in the use to which it can be put, but in the potential, it must attract monetary value in its exchange. He argues that almost everything comes to be seen in monetized, quantitative terms: “everything is simply a sum of value realized or hoped for” (Ball, 2013, p. 4). For instance, a degree becomes a commodity, which an

institution can sell to a customer, the student, who in turn, can exchange the commodity as proof of qualifications for a better job.

Standard features of commodification in higher education include the privileging of research financed by private entities rather than non-profit research traditionally supported by the government. It also provides for the use of business-university research partnerships and the creation of consortia of universities, producers of knowledge; the use of indicators of performance to assess faculty; and, in the US the fragmentation of faculty into teaching only and research only roles. Saunders (2013) contends that in the neoliberal university, the role of the university has shifted from social knowledge production to market knowledge production: the creation of knowledge for profit or expertise for sale instead of expertise for the public good.

In Europe, North America and the Asian Pacific region, the commodification of knowledge has become institutionalized as part of the entrepreneurial university (Deem, 2001; Gibb, 2001). According to this conception, research, education, and knowledge have become profitable commodities that can be traded and sold on the free market. This transformation grows out of the neoliberal politics predicated on the supposition that market forces can take the place of the democratic state as the producer of cultural logic and value. Thus, the market determines with what sort of knowledge the faculty

should give their students (Read, 2009b). Tuchmann laments that the neoliberal university does not lead students to "grasp truth; to grapple with intellectual possibilities; to appreciate the best in art, music, and other forms of culture…Rather they are now to prepare students for jobs. They are not to educate, but to train" (2011, p. 11).

The commodification of research has the potential to dilute the robustness of academic research. For instance, Ozga (1998) argues that the commodification of research has tremendous ramifications for the quality and ownership of research. This is because, in the process of responding to market incentives, academics may be compelled to tailor the design of their research efforts away from societal needs and towards the dictates of the market, meaning corporations and … who can pay…. In short, the universities begin to create "products and establish services that they take to the marketplace to sell, or private individuals or companies approach the college to purchase goods and services" (Levin, 2001, p. 40).

In the Zambian higher education system, commodification is explicitly displayed in the EoF policy, which proposes that public HEIs should begin to charge cost-effective fees for their services and products, "whether they be tuition, research and consultancies" (MoE, 1996, p. 105). The reason given is to generate revenue for the institutions. Besides, UNZASP 2013-2017 seeks to

commit UNZA to the production of “new industry-relevant products and community-related products” (p. 51). The capacity of the university to develop effective processes of teaching, learning and knowledge production at universities is considered a key component to respond to the demands of the new neoliberal knowledge economy in which knowledge has become a product to be bought and sold in the higher education marketplace.

New Managerialism

The third concept that informs my study is new managerialism, the business-like model of decision-making transmitted into higher education. This concept is also called “audit culture” or “entrepreneurialism” (Shore, 2010; Shore & Wright, 2000), and I use these terms interchangeably in this dissertation. New managerialism focuses on explaining the systems of administration and management that enable the commodification and monetization of knowledge. More specifically, this concept refers to the techniques, values, and practices derived from the private sector of the economy as they are applied to the management of public organizations. As Deem states, new managerialism is “concerned with the provision of public services, and to the actual use of those techniques and practices in publicly funded organizations” (2001, p. 10). Thus, strategic management principles are transferred from private industry to the public education sector in pursuit of efficiency, effectiveness, and excellence,

and they become central values for university functioning and restructuring.

New managerialism includes two behaviors. First, it is associated with the search for new, more effective and efficient work by faculty and management. The neoliberal university, according to Deem and Brehony (2005) aggressively pursues efficiency and effectiveness, and imports ideas and practices from the private world of business. The insights from the corporate world include maximizing productivity through teaching an ever-larger student body to raise funds through tuition fees (Harvey, 1989). Open and distance teaching mode is also pursued. The open and distance teaching models are often preferred because it has the potential to reach a significant clientele base without imposing intense demands on the universities through capital projects. Vogt (2001) also asserts that in pursuit of efficiency, the neoliberal university will often restructure itself to encourage teamwork, innovation, and flexibility. Restructuring may also include the hiring of managers to regulate the organization of academic life. Some universities may, for instance, hire heads of department or directors of research who are not necessarily faculty but serve as managers (Klikauer, 2013). As I show in Chapter 5, efficiency and effectiveness were critical discourses in the development of the identity of the early-career faculty at UNZA.

Second, new managerialism in higher education is also associated with

the imposition of various accountability mechanisms to monitor and measure the performance of the faculty. The accountability mechanisms are often in the form of audit practices, performance indicators, inter-disciplinary research centers that work closely with industry, league tables, the management of performance and the benchmarking of teaching and research standards (Kirkpatrick & Lucio, 1995; Power, 1997). Because of new managerialism, the neoliberal notions of accountability and quality have come to define one of the primary functions of the academy. Ozga (1998) argues, for instance, that new managerialism has facilitated the "installation of new forms of steerage and surveillance [in the academy]" (p. 147). By steerage, Ozga means the external controls imposed on the research and teaching agenda of British universities which are manifested through the award of contracts for research together with the short-term and vulnerable employment relations resulting from the selective abolition of tenure. The use of contracts as mechanisms for research steerage and as the basis of short-term and unprotected employment relations has consequences for the character of research and researchers.

Besides, new managerialism has led to a situation where the way the research pursuits of the university are executed is defined by a preoccupation with competitiveness and performativity in the winning of contracts. Faculty members are under pressure to produce specific research outputs at the same

time as teaching and undertaking managerial and administrative responsibilities. Ozga also asserts that the entry of economic rationalism in the research arena transforms the way research problems are handled and how inquiry is completed and how the effort is managed. She argues that independent assessment of the nature and significance of an issue is replaced by the acceptance of a pre-specified problem by a research team.

Ozga contends, additionally, that the identification, pursuit, and management of the research effort of faculty members have replaced purposeful but wide-ranging intellectual inquiry. Research management has, accordingly, become the paramount activity: “coordination of processes associated with contract winning and maintenance becomes the main concern of the research manager” (p. 147). Instead of objectively and independently ascertaining the merit and significance of a research problem, the new entrepreneurial academic may be compelled under the circumstances to accept research problems that are pre-specified by the potential funders of such research.

In sum, these three concepts—academic capitalism, commodification, and managerialism—contribute to my understanding of neoliberalism as an economic concept and how it has led to a restructuring of HEIs. These concepts helped me to understand how neoliberalism manifests itself in higher education so that I could design the current study that focuses on how faculty in Zambia

have been affected, or not affected, by the neoliberal reform of higher education. In the section that follows, I focus on the faculty themselves by reviewing studies that draw on the concept of governmentality in explaining how neoliberal governmentality and neoliberal discourses may shape the identities of faculty in the university. The theoretical lens of the post-structuralist inquiry undergirds the perspectives of these studies.

Poststructuralist Theory

My understanding if identity in this study is strongly influenced by poststructuralism. Poststructuralism rejects the singularity of meaning and the stability of language. As Collinson asserts, poststructuralists emphasize the multiplicity of meaning about identity: “rather than viewing the self as an objectifiable, cognitive essence, poststructuralists argue that identity processes are fundamentally ambiguous and always in a state of flux and reconstruction” (2006, p. 182). Poststructuralists also assert that the concept of ‘self’ as a singular and coherent entity is largely fictional and mythical because an individual’s identity encapsulates opposing tensions and knowledge claims (Belsey, 2002). Thus, poststructuralist theory seeks to disrupt the conceptions of static and stable identities and social strata and instead propagates notions of identity as social processes that are in flux and,

therefore, capable of being changed in progressive ways.

Poststructuralism is central to my conceptual framework because it allows me to interpret the impact of neoliberalism on higher education in Zambia through the multiple identities of the faculty at UNZA rather than assuming a single, coherent 'faculty identity' regardless of generation, gender, or field of study. Applying a post-structuralist lens to the examination of the impact of neoliberal educational reform in Zambia allowed me to utilize a variety of perspectives to create a multifaceted interpretation of how neoliberal forces may produce different subjectivities among the faculty. As my data chapters show, poststructuralism is a necessary perspective for analyzing how different neoliberal policy discourses, such as efficiency, competitiveness and accountability, are implicated in the re-shaping and re-configuration of the professional identities of faculty in different ways. Poststructuralism consists of three inter-related concepts: governmentality, subjectivities and discourse.

Governmentality

In this study, I use governmentality to mean the systems of control, regulation or shaping of individual identities that are occasioned by the neoliberal reform of higher education (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Larner, 2000). This includes the ways in which people are taught to regulate—or supervise—themselves (Davies & Bansel, 2010). Similarly, Rose (1999) contends that governmentality

refers to “strategy, tactic, process, procedure or program for controlling, regulating, shaping, mastering or exercising authority over others in a nation, organization or locality” (1999, p. 15). Ferguson & Gupta (2002) state that governmentality also involves shifting power from a central authority, like a state or institution, and dispersing it among a population.

This means that there is a difference between government and governance. Ball describes the difference between governance and government as a shift from bureaucracy to networks and to the notion of policy assemblages which. These assemblages, he asserts, tend to “constitute new forms of governance, albeit not in a single and coherent form, and bring into play in the policy process new sources of authority and indeed a market of authorities” (2013, p. 9). Therefore, while on the one hand neoliberalism problematizes the state and stipulates its parameters through the call for individual choice, on the other hand, it includes forms of control that encourage institutions and individuals to conform to the norms of the market (Larner, 2000).

Subjectivities

Another concept that is important in this study of neoliberalism and university faculty is subjectivities. I mean by this term the collection of the perceptions, experiences, expectations, personal or cultural understanding, and beliefs specific to a person (Shore, 2010). Foucault (1982 or 1983?) uses the

term to refer to the process by which humans are turned into ‘subjects’ in three principal ways. First, he asserts that the ‘sciences,’ or ‘scientific inquiry’ objectifies the subjects it studies. For example, linguistics can be said to objectify the speaker, while economic studies objectify the ‘worker’ (Foucault, 1983, p. 777). Second, Foucault identifies the practice of making divisions in society as a form of subjectification, meaning the process of becoming a subject or taking up a subject position within a system. Foucault contends that the process of dividing people into categories, such as self/others or mad/sane, tends to construct the labeled subject as an object of knowledge. Besides, Cooper and Stoler (1997) assert that a relationship of authority is implicit when one group or class of people categorizes another. In this way, the one who is classifying gives itself/themselves the power to define and respond in specific ways to that other. The third form of subjectification identified by Foucault (1983 is how people come to see themselves as a subject. Thus, subjectivity can be summarized as the experience in which the subject experiences himself or herself in the various ways in which the constitutive power of language is deployed. As Foucault asserts, the subject becomes “tied to his or her own identity by conscience or self-knowledge” (1982, p. 777, italics mine).

Discourse

Another key term in post-structuralist theory is discourse, by which I mean a system of thoughts and texts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct subjects and the worlds of which they speak. According to Foucault, governmentality primarily refers to ‘the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed’ (Foucault, 1994, p. 341). McEwan defines it similarly as “the ensemble of social practices through which the world is made meaningful” (2009, p. 121). In poststructuralist analysis, discourse refers to the ways in which language, with its multiplicity of meaning, comes to construct the identities of people or subjects, institutions, and cultures. For example, Larner contends that discourse “constitutes institutions, practices and identities in contradictory and disjunctive ways” (2000, p. 12). By this, Larner means the multiple, shifting, fragmented, constantly fluid way poststructuralists view identities. Foucault, similarly, contends that discourse may produce types of individuals or subjectivities through “surveillance systems that render individuals calculable and confessional subjectivities that collude in their own subordination” (cited in Collinson, 2006, p. 181). Being calculable implies that, in neoliberal governmentality, humans are viewed as entities that can be measured or corrected.

Therefore, the three related concepts—governmentality, subjectivities, and discourse—are the central tenets of the post-structuralist framework that I utilize in my study on faculty identities at UNZA. In the next few paragraphs, I analyze studies that use the concepts of governmentality, discourse, and subjectivities to interpret the happenings within the entrepreneurial university.

Neoliberal governmentality and the production of subjectivities

In the neoliberal university, governmentality involves some measure of regulation or control over the faculty inside it by using words that frame, and constrain, behavior leading to the emergence of kinds of individuals who are then rendered governable (Davies & Bansel, 2010). In a study on the impact of neoliberal governmentality on the academic lives of faculty in some major national and regional universities Australia, Sweden, New Zealand and the US. Davies and Bansel (2010) draw on Foucault's analysis of neoliberalism, and its practices of shaping individuals through specific modes of government, to analyze the phenomenon of the market-oriented audit university. Their study examines how neoliberal governmentality may produce historically particular modes of subjection and subjectivity in universities. To undertake this analysis, they draw on interviews conducted with faculty in the four countries (see above), as well as on a discourse analysis of various documents.

The study goes on to discuss several findings that illustrate the effects of neoliberal governmentality on the professional lives of the faulty in the neoliberal university in several countries in the global North. For example, the study finds that the neoliberal discourses of 'efficiency and quality' tend to regulate the academic practice, such as teaching and research, narrowly defining values and successes to render them measurable. They contend that this persuades academics to teach uniformly, complete the same forms, make applications to the same funding bodies, and make links with industry; they organize or reorganize, themselves to fit the template of best practice as defined by management. Thus, neoliberal governmentality serves to standardize and regularize expert knowledge in HEIs to classify and diagnose populations of faculty and the potential risks in managing them. In so doing, it helps to produce entrepreneurial subjectivities among the faculty. Davies and Bansel show that the discourses that are handed down from the authorities within the neoliberal university to the staff can both entice individual faculty by explaining how one can be a better teacher and can also contain and constrain the activities of faculty by specifying the format that they must choose for their teaching and their research. Davies and Bansel, further assert that:

> On the face of it, the risks academics must manage, in responding (or not) to such enticements and containments, are the risks associated with their own employment conditions and promotion prospects. While for some it

> will be reassuring to be told what will count as being good, for others, there is a risk in abandoning the critical perspective that tells them there is something wrong with this new definition of what will count as good. The risk in resisting such directives lies in loss of institutional credibility and membership, since the new university makes it clear that everyone is readily expendable. Further, in management discourse the risk is figured in terms of the credibility and survival of the university itself and its capacity to be an employer of academics. (pp. 9-10)

In this manner, the self-interest of a faculty member may become re-conceptualized as closely aligned with the university's interest. This tends to produce subjectivities by instilling the university's core interest at the heart of the professional lives of the faculty. The authors contend that once the faculty's compliance is obtained, it is then normalized through a subtle process of making the faculty more governable by constituting them as the sorts of subjects demanded by the programmatic ambitions of the neoliberal university.

Davies and Bansel also contend that neoliberal governmentality may "systematically dismantle" the faculty's will to critically appraise issues that affect their professional lives. The dismantling of faculty critique, they continue, can potentially shift the very nature of what a university and how academics understand their work. For example, once faculty members take up the institution's ambitions as their own, they can make themselves appropriate subjects of the university by beginning to work towards becoming appropriate and appropriated subjects of the neoliberal university. In this way, the faculty

members become responsible for what is institutionally defined as politically acceptable and economically viable. Criticism and defiance could be clamped down, or diffused. The authors assert that individual faculty members could then be made “visible and vulnerable within audit models of managerialism, while simultaneously homogenized and disconnected from collegial networks” (p. 17). This study concludes by arguing that neoliberal governmentality within the academy has severe implications for the generation of new and different bits of knowledge, as well as for critique and resistance to the discourses and practices of government.

The second focal study is titled “Audit culture and anthropology: Neoliberalism in British higher education” by anthropologists of policy Shore and Wright (2000). They undertake the analysis of the history and consequences of new managerialism, or audit culture, in the British academy for the professional identities of British faculty. Shore and Wright contend that the idea of academic auditing practices was borrowed from its original associations with financial accounting in which the term implied scrutiny, examination and the passing of judgment. As the concept migrated from the business world into the academy, it changed to create new and compelling ways of thinking and acting about research, teaching and the production of knowledge. In the context of higher education, the concept of audit has come to be associated with such discourses

as performance, quality assurance, accountability, effectiveness, peer review, and efficiency. Audit culture, they argue, has become a means of producing new subjectivities, for instance, through how people within the academy relate to their workplace, to the authority within the neoliberal university, to each other and more importantly to themselves.

Through discourse analyses of official British higher education policy documents, such as the government White Paper on Higher Education of 1991 and the pronouncements of statutory higher education bodies such as Higher Education Quality Control Council (HEQC), the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) and the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA), Shore and Wright identify several impacts of the audit culture on the British academy. First, they contend that although the discourses of accountability, transparency, quality, and performance are used widely in HEFCE documents “as if their meanings are self-evident and benign” (Shore and Wright, 2000, p. 566), the meanings that these terms embody differs fundamentally from what the academics understand. For instance, the official usage of the terms transparency and accountability imply faculty visibility and inspectability, which Shore and Wright equate to the “panopticon.” The panopticon is a potent metaphor to use because it refers to a type of incarceration system that was built radially so that the guard at the center of it could monitor all the prisoners while the prisoners are

unable to see the guard (Spears & Lea, 1994). Not knowing whether they were being observed, the prisoners then resigned themselves to the possibility that they were being watched all the time. This resulted in constant self-monitoring on the part of the prisoners. Thus, Shore and Wright describe HEFCE notions of accountability in the British academy as panoptic and leading to the production of subjectivities that make the university faculty governable:

> The essential component of such a system is that it simultaneously imposes a system of external control from above and induces inmates to internalize the new ‘expert’ knowledge to reform themselves. In other words, through a combination of subjection and internal subjectification individuals are encouraged to constitute themselves in terms of the norms through which they are governed. Technologies of the self thus become the means through which individuals, as active agents, come to regulate their own conduct and themselves contribute (albeit not necessarily consciously) to the government’s social order. (2000, p. 560)

Therefore, accountability constitutes a means by which performance is measured; the quality of research judged; and the effectiveness is assessed. Shore and Wright describe audit culture as being coercive and “disabling” (p. 557). They provide two reasons for this depiction: First, they begin by equating audit culture with the act of policing the academy. For instance, they contend that accountability has coercive characteristics because it holds the faculty to pre-determined standards of teaching, research and community service. Audit culture

is coercive because it quantifies faculty and their professional roles in the academy.

Second, Shore and Wright argue that audit culture has created a culture of compliance and a climate of fear within the British academy. The rising inter-institutional rivalry between universities as they seek to improve their position on competitive league tables of performance imposes strong demands on the faculty who are then expected to comply with pre-determined standards of performance. Shore and Wright illustrate this by referring to the experiences of a professor at a new university who had written to a national newspaper to rectify a misleading report, which had “uncritically echoed the management’s rosy argument that larger class sizes and reduced resources had not lowered educational standards” (Shore & Wright, 1999, p. 568). The professor received an official warning about bringing the institution into disrepute and was advised that this was punishable by instant dismissal from employment. To avoid similar predicaments failing upon them, British faculty members may resolve to exercise restraint in how they criticize the management of their universities. In this way, audit culture produces adherence to performance indicators that then pit faculty against each other and institutions against other institutions. Rivalry is created between faculty and institutions that are ranked per pre-determined performance indicators. Audit culture, the authors argue, reduces professional relations to crude, quantifiable

and, above all, ‘inspectable’ templates. This produces new ways of conceptualizing faculty and institutions as pressure is exerted on both to improve performance and rise on the performance grading system. By inculcating new norms, Shore and Wright aver that audit culture enables faculty to “observe and improve ourselves per new neoliberal notions of the performing professional” (p. 569).

The third effect of audit culture on the British academy is manifested through the transformation of the professional identity of faculty. Shore and Wright note that before the neoliberal era begun in the late 1970s, faculty identities were expressed in terms of academic freedom and autonomy, especially regarding ability to determine research agendas, curriculum and teaching styles. This has, however, changed as faculty have had to negotiate conflicting notions of professional identity: “the old idea of the independent scholar and inspiring teacher, and the new model of the auditable, competitive performer” (Shore & Wright, 1999, p. 569). The result of such predicaments has been the production of subjectivities in the way of fragmenting faculty identities into researchers, teachers and administrators as the faculty try to adapt to the various ways in which different aspects of their work are being inspected. Thus, the effect of audit culture on the British academy, Shore and Wright conclude,

has been to reshape the identities of faculty into different roles dictated by the performance indicators that are a central part of audit culture.

Another focal study on the production of neoliberal subjectivities in the UK is the study by Archer (2008). This study uses the narratives of the younger faculty members to analyze the impact of neoliberalism on academic identities. This empirical study discusses young academics' constructions of academic identities and questions whether they are the archetypal new subjects of audit and managerialism whose capacity for criticality is forestalled or whether they carve out spaces for thinking otherwise. This study draws attention to the ways in which these younger academics negotiate the pressures of contemporary academia, detailing their strategies of resistance and practices of protection.

Archer (2008) finds that neoliberal governmentality has produced neoliberal subjects in the strategies that young academics in the UK develop to deal with the overwhelming demands of contemporary higher education and its intense requirement to produce economically viable or profitable knowledge. Archer labeled the first strategy as "safety/protection through playing the game" (p. 276). This was the process by which young academics in the UK tried to secure their jobs by seeking external sources of finance as dictated by the entrepreneurial orientations of their institutions.

The second strategy, Archer found, was in the form of young academics challenging the status quo or “speaking out” (p. 277). This occurred in the form of complaints by the faculty regarding their conditions of work. This strategy is aimed to demonstrate the potential for younger academics to promote change in the system. However, Archer notes that due to the culture of compliance produced by neoliberal discourses of accountability and effectiveness, challenging the status quo was not always effective in bringing about desirable change: “it should also be noted that without broader support, the potential for the younger academics to cause a change in the system was constrained” (p. 277).

The last three strategies discussed by Archer are the creation of supporting practices, self-protection and creation of boundaries. Archer found that the faculty in her study were tended to create spaces in which they received and provided support to colleagues, such as women faculty. The faculty members also constructed and maintained personal projects that were sustained within the institutional norms and which helped their wellbeing. Archer also found that the young UK academics created boundaries and balance between work, family and social life This was in the form of the academics balancing their involvement in other activities, responsibilities and relationships with partners and families. Based on these findings, Archer concluded that the young academics in

the UK who wanted to survive in the neoliberal university tended to accept and to play within the constraints imposed by the entrepreneurial structure of contemporary academia: "subjects cannot exist outside of the conditions and locations within which they are located and by which they are constituted" (p. 282).

The scholarship highlighted in the foregoing section, and the post-structuralist interpretations drawn from it, opens useful theoretical and analytical possibilities for my own study on the impact of neoliberalism on the professional lives of faculty. First, these studies highlight how governmentality exercises control over the faculty inside the neoliberal university by using discourses that may frame and constrain behavior. This lead may lead to the emergence of kinds of individuals who are then rendered governable. Based on this finding, I try to explore how Zambian faculty may have experienced the paradigm shifts in higher education since the 1966 when UNZA was created. This was a way of enriching the debate about neoliberalism by extending the theoretical and conceptual lens through the added case of the Zambian experience.

Second, this scholarship opens some analytical possibilities for my study by showing how faculty within the academy may mediate the effects of neoliberal governmentality on their professional lives. This also enables me to think about the ongoing and constitutive force of discourses within the neoliberal university.

By making that constitutive force of neoliberal discourse visible, the studies in this section helped me to think of the professional identity of my respondents in the Zambian academy as discursively constituted.

Although the imposition of neoliberal governmentality principles creates sources of constraint for university actors, it is possible that the ways in which each university organizes its forms and functioning can moderate the negative effects of the accountability and efficiency climate and competition among institutions. Therefore, it made sense for me to approach my Zambian research context with openness to the possibility that the constraints that neoliberal governmentality imposes on the academy may be subject to different degrees of appropriation depending on how the faculty members make sense of these discourses.

However, the foregoing scholarship does not examine how the faculty members in the Global South may experience neoliberal reforms in higher education. In the section that follows, therefore, I review some studies that offer some analyses more focused on the impact of neoliberalism in Sub-Saharan Africa. This scholarship testifies to the multiple ways in which neoliberal reform of higher education may be taken up, mediated or localized per different local contexts. These studies help to make the case that a study of professional lives of faculty in Zambia can add to the literature on neoliberalism and higher

education in a unique and novel way, something that cannot be achieved by generalizing the findings of studies from other contexts.

Neoliberalism and Higher Education in Africa

There is relatively limited literature on the experiences of African academics with neoliberalism, particularly among faculty in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this section, I review some studies on neoliberalism and higher education in Africa to show how within Sub-Saharan Africa, even in countries with similar social, economic and political backgrounds, neoliberal reforms of higher education may be subject to differing interpretation frameworks. Two studies stand out. The first case is based on empirically grounded research that was conducted in Uganda to examine the implications of neoliberal reform on higher education at Makerere University. The second study was conducted in Kenya, specifically at Kenya National University (KNU) and University of Kenya (UK). Both studies illuminate exciting and contradictory revelations and insights about the entrepreneurial university.

Mamdani's study, Scholars in the Marketplace (2007), is based on a longitudinal examination of the neoliberal market reforms at the flagship university in Uganda, Makerere University, from 1989–2005. His findings indicate that neoliberal reforms can be understood from inside, using emic, and from outside using etic perspectives. Emic perspectives refer to insider accounts of

what is happening in a culture that we wish to study. By etic perspectives on the other hand, I mean perspectives that are “accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the community of scientific observers” (Lett, 1990, p. 130). Mandami finds that there was increased commercialization at Makerere, which entailed ‘‘subordinating the university to the logic of the market’’ (2007, p. 5). He also asserts that neoliberal reform of HEIs in Uganda created a parallel informal institution at Makerere, one driven by the private good “where questions of quality have been thrown by the wayside’’ (p. 264). More importantly for my study, Mandami suggests that neoliberal reform through privatization and commercialization significantly diluted the quality of research done by lecturers as well as their teaching function because they were more focused on raising funds for their institutions. He therefore proposed that there should be a robust debate and research to understand what neoliberalism does to higher education in Uganda in particular and across the African continent.

The study by Johnson and Hirt (2010), found that the impact of neoliberal reforms of higher education in the global North is fundamentally different from the effects witnessed in Kenya. For instance, the study found that whereas in European and North American universities’ enactment of academic capitalism resulted in the preferential treatment of applied research over teaching and

community service, this did not appear to be the case at the Kenyan National University (KNU) and the University of Kenya (UK). In fact, the study found that most faculty members and administrators at KNU perceived a lack of linkages to industry to be a failing in their institution. Besides, the issue of funding was consistently presented as a huge challenge for these institutions. Therefore, some KNU faculty saw the relationship between the university and industry as a practical solution to the problem, as one respondent plainly put it:

> The universities are generators of knowledge and technology, the industry and the consumers are recipients of this knowledge that's generated. If we start collaborating and holding dialogue, meaningful dialogues, then it's going to happen. We have limitations in markets and the limitations are not the markets [themselves], per se. It's the linkage between the producer and the market. I am seeing the institution as being part and parcel of the society out there, the industry and the private sector, in revolutionizing economic development. (Johnson & Hirt, 2010, p. 492)

Whereas scholars such as Deem (1998), Hill (2007), and Ozga (1998) have noted the adverse effects of academic entrepreneurialism in the Global North, the Kenyan case study indicated that this form of capitalism in Kenya facilitated greater access to educational opportunities for students. With regards to research and academic capitalism, in the Global North, funding from private sources influenced the teaching, research and community service pursuits of the

faculty. In Kenya, corporate sponsorship was considered desirable, but not forthcoming.

The perceived desirability of corporate sponsorship in Kenya is a particularly interesting finding. This finding shows that nothing should be taken for granted when one examines the impact of neoliberalism because it has become very complicated in that it manifests differently in different locales. Mandami ends his study by calling for more research to understand the complex ways in which neoliberalism is affecting higher education on the African continent. Thus, I found it compelling to respond to Mandani's (2007) call for more extensive deliberation on commodification and marketization of HEIs institutions in Africa, and I asked how faculty professional lives were changing or not changing in the Sub-Saharan African context. More specifically, I proposed a study to explore notions impact of neoliberal forces on the professional lives of faculty in the specific geopolitical locale of Zambia.

Studies on the impact of neoliberalism on higher education in Zambia are very scarce. The next three studies I highlight are only remotely related to the professional lives of faculty, but they are worthy of a mention here because they exemplify the intensity of the neoliberal reform of Zambia's higher education system. For example, Masaiti (2013) examined the impact of cost sharing on Zambian parents' ability to pay for university education for their children,

concluding that the burden of cost sharing was in fact excluding poor and middle-class households from the higher education system. Cost sharing was one of the neoliberal discourses that entered mainstream educational policy in Zambia in 1996 alongside the discourses of accountability, privatization, competitiveness, efficiency, and effectiveness (as discussed above). Therefore, in analyzing the impact of cost sharing, Masaiti tried to understand neoliberal reforms that are also at the center of my study. Accordingly, he found that the neoliberal policies have implications for parents and students and at UNZA.

Another Zambian-based study, by Mwelwa (2014), explored the feasibility, merits, and demerits of introducing a student loan scheme that provides funding for a substantial number of students from disadvantaged households. Similar loan schemes have been proposed in several African countries, including Kenya and South Africa, as part of the on-going neoliberal reforms of higher education. These loan schemes are necessitated by the declining role of the state in supplying finance. The study found that the loan scheme in Zambia put the parents under severe financial stress that has brought to the parental community as the paradigm shifts to a more collaborative relationship between the state and the parents in meeting the costs of tuition. This collaboration is expressed regarding cost sharing, a fundamental tenant of liberalization as deployed in the Zambian context.

My research study in 2009 also explored the implications of expanded enrollments at two of Zambia's public universities. I found that in the light of growing student numbers as the two universities attempted to capture more and more fee-paying students (Chipindi, 2009). I found that the number of students had outstripped the capacity of the two institutions to plan but that students continued to be enrolled because neoliberal reform of higher education placed importance on the funds that universities could raise from the full-fee paying students. This finding is like those in Saunder's study of higher education in the US in which he noted: "the student who is redefined as a customer should bear the full responsibility of funding her education, which is viewed as any product sold on the open market" (2013, p. 7).

Although these and other studies on higher education in Zambia imply a focus on the changing configuration of the neoliberal university, there is as yet no study that has focused on the professional lives of the faculty. Considering the degree of restructuring of Zambian universities under neoliberal reforms, it is unlikely that the professional lives of the faculty have remained unaffected by these neoliberal reforms. Despite the evidence of Zambia's localization and appropriation of neoliberal university reform, an empirically grounded study of this change in the Zambian contexts was lacking. My dissertation contributes to addressing these gaps in the literature.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I brought together separate, but related, studies to situate neoliberal reform of higher education in Zambia within the broader scholarship on neoliberal education and higher education. In the first part, I aimed to highlight conceptual manifestations of neoliberalism within higher education, which showed that the construct arose as a response to economic stagnation in Europe and North America, as well as parts of Asia and Latin America. I argued that in the context of higher education, neoliberalism manifests itself in three principal ways: academic capitalism, commodification, and new managerialism, all of which can be situated within the changing character of higher education Zambia.

In the second part of the chapter, I looked at theoretical approaches to the study of the impact of neoliberalism on higher education generally and situated my dissertation within post-structuralism, which looks at the invocation of multiple meanings in the texts and discourses that surround the neoliberal project. I showed that although scholars acknowledge the impact of neoliberalism on higher education, much of the literature has focused on the global North and therefore fails to capture lively debates about how neoliberal reforms may be taken up or localized in the Global South. I pointed out that research on the impact of neoliberalism in the African academy is scarce, especially studies on how faculty in Sub-Saharan Africa may be affected by the proliferation of

neoliberal strategies in higher education. Therefore, there is little understanding about how these neoliberal reforms of higher education manifest in different geopolitical settings. Thus, there are significant questions that my study attempts to answer regarding how neoliberal reforms of higher education are taken up, and how various stakeholders, such as faculty in the global South construct and understand neoliberal changes in higher education. It is essential to examine the experiences, perceptions, and appropriations of neoliberal reforms especially in non-western contexts to illuminate the ways that these neoliberal forces are adapted for purposes of higher education. The Zambia case, UNZA faculty's perspectives, is an excellent example to analyze to understand how neoliberalism is contextualized in HEIs in the global South.

Considering this review, a need exists to examine how neoliberalism is experienced by faculty members within Sub-Saharan African universities, while recognizing how such forces as typified by neoliberalism might be welcomed or rejected by faculty depending on the context in which neoliberal reforms arise. It is important to explore how neoliberal forces are appropriated by local actors—UNZA faculty in this case—and how they are re-configured in relation to local realities, meanings, and contexts (Dean, 2012), while also highlighting the ways that such localizations embody universal principles in global contexts. The perceptions and experiences contained in the data chapters can enrich on-going

debates about neoliberal reforms in higher education. The study has generated room to compare theoretical assertions of the impact of neoliberalism on higher education in general to actual processes, perceptions, and experiences of faculty whose identities and roles have been altered by the on-going reconfiguration of higher education in Zambia. This study illuminates the intricacies of neoliberal reform of higher education in the Global South and provide room for future comparative studies on the corporatization and commodification of knowledge.

Chapter 3: Methodological Approach and Research Design

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the design characteristics and methodology that I adopted in my study. I begin by providing an overview of the problematic, including the research questions at the center of this study. I then give a detailed description of the decisions I made regarding how to conduct this study. I then provide an overview of the methods I used in collecting, namely, semi-structured interviews and document analysis. I also chronicle the data collection and

analysis process. I conclude the chapter by looking at as issues related to research ethics, credibility, and my positionality as a researcher.

Overview of the problematic

My review of literature in the previous chapter indicated that whereas there are many studies about neoliberalism and higher education (HE) in the global North, the literature does not pay attention to how faculty in the global South take up, resist or appropriate these neoliberal reforms. Few, if any studies focus on how faculty members negotiate different expectations and construct their identities in response to the paradigm shift within HE. Thus, this study explores how faculty at UNZA position themselves and their professional identities in response to, and in relation to, various discourses that have emerged as part of this broader neoliberal project. I also examine the implications of the neoliberal reforms proposed in the national policy on education, Educating Our Future (EoF), and further in the University of Zambia Strategic Plan 2013-2017 (UNZASP 2013-2017), on professional lives of its faculty.

Research Questions

To review, my overarching research question was: How do the professional identities of the faculty at UNZA emerge, shift, re-shape due to shifts in the ideological landscape of the country? The following sub-questions supported the primary research question:

1. How has faculty identity changed from 1966 to the present?
2. What political-economic discourses are at work in Zambian higher education (HE) today, and how do they correspond to those of international institutions that affect Zambian policymaking?
3. How did the introduction of neoliberalism in Zambia affect the identity of the faculty at UNZA?
4. In the context of the neoliberal reforms of higher education in Zambia, do early-career academics resist, appropriate or adapt the discourses associated with this reform?

Understanding the process of identity development by faculty in the past and this neoliberal era is critical because research indicates that the privatization and deregulation of HE is unlikely to subside anytime soon. Failure to understand how faculty members negotiate their professional identities in this era may lead to a weakening of HEIs in Zambia, and elsewhere. Paying attention to these processes may also strengthen faculty agency and the communities they serve.

Theoretical Framework

The political-economic philosophy of neoliberalism is the overarching concept in this study while poststructuralism shaped and guided the conception of my research questions and thus structured the design characteristics that I adopted. Neoliberalism provided a framework for understanding the reform of

higher education (HE) in Zambia. In this study, I employ a poststructuralist lens to interpret what is happening in the neoliberal reform of HE in Zambia. I argue that neoliberalism is undergirded by three related concepts, academic capitalism, new managerialism, and commodification, while poststructuralist theory involves faculty contesting, resisting or appropriating the discourses associated with neoliberalism. According to my conceptual and theoretical framework, the professional identity of academics at UNZA is formed by faculty members resisting or negotiating the neoliberal discourses, such as efficiency, accountability or competitiveness.

My study was premised on the Poststructural assumption that studying the discursive practices associated with the neoliberal reform of HE in Zambia can illuminate the processes, contestations, and resistances that work to form, change and reshape the identities of the faculty at UNZA. This implies that identity and discourses are mutually constitutive: “Identities both are created by and recreate these discourses and offer opportunities for changing these discourses, identifications, and attendant material conditions” (Meisenbach, 2004, p. 73). This is the stance I took in my study, and it influenced the methods that I chose to use.

Research Design

The central aim of my research was to explore how faculty developed their professional identity in the past and at present, and I employed a case study approach to achieve this goal. This approach involved the study of one entity (Yin, 2008) which was bounded concerning place, UNZA, as it is a specific place located in the capital city of Zambia, Lusaka. This study was empirically grounded in this research site, although I was cognizant of how this single case was influenced by broader processes, forces, and policies in Zambia and beyond (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017).

Reasons for the Selection of the Case

UNZA was an appropriate site for a case study for several reasons. First, I had relatively easy access because I am a faculty member and had been part of the campus community for the more significant part of my childhood and throughout my undergraduate and graduate studies. Thus, I had a very high probability of getting access to various aspects of life on campus, such as the principal actors in the institution, the interactions of faculty with one another and with students, and with how these faculty members took up subject positions availed by the political economy of HE in Zambia.

In addition to these practical reasons, I chose UNZA because of my theoretical interests. My preliminary fieldwork and literature review showed that

UNZA had been affected by the government's neoliberal economic policies; therefore, it was an ideal site to examine the effects of neoliberalism on the life of the faculty. The case study approach enabled me to understand better the phenomena I was investigating because this approach relies on more than one source of data and an in-depth exploration of a specific aspect in a single bounded setting (Yin, 2009).

UNZA was also an ideal case for a study on the impact of neoliberal reforms on faculty identity because it was situated at the intersection of globally circulating policies, ideas, and practices associated with neoliberalism. This dissertation tried to apprehend these forces to explore how they have affected the lives of UNZA faculty. The contextual embeddedness of UNZA faculty is an example of what Vavrus and Bartlett (2009) describe as the "particularity of the micro level" which is still situated in and influenced by international forces (p. 97). How the discourses associated with neoliberalism have been taken up and deployed at UNZA is due to a myriad of factors that stem from its situatedness within a broader discursive field of neoliberalism and HE. Thus, in my study, I tried to pay attention not only to how dominant national forces shape a local institution but also to how global forces may form such an institution.

Selection of Study Participants

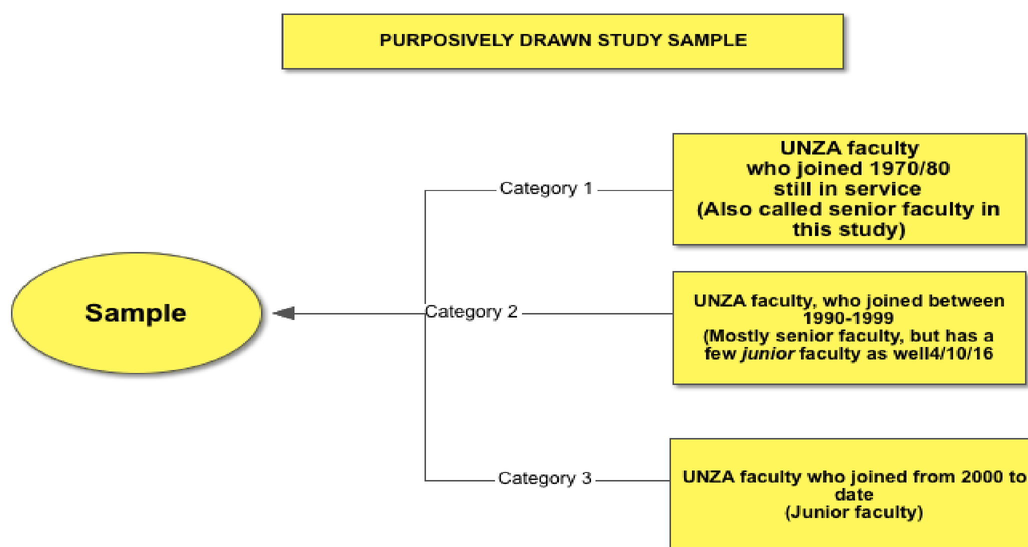
I selected my participants purposely by looking through the UNZA website and the latest version of the University Calendar which details all the qualification profiles, research interests and areas of expertise for all academic members of staff. I then analyzed these credentials and determined whether each of the faculty members met my pre-determined categories, namely, how long they had served as academics at UNZA, what their qualifications were, their gender and their positioning vis some vis in the humanities or the sciences. I then contacted potential participants via the email addresses that are provided on the website. I sent close to forty such emails but recorded no responses for close to three weeks. I was later to learn that emails listed on the site were institutional emails which a large proportion of the staff at UNZA do not make regular use of in preference for Gmail and Yahoo domains.

After failing to get any response to my emails, I decided to physically follow up with each potential participant by visiting them in their offices. As I visited each potential interviewee, I carried with me a package in which I included a recruitment letter, a participant information form and a summary of my preliminary chapters, namely, the introduction, the literature review and the prospectus paper (see Appendix 1). In the recruitment email, I explained that I was a doctoral student at the University of Minnesota. I provided a detailed

overview of my research study as well as the contact details of my advisor. On the consent form, I explained the voluntary nature of each interviewee's participation and informed them that they could terminate their participation at any time and that, during the interview, they were free to end their involvement at any time and refuse to answer some questions.

I used purposive sampling techniques to select my interview participants. Purposive sampling involves selecting one's respondents according to predetermined criteria (Peshkin, 1993). Thus, I picked my interview respondents because of their ability to speak to my research questions from the perspective of ongoing and past experiences. Figure 4, below illustrates my study sample.

Figure 1: Study sample



The primary target participants were UNZA faculty members who had been around long enough to have experienced professional life at UNZA both in the context of socialist era before 1991 and the contemporary era characterized by liberalization of HE. I assumed these faculty would be more knowledgeable about procedures, policies, practices, histories and other cultural or social components related to the definition of academic life and the characteristics of the UNZA's academic body. This category of faculty was, thus, most suited to speak to the notion of change-over-time in the development of scholarly identity at UNZA. Although it was hard to locate and interview such faculty members because many of them would have since retired or altogether left the service of the institution. I managed to locate and interview ten professors who have been

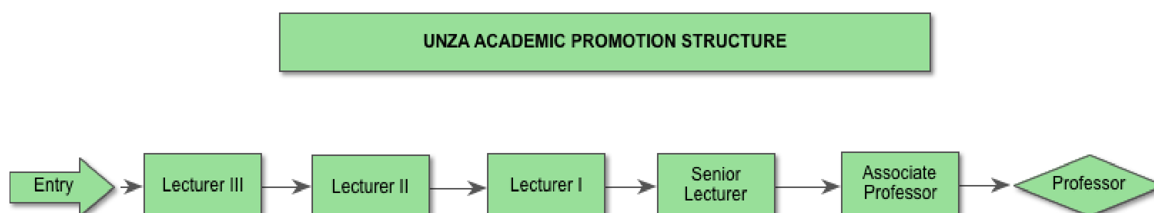
around long enough to have lived through the shifts in Zambia's HE paradigm and were willing to speak to my research questions.

The second category of participants consisted of faculty who joined UNZA during the 1990s, and who, therefore lived through the years of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAPs), when the paradigm shift in HE was most acute. Participants in this category were easy to identify and locate because they make-up many the total faculty population at UNZA, and several of them are hold key positions of authority at the institution. These faculty members were advanced in their careers. Perspectives from this category of respondents were central to my unraveling of the shifts in identity negotiation that occurred at the peak of the SAPs. Through conversations with these respondents, I managed to witness critical historical events when various context-specific elements of identity negotiation were "brought together in a specific moment of practice *and were* transformed, some achieving stabilization or permanence, others becoming disjunctive and ambiguous" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016, p. 556; emphasis added). The shifts in their working conditions in the 1990s as well as the faculty's reactions to such shifts provided insightful evidence of the contestation and negotiation of professional identity in a HE system undergoing transformation. I interviewed ten faculty members in this category of respondents. I tried as much

as possible to ensure that my sample included several faculty members from each of the nine schools at UNZA.

The final category of participants was made up of faculty members who have been employed by the university since 2000. These respondents were typically young, meaning between the ages of 20 and 40, and were relatively junior in terms of academic rank. The academic ladder of promotion at UNZA has five distinct levels, as the illustration in Figure 3 (below) shows.

Figure 2: UNZA Academic Promotion Structure



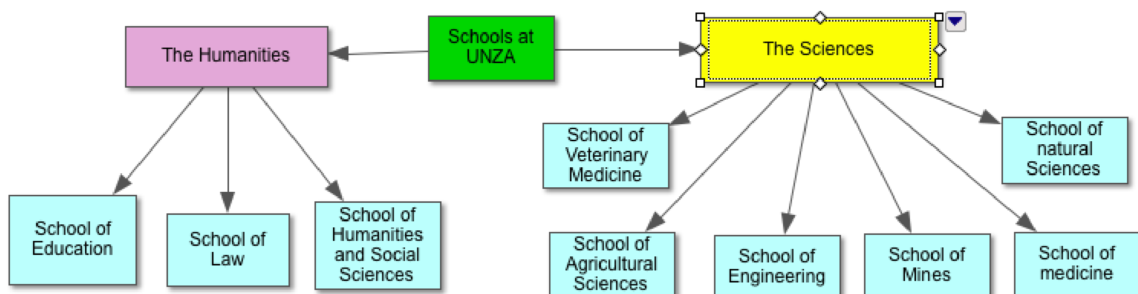
The highest rank in the UNZA's academic ladder is that of Professor. The first-generation faculty members typically occupied this rank. The second rank is Associate Professor, which was more commonly occupied by second-generation faculty members. The next level is Senior Lecturer. Faculty from the 1990 predominantly occupied this rank, but a few of the third-generation faculty had, by 2016, managed to break into this rank. The relatively young faculty who joined the institution in the 2000s dominate the rest of the ranks, from Lecturer I to Lecturer III. Although one does not require a PhD to be employed as Lecturer II I,

it is expected that once employed, such a person should obtain his or her PhD within the first four years of employment (UNZA, 2005). Perspectives from faculty in this category provided additional insights into how the discourses associated with neoliberalism were taken up, resisted, contested or appropriated by a new generation of faculty who did not have institutional memory of having worked under the pre-neoliberal era.

The Nine Schools at UNZA

UNZA has a total of nine academic schools or faculties, which I have grouped into two broad streams for the sake of this study. Stream A Includes the humanities because the schools in this stream have a robust humanistic orientation. The humanities, as defined in this study, consists of three closely aligned schools: The School of Education, the School of Law and the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. Stream B focuses on the sciences. It consists of six schools, namely, the School of Veterinary Medicine, the School of Agricultural Sciences, the School of Mines, the School of Engineering, the School of Natural Sciences (NS) and the School of Medicine. The schools in this stream have an extreme scientific focus and correspond to what is often called Science, Technology, and Mathematics (STEM).

Figure 3: Schools at UNZA



These broad categories are used for my analytical purposes only and do not correspond to designations at UNZA. Each of the general categorizations embodies deep, messy and multi-layered processes and identities that are socially constructed and contextually embedded. For instance, new market-based discourses, such as efficiency, accountability, and competitiveness may affect science and humanities faculty members differently. Thus, I tried to understand how policies and practices that are similar in origin and genre, manifest themselves in "distinct locations that are socially produced" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2009, p. 555).

I decided to interview academics from both the humanities and sciences because there was a possibility that the effects of neoliberalism on the identity would largely affected by how the funding of sciences and arts were not equal within the neoliberal value system. As noted by Henkel (2009) the humanities were often the most negatively affected by reduction in public expenditure on

higher education, while the sciences tended to retain public funding because of their perceived economic benefits, relative to the humanities. I anticipated that the providing a comparison across the two broad steams as well as across the three generations of faculty would provide valuable insights on faculty experiences with the shifts in Zambia's ideological landscape in the past 50 years. I believed this mixture of junior and senior would provide an insight how things were in the past and the way things started changing in 1990s.

Procedures for Collection of Data

The case study method encompasses diverse methods to capture policies, practices and culturally produced social strata and interactions that are embedded in a specific, bounded research context (Yin, 2009). These methods can range from surveys, focus groups, and ethnographic observations to archival and document analyses and analyses of discourse (Yin, 2009). In my study, I used two of these methods: semi-structured interviews and document analysis. These methods enabled me to explore the discursive practices, as well as the continuously evolving and culturally produced social strata at UNZA, which were at work in the development of professional identity among faculty. In addition, the methods were consistent with the scholarship on qualitative research since they helped me to understand the construction of meaning about …. from participants' perspectives (Patton, 2015). Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) similarly assert that the

art of capturing the specific practices of a social group from multiple angles is a central task prior to theory building. My study tried to build knowledge and understanding about how faculty members developed their professional identities in the context of neoliberal reforms of higher education.

Interviews

The primary method of data collection in this study was a semi-structured interview (Patton, 2015). Interviews with faculty at UNZA enabled me to gain a better understanding of their feelings, thought patterns, perspectives, and experiences. This helped me to illuminate how these faculty members organized, understood and made meaning of their professional lives in the past, during the glory days of UNZA, that is when the institution was well-funded, and in contemporary times, when government support for higher education, in general, had been steadily depleted. The interviews helped me to understand better how faculty members developed their professional identities in relation to shifts in the ideological landscape and the discourses that were prevailing at each epoch during UNZA's history. The semi-structured interviews had the advantage of providing "access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one culture construes the world" (Meisenbach, 2004, p. 73). Seidman (2006) describes an interview as an inter-subjective exchange between an interviewer and an interviewee, at the root of which lies "an interest in understanding the

lived experiences of other people and the meaning they make of that experience… an interest in other individuals' stories because they are of worth" (p. 10). Since the aim of my study was to explore how different generations of faculty members made sense of their professional lives, it was necessary for me to obtain their perspectives on identity developed at various stages in the history of the institution.

I interviewed a total of 30 participants whom I purposely selected before the start of fieldwork in June of 2016. The first-generation faculty members were comprised of people who became academics at UNZA from 1966 to 1991; the second generation included academics who joined UNZA from 1991 to 2000, and the third-generation group was comprised of relatively junior scholars who had joined UNZA after 2000. I intended to explore the perspectives of the three categories of faculty who make up the academic body at UNZA.

I interviewed 11 faculty members from the Humanities and 19 from the NS. Six faculty members had been lecturers for more than 30 years; 14 had been lecturers for 18 to 30 years; while, ten had served for four to 16 years. Of those interviewed, ten were female, while 20 were male. Five of the participants had a master's degree, while 25 had completed their Ph.D. Twelve of had obtained their highest qualifications from within Africa; one from Australia; another from Belgium; five from Canada; four from Japan; two from New Zealand and two from

the UK. Only one participant had obtained her highest qualification via a sandwich program[3]; Table 1, below provides a summary of the demographic details of the faculty members I interviewed.

[3] A sandwich program is a mode of study in which the student shuffles between two universities and their qualification in jointly awarded by two universities.

Table 1: Overview of the Study Participants

Serial #	Pseudonym	Sex	Discipline	Interview date	Length of service	Level*	Highest qualification	Place where highest qual studied
1.	Munkondia	F	Humanities	January 2017	<18	Lecturer II	MA	Africa
2.	Dudu	F	NS	December 2016	<18	Lecturer II	MSc	Africa
3.	Hilary	F	NS	January 2017	<18	Lecturer III	MSc	Africa
4.	Ndyokaak	F	NS	January 2017	<18	Lecturer I	MSc	Africa
5.	Napoleon	M	NS	December 2016	<18	Lecturer II	MSc	Africa
6.	Vasliona	F	Humanities	December 2016	<18	Lecturer II	PhD	Africa
7.	Nolly	F	Humanities	December 2016	<30	Senior Lecturer	PhD	Africa
8.	Cyprian	M	Humanities	December 2016	<18	Lecturer I	PhD	Africa
9.	Chibefwe	M	Humanities	September 2016	<30	Senior Lecturer	PhD	Africa
10.	Mwakayaya	M	NS	November 2016	<30	Senior Lecturer	PhD	Africa
11.	Sibalombwana	NS	Lecturer	January 2017	<18	Lecturer II	PhD	Africa

12.	Omutima	F	NS	December 2016	<18	Lecturer I	PhD	Africa/Europe
13.	Kaimana	M	NS	August 2016	>30	Senior Lecturer	PhD	Australia
14.	Chazanga	M	Humanities	November 2016	<30	Lecturer	PhD	Belgium
15.	Chitendele	M	Humanities	August 2016	>30	Professor	PhD	Canada
16.	Israel	M	NS	July 2016	>30	Senior Lecturer	PhD	Canada
17.	Kampinda	M	Humanities	August 2016	>30	Professor	PhD	Canada
18.	Reginald	M	NS	August 2016	>30	Professor	PhD	Canada
19.	Shilimatanga	M	NS	September 2016	>30	Senior Lecturer	PhD	Canada
20.	Ascudor	F	NS	September 2016	<30	Senior Lecturer	PhD	Japan
21.	Geraldine	F	Humanities	October 2016	<30	Senior Lecturer	PhD	Japan
22.	Mzumara	F	NS	December 2016	<30	Associate Professor	PhD	Japan
23.	Sakuwunda	M	NS	November 2016	<30	Associate Professor	PhD	Japan
24.	Xolani	M	NS	October 2016	<30	Associate Professor	PhD	New Zealand
25.	Timwindila	M	NS	June 2016	>30	Professor	PhD	New Zealand
26.	Fwanyanga	M	Humanities	October 2016	<30	Associate Professor	PhD	UK
27.	Lystics	M	NS	July 2016	>30	Associate	PhD	UK

						Professor		
28.	Mushili	M	Humanitie s	August 2016	<30	Associate Professor	PhD	US
29.	Kabumbu	M	NS	June 2016	>30	Associate Professor	PhD	US
30.	Chameya	NS	NS	January 2017	<18	Lecturer I	PhD	USA

I personally conducted all the 30 interviews, and I used a flexible interview protocol that helped me to obtain subjective perspectives from the faculty about their experiences with the changes in the HE paradigm in Zambia. By "flexible" I mean that the interviews were conversational, with more open than closed questions, while still semi-structured. I explored personal narratives for each participant by which I mean that I actively sought out the opinions of my respondents and their views on my understanding of their responses, both at the time of the interviews as well as after I had typed up the interview transcript.

I continuously member-checked with my study participants to ensure the meaning that I took away from the field was the result of negotiation with respondents. During member checking, I asked the participants to check the authenticity of the information captured in the transcript. I had previously printed out all the 30 interview transcripts and gave it to the faculty members who were willing to verify and agree on the accuracy and completeness of the transcript. In this way, I could negotiate meaning making with my study participants. Member checking was also a critical step in ensuring the integrity and credibility of qualitative research (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010). I also verified the transcripts against the audiotapes and assigned each participant a pseudonym. Besides, I changed any identifying information to safeguard confidentiality.

As a measure of security and to assure the confidentiality of my respondents, I retained only electronic formats of both the audio recordings of the interview and the typed interview transcript. After this process, I destroyed the paper copies and maintained only the electronic versions to ensure the safety and confidentiality of my respondents. All electronic files were securely encrypted and kept in a password-protected external hard drive.

Document Analysis

Since I believe that language and discourse have a central role to play in the emergence, reformation, and reconstitution of identity (Dressman, 2008), I complimented the data from the semi-structured interviews with the analysis of various relevant texts related to faculty life at UNZA. As Vavrus and Bartlett (2009) point out, written and spoken texts are often a reflection of social and political power relations. Luke (1995) contends, similarly, that texts are situated inside culturally produced social institutions, and they represent social events and cultural practices the use of language and other signs.

I analyzed several documents related to life at UNZA in the past and at present, such as the memoranda from UNZA management or the Government of Zambia, as well as policies governing staff recruitment, promotion, and remuneration. Besides, protocols for staff conduct, grievance procedures, position papers for the introduction of new study programs and rationales for the

discontinuation of other programs within UNZA helped me to illuminate the socially produced and culturally constructed research context that I will be studying. Table 2 below lists the documents that I analyzed for this study:

Table 2: Documents Analyzed in the Study

Serial #	**Document Name**	**Importance**
1.	The Lockwood Report	Contained critical information on the creation of UNZA
2.	UNZA Strategic Plan 2013-2017	Contained information on the structure of UNZA
3.	UNZA Staff Development Policy	Contained information on the training needs of the institution as well as historical information on the development of staff
4.	UNZA Staff Promotion Guidelines	Specified the requirements for promotion from one rank to another
5.	Grievance and Disciplinary Code of Conduct	Specified the role various procedures to address staff

		grievance, as well as disciplinary issues

These documents provided me with valuable background information, such as how UNZA has engaged institutions have engaged with international, regional, and national macro discourses. I undertook this document analysis as a way of supplementing data from my primary instrument, namely, the semi-structured interview.

The Analysis of Data

My analysis of data was guided by the research questions that I hoped to answer. According to Peshkin (1993), qualitative data analysis is best pursued as an iterative process in which the researcher continually moves between data collection and data analysis. Iteration also means that the researcher does not follow a structured or sequential process but moves back and forth between the various stages of analysis. Other scholars also describe data analysis as a flexible, intuitive and creative undertaking that helps to reduce the messiness of the research process by making sense out of the data (Cooley, 2013; Patton, 2015; Talmy, 2011). Therefore, in my study, I engaged in the process of on-going data analysis, which coincided with data collection. Charmaz (2000) describes such an approach to data analysis as grounded theory. In this systematic

approach, the researcher uses inductive methods to create theory while collecting the data. Therefore, data collection and data analysis become two complementary aspects of the same process. Patton (2015) notes that such a process is necessary, to add rigor and standardization to qualitative research. After completing my fieldwork in May 2017, I continued analyzing the data using conventional qualitative techniques and analyses.

The overarching purpose of data analysis was to reorganize and reduce the chunks of data so that they could make empirical and conceptual sense (Cooley, 2013). Consequently, in my data analysis, I undertook three fundamental processes recommended for reduction and re-organization of data. The first of these was codification, which Strauss and Corbin (2015) define as the act of ascribing labels to data as an illustration of more general phenomena. Second, I used categorization, which, per Patton (2015), means classifying empirical data regarding concepts to construct a thematic structure to explain the observed phenomena. Third, I compared my data to integrate theory into the observed processes and events. I made use of the NVIVO qualitative analysis software to organize the information from my interviews with faculty. NVIVO enabled me to place interview data into broad emergent themes while paying attention to specific patterns and meanings.

As stated above, the first stage in my analysis of data was codification. At this stage, I identified patterns and recurrent themes across the data to arrive at a coherent explanation of the phenomena studied (Erickson, 1986). I began by placing the data into manageable units so that I could later generate categories, themes, and patterns. Some of the codes arose out of my review of relevant literature and from the theories and concepts I chose to guide the content and approach of my study, namely, neoliberalism and poststructuralist theory.

After coding the data, I tried to align categories and constructs to the problematic of my study. In this way, I related some of the categories I developed to the theoretical framework of the study and to integrate theory into interview data. Through this process, I created some categories from data. I then used the categories, themes, and patterns to generate new insights for my further exploration of data. Spinggle (1994) asserts that some initial categories arising from the initial data analysis might allow some flexibility in interpretation. By categorizing the data, I grouped the data into conceptual classes about the effects of neoliberalism on the professional lives of faculty. In this way, I developed a thematic structure that explained the phenomenon under investigation.

I transcribed the 30 interviews. I did the transcription soon after each interview, while my ideas about the responses of the faculty members were still

fresh in my mind. The transcription of the interviews was the least enjoyable part of my research because it was excruciatingly slow, as I was only perfecting my typing skills when the fieldwork started. I thus took a long time to complete the transcription, especially for the first few interviews. Listening to the audio transcripts of the interviews helped me to start my coding process early in the fieldwork. I downloaded each interview and used Inqscribe software to regulate the speed of the audio as I typed and to align the rate of the audio to my typing speed. Even with this software, I was still very slow in completing the transcription. At times, it took me several days to complete just one interview. Nevertheless, I resisted the temptation to send the audio transcripts to an online transcription firm, as I believed that personally typing up the transcripts would bring me closer to the data. During the transcription, I began to code and identify themes mentally.

In coding the data, I came up the following themes:

1. Aspirations and Motivations – faculty interaction with expatriates in the early years
2. Resources and the development of a sense of self-worth as an academic
3. Expectations arising from the special status afforded by being faculty in the only university on Zambia
4. Entrepreneurial motivations of academic work

5. Hybrid identities of faculty members.
6. The need to raise funds for the institution
7. The need to be mentioned by others as part of professional identity
8. The agency of faculty members
9. Efficiency and effectiveness as understood by the faculty members
10. Loss of autonomy over the research agenda

After coming up with these ten codes, I tried to build a solid argument by bringing together the most relevant and strongest themes and to try to relate these to the construct of faculty professional identity. Thus, I constructed two data-focused chapters that linked the themes above to the literature review, to my theoretical and conceptual frameworks and to my general analysis (the next two chapters). I discarded some themes in the process of analysis because I believed they would have detracted from my overall argument or they were not significantly contributing to the strengthening of my argument.

In sum, the case study approach allowed me to utilize and integrate two principal methods to capture the specific processes and events that underpin the development of professional identity by UNZA faculty, and to engage multiple perspectives. This approach allowed me to scrutinize, situate and explicate the idiosyncrasies of the faculty members at UNZA as part of the broader discursive field of neoliberalism and HE.

Issues of Credibility

To safeguard the integrity of the research process, I took several steps before, during and after the entire study. First, I tried to build trust with my respondents during and after my extended fieldwork, which lasted close to a year and a half. During this time, I worked to strengthen the relationship, by occasionally dropping into some of my study participants' offices, to chat or say hello, even when I was not collecting data that time. This led to more honest discussions during the semi-structured interviews. Second, after transcribing all the 30 interviews, I provided each faculty member with a hard copy or soft copy of the document, so that check the accuracy of the information. I also gave some of the more senior faculty an opportunity to review some of my preliminary findings. Some of the faculty members gave me feedback and expressed delight in contributing to my study through being interviewed as well as through the feedback that some of them provided to clarify some findings and interpretations. I will, as a matter of gratitude, share a soft copy of my dissertation once I complete the review process at the University of Minnesota so that the faculty members can further respond to and benefit further from the findings.

Research Ethics

Several ethical issues arose during this study. First, although I completed the University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board (IRB) ethical requirements

before I started my fieldwork in 2016, I found that I had to obtain additional ethical clearance process--the IRB equivalent at UNZA--midway into my fieldwork. I did not initially submit my research to this committee because I thought the clearance from the University of Minnesota was sufficient and I did not need additional approval from UNZA. This was a position that several senior lecturers in my department at UNZA confirmed. However, a member of the Research Ethics Committee, whom I was about to interview, told me that I needed to get the additional clearance. I, therefore, had to temporarily defer further research while I was clearing the study with the Research Ethics Committee at UNZA. This affected my plans for ethnographic observations of critical moments on campus, as I lost time. I resumed my data collection in January 2017, once UNZA had granted full ethical clearance.

Second, the confidentiality and anonymity of my participants presented particularly acute challenges for me. There was only one university in Zambia from 1966 up to 1988 when UNZA was split into two institutions, and the University of Zambia Campus at Ndola became the Copperbelt University in 1988. Because of this, it was hard for me to conceal the identity of the faculty members that I spoke with who had been in the academy in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980. Had there been more universities in Zambia in this period, it would have been easier to mask the identity of some of the faculty. With this realization,

I tried to impress upon the affected participants the complexity of completely concealing their identities even with the use of pseudonyms. Fortunately, all the affected participants sympathized with me on this and were willing to waive their right to complete anonymity. However, to make the identity of my participants opaquer, I identify them generally as belonging to either the Humanities or the sciences. This way, it will be harder for someone to recognize these participants.

At the start of each interview, I gave the participants a consent form, which I had also given to them together with the recruitment package. The consent form explained that I was duty-bound to minimize any danger that might accrue to then by participating in my study. The form further explained that the potential for their harm could not be eliminated, but most of the times, the respondents responded to this by telling me that the only danger they feared was the possibility of making politically incorrect statements that could annoy the ruling government. The pseudonyms I assigned to the participants helped to some extent to protect their identities. In some cases, I had to change the gender of the respondent to de-identify them, especially when they shared particularly sensitive information, or when their titles or credentials could be easily tied to them. For example, there are but six female professors in the entire Republic of Zambia; therefore, to refer to any of my female respondents as Professor A, B, or C would not help to guarantee their anonymity. In some cases, I also had to leave out

relevant data, such as management positions held in the university, as these could easily be linked to some of the participants. Finally, by grouping the schools into two broad categories, I hoped to ensure that the faculty members with peculiar disciplinary affiliations could not be identified. Such unusual disciplines included leanly staffed departments, or institutes which had only one professor, for example.

Positionality Statement

As a qualitative researcher, I was the primary instrument (Patton, 2015) of data collection, interpretation, and analysis (Patton, 2015). Issues of researcher positionality, identity and experiences are of crucial importance in qualitative research. It is sometimes not easy for a researcher to retain complete control of their roles during the research process because the researcher might become too familiar with the research context to be able to represent that community accurately. At times, the researcher may start off as an outsider, or stranger, and end up being a close insider to the participants and the site of the study. A researcher who becomes so familiar with his or her research site might not be able to look at the events and actors in that space critically. This might bring the credibility of the research findings and interpretations into doubt. it is therefore crucial for a qualitative researcher to be as transparent as possible regarding his

or her positionality. Thus, I provide some reflections on my position as a researcher.

I have been teaching educational administration and policy studies at the University of Zambia's School of Education since 2007. My undergraduate degree in education was awarded in 2006. I also obtained my master's degree in educational administration from the same institution in 2009. Through my involvement in the UNZA both as a student and as a faculty member, I have acquired knowledge about the Zambian higher education system and its relation to the neoliberal policy agenda. I had lived in the UNZA community since 1990 when my father became a lecturer. I witnessed the transformation of the institution in the 1990s through the SAPs. UNZA was also my first place of work after I completed my undergraduate and graduate studies, and I have worked there my entire career. From this perspective, I was an insider in this study. However, in other ways, I was an outsider in this study. First, I am not involved with the power structures within or outside of the university, such as the Senate, the highest policy-making body at UNZA. If I were, it would have enabled me to influence either the existing higher education. Second, being a junior academic, I have only a limited capacity to influence any decisions of the university.

My position as a researcher embodied two identities- an American-trained doctoral student and a Zambian citizen raised and trained in part within the

UNZA community. My background as a UNZA faculty member allowed me to position myself as an intimate insider, as I found many convergences between my own experience as an early-career academic at the flagship institution in Zambia and those of the faculty members with which I spoke during my fieldwork. Having myself joined UNZA at the time when the neoliberalization agenda had climaxed especially regarding student enrollments, I could relate to the frustrations of several of the participants regarding failure to publish academic work due to substantial teaching responsibilities. At the same time, I did not pretend that my background made me an insider to all contexts within the university. During my fieldwork, I spoke with many faculty members and visited many places within UNZA that I had not had prior contact with as a student or lecturer. I was an academic, teaching thousands of students in the School of Education, which is located on the southernmost tip of the 290-hectare site. Thus, my work did not frequently intersect with the academic pursuits of faculty members removed from my field of education.

Secondly, as a doctoral student from the United States, I found myself avoiding some of the scrutiny that would have come had I been merely a Zambian doctoral student. I got the sense, early in the study that my credentials as a doctoral student from America helped me to enter the research site. Most of the participants seemed eager to talk about their work with someone whom they

perceived as a bit of an outsider and who may not have been familiar with the daily routines of an academic at UNZA. Several interview participants were very impressed that a Ph.D. student was taking interests in the work of academics in Zambia, who were passing through tough times, given the reduction in funding and the resultant scarcity of money for research and scholarly publications. Some senior faculty members told me that it was their delight to serve a student who was undertaking a journey that they had taken many years earlier.

My background as a member of the faculty at UNZA, my experiences and positionality generated certain assumptions regarding the current study. I have had a very long involvement in the UNZA community having been brought up by a member of the staff in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, thus living through the transition from socialism to liberalization in the 1990s. I did both my undergraduate degree, from 2001 to 2006, and my master's degree, from 2007 to 2009 at UNZA. UNZA was also my first workstation after completing my undergraduate studies. I became a Staff Development Fellow (SDF), a trainee lecturer in 2007, and became a full-time lecturer in 2009. Thus, I have spent the last 30 years of my life in the community that I was now studying. I have grown up with a specific narrative of the glory days of UNZA.

Through my involvement in the UNZA, both as a student and as a faculty member, I have acquired prior experiential knowledge about the Zambian HE

system and its relations to the neoliberal policy agenda. This familiarity with the research context probably affected how I was seen and how my participants received me. The level of familiarity of some of the participants with me likely increased their sincerity and frankness in discussing their professional identities as members of the faculty at UNZA. However, this familiarity had a flip side to it: since I was known to several participants in the study as a lecturer from the School of Education, I needed to be watchful of how my participants perceived and how this might have affected the sincerity and clarity of the answers they gave me during the interviews. For instance, some participants could have skipped providing details about a happening or event within UNZA merely because they saw me as an insider who was uniformly familiar with all the happenings at UNZA (Vincent & Warren, 2001). Thus, throughout the interviews, I tried as much as possible to probe my participants to explain further whenever I thought they were taking for granted or over-assuming my understanding of what they were saying to me.

As a member of the community that I was studying, I had a responsibility to understand my position as a researcher reflexively. Patton (2015) cautions that the best way to maintain the integrity of the research, in such a case as mine, is through an open, transparent and reflexive process of working through the subjectivities and biases that one brings to the research site. Accordingly, I made

conscious efforts throughout the research study to avoid inscribing my meanings and understanding onto those of my respondents (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). I also made conscious efforts to safeguard ethical issues surrounding the conversations, the confidentiality, privacy and representation (Maxwell, 1990).

During some interviews, I found myself admiring the lines of research that faculty members, especially those from the sciences, engaged and wondered whether it would not be a good idea for me to consider a career change within UNZA from the humanities to the sciences. At other times, both during the interviews and as I was transcribing them, I found myself trying to substitute my own experiences with those of the participants. However, I often realized that that the narrative I was constructing was not of my own experiences but those of the participants. In working these tensions, I often tried to recollect my thoughts and hold myself back, lest I became too emotionally attached to the faculty members, and thus uncritical of the responses I was receiving. In this way, throughout the study, I attempted to adjourn prior assumptions I might have brought to the study about how faculty members may have experienced SAPs so that I could draw more deeply on their interpretations and understandings (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). I remained cognizant that my positionality and prior assumptions and experiences were entangled with my perceptions and

translations of the phenomena I was studying (Patton, 2009), and I needed to rein in the temptation to insert my own experiences.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have expanded on the descriptions of the methodology that I discussed briefly in Chapter One. I began by providing an overview of the problem and the research questions guiding this study. I also explained case study research design as well as the methodology, methods, analysis techniques and the issues of credibility, and positionality. I addressed them to make clear the processes that guided the research project and so that they can appreciate the validity of the claims that I make in Chapter Four and Five regarding the development of faculty identity at the UNZA. Furthermore, it was necessary to explain the multiple relationships between me as a researcher and the research site because the context and the historical circumstances are central considerations that have framed faculty identity. In the next two chapters, I discuss the data drawn from the two primary methods of data collection and analyze them concerning my research questions about the development of faculty identities at UNZA.

Chapter 4: Historical Shifts in Identity Development

Introduction

In this chapter I address the problematic of the study by examining historical shifts in the contexts in which faculty have developed their professional identity during three critical periods: 1966 to 1972; 1973 to 1991 and 1992 to the year 2000.[4] I argue that certain types of identity emerged depending on how faculty saw themselves and how they took up subject positions availed to them by the academic environment at each epoch in the history of the University of Zambia (UNZA). Davies and Harre (1990) assert that how a member of a social group sees themselves and others depends on the discursive field in which one is located. Thus, in this chapter, I aim to show that there are several discourses, such as nation building, decolonization, efficiency, accountability, and competitiveness, which have come together in the last 50 years to produce different subject positions and forms of faculty identity at UNZA.

[4] I use the term First Republic to refer to the period from 1964-1972, when Zambia was under a 'multi-party system of government. I use the term Second Republic to refer to the period from 1972-1991, when Zambia changed its constitution and became a one-party-state. Finally, I use the term Third Republic to refer to the period from 1991 to the present, when Zambia reverted to the multi-party system and embraced the neoliberal logic.

I begin with a historical section that maps the chronological development of UNZA. These chronological sketches are aimed to help readers unfamiliar with the history of higher education in Zambia have a context for understanding the claims about the transformation of the academy that I make later in this chapter as well as in Chapters Five and Six. In the section that follows, I examine how faculty identity was shaped by the discourses that were prevalent from 1966 to 1972; and from 1973 to 1991. I then examine the ways in which faculty professional identity was developed during the period of deterioration in the academic environment, because of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) from 1991 to the year 2000. Throughout the chapter, I view faculty identity as formed by factors like access of the faculty to material resources, faculty interactions with expatriates and the entrepreneurial motivations of the post-1991 period.

Historical Overview of UNZA

Acute Shortages of Human Resources at Independence

In this section, I provide a historical account of the development of UNZA. One of the most pressing needs the Zambian society faced at independence was the need for human resources to fill the positions of responsibility in the government from the departing British. At independence in 1964, there were only some 960 people who had a Form Five certificate (Carmody, 2004), and there were only about 101 university graduates in the entire country of four million

people (GRZ, 1966). As Alexander noted, Zambia faced a colossal shortage of highly skilled and formally education people at independence:

> The most serious long term problem confronting the Zambian government at Independence in 1964 was that the country could not provide from among her own citizens, the professional personnel and skilled workmen needed to run the government and push the economy ahead. (1975, p. 8)

To respond to the shortage of skilled manpower, the government embarked on a project to establish a university as a matter of great urgency (Alexander, 1975). A commission was set up, immediately after independence, to consider this problem. The chairman of the committee was the distinguished academician from the United Kingdom (UK), Sir John Lockwood, who had once served as the Vice Chancellor of the University of London (Alexander, 1975). The Lockwood Commission, as it has come to be known, made several recommendations, chiefly that the new university was to be influenced by and responsive to the environment in which it was to be situated:

> The [new] university [to be established at Lusaka] should conceive its national responsibility to be more extensive and comprehensive than has sometimes been the case elsewhere. It should draw its inspirations from the environment in which its people live and function. It should be a vigorous and fruitful source of stimulus and encouragement to education and training of all kinds.... As an independent institution, it can be as inclusive as it wishes and experiment as it wishes without hindrance in national desirable fields. (Lockwood Report, 1963, p. 2)

Furthermore, the Commission declared that the new university was to be "responsive to the real needs of society" (Lockwood Report, 1963, p. 3). This meant that the institution was to be shaped by the context in which it was situated, namely, the newly independent country. This made the institution permeable to the dominant regional discourses such as liberation and decolonization, specific to the Southern African region,[5] and national discourses such as nation building through human resource development and capacity building in all sectors of the economy. This was to be achieved through extending the university's resources in the form of knowledge, expertise and community service to the society that existed beyond the university's walls, as well as recognizing the influence of the political and socio-economic environment of the country on the university itself. The university was to be the nation's torchbearer in the quest for development (Mwanakatwe, 1974). Thus, UNZA was conceptualized from its very existence as "The University". In a more colorful language, Mwanakatwe (1974), who later became the second Chancellor of UNZA in 1991, described UNZA as "the center of excellence and seat of knowledge, treasure house of wisdom and powerhouse of knowledge for the

[5] Zambia and its neighbors Malawi to the East and Botswana to the South, were the only independent countries as at 1975

nation" (p. 67). Both the government and the general citizenry held UNZA in very high esteem during this period.

The Commencement of Operations

UNZA commenced its operations in March of 1966, with three schools initially: School of Education (Ed), the School of Humanities and Social Sciences (HSS); and the School of Natural Sciences (NS). All three schools were located at the Great East Road campus (see description below). As the university developed facilities and recognized the needs of students, it added new schools. The School of Law (Law) opened in 1967. The school was accommodated within the Ed building. The School of Engineering (Eng) was then opened in 1969 and was constructed next to the NS. In 1970, the School of Medicine (Med) commenced operations and was housed at what was known as the Oppenheimer College for Social Development Studies. In 1971, the School of Agricultural Sciences (Agric) opened at the Great East Road campus. This was followed in 1973 by the School of Mines (Mines), also at the Great East Road campus. The last school to be commissioned was the School of Veterinary Medicine (Vet Med) which commenced operations in 1983.

The Physical Setting of the Main Campus

The main campus of UNZA, the Great East Road campus, which sits on a 290-hectare property, can be accessed from two main directions. As its name

suggests, the campus was built on the Great East Road, one of the country's two major freeways, with the other being the Great North Road. People could take a bus from the central business district in Lusaka and reach the campus within 30 minutes. The university is also located on a route that leads to State House, the official residence of the Head of State and the seat of government. Its location also connected to the seat of government, State House. On the way from the city center, one passes the National Assembly of Zambia, whose building rests on top of the Parliament Hill, known more fondly as Manda Hill. Downhill of the National Assembly, still on Manda Hill, one finds the Mulungushi International Conference Centre (MICC). The MICC was built in 1971 when Zambia hosted a Non-aligned Movement Summit. The conference center was and remains the most prominent multi-purpose venue for significant gatherings in the entire country. The campus is also easy to reach from the Lusaka International Airport, which has since been renamed the Kenneth Kaunda International Airport and is the point of arrival for visitors from abroad. Thus, UNZA was built strategically in a prime location between the central business district of the nation's capital and the country's largest airport. The position of the university in a prime land reflects the centrality it would take in the life of the newly independent nation.

Eight of the university's nine schools are located on the Great East Road campus. The other school, Med, is located on the smaller Ridgeway campus that

lies on John Mbita Road in the Ridgeway of Lusaka. The buildings on the main campus were built in a linear manner spreading out from the from north-west to south-east. This axis of residential and academic buildings stretches northwest-wards from the first school, Ed, up to the last school to be built, Vet Med. Bound. Taking a walk around campus, one would see several buildings. First, one would see the School of Education building (SEB), the home of the first school at UNZA (built in 1966), located on the north-westernmost end of the plot. Second, at the south-eastern-most end of the site, one would find the School of Veterinary Medicine Complex (Vet Med Complex) which was the last of UNZA's eight schools to be built on this site (completed in 1983).

The rest of the schools are spread out between Ed and Vet Med. HSS was built in 1966 next to SEB and housed the central administration of the university, as well as the academic office, which acts as the secretariat of the University Senate. Next to the HSS was NS, built at the end of 1966. NS additionally houses a very historically significant site for faculty, the Senior Staff Club[6], on an open patio of its fifth floor. The School of Law was opened in 1967 but was within the SEB. The school has remained in this building since. After the

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[6] The Senior Staff Club is historically significant because it has served as the meeting place for academics after a hard day's work to reflect on their work routines and to relax and recreate in the evenings or at the end of the week. Aside from the eating and drinking places at the East Park Mall, this is the only place reserved exclusively for academic members of staff.

School of NS one would come to the School of Engineering built in 1969, School of Agricultural Sciences, built in 1971, School of Mines constructed in 1973. The School of Medicine was established in 1970 but sits at the Ridgeway Campus, close to the most prominent national hospital in Zambia, the University Teaching Hospital (UTH).

The coming of commercially-oriented buildings around and on the campus, has changed UNZA's landscape. Whereas in the past one would only find lecture rooms, staff offices and student hostels, as of 2016 there is now an ultra-modern shopping complex, the East Park Mall, at the road frontage of the 290-hectare UNZA plot. UNZA leased out this piece of prime land under the Public-Private Partnership (PPP). Leaving the mall, as one begins to walk inside the campus, one begins to encounter many traders and merchandisers offering typing, printing, and photocopying services for the UNZA students.

There has also been added to the UNZA landscape a very modern Confucius Institute, which was completed in 2014, and which reflects the upsurge of strategic partnerships with China as UNZA expands its search for non-governmental sources of revenue. One respondent, who has been at UNZA since the late 1980s, told me that the Vice-Chancellor when left to the mercy of

the market forces,[7] decided to auction some of the University land to the highest bidder, and the Confucius Institute won the bid to erect a modern structure in front of the University administration building. Unfortunately, many complain that the Institute, which is in a prime spot at the entrance to campus, spoils the view of the Great East Road, the beautiful campus lawns, the small lakes on campus, and the neighboring suburb of Kalundu. These physical changes to the main campus during the past 50 years indicate that UNZA has shifted its focus from buildings that enhanced teaching, to include commercially oriented structures such as the East Park Shopping Mall and the Confucius Institute[8].

The Education System and the Population Growth

The growth of Zambia's population has had implications for the expansion of education in general and university education in particular. At the time of the creation of the University of Zambia in 1966, the country had an estimated population of one and a half million (Northern Rhodesian Government, 1964). However, the population snowballed after independence. In 1970, six years after independence, the population had increased to approximately two and a half million (GRZ, 1970, p. 141). By 1980, the population rose to six million, and by

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[7] The term *market forces* is associated with the liberalization of higher education in Zambia in the 1990s, during which time the logic of the free hand of the market was introduced into the academy to determine the market value of education.

[8] Some respondents in my study informed me that the Confucius Institute is a Chinese business venture that charges commercial rates for UNZA staff to use any of its classrooms and classrooms.

1990 it was estimated at approximately eight million. By the year 2000, the population was 10 million. The most recent national census of population and housing reported that the population was about 15 million (CSO, 2010).

As the population of the country was growing, the government embarked on a tremendous expansion of the primary and secondary sectors of the education system. Between 1964 and 2016, the government built over 13,000 secondary and 56,000 primary schools MoE, 2016). Because of this expansion of the education system, the number of eligible university entrants rose steadily through the First, Second and Third Republics. This growth of the population and the expansion of the primary and secondary education sectors led to an increase in the demand for university education.

Thus, the student body grew from 312 in 1966 to more than 1,000 by 1970. By 1980, the number of students was more than 4000. By 1994, UNZA had about 4,592 students (MOE, 1996). By 2003, the number had risen to 7,558 (MOE, 2004). By 2005, the number rose to 9, 250 students (MOE, 2005). Initially, the University Council, the supreme administrative organ of UNZA, had anticipated that the enrolment would eventually “level off at about 8000 students” (UNZA, 2015). Almost the entire student body at UNZA had been admitted under a government-funded bursary scheme. This meant students would have all their tuition fees, project fees and meal allowances paid for the government, except for

a very negligible proportion of foreign and exchange/visiting students who were funded by the donor community or by their home governments, within and outside Africa (UNZA, 2015).

Since the targeted number of 8000 students could not be accommodated at the Great East Road and Ridgeway campuses, it was decided in 1975 that UNZA would be re-structured into a federal structure with three constituent institutions. One in Ndola, 326 kilometers from Lusaka, another in Solwezi, 680 kilometers from Lusaka and the main campus in Lusaka itself. Thus, the University of Zambia at Ndola (UNZANDO) was opened in 1978 but was temporarily housed at the Riverside campus of the Zambia Institute of Technology, in Kitwe in the Copperbelt province, because the infrastructure for teaching and learning was already in place at the site (UNZA, 2015). However, plans for UNZANDO were entirely abandoned in 1987, when the government decided that UNZANDO should be converted into Copperbelt University (CBU). The University of Zambia at Solwezi never made it beyond the drawing board at the government offices (UNZA, 2015).

In 1998, at the peak of Zambia's structural adjustment, which led to a more significant role for the private sector in the higher education system (see Chapter Two), the UNZA Senate, decided to "liberalize" admission to the University by introducing the self-sponsorship individual admission scheme. This

self-sponsorship scheme admitted students with relatively lower entry points than those who were being accepted under the bursary (all-expenses covered by the government) scheme. Per UNZA (2004), this resolution was also meant to mitigate and strengthen the financial resource base for the schools that participated in the self-sponsorship program, namely, Ed, NS, and HSS, in the light of the steady decline in government funding from 1991 onward. After that, the student population continued to rise and was by 2015 estimated to be approximately 24, 628 (UNZA, 2015, p. 14).

Staff Development

During the period before the creation of UNZA, the Lockwood Commission recommended that the prospective Zambian faculty members be sponsored to go and pursue their master’s and doctorate degrees abroad as UNZA had not yet developed the capacity to provide postgraduate education. The Commission felt that the new university would not have the intellectual and physical infrastructure needed to train top-notch scientists in the first several years of its existence. The Commission wrote:

> Until Northern Rhodesia's own university is fully in operation, the country must rely entirely on outside institutions to provide opportunities for its young men and women to receive higher education to degree level. However, even when the university is established, there will always be some reason to justify the attendance of some students at colleges and universities in other parts of the world. The strongest of these reasons

> should be the unavailability of certain programs of advanced study at home. It is advantageous to have a proportion of young people of any country receiving the advantage of foreign study, which broadens horizons. (Lockwood, 1964, p. 251)

Thus, the first Zambians to be employed as faculty members at UNZA were trained abroad, in the UK, in Canada, in the US, New Zealand, Australia and other Commonwealth countries. The training of faculty abroad continued way into the 1990s. Consequently, most of the first and second-generation faculty members I interviewed did their post-graduate studies abroad. This seemed to have an impact on how they saw themselves as faculty members, as we will see in this chapter.

At the time UNZA was created, the composition of the faculty was strongly skewed towards expatriate staff. Information on actual staffing numbers is scant, but the staff development policy of UNZA provides some statistics regarding how the ratio of expatriate to local staff has shifted over the years. In its preamble, the policy notes that as of December 1974, a paltry 13% of the faculty at UNZA were Zambians, while the rest were expatriates. Between 1974 and 1980, a total of 362 Zambians went for studies abroad and came back to take up faculty roles alongside the expatriate staff (UNZA, 2005). By 2003, the faculty composition had changed drastically with the expatriate staff accounting for only 11.4 % of the total faculty members at UNZA (UNZA, 2005). As of 2017, the total number of

faculty at UNZA was more than 700, and the percentage of expatriates was very negligible (UNZA, 2005).

In this section, I have mapped out a general overview of the history of UNZA from its inception in 1966 to the present. This overview shows that UNZA was, and remains, very central to national life given its proximity to critical national institutions. The growth of major commercial centers, such as some of the most prominent shopping malls in the country, in the vicinity of UNZA also suggests that the institution rests on the prime land of the city of Lusaka. More importantly for my study, the preceding shows that the new buildings in the past were erected to enhance teaching and academic activities, but recent additions, such as the East Park Shopping Mall and the Confucius Institute, indicate a significant change. First, the emergence of large commercial entities right on campus suggests that UNZA has begun to engage more closely with activities that were not formerly part of the core business of the institution, namely, teaching research and community service. Second, the construction of the Confucius Institute in a very strategic part of campus, described by one of my respondents in my study as located on “the face of the university,” signals the wish of administrators to seek a strategic partnership with China. Such a move towards China and commercial interests illustrate the need for non-government sources of finance as prescribed in the national policy on education. These

changes raise essential questions about how the faculty members experience the academic environment as it is changing. Turning now to the development of professional identities among the First and Second-generation faculty members, I now analyze the reflections of the faculty members on the experiences they went through as UNZA effected these strategic transformations.

Academic Identity in the First and Second Republics

In this dissertation, I am defining faculty professional identity as a reflexive process in which faculty members at UNZA constructed an understanding of themselves as scholars as reflected, in part, by the political-economic environment in which they operated. The faculty members built this identity by drawing on factors that enabled them to view themselves as full academics that were both external and internal. Outside of UNZA, the most immediate influence over the identity of the faculty members came from the crucial importance which the post-independence government attached to UNZA. The government placed UNZA at the center of national life and thus prioritized the financing of the institution, even in times of deep financial crisis (see below). This was a factor in the formation of individual faculty identities because the availability of money meant that the faculty could freely engage in radicalism, free-thinking, and other activities without thinking of where their next paycheck was going to come from.

As I show below, and in Chapter Five, the faculty members who joined UNZA after the 1990s did not have this freedom.

Internal to UNZA, the influence on faculty identity was primarily from two sources: the presence of expatriate faculty members and the generous availability of resources, equipment, and money. The expatriates motivated the local faculty to cultivate scholarly identities that gave them parity with scholars in the developed world, and ample supplies that enabled faculty members to develop an understanding of the importance of their research and publications, a crucial part of building a reputation and self-esteem as academics.

Thus, in the pages that follow, I show that these internal and external enabling factors helped the faculty members to develop and sustain their identity as scholars. The central argument I am making in this section is that the subject positions that were available for the first and second generation faculty to occupy made it comparatively easier for them to cultivate their scholarly identities than their counterparts who came to UNZA in the 1990s and later. I draw on interviews with first and second generation faculty members to show how the academic environment in the university between 1966 and 1991 facilitated the development of a robust identity as scholars relative to academics in the third category (hired after the year 2000), whom I discuss in the next chapter.

Developing a Researcher Identity in the 1960s

In my interview with the first-generation faculty, I asked them to describe the context for their development of academic identity in the First and Second Republics (see above). The first-generation faculty, as pointed out in the previous chapter, are men and women who joined UNZA between its creation in 1966 and the advent of multi-party politics in 1991. The central claim they made is that they had numerous opportunities for doing research, and this positively aided their ability to cultivate researcher identities.

Timwindila, the first respondent I interviewed in this study, explained that he had developed several connections to the social, political and economic environment from 1967. Timwindila is a very distinguished Zambian professor who has been in the academy throughout most of the history of UNZA. His academic journey started in 1963, almost at the same time the decision to create UNZA was made. He was one of the 100 or so individuals who had a Bachelor's degree in the country at independence, which he had obtained at the University of London. Before undergraduate training, Timwindila had been educated at one of the country's missionary schools. He had excelled in his secondary education and was sent abroad to pursue a Bachelor of Science degree, which he completed in 1963. After completing his studies abroad, he was immediately asked by the government to consider joining the new university that was to be

established in Lusaka. He recalled that he had no opportunity to refuse the invitation as it was a rare privilege to be among the first citizens approached to serve the country as an academic. The government quickly secured a scholarship for him to pursue his doctoral studies abroad, and he joined UNZA on his return from Ph.D. studies from the UK, in 1967.

While Timwindila described his early career days as ‘tough,’ he also hinted at how easy it was to cultivate a scholarly identity with tremendous support from a well-financed system and accomplished mentors to look up to. He said in response to my question about what it was like to be a new scholar at UNZA in the 1960s:

> Ok now I think my career then as an academic was quite hard because we were told you either do research or you sink and so eh when we moved, when the University moved to this site, this campus in 1970, I think it was ‘70, there was a lab about one door from here on the next floor which was a research lab and that research lab was mine, entirely ya. So, I was working there and I had a research assistant who was Italian ya. So, it was hard in the sense that you never knew knocking-off time. At 17.00 hours, the class laboratory sessions would come to an end, and our research would begin. There were periods here where I would be in the lab up to 24.00 hours at night ya. And so, it was not easy. It was however interesting because the driving force was *I must do something as an academic.* (Interviews, 0001, June 2016)

This conversation with Timwindila illustrates that the development of faculty identity in the 1960s was both comfortable and challenging. It was easy because of the abundance and adequacy of equipment, funds, supplies and

other resources needed for the successful pursuit of research, teaching, and publications. Facilities were provided in the form of a well-equipped lab, and, in his case, the presence of an Italian Laboratory Assistant, which indicates a level of expertise that UNZA faculty can only imagine today. The availability of resources meant that Timwindila could become a serious researcher, and he saw himself as such. At the same time, he noted that it was difficult as a young scholar because of the expectations that came with being an early-career faculty member in a new university trying to win the recognition of the academic world. Striving for this recognition had been expressly mentioned as a priority for the new university by the Lockwood Commission. In its quest to excel in research and productivity, the university told its early-career academics to aim high right from the start.

Timwindila, in response to another question about specific moments regarding his early work life in the 1960s and 1970s, had a great deal to say. For example, he recounted the political support faculty received during this period:

> Oh, my God! It was very good. The support from the President Chancellor was outstanding. At that time, the Vice Chancellor reported to the Council and to the Chancellor but more to the Chancellor. He was more answerable to the Chancellor. And because the Vice Chancellor was reporting to the Chancellor the ranking of the Vice Chancellor was much higher than it is now. Because at that time, when the Vice Chancellor informed the Chancellor that there were some faculty that needed some money for increments, and that institution was short of

money, the Chancellor would instruct the Minister of Finance *the overall in-charge of the country's coffers* to meet with the Vice Chancellor and discuss between just the two of them and they could agree on the funding, sometimes without having to enlist the aid of the University Council.

> But right now, the Vice Chancellor cannot even meet the Minister of Finance. He must report to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education (laughter) and the Minister of Education is above the Vice Chancellor. That is how bad it is. Because the Vice Chancellor cannot go to the Minister of Education or Minister of Finance and discuss matters as colleagues as it used to be in the past. He must go to the Permanent Secretary and the Permanent Secretary doesn't have the authority to issue the money. These days you begin to wonder whether the Government sees the value of education. (Interviews, 0001, June 2016)

Timwindila's sentiments were echoed by Kabumbu, the second First-generation faculty member I interviewed. Kabumbu, an Associate Professor in NS but with a strong inclination towards the social sciences, recounted how favorable the early climate was for him to develop his scholarly identity:

> In 1970s UNZA was *heaven on earth*: The meals were near hotel standards as were the rooms. UNZA had a perfect learning environment. We had very qualified staff, both Zambian and expatriate. The ideas in lectures, in the department and everywhere on campus, were very vibrant and very innovative. There was plenty of money for research and almost all the lecturers and students could do one research or another without serious impediment. Individuals were doing a lot of research. The university had a very well-resourced research fund from which faculty could easily draw money almost as soon as the need for research arose. It was abundantly clear that the clear that the government wished to build economic prosperity through the higher education system. (Interviews, 0002, June 2016)

It was also evident from other respondents that sufficiency of monetary and material resources for the conduct of research had a role in helping the new academics to develop an understanding of themselves as scholars. Lystics, an Associate Professor in NS who obtained his Ph.D. in the mid-1970s from Cambridge University in the UK, had this to say about the ease of purchasing research equipment:

> It was a different environment. I recall a colleague in biochemistry, who was British national, was doing some research work and he found that he didn't have a specific type of spectrophotometer and he immediately informed the manufacturers: *Can you send me this spectrophotometer?* He told them and It came almost immediately and he picked it. The university administration only started organizing the money after my colleague received the spectrophotometer. So, at that time, I think the operation of the University was like the operation of Universities in developed countries. (Interview 0003, July 2016)

Likewise, Israel, a senior faculty member in NS, recalls the remarkable ease with which he and his associates could procure reagents and equipment for "all manner of research undertakings":

> I remember writing to the Vice Chancellor sometime in the 1970s, I said for me to continue doing the work, I was doing abroad whilst doing my PhD, *I need the following equipment, do you think I can have it*? He said *why sure not? Straight away get in touch with the manufacturers and we can buy it*. I received the equipment from Sweden, within a fortnight of my request. That time, you didn't have to... you needn't not have money

> immediately to buy equipment. You simply ordered the equipment and the equipment will be flown here, after it had arrived was when the university would pay. (Interviews, 0004, July 2016)

The examples above provide substantial evidence of how the well-funded system at UNZA during its first two decades facilitated the development of scholarly identities. Today, however, the global knowledge production system is tilted towards the global North, to which scholars in the Global South look up for expertise in many dimensions of research. Timwindila's Italian assistant provides substantial evidence of how well-funded UNZA was at the time. In a newly independent country with about 100 graduates and which had just endured close to 100 years of colonial rule, it was striking to have a white male working under the authority of a young African academic. Only a few years earlier, Timwindila would by law have qualified to hold just a junior clerical position in the colonial government, and his superiors would have most likely been Europeans of various nationalities. That Timwindila had an expatriate working under him amply illustrates that the Zambian academy was at the time so well-funded that it could afford to hire European support staff. What this tells us about faculty identity is they viewed themselves as part of a strong network of researchers with national support and with international connections.

Several of the First and Second generation faculty members I spoke to in this study believed that UNZA's golden era could be tied to one single source:

having the President at its helm. In the First and Second Republics, President Kaunda and his UNIP ruling party were the principal distributors of resources in Zambia, meaning they made decisions about how much money the various sectors of the Zambian society were to receive. This translated into a steady flow of resources to UNZA to facilitate the conduct of research, teaching and community service. As some scholars writing about UNZA have pointed out, even in the times of severe economic turmoil, the university continued to receive a generous portion of government funds for personal emoluments such as salaries and allowances, capital projects, as well as for research and publications (Kelly, 1991).

The Role of the Expatriate Community in Identity Development.

My respondents' reflections on their early-career days illustrate not only the importance of financial resources but also the pivotal role played by the expatriate community in developing their scholarly identities in the 1960s and 1970s. The inspiration drawn from the presence of the expatriate workforce at UNZA was described by many of the senior interviewees I spoke to in my study. Almost all the respondents reported that their sense of being an academic was profoundly shaped by their exposure to expatriate academics that had themselves established their scholarship in various disciplines. Thus, the

Zambian faculty members sought to emulate the exemplary scholarship of the expatriate faculty that taught them.

Chitendele, currently a Professor in humanities who obtained his Ph.D. from the UK, related to me the impact of his interactions of the expatriate faculty both when he was a student and when he became a faculty member. He narrated that the at the time he joined UNZA as an SDF, in 1974, the academics who mentored him as colleagues were predominantly expatriate. He stated the following when I asked him what it was like to work at UNZA in the 1970s:

> In the early days, people who mentored us were expatriates they knew what they were doing, despite knowing that they were losing jobs as more Zambians trained the more they lost a job. They were very dedicated and didn't care that the more they trained the young Zambian, the more they would lose their jobs to the same Zambians they had trained. They worked with enthusiasm and promoted the students that they were teaching excelled. They harbored no bitterness whatsoever. As an undergraduate most of the lectures that taught me were expatriate scholars who had distinguished themselves in their scholarship. When they prescribed books for us to go and read, some of the books had been authored by them. In this way, I was very inspired to work hard so that I could be like them (Interviews, 0005, August 2016).

Reginald, a Professor in NS, who obtained in his Ph.D. from Canada in 1976, asserted similarly that his scholarly identity was profoundly shaped by his encounter with the work ethic of the expatriate staff who taught him as an undergraduate student and mentored him as an early career academic in the 1970s. He explained:

> As an undergraduate student, I was taught by European and American professors, whom I had previously encountered only through books in high school. To meet some of these scholars, face –to-face, as my lecturers had a deep effect on what I wanted to be once I completed my studies. These were very intelligent men and women who demonstrated a deep affection with their students and showed genuine concern for the progression of the young scholars under their tutelage. I was determined henceforth, that I too should become a real academic like one of them. This exposure to supreme workmanship, coupled with the exposure I got when I went abroad to pursue further studies were of paramount importance in laying the foundation for my career as a scholar. (Faculty interviews, 0006, August 2016)

One can see from these sentiments that Reginald's positive engagement with the with prominent academics here in Zambia had a strong influence on the scholarly identity he chose to cultivate for himself.

Kaimana, another senior lecturer from NS, told me similarly that a driving force that spurred him to cultivate his identity as an academic was the presence in his department of world-renowned scholars, some of whom he had only encountered in his textbooks. He was the first Zambian to join the faculty in his department; therefore, at the time, he had exclusively expatriate workmates and peers:

> …because of the environment I found myself in, I wanted to identify with the world authorities in the subject area. That I could shake their hands and relate with them on a personal level was very uplifting, spiritually and very stimulating intellectually. I particularly recall that at that time, there

> were two leading scholars in my subject and I had had the privilege of making their acquaintance here at home or abroad during my studies. This was very inspirational to me. (Interviews 0007, August 2016)

The expatriate community that Kaimana found in his department when he joined UNZA and the academics who taught him abroad when he pursued his undergraduate education had an enormous impact on how he developed an understanding of himself as a scholar. The expatriates, he said, aroused his interests and inspired him to become a scholar in the real sense of the word. For instance, a professor whose books he had read throughout his undergraduate training was one of those that helped him to enroll for his doctoral studies at a prestigious university in Australia. Similarly, this early exposure to expertise at home and abroad assisted Timwindila to develop a robust scholarly identity that has spanned the last 50 years. Today, Timwindila is one of the most respected voices in the Zambian academy and sits on the Human Resource Committee of the UNZA Council. This body acts as gatekeepers for the entire university.

Kampinda, a Professor of humanities echoed the sentiments of Kaimana, Reginald, and Chitendele, when he spoke about his early career days:

> So, that was very motivating to see as the person you are coming from a secondary school who is teaching you based on books written by others you come into the University you find the person who is teaching you and you find he is the author of that book and that was very motivating. And I went through the Staff Development Fellow the same

> people who were teaching me in the Masters class are those people that had distinguished themselves not just in the University of Zambia but internationally.
>
> Because you know you read their books, you read their works you read their journal articles and so on and so forth. They are at the level of everybody else in the world. And that was very motivating and you say I want to be like this person. So, for me is what made me to become very much interested in becoming a lecturer. I had that opportunity to distinguish and therefore when I became and I was appointed I said I need to be like the people that trained me so that I can be like also be in their ranks as it were. (Interviews, 0008, August 2016)

The interaction with the expatriate faculty had a similarly positive effect on the development identity among these first-generation faculty. Another such faculty member, Mushili, who is an Associate Professor in humanities and got his Ph.D. in 1987 from the US, explained further:

> Through the process of rubbing shoulders with the real academics, from Europe, America and from established universities within Africa, such as Makerere, I was able also to personally develop as an academic because while I understood early-on that to develop as an academic, I needed to concentrate on three main focal areas: teaching, research and publications. So, while I was teaching, I was also doing research, I was also publishing and as you are aware to grow as an academic to reach the rank of Professor one must be doing research, one must be publishing and to be able to do that the environment must be conducive. For me I found the environment in the University of Zambia very conducive if one knew exactly what you want to achieve. The expatriates helped us to know what to want. (Interviews, 0009, August 2016)

Mushili's reflections development of a scholarly identity was influenced by the encounters he had with the expatriates both at home and abroad. This helped him to develop and to rise through the academic ranks.

The examples above clearly demonstrate the pivotal role played by expatriate staff in the formation of scholarly identities among the First generation of faculty members at UNZA. This inspirational role ultimately helped them to develop their identity as academics, including embracing the importance of striving to excel so that they could achieve parity with international scholars, especially those in the Global North. The Zambian faculty members began to develop an understanding of what it meant to be a scholar by drawing inspiration from the predominantly expatriate faculty members at UNZA, and they learned the rules of the academy including the unwritten rules of how to get on[9]. The actions and words of the expatriates seemed to elicit profound admiration from early career academics at the time.

Invitational Faculty

The narratives presented by the earliest Zambian faculty members suggest that their coming to join UNZA was the result of being invited because of exceptional performance during undergraduate studies. For instance, the

[9] Mushili's words above about how "rubbing shoulders" with real academics helped him to learn the ways of rising through the academic ranks is a strong example of such rules.

Minister of Education personally wrote to Timwindila encouraging him to consider serving in ‘the’ new university. Timwindila recalls that even though the communication from the Minister sounded invitational, he didn’t seem to have a choice of refusing the invitation:

> [in 1964] I received a letter from the Minister of Education eh informing me that I might have heard that the University of Zambia will open and the government was in the process of recruiting staff for that University. So, they said ... they asked me whether I was interested in doing Postgraduate training eh. I am not sure when I was even given the opportunity to agree or disagree (laughter). So, eh they ... in that same letter said can you come to Lusaka and that time we were moving from Mongu to here by plane so they already provided a ticket for me with the Ministry, with the Provincial eh Ministry Provincial Education Officer in Mongu so he instructed me to go there and pick my ticket and come to Lusaka. (interviews, 0001, June 2016)

When Timwindila was flown, at government expense, from Mongu, about 600 miles away from the capital to Lusaka, he went straight to the Minister’s office and was informed that the government had already secured a scholarship for him to go and pursue postgraduate studies abroad. That is how he began his journey to become an academic. He completed his doctoral studies in 1967 and reported back at UNZA in 1968, where he has worked ever since.

Some more respondents in my study, in addition to Timwindila, related similar experiences and reflections which suggested that their entry into the academy was through an invitation of some sorts. For instance, Reginald--who

joined UNZA in 1973--told me that he too had been invited by his department to join the academy when he completed his studies in the sciences He had enrolled as an undergraduate in 1968 almost at the same time as Timwindila became a lecturer. Completing his studies in 1972, Reginald was then invited by his department to consider joining the department as a Staff Development Fellow (SDF), meaning he had been selected as a trainee academic because of his outstanding performance in his undergraduate studies. As an SDF, Reginald conducted tutorials for undergraduate students, graded their work and performed other duties that helped to prepare him for his future role as a lecturer. He stated the following when I asked him to tell me the story of how he became an academic:

> I was invited in 1972 to become an SDF in the department of xxx. At that time SDF was a very prestigious position in the university and invitation was only extended to the most outstanding students. I was nominated by the African American Graduate Institute, (Interviews, 0006, August 2016).

The UNZA Council instituted staff Development Program (SDP) in 1969 (UNZA, 2004). The aims of the program were twofold. First, it aimed to allow the recruitment of more Zambians to the University as soon as suitable candidates became available. Second, the program to enable Zambians already on the staff of the University who might be fitted for higher posts to obtain the experience in the shortest time possible by providing training of Zambians in a wide range of

skills. At the time, the SDP was not competitive, as there very few Zambians who qualified for it. The SDP is still in effect, but, unlike in the past, admission to it is very competitive, and applicants are no longer invited but are chosen from a very competitive pool of applicants.

Kabumbu also narrated that he became a faculty member after being invited to join as an SDF in 1979. He responded as follows when I asked him to tell me the story of how and when he became an academic:

> I became an Academic in the University of Zambia when I completed my undergraduate degree in 1980 I was invited to join UNZA as a SDF. And the same year when I graduated with my Bachelor of Arts with Education, I immediately started my Master of Arts in History here at UNZA which I completed within the stipulated time of two years and in 83, April 1983 I was appointed as Lecturer and then I have been teaching since then. So, I have been a Lecturer teaching in the University of Zambia for 32 years 33 years and I have risen through the ranks from Lecturer Grade III all the way to Professor, the rank which I currently occupy, which is the highest rank that one can go as an Academic in the University of Zambia. (Interviews, 0002, June 2016)

Kabumbu described the battle that took place between two departments that wanted to recruit him as an SDF because he was the most outstanding graduating student in his cohort. He explained:

> I became, UNZA as SDF in 1983, after completing my Bachelor of Education in biology and geography. I had a distinction and therefore, there emerged a battle to recruit me as SDF between the two departments, the department of Geography and the department of Education. This battle was won by the department of Education because

> of the cleverness of their head of department (departmental chair), who had better skills of approaching me and their departmental system was superior in terms of competition for me. (Interviews, 0002, June 2016)

This conversation with Kabumbu highlights the power dynamics that could have helped a faculty member to develop a sense of self-worth, as an academic having been the subject of a battle between two departments. One can only imagine what possessing this negotiating power entailed for Kabumbu, who came into the employment of the university almost on his terms.

Decolonization and Academic Identity

As I set up the context for the claims about the transformation of faculty identities that I make in Chapters Five and Six it is essential to point out that there have been both continuities and discontinuities in the context of identity negotiation among the faculty at UNZA. I end this section on identity development in UNZA's golden era by giving an example of how one First-generation faculty member developed a scholarly identity anchored in the discourse of decolonization. I focus on Shilimatanga, to illustrate how the political climate in the 1960s and 1970s enabled the emergence of a scholarly identity marked by political activism. Shilimatanga is a Senior Lecturer in NS who had been trained in the 1970s in the US and in Canada, where he obtained a masters and Ph.D., respectively. He scholarship has been around issues of land tenure.

At the time that UNZA was created, Zambia found itself at the epicenter of the liberation movement in Southern Africa. Neighboring countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Namibia had not yet gained their independence, and the liberation movements from these countries found, in Zambia a solace for their anti-colonial agitation. Macmillan (2014) notes that Zambia's leaders felt obliged to provide refuge and support to people from the five countries in the region that were engaged in liberation struggles. Of importance to my study is the role of UNZA academics in the life of the liberation movements because it shows that the regional political environment availed some subject positions for faculty to occupy and develop their scholarly identity in this realm.

Macmillan (2014) reports that in the early years, some of UNZA's most influential expatriate academics were exiled South Africans with links to the African National Congress (ANC). Thus, it is not surprising that some of the young Zambian academics at the time found expression and developed their scholarly identities in the realm of the liberation struggle. Shilimatanga was one such scholar, and he has been in the Zambian academy for over 40 years. With relish, he related how he found expression with the liberation struggle and went on to develop his scholarship around the discourse of decolonization.

Shilimatanga responded as follows when asked about how he went about discovering himself as a scholar in the 1970s:

> In the 1970s there were several issues happening within the region and elsewhere on the continent. For example, in the 1970s one of the prevailing conversations at the time was the discourse decolonization, decolonizing the mind of the African. There was also, close to home, the liberation struggle here in the Southern African region. For example, we had the liberation struggle and as academics we were involved in that struggle discussing issues. Such conversations shaped the discourse in academia. At the time, there were several of us young academics who found expression with these conversations. as young academics, the struggle shaped the discourse of academics. This also shaped my interests in the land tenure, because land was part of the decolonization. (Interviews, 00010, September 2016)

Shilimatanga identified a resonance with contemporary discourses at the time which were in turn enhanced and developed by his networking with peers at home, as well as lecturers and professors, also both at home and abroad. He further noted that there was a tendency among his peers, young academics at the time, to be strongly influenced by ideas coming from the left as this is where the liberation movement drew its inspiration. In this environment, he developed his scholarly identity around issues of land tenure, as part of the more extensive decolonization process.

For Shilimatanga, one of the subject positions availed to him by geopolitical environment was that of an activist-scholar. He crafted for himself a

scholarly identity centered around the decolonization movement in southern Africa at that time, and he took advantage of such a subject position to create a unique focus of his research on land tenure systems. When I asked him whether he had since departed from this focus, he responded in the negative:

> No, I have not moved away from the primary foci I set for my scholarship in the 1970s. What I have done instead is to change with the time. I have concentrated on land tenure but have moved into several focal points, over the years depending on what is obtaining in the environment. For instance, now that there is neoliberalism and land has acquired monetary value, I have shifted my focus to look at how this is impacting women. (Interviews, 00010, September 2016)

What this trajectory demonstrates is the enduring influence of an academic identity created more than 40 years ago that continues to influence what Shilimatanga studies. His current focus on neoliberalism and its impact on women shows that he has shifted his focus somewhat but remains committed to the enduring issue of decolonizing the land tenure process in Zambia and beyond, which was initially inspired by the liberation struggles in the Southern African region in the 1960s and 1970s.

Although Shilimatanga's faculty identity has been particularly marked by shifts in the regional and national contexts, the impact of the 1960s and 1970s on first-generation scholars at UNZA is clear. They generally developed their identities in relation to the happenings in their academic environment and

beyond. Turning now to the development of faculty identity in the Third Republic, I explore how faculty identities emerged, shifted and were re-articulated as Zambia moved from a socialist state at the center of southern Africa's liberation movement to a neoliberal state.

Shifting Priorities and the Decline of UNZA Status

The passing in 1996 of the national policy on education, Educating Our Future (EoF) transformed the character of the higher education sector by imposing fundamental shifts in its direction and purpose. The intention to reduce government funding of public and the heralding of the importance of non-governmental sources of revenue were definitive moments in the history of higher education in Zambia. In this section, I analyze the reflections of the Second-generation faculty members regarding the shifts in the political economy of higher education in Zambia after 1991. These faculty members held a variety of views as to the severity of the threats afforded by this new paradigm of higher education. The challenges they mentioned were in the form of managing new expectations, such as the use of research and teaching to raise money for the university in an era when state funding for the University began to plummet.

There was a common feeling among the Second-generation faculty members that the dawn of multi-party politics in Zambia brought a new set of challenges to the academy because the priorities of the new government did not

favor UNZA as much as its predecessor government had done since 1966. Ascudor, another scholar from NS who obtained his PhD in 1991 and who has been on the teaching staff at UNZA since 1989, expressed similar sentiments. She told me that the advent of multi-party politics was the beginning of financial problems for UNZA, such as delays in salaries, non-availability of laboratory equipment and other resources. She responded as follows when I asked him to describe the working conditions in the university after 1991:

> So, in terms of University funding, it came down due to the reduction of funding from Government because in 1991, up to 1991, Kaunda was the Chancellor and Kaunda you know was so concerned about the welfare of the University and therefore, in fact at that time the Vice Chancellor had direct access to State House, to the Chancellor. He had direct access, if anything here he just picks up the phone and calls and things are done. But in 1991 came in President Chiluba. I can say that he did not care much about tertiary education because he was offered to become the Chancellor but he declined. He didn't care about that and that's when now we saw also funding to the University also declining to a level that by the time Mwanawasa [Zambia's Third Republic President], who came into office after Chiluba's term came to an end in 2001] came into office there was almost zero money for research.
>
> The University of Zambia began to accumulate debt because the Government would send, of course, they would send students through the Bursaries Committee and they would tell the University to register them but in the university, the Government was not paying tuition fees. At the end of the year, the university says oh Government you owe us so much. They're told, the university is told the Government does not owe anybody any money. So, that was the beginning of the accumulation of the current debt that the University has. So, that means it was now becoming more

> and more difficult especially for young Lecturers to get money for research. (Interviews, 00011, September 2016)

These sentiments aptly describe the deterioration in the work environment UNZA that took place between 1991 and 2000. The money for research, for instance, began to decline after 1991, and by 2001, faculty reported that there was virtually no money at all for research.

Chibefwe, a senior faculty member from the humanities who joined UNZA in 1995 and who obtained his doctorate in 2001, attributed the deteriorating working conditions at UNZA to the SAP that Zambia pursued from 1991 through 2001. Additionally, he opined that the new government in 1991 had no interest in education whatsoever and that it was not even clear to him if the government of Chiluba had any priorities at all. He described the situation as follows:

> I think I would say that it was part of the structural adjustment but little bit somewhat contradictory and ambivalent in the sense that while we had gone capitalist and that parents were encouraged to partner with Government in the education of their children, the same Government was totally against the institution increasing fees for its own sustainability and other issues. That's somewhat contradictory. Not putting money into the University and stopping the University from initiating its own way of raising money. Thus, I would say it was part but also we had President Chiluba who didn't pay much attention to higher education. I think it was not a priority and I still don't know what was Chiluba's priority in this country. (Interviews, 00012, September 2016)

Chibefwe related the pain he felt at witnessing the university of Zambia being "relegated from the center of national life to a life in the margins of society" simply because of misplaced priorities by the government. He stated the following in response to my question about how the transition from Kaunda era to Chiluba era was for him:

> The transition to the current state was not comfortable to witness. As an academic there are certain ways in which such changes impact you very deeply, perhaps more than they impact ordinary citizens. In a way, you feel helpless because you are aware of the causes of such deterioration but you cannot do anything to improve the situation. (Interviews, 00012, September 2016)

Chibefwe lamented further that the types of decisions made by the government are, at times, not made in good faith or with the intent to develop the universities in Zambia. He emphasized the helpless that he feels as an academic today:

> As an academic the most regrettable feeling I have is that of helplessness. Many decisions nowadays are made by cadres without the requisite knowledge of the decisions that they make. Sometimes academics do make suggestions in one way or another but this is ultimately up to the readership that receive such advise you wonder why such pieces of advice are not activated, the uptake of the advice is poor. (Interviews, 00012, September 2016)

The gloomy picture that Chibefwe paints helps to amplify the shifts in the subject positions available for the faculty to develop their professional identities.

The gap created by the departure of the President-Chancellor from the academy show the benefit that accrued to the academy when there was a closer linkage with the head of State. Being closer to the Kaunda made the cultivation of academic identities much more comfortable for the faculty at UNZA because the faculty could access most of the material or monetary resources they needed to carry out their work, such as research and teaching and community engagement.

For Xolani, an Associate Professor from NS, the most significant development in the aftermath of 1991 general elections was the formation, in 1992, of the University of Zambia Lecturers and Researchers' Union (UNZALARU). He stated the following when I asked him about what changes he noticed within the academy after the advent of multi-party politics:

> What I remember is that soon after the transformation from the single party system to a multi-party system lecturers formed the UNZALARU. It was a significant change. Initially, we may have had then an association or weak grouping but UNZALARU became quite strong as a union, body, or whatever, a unionized body. It was affiliated to ZCTU immediately. Then the lecturers started fighting in different ways for their conditions of service. That is one of the things I would say changed significantly. Through that I would say lecturers could put more pressure on the management and on government compared to the past.
>
> In the past I think management would increase salaries, or improve conditions of service without necessarily being under pressure from lecturers. That's one thing I would say has changed. In terms of salaries, their salaries have been increased in line with the inflationary trends over the years. Also, due to pressure also from the unions, but we have seen

> problems in getting the salary on time. It's like government can only give a certain amount of money, and the management is expected to raise the rest. This has changed a little bit because in the past I think university workers used to get paid on the 21st, it was very traditional. (Interviews, 00013, October 2016)

This revelation about when the union was formed was new to me because before speaking with Xolani, I had worked at UNZA for close to nine years and had been a member of the UNZALARU for seven years. I always thought the union had been almost as old as the university itself. I, therefore, wanted to hear more from him about the birth of UNZALARU. He responded as follows when I elicited his views on why the union could have been born in 1992 and not before:

> Before 1991, the Chancellor of the university was KK [Kenneth Kaunda]. He was the most supreme authority in the land and was completely in charge of how the nation was run. His face was inscribed on all the monies circulating in the economy, but most importantly, the university community had 24 hours' access to him, whatever, the lecturers needed, he was there to listen and to give whenever it was possible. As such, it was perfectly natural that the academics and all the members of staff in this university felt completely no need of having a union advancing their welfare [emphasis added]. (Interviews, 00013, October 2016)

This feeling that then more than ever before, faculty needed a union to intercede on their behalf over salaries and other welfare-related issues suggests that the university might have been positioning itself to survive the hard times ahead of them.

Several other second-generation faculty members of the 1990s indicated that they felt there was a reduction in the priority that government placed on UNZA. Fwanyanga, a Senior Lecturer from humanities who graduated from the University of London, Institute of Education in the late 1980s, told me that in the mid 1990s, the government began to show a “blatant disregard” for higher education by placing more emphasis on primary education and other sectors of the economy that gave strength to the ruling party. The change in prioritization was likely the result of international pressures at the time, such the Education for All (EFA) movement, which urged governments to prioritize the universalization of the first 7 (at times 9) years of primary education. He responded as follows when I asked him whether the scarcity of money necessitated the shifting funding priorities:

> Yeah, maybe but we have no figures. We can speculate, probably they had other priorities, I don't know. Perhaps there is a way I think government can meet the implications. If you look at the Parliament, I've never heard of any time when the Parliament has been underfunded or Members of Parliament (MPs) cannot get car loans or they cannot function and that Parliament building is falling apart and the lawns are drying up. Such institutions are better funded, like the Parliament I think is well funded, the State House I think is well funded. I've never heard of State House running out of water or transport. Not at least the president himself being stranded without a vehicle. Yeah, maybe there are genuine financial problems that government had, or maybe the priorities did not feature UNZA so much prominently. (Interviews, 00014, October 2016)

In the above conversation, Fwanyanga raised critical questions about the logic behind the reduction of funding to university education in Zambia. By comparing the funding of higher education to the financing of Parliament and other government institutions, he seemed to question the idea that government reduced funding to higher education because of lack of money. He, instead, saw this reduction as resulting from shifts in the priorities of the government.

It is evident from the interviews above that Second-generation faculty at UNZA were distrustful of the motives of the new government and disappointed by its priorities regarding funding of higher education in Zambia. They felt that the institution was under threat because the priorities of the government did not appear to be favorable to researchers. This means that the conditions for the development of faculty identity as researchers were less desirable after 1991. The birth of the union was but an example of how the academy was beginning to brace itself for the hard times ahead. What this means is that before 1991, the faculty felt no need for such a body because their welfare was adequately catered for by the government. The Head of State and government had directly addressed whatever negotiations necessary for faculty welfare before 1991. The suspicions of the faculty were confirmed in the mid-1990s when the university started to face challenges in meeting its financial obligations to its faculty members and other members of staff.

The uncertainty regarding the pay date that Xolani hinted at marked the beginning of problems for UNZA, issues which have persisted to the present day. As recently as 2017, when I was wrapping up my dissertation, UNZALARU and management were embroiled in an inconclusive battle on the payday. The payday had become, from the mid-1990s, increasingly sporadic and unpredictable. Salary delays had, per one faculty member, become normalized, where at the end of each month, the employees of UNZA, including academic and non-academic staff, would brace themselves for a memorandum from management advising them of delayed salaries due to a deplorable cash-flow situation on campus. Equally serious was the non-payment of contractual obligations to members of staff for over seven years. One union official informed me that many academics had retired in 2010 and had not been paid their dues for seven years. Thus, on three occasions in 2017 alone, UNZALARU declared a dispute and its members withdrew their labor to protest delayed salaries.

In sum, the period after 1991, saw a significant shift in the material and contextual conditions under which faculty members developed their scholarly identity. It is evident that the paradigm shift resulted in a reduction in state funding of UNZA and this contrasted sharply with what had been the case in the First Republic, which some First-generation faculty members described as UNZA's golden era. As I have noted in the preceding pages, this was not a

challenge that the first-generation faculty faced. Public funding guaranteed Their academic pursuits, and, thus, they managed to retain considerable autonomy over the direction of the research agendas. The deterioration in the academic environment after 1991, raises critical questions about what sort of identities emerged in this period. Thus, in the next section, I discuss the identity that developed in the Third Republic.

The Scientrepreneur Academics

In this final section of the chapter, I use Karhunen and Olimpieva (2016)'s concept of "scientrepreneur" to argue that the decline in availability of research funds in the 1990s, led to a turn towards commercial and corporate sources of research funds, and this affected the identity of the faculty members. Because of this scientific research at UNZA started becoming increasingly entrepreneurial. Karhunen and Olimpieva (2016) have argued that the changing character of higher education has led to the emergence of a new kind of identity, the "scientrepreneur" who encompasses scientific and entrepreneurial dimensions of academic work.

The entrepreneurial motivations for research have been the subject of a growing body of scholarship that examines the emergence of new identities in academia due to the neoliberalization of higher education in many countries. Some scholars insist that it is necessary to maintain a distance between research

and commerce or entrepreneurship because faculty members' involvement in commercial activities is a threat to their academic identity (Hakala, 2009; Jain et al., 2009). Conversely, other scholars have asserted that the distance that has traditionally been maintained between research and commerce should be closed because contemporary academic work has become increasingly entrepreneurial (Etzkowitz, 1995; Sarasvathy, 2008; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000; and Politis, 2005).

Thus, in the pages that follow, I analyze how the Third Republic, or the post-1991 era, opened-up new subject positions that led to the narrowing of the gap between scholarly and entrepreneurial dimensions of identity. The EoF had, as noted in Chapters One and Two, proposed a closer alignment between higher education and commerce that was introduced by the national policy on education, Educating Our Future (EoF). As noted by some scholars, survival in the neoliberal milieu requires some cunning strategic action on the part of the academics. This scientrepreneur kind of identity, was widespread among the second-generation faculty who joined UNZA around, before or shortly after 1991, because they depended on the resources provided by Zambia's liberalized economic liberalization environment.

Geraldine, a professor from the second-generation faculty, told me that she had been a lecturer since 1988 and, in this time, she had risen through the

ranks and currently sits (like Timwindila) on the Human Resources Committee which considers applications for promotion by faculty members. She explained that the primary criterion for evaluating the application for promotion was the amount and quality of research that each applicant had done. She provided useful insights about how the entrepreneurial motivations of contemporary faculty members came to be legitimatized from the mid-1990s by the University Council.

> I think, the 1990s, shall I just say the mid 1990s, saw a systemic transition from the era of socialist abundance in the 1960 through the late 1980s, to a liberalized market economy, in which various institutions in Zambia had to demonstrate their worth by generating their own income and reducing their dependence on hand-outs from the government. The University of Zambia was equally required to undergo a paradigm shift, from depending on government budgetary support to generating its own money through research and consultancies. Accordingly, the Council began to pay attention to how members of the staff at UNZA are innovative and aggressive in bringing-in money for the institution. We have continued to insist that its publish or perish, but we also pay attention to how much money an individual can generate. Promotion to Professorship explicitly demands that someone applying, must demonstrate ability to attract large amounts of funding into the university. (Interviews, 00015, October 2016)

It is clear from the above quote that a primary driver of faculty entrepreneurship was the harsh institutional funding realities that the faculty members began to face in the 1990s. The Council’s decision to encourage entrepreneurial motivations of research and to reward these with promotion legitimized the narrowing of the gap between academic research and entrepreneurship. My

review of the UNZA promotion guidelines for members of staff confirmed that promotion to the rank of Associate Professor required substantial evidence of ability to “mobilize funding for the university through research and consultancy” (UNZA, 2016, p. 3). Thus, the sharp decline in the government funding for UNZA in the 1990s and the severe economic turmoil brought about by SAP during the same period forced faculty members at UNZA to resort to entrepreneurship for their academic survival.

The respondents in this study indicated that navigating this dilemma required them to align their research pursuits with the interests of corporate, governmental and non-governmental entities that often had the financial muscle to fund research. As I show in the next chapter, this alignment often included a loss of autonomy of the direction of research.

Sakuwunda, a Professor from NS who joined UNZA in the late 1980s, and who obtained his PhD from Japan, told me that as UNZA began to be driven by the market forces such as efficiency, productivity, profitability, and competitiveness, he found expression, excitement, and satisfaction in articulating a scholarly identity that centered around hunting for projects that brought funding. He stated the following when I asked him what he meant by hunting:

> I think the way I can describe myself, as a hunter-scholar, a hunter who hunts for funding opportunities. The hunts I conduct are often triggered by various types of signals. For instance, I do a lot of searching on the web

> [by which I assume he means on the internet], every week I just say, let me type something into the google scholar search engine. I may just type some topic and I have often found there will be issues that will be flying which I will never have thought about. Then I pounce! (Interviews, 00016. October 2016)

Sakuwunda also told me that to survive in contemporary academia, one needed to build a team that could be summoned whenever a hunt had been triggered by a signal, such as a new prospect for funding. He stated that the hunt would only be successful if one can pool together a cadre of graduate students that would execute various dimensions of the hunt. To this end, Sakuwunda motioned that he has had a team of highly motivated young men and women with whom he has worked on several hunts:

> When a hunt is triggered, I will certainly think about a group which I have developed. The group comprises several carefully chosen young scientists. So, when I bring them together, I will find that as I speak, as I introduce the topic already, each one of them has written a paragraph and they are already tearing apart and synthesizing from their own strength. In my group, I pool together different strengths and specializations: There is one who is very good at this type of diseases or a certain category of diseases, there another who is very good at understanding and fostering the working together of different specialties including wildlife issues. There is a third scientist who is very good at looking at neglected diseases, and some tropical diseases. The fourth is very good at maybe at dissemination, publishing, you see, these are just, these are motivated young fellows. When I finish speaking, I then say let's start, and then I draw back; I keep quiet. It's very amazing listening to their contributions.

> Then you know the hunt has a high probability for success for funding. You will hear their contributions. (Interviews, 00016. October 2016)

Sakuwunda's description of grant proposal-writing as a hunt illustrates the emergence at UNZA of the scientrepreneur kind of identity in which the faculty members began to incorporate entrepreneurial dimensions in their academic work.

In concluding the interview with Sakuwunda, he mentioned that besides being a hunter-academic, he took great pride in being the motivator for the next generation of faculty which he had been glad to take under his tutelage. He asserted that the liberalized higher education environment in Zambia provided a lot of "low-hanging fruits" that members of the academy should take advantage of. He stated the following in explaining what he meant:

> Yes, that is the thing, motivation and me I get the motivation from our international partners especially the route I have told you coming from Japan that, and the policy, the policy pronouncements that the government is giving us, yes, so now it is up to us to fight. I feel we have the motivation and the capacity to challenge for any, any apples that will be shown (laughter) yes, we should be able to throw the proverbial stones proverb. (Interviews, 00016. October 2016)

In framing his identity this way, Sakuwunda considers himself as a local satellite that connects international expertise, drawn from the global North, to emerging local expertise for junior faculty members. This way, he links the junior faculty to an international community of partners engaged in veterinary research. Although

some scholars assert that scientists' involvement research tailored to corporate or externally determined parameters may threaten academic identity (Hakala, 2009; Jain et al., 2009), Sakuwunda told me that he saw nothing "seriously wrong with my hunting expeditions, given the constraints that we face in doing research work" (interview, 00013). The linkage to international scholars from the global North probably reflects the enduring role of aspiration in the identity formation process for local Zambian faculty, not unlike what First-generation faculty described as the usefulness of international expertise in developing scholarly identities during the early UNZA days. This appears to be one of the subject positions that was not entirely closed with the advent of neoliberalism in 1991.

Other faculty members indicated that they were keen supporters of the entrepreneurial motivations of research. Mwakayaya, a senior lecturer from NS who completed his PhD in 1998 but joined UNZA in 1992, told me that he developed his scholarship by drawing on the interface between scientific research and the burgeoning agricultural sector, which at the time (the 1990s) needed scientific innovations such as fast-maturing varieties of seed (due in part to severe droughts in the early 1990s); and new ways of soil treatment and fertilization (due to the growing need for food security, both within and outside Zambia). He told me that he felt that situating his research interests in nationally

relevant and economically viable topics would help him to attract research funding. Such funding, would, in turn, help him to commercialize his research and attract more funding. But, more importantly, situating his research in an increasingly profitable area would help him, he said, to grow as a renowned scholar:

> Fortunately for me my area of research looks at the DNA of indigenous seed varieties. I have followed the interplay or the interface of Agricultural Science and the agricultural sector in Zambia. Fortunately for me this seems to have been to be the in thing in the country at the time, following the severe drought in 1993/94 and the growing importance of food security afterwards. So, it was not hard to find organizations within and outside Zambia that would not be interested in research that addressed drought resistance in the food crops for instance. This way I could not feel the effect of reduced funding by government for scientific research at UNZA, because I could attract funding by carefully framing the research problems I tackled in a manner that would attract seed production companies in Zambia; bilateral and multi-lateral donor organizations that were keen to fund the research. This strategy of making my research relevant and appealing to funders provided me material to do research on and luckily the things I have written have been accepted in some top tier international and local scientific journals. That is how I've had to be strategic in a place where there's no research funding; you bring the money through your own research. (Interviews, 00017, November 2016)

Here we see that the subject position provided by this interface between scientific research and a critical sector in a developing country, agriculture, which had no shortage of actors willing to spend money on research that had economic relevance. This subject position of developing a scholar identity anchored on

agricultural matters was not available to faculty in other disciplines Ed, HSS, and Law. In strategically choosing the primary foci of his research, Mwakayaya aims to produce knowledge amidst the material constraints which affect the availability of research funds.

Another example of the entrepreneurial orientation of academic identity came from Mzumara, a senior faculty member from the sciences who expressed a similar outlook towards her research pursuits. She told me that she had obtained her doctorate in biochemistry from a prestigious university Europe in the early to mid-1990s. Mzumara asserted that the challenges of the early and mid-1990s were beneficial in preparing for the more desperate times she has since faced as an academic in a poorly funded system. She responded as follows to my question on how she found being a new academic at a time of fundamental changes in higher education:

> In my early career days, nature was my best teacher because I joined UNZA when the funding patterns started to shift. I joined when the state funding started to go down and I think those challenges helped me to cultivate a strong approach to research. If we had money, like those who joined before, in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s, if the abundance of money had persisted, I think UNZA would have been stagnant. But the challenges I faced in securing money for research and for publications, opened my mind and prepared me to leave in a very competitive world. Getting everything on a silver plate would not have helped me to survive in contemporary times. Now you find people coming from all over the world and these are people who have passed through huge challenges and they are so aggressive. (Interviews, 00018, November 2016)

By nature, Mzumara was referring to the academic environment in which funding was starting to be scarce. The subject positions, previously available to faculty to consider themselves on par with leading seminal scholars in the global North were beginning to disappear. For Mzumara, the academic environment presented an opportunity for her to shape herself into an attractive product of the liberalization of higher education. In relishing the competitiveness that began to characterize academic work in the 1990s, she articulates her identity in relation to the subject position provided by the liberalization of higher education. Such a subject position was previously not available to the first-generation faculty members. She saw herself as an aggressive scholar who had been through hard times and emerged stronger.

Chazanga, a Ph.D. holder from humanities, also reported entrepreneurship and business mindedness in his work as a scientist and researcher working in a liberalized campus climate. He similarly described himself as a scholar who knows how to successfully bid for and obtain, funding so that he can research and get published. He had the following to say:

> The liberalized academic environment can create opportunities for scholars to create new kinds of knowledge. For instance, I most of the times try to get funding by browsing the internet and looking at the calls for proposals that I can respond to. I have over the years managed to obtain

> funding by successful writing research proposals. (interviews, 00019, November 2016)

Similarly, Nolly, another humanities faculty member, echoed the sentiments of Xolani. Nolly stated that challenges occasioned by the political economy of higher education in the 1990s made it possible for one to take advantage of the signals provided by the market to rise to the challenge and cultivate a scholarly identity steeped in bringing glory to the institution [namely UNZA]:

> I found it very fulfilling to attract funding to the research that I was doing. If one can attract funding for research and can implement the research and complete it and publish then one becomes a true academic in hard times. I am proud to say that I did make it, I took advantage of the liberalized climate to attract funding that by farming my research projects in ways that resonated with potential funders. One's capacity to attract funding is a plus to the University and they recognize that, ya. So, in that sense then you also make the institution move. So, you are getting that funding you know whatever you are doing anyway, the research you are going is also to glory of the institution, isn't it? So, you are also doing that for the institution. But at the same time since it is publishing or perish you are doing it for yourself. So, it works both ways. (Interviews, 00020, December 2016).

The conversations above appear to collaborate the findings of Jain, George, and Maltarich (2009), who found that academics involved in commercially driven research, in the US, might often develop hybrid identities consisting of two separate personas: a focal academic self and a secondary commercial persona.

Thus, the Second-generation faculty members seemed to take pride in positioning themselves as entrepreneurial and commercially oriented academics. They took up the signals provided by the liberalized market to cultivate an identity anchored on a closer alignment between academic work and entrepreneurship.

Discussion and Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been the historical shifts in the development of scholarly identities among first and second generation faculty at UNZA. I intended to provide a comparison between the identities developed before 1991 and those that emerged after the introduction of neoliberalism. Two central themes have emerged through the narratives provided by the faculty members as they have reflected on the identity-formation processes at UNZA in the last 50 years.

First, the golden era of UNZA brought numerous opportunities for the first-generation faculty to discover their identities as researchers on par with those of expatriate scholars and others in the global North. In times of abundance, the identities that emerged were centered around the availability of resources, which compelled the faculty members to "do something"; that is, they had no excuse for not fully discharging the core functions of the academy, namely, teaching research and community service. With their academic pursuits guaranteed by public funding, these scholars had the freedom to form whatever scholarly

identity appealed to them. One saw this in the cases of Timwindila, Ascudor, Reginald and Shilimatanga who had access to sufficient resources and therefore saw themselves as serious scholars who had parity with scholars in countries like the United States, Britain, Russia and Japan. Their ability to discover themselves as scholars was not constrained by lack of resources that has come to characterize contemporary academia.

The second theme to emerge from this chapter is the closer alignment between academic identity and the business world as neoliberalism became established in Zambia. The emergence of the scientrepreneur academics is an example of how entrepreneurial motivations began to be incorporated within the academy. The rise of the entrepreneurial university led to a reduction in the gap between scientific research and industry/commerce. One can see that how academics saw themselves shifted after 1991. Some faculty, such as Mwakayaya began to frame their research pursuits in a manner that attracted funding, while others like Sakuwunda adopted aggression and “the hunt” in their quest for research funds, adopting a hunter-academic identity and taking pride in bidding for and obtaining money for research. It is therefore noticeable from the above quotations that several second-generation faculty began to understand their identities as scholars in terms of, business-mindedness and competitiveness. These identities were structured by the subject positions that

became available in the academy in the Third Republic. The views of these faculty members help me to explore what it meant for the country to move from humanism characterized by abundance in funding to a neoliberal platform marked by privatization and a greater role for the private sector in higher education. The next chapter builds on this one by showing that the opportunities presented by the paradigm shift presented very acute ontological challenges for the Third-generation faculty members who had joined UNZA after 2000.

Chapter 5: The Ontology of Mention

This chapter moves from a focus on the first- and second-generation faculty in the previous chapter to a focus on the early-career faculty members at the University of Zambia (UNZA). I will explore how they engage with, appropriate or resist the discourses of accountability, competitiveness, and efficiency in negotiating their professional identities. I focus on comparing two sets of early career faculty members, those from humanities and those from the sciences because, as we saw in the previous chapter, there are differences in how they experienced the paradigm shifts within Zambia.

My intention in this chapter is to examine how these newer faculty members who have been at UNZA for 16 years or less negotiate their scholarly identities in these neoliberal times when the teaching responsibilities have become immense as have the expectations to produce knowledge that is marketable to corporate and other non-governmental entities. I use Broudy's (1983) concept, the ontology of mention to highlight the material, monetary and contextual constraints that faculty at UNZA face as they negotiate their professional identities. By ontology of mention, Broudy means that to be is to be mentioned and non-being is brought about by non-mention. He writes, "to be mentioned in the press, on film, on television, in the works of critics creates a being that is shareable by all who read or view" (1983, p. 197).

In this chapter, I use the ontology of mention to mean that consideration as an academic depends on one's production of knowledge through research and publications, which, in turn, elicits mention by others. The mention may also emanate from one's contributions to fundraising, for instance, through consultancies, as Ndyokaak's reflections show (see page 177 below); or through managing to attract donor funding to the university, as Vasliona shows in my interview with her (see page 175 below). I argue that because of the neoliberal discourses of accountability, competitiveness, and efficiency, early-career faculty members at UNZA face challenges in becoming academically 'alive' through their publications and through their mention by colleagues, leaders in the university, policy-makers as well as funders. It is particularly harder for humanities faculty members to become alive, as my comparison of these two broad categories of faculty shows. As the responses in the following pages show, some of these faculty feel that being "physiologically alive is insufficient proof of existence" (Broudy, 1983, p. 197); the adage "publish or perish" helps to capture this ontological dilemma and forms an integral part of faculty induction into the academy. This chapter shows how early-career faculty members explain this situation by referring to the decline in state funding, coupled with their responsibilities of teaching an expanding student body necessary to raise funds

for the institution. This situation, they argue, makes it hard for them to become real academics who are academically 'alive.'

I begin with a section that examines the context under which early-career faculty at UNZA negotiate their professional identities. More specifically, I look at how the scholarly identities of these faculty are affected by two inter-related discourses: first, the discourse of accountability; and, second, the discourse of efficiency and competitiveness. I show that through these discourses individual identities are constructed for early-career faculty, particularly identities linked to their positioning within the academy. I then look at how these faculty members perform agency in their day to day activities as they seek to assert their scholarly identities. I examine the critical tensions that the faculty navigate as they find themselves torn between the expectation to produce knowledge and the inability of the institution to fund their research and other academic pursuits. The final section will provide an overview of the chapter and offer a conclusion.

The Context of Identity Negotiation

Several of the early-career academics I spoke to during my fieldwork related experiences that suggested they were affected by a distinct set of pressures and logic, which can be attributed to the advent of neoliberalism in Zambia in 1991. First, as, I noted in Chapter Two, there was a massive reduction in the role of the state as the principal supplier of finance to higher education

(HE) in Zambia. This reduction resulted in a reduction of public expenditure on HE and a trend towards the mobilization of “non-governmental sources of revenue” at UNZA (MoE, 1996, p. 100). Second, the neoliberal reforms in Zambia stimulated entrepreneurial and managerial approaches to academic life. This happened when the 1996 national policy on education, EoF, proposed that maximum efficiency must characterize the operation of public universities in Zambia to facilitate client-producer relationships between the universities and the industry/government. Third, EoF emphasized the need for higher education institutions (HEIs) in Zambia to “market themselves more aggressively” through the production of knowledge, through teaching and research so that they can compete favorably within a liberalized education system. In other words, the HEIs were encouraged to treat their core functions as commodities that could be sold to actors within and outside Zambia to raise funds for the smooth operations of their institutions (MoE, 1991; UNZA, 2012).

These pressures and logic can be synthesized regarding the two discourses that I have identified above. In this dissertation, I have defined discourse as a set of knowledge-power relationships that seek to create taken-for-granted definitions and which can and do influence the development of social events, communities, and individuals' social identities (McEwan, 2009). The first of the discourses that construct the context of identity negotiation among early-

career faculty at UNZA is the discourse of accountability (Shore & Wright, 2009). As noted in Chapter Two, this discourse depends on the use of standardized measures to quantify various aspects of academic life, such as outcomes in teaching, research, and community engagement, or as it is called at UNZA, community service.

The second discourse is one of efficiency and competitiveness, which ostensibly seeks higher productivity among the faculty as well as in the use of resources (Deem, 2010). Efficiency at UNZA is pursued through the importation of managerial principles derived from the corporate world, which encourage competitiveness within the academy. As noted earlier (see Chapter Two), the EoF document encouraged competition within the HE sector in Zambia. The premise of this proposal was to enable the development of an efficient HE system in Zambia. In the pages that follow, I draw on the observations, interviews, and conversations I had during six months of fieldwork at UNZA to show that the advent of these two discourses in the Zambian academy has affected the ability of the faculty to be mentioned or to become alive academically. Nevertheless, the faculty expressed a wide variety of views on how their work is affected by the political economy of higher education, which implies that the narratives of accountability, competitiveness, and efficiency are far from stable.

Identity Negotiation in the Era of Accountability

In this section, I analyze the early-career faculty's reflections on the experiences as they encountered the discourse of accountability. I was keen to speak with the early-career faculty to explore how they negotiated their professional identities as they engaged in a series of professional activities, such as teaching and knowledge production, through research and publications and community service, amid multiple pressures to fulfill accountability obligations. I chose to focus on this group rather than the first- and second-generation faculty because I believed the experiences of this group might enrich our understanding of the impact of neoliberalism on the faculty. I wanted to know, specifically, how the faculty experienced the neoliberal university.

Despite similarities among their responses, the debates early-career faculty noted over the preservation of academy and the pace of neoliberal reform they were not monolithic. The experiences of individual faculty members were mediated by whether they were in the humanities or the natural and physical sciences. This is because the funding system for higher education, even during the time of abundance, tended to allocate money towards the sciences than towards the humanities (Kelly, 1991). Also, the sciences managed to attract more funding from non-governmental sources than the humanities. Finally, because of the system of finance, the humanities had a more substantial student body than

the sciences, likely because of not being able to attract as much research funding, and therefore, increasing student enrollment to expand their revenue base. Thus, the faculty from the humanities and the sciences were subject to different sets of pressures as the university underwent reform. Their positioning in the structure of UNZA is essential as they try to understand the impact of neoliberal reforms on their professional identities.

In my semi-structured interviews with early-career faculty members, I frequently started by intentionally soliciting the faculty's experiences with accountability mechanisms in the university. I often asked them what, if at all, were their experiences with accountability. In framing my opening questions this way, I hoped to learn whether my respondents were, indeed, aware of any shifts in the ideological landscape of the institution that could be connected to the neoliberal discourse of accountability and whether such changes did, in fact, affect their professional lives.

My conversation with Vasliona, an early-career academic who recently obtained her doctorate in education from a local institution and who is from the humanities, provides substantial evidence of how the discourse of accountability may affect the negotiation of professional identity within the academy. Vasliona told me that she has no "qualms" about the importation of techniques and principles of financial auditing into the academy, even in a context that is away

from the world of finance. Vasliona singled out the performance appraisal system (PAS), which UNZA has been trying to implement for some time, as one of the reforms that resonated with her. The PAS is a system of evaluating and measuring the performance of the faculty at UNZA, as well as the other support staff. It works by subjecting each faculty member to a checklist that quantifies and measures how they have performed in each academic year. All aspects of academic life are broken down into bullet points that can be measured. The leadership at UNZA, namely the Central Administration (CA), asserts that the PAS is desirable because it would:

> …assist academic staff to develop, to contribute to the quality of their working life and career, and to align their work with the strategic objectives of the University. The Performance appraisal process is an important mechanism of quality assurance in that it functions to monitor, evaluate, develop and affirm performance excellence" as a decisive turn in the professional lives of faculty. (UNZA, 2016, p. 28)

This statement implies that UNZA administration has a clear understanding of what is meant by best practices and can, therefore, help the faculty to achieve excellence in their teaching, research and community service. Thus, the administration prescribes the PAS as an essential device of 'quality assurance' which seeks to monitor, evaluate, develop and affirm performance excellence.

In support of the PAS, Vasliona stated the following in response to the question about PAS, which shows that her views are aligned to the administration's notion of excellence:

> My take on this appraisal system is it's a right way of doing things, but like I said there's need for proper administration of the same system. If you come to me and ask me to account for my time, I should be able to show you by the number of students I am teaching; the number of hours I stand in front of those students and so on and so forth. You get a script that has been marked, it looks like it hasn't been marked, but marks are there [implying that some faculty members do not score the student assignments but just put marks]. So, for me being accountable regarding hours to teach because teaching is mandatory. Every lecturer is supposed to teach. That is the core business of the University and so that one must be done. (Interviews 00021, December 2016).

Later, in the interview, I asked Vasliona what she believed was the rationale for the introduction of the PAS. She responded that the inferior work culture of some faculty members necessitated this:

> They say every action has a reaction and the happenings of the University call for such. You find that in the recent past, we've had people having issues with the renewal of contracts because they're being accused of not having stood in front of a classroom to teach. But if there was a system in place, it could have identified those people some time back. So, these things are being imported into the system because the numbers have grown. When you look at UNZA now, it has over 600 lecturers. How do you keep track of who comes into the university and who doesn't even show up? Some people could only be on the payroll, only get paid without also working. So, you see, you need this kind of thing, the appraisal.

> So, it is an administration problem but also the conduct also of our students out there, and some Lecturers is what has brought us into this situation. And for me as a Lecturer who has 42 hours to teach and at least I do teach maybe 40 hours, I mean I don't mind the appraisal system, ya. Because you feel that you have delivered what you were expected to…. Ya I think I have achieved. And I think I can still deliver with or without the appraisal system. (Interviews 00021, December 2016).

In her responses, Vasliona conveyed two critical points. First, she justifies PAS because it can help to improve the operations of UNZA. She blames the nature of some of the other faculty members, whom she believes are at times not committed to their work and believes that only some form of appraisal might help to keep them motivated. Thus, Vasliona thought that without such a system, people could get paid while not carrying out their duties diligently.

Second, she believed that quantification of an academic's work life is not problematic in so far as it seeks to serve a purpose that is legitimate. What Vasliona's reasoning suggests is that she is willing to articulate her identity in accordance with the demands of the accountability discourse because she sees herself as a diligent and responsible faculty member. She had no problem with the PAS submitting to this auditing system because she saw herself as a hardworking and accountable faculty member that discharged her duties without being pushed. She also believed that PAS would help catch the faculty members that are not doing their jobs efficiently, and this will in turn help to distribute

teaching responsibilities more evenly so that faculty can do research, publish, and come alive academically.

Vasliona's position on PAS was like the views of some of the other respondents who also believe that the PAS is a welcome system to hold faculty accountable for the jobs they are employed to do, namely, teaching, research and community service. Cyprian provided similar support for the PAS and justified it based on the work culture of his colleagues. Cyprian is a male faculty member who, like Vasliona, is from the humanities. He holds a doctorate obtained in 2015 from outside Zambia but within Africa. He stated that a 'big' institution like UNZA the needed PAS. He asserted that the PAS would assist UNZA to become a very productive and efficient HEI:

> I think that is, you see, in a big institution, even in a small institution there should be systems that monitor individuals and because you know an organization like the University of Zambia like any other university you must have goals and these goals must be achieved. But how do you reach them if you have no monitoring mechanism to see who is doing what at what time? The institution and organization with more than 2000 workers and you have no system, forget about progress. For me, I feel that it is the way to go. Performance appraisal is the way to go because it helps the institution to tick. (Interviews, 0022, December 2016)

Like, Vasliona, Cyprian did not hesitate to cite the weak culture of work among some faculty members, who, he said, would be pretending to be writing articles when, in fact, they were sleeping at home:

> Because there are times that you may think this person is writing something and yet he is just spending time resting at home. So, the performance appraisal checks on your performance; it evaluates what you've been doing in the year. At the end of the year, you must account for your time. Personally, that is the way we need to go if we must compete globally. Otherwise, if we do things the way they are, then forget about competition, let's forget about moving up. (Interviews, 0022, December 2016)

As the above excerpt shows, Cyprian, like Vasliona, believed that the size of the UNZA's student body, its workforce and its sheer physical size render the introduction of audit inevitable. This, again, accords with the government's rationale for the introduction of surveillance and monitoring mechanisms to safeguard the use of resources at the university to make sure that people are doing the right things for which they are being paid. The government has argued that there is a problem with how UNZA spends money. It has often contended that a change in the work culture must match the relatively high pay demanded by UNZA employees. This is ostensibly meant to ensure that UNZA's leaking taps are sealed. By believing in the efficacy and necessity of audit, Cyprian articulates an identity that is shaped by an audit culture.

In contrast to this support for PAS, some faculty in the natural and physical sciences stated that the nature of their disciplines, coupled with the lengthy induction they received during their undergraduate studies, rendered the audit culture unnecessary. Moreover, some of these academics did not see the

PAS as a new phenomenon. For instance, Omutima, who hails from Vet Med and who obtained her doctorate less than three years before, told me that she did not appreciate the need for such a system. She said that in Vet Med, accountability was in-built. By this, she meant that she and her colleagues were perfectly capable of holding themselves accountable for their work without the enforced observation and evaluation system contained in the PAS. She asserted that it was not a primary concern because of the nature of her work:

> Well, I don't know about other schools or maybe let me say I don't know about other departments but in our department, I think one of the things is everybody is involved in research, no one is not doing something in research. I think for this department if there's no complaint about your performance. There's no specific auditing of time and thoughts. Of course, if you're not going to show up you tell your supervisor to say today I am doing something else, oh I will come late or something like that, but there's no prefect (Interviews, 0023, December 2016).

This excerpt illustrates two crucial points. First, Omutima indicated that the use of audit technologies does not necessarily constitute a considerable change in the daily routines of her work life because she is used to doing the right things anyway, whether she was being watched or not. For her, the issue of doing the job right depended on her work ethic, not on an external monitoring system. Second, whereas Vasliona told me that auditing with schemes like the PAS was

necessary and that the work culture of some of her colleagues necessitated this kind of surveillance, Omutima appeared to suggest that in Vet Med, it was uncommon to come across faculty that seemed to be getting a pay without doing the job they were being paid for.

Dudu, another young female lecturer from Vet Med, had a somewhat different few from her colleague when I asked her whether she had a problem with being audited as an academic. She promptly retorted: “I don’t mind being audited. I know that I have a responsibility to be available whenever needed and to produce knowledge, to teach at the appointed times”. She described herself as a professional who knew exactly why she had been retained in the academy: “I am not supposed to be here and do other things,” she told me in a matter of fact manner (Interviews, 00025, December 2016). She added, “I know what is required of me, so that kind of auditing for me is not so much a problem, no it's not. I think in any company people need to be audited; otherwise, there’s no point” (Interviews, 00025, December 2016).

Dudu’s conflation of the university with a company implicitly conveys support for the importation of corporate logics into the academy. It is interesting to note that Dudu conflated being audited in the academy with such practices in the corporate sector, both of which she sees as tied to fulfilling expectations. Like, Vasliona, Dudu believes that the PAS is necessitated by the poor work ethic

of some individuals within the academy. She thought it is therefore necessary to hold people accountable to do the work the institution has employed them to do. Implicitly, in framing her attitude to audit technology this way, Dudu articulates an identity that depicts her as an ideal subject of the neoliberal university, as someone that is responsible enough to know why she is here. Such an attitude corresponds to the dictates of the discourses of accountability.

However, even within the sciences, the views of the faculty on PAS were not monolithic. Napoleon, an early-career scholar from NS, similarly agreed with the need for PAS because of the weak working culture of some individuals within the Zambian academy. He contended that caution needs to be exercised in implementing the system. Napoleon asserted that there was a need to "adopt" the PAS to suit the scenario in the academy. By this, he meant that since the idea of appraisal emanated from the business world, it might not be adapted to the university, where faculty members work late into the night, long after the working hours. He, therefore, urged that the university administration needed to think the system through critically. He stated the following when I prompted him to say a little bit more:

> That's primarily human nature because may be in the weakness of the system somebody will decide to say even if I do this, nothing will happen to me which, unfortunately, is something we cannot promote. So, some measures must be put in place, but they should be measures that whoever intends to implement should sit and critically look at it. It

> shouldn't just be one thing you copy from here and paste as is because it is bound to fail because we're looking at the nature of the work that we do. I am not against having a Lecturer evaluated by students regarding lecturing. That could be one of the ways to assess the Lecturer.
> So, the monitoring, I know UNZA is about to implement that, the control is necessary but I think we need to have one that is meant for this scenario. It's intended for this scenario. Otherwise, the check in, check out with a finger, fingerprints (Interviews, 0024, December 2016)

These excerpts from the interviews highlight other essential dimensions of how faculty experience the discourse of accountability. Whereas there was some convergence in the reflection of the faculty from the humanities about whether the PAS, as a tool of accountability, is desirable with most saying PAS was helpful, there is some divergence in the representations of faculty within the natural and physical sciences. Some faculty, such as Omutima and Dudu, welcomed PAS because of what they perceived was going wrong in the work culture of their colleagues while others said they did not need the PAS since they could do their jobs without being monitored.

Faculty Identity and the Discourse of Efficiency

The poststructuralist lens I employ in this study implies that faculty identities and the neoliberal discourses are mutually constitutive: the discourses can create and recreate various articulations of faculty identity, just as faculty identities can create and recreate these discourses. In the contexts of contestations, negotiations, resistances, acceptances, and adaptations,

opportunities can arise for the changing of these discourses and the related material conditions which they bring into the academy. In this section, I analyze the perceptions of the early-career faculty on the need for efficiency within UNZA and how this affected their scholarly identities. Bansel and Davies (2010) contend that neoliberal philosophy is characterized by the re-orientation of the state from one that is responsible for the wellbeing of its citizens to an enabling role, particularly for HEIs. True to this characterization, Zambia's national policy on education, EoF, proposed in 1996 that the role of the State in HE should be to create an enabling environment for private and non-government actors to take up the provision of education. Thus, one can see at UNZA the gradual transfer of responsibility for fundraising from the central government to the institution itself. I argued in Chapter Two that EoF has described the core business of universities, teaching, research and community service, as commodities that the institution can sell to mobilize non-governmental sources of revenue. This means that responsibility for raising funds ought to be expanded to include the core business of the academics: teaching, research, consultancy and community service. I now explore how the faculty experience and articulate these added responsibilities by examining the question of how these expectations shaped their identities as scholars and how are these in turn shaped by the contestation, resistance, and negotiation.

In my conversations with respondents in both the humanities and the sciences, diverse views on their new roles as fundraisers for the institutions emerged. Hillary, another early-career academic from the sciences, indicated that the responsibility to participate in raising funds for the institution was, for her, virtually "inescapable." She agreed that UNZA has had challenges raising money since the time she joined the academy as Staff Development Fellow in 2008. Her entry into the academy coincided with the onset of a steep deterioration in the working conditions of faculty: very limited funds available for research; expansion of the student enrollment without a concomitant expansion in physical facilities; and an acute insufficiency of materials for teaching pursuits such as lab reagents and specimens. Therefore, throughout her time at UNZA, she has tailored her academic identity towards financially-viable pursuits. Her lamentations below, highlight some of the challenges that arise from her immense teaching responsibilities:

> Maybe that's one way of the university trying to cushion the funding so the effect that [expanded enrollment of students] has on a young lecturer like me is the fact that I have close to 200 students in this course that I teach and you are telling me that the specimens for example, for dissection are very limited so out of a student population of let's say 170 and you only have ten [brains][reagents] available for them to dissect and study so then some particular years we've had to go without students even being able to dissect a brain at 4th year, which is very sad and uncalled for. But because the numbers [of students] are being dictated by some higher policies you know. It's been very frustrating I think partly because of the

> large numbers like I said which happen to be some higher policy, some higher call to say can you increase the enrollment of medical students so we can have more graduates in this profession. But on the ground, they are not working on the capacity building from the faculty aspect. (Interviews, 0026, January 2017)

This excerpt amply illustrates Hilary's frustration with higher powers, namely the Senate or Council. She felt she had no authority to determine how many students she can take on because such a decision is not hers to make. She alone understands what it means to have more students than there are facilities to teach them effectively. Hilary's predicament uncovers fascinating power dynamics in the university. The decision to enroll ever more student numbers is made by the higher administrative bodies of the institution, such as the Senate, the supreme academic body; and Council, the most senior policy-making body in the university. As the interview excerpt above illustrates, they are often far removed from the "ground," by which, Hilary presumably means the classroom, where the expanded student body must face a disillusioned lecturer, who has no say regarding how many students can be admitted. Therefore, the lecturer is left at the mercy of the market forces, while the material constraints she faces prevent her from carrying out her teaching duties effectively.

These added responsibilities did not help Hilary's identity as a researcher. She told me that it was hard to find time to research, get published and get

recognition as a scholar when all her time is consumed attending to students as if teaching is the only calling she had in the job:

> The other negative impact has been the fact that because of the burden of teaching the very large number of students it gives you very little time for research. You find the only time that you can do significant research is because you have enrolled in a PhD program. So now you are sort of… They leave you with very little time. So, that has been the effect. That has been the negative effect anyway. (Interviews, 0025, January 2017)

Hilary's latter point illustrates the perceived powerlessness by some faculty in the neoliberal university, as well as their deep frustrations with the rapidly deteriorating working conditions. Importantly, these conditions have not led to a relaxation of the promotion criteria, as these remain static, with every academic expected to demonstrate outstanding contributions in research, teaching and community service to earn promotion from one rank to the next. Thus, the somewhat reluctant appropriation of this added fundraiser-academic identity has been accompanied by shadowing of some or all the other dimension of identity. Hilary believes that because the institution expects her to generate revenue through teaching an expanded student body, it somehow affects her ability to become alive more fully.

Similarly, I solicited Cyprian's opinion on whether the job of a faculty member should include generation of revenue for the institution. He responded that raising money for the institution was "definitely" important:

> Of course, of course, I think it is essential that you see the client for any University is the student, of course, that is the priority because we are here to teach that client. So, when we're teaching, we're bringing in money for the University to sustain the institution and sustain ourselves as employees of the institution. We have two types of research. There's research for just knowledge purpose; you research to generate knowledge which will benefit people and such investigations usually may not have monetary gain. But there's also consultancy which will bring in money into the institution. That's very critical. In other universities, abroad and even within Zambia, you're promoted to the rank of Professor, Senior Professor, full Professor and so on whatever they may call you, based on the money that you are bringing to the institution. (Interviews, 0022, November 2016)

Cyprian went on to say that research that brings in money should be prioritized over research that does not. He said: "Given the financial constraints that the University is faced with, I think of course a research which is bringing in money to the institution will be given priority because it is that money which will support research that may not generate any income" (Interviews, 0022, November 2016). Whether Cyprian's claim that the promotion of faculty is based on ability to bring money does not apparently apply to the Zambian academy is debatable. The senior faculty members who sit on the promotion committee of UNZA told me that revenue generation has not yet been incorporated into the promotion criteria, adding that promotion was based more on publications, and not on the amount of money brought into the institution.

However, other respondents, while not roundly objecting to the fundraiser-academic roles, said they would be much happier to fulfill this role if it were incentivized by, for instance, being incorporated into the promotion criteria. Echoing Dudu, Vasliona similarly asserts that she welcomes the added task of fundraising given the unsound financial health of the institution, noting, however, that it should be enriched by being included in the performance indicators for promotion or renewal of contract:

> It's essential for someone to raise funds for their research, for the institution, I think that's very important. But having it put in as a specific, maybe in the job description, it can be encouraged but perhaps not as an indicator of a performance, possibly for promotion or something to say this one brought funds, this one didn't so we cannot promote this person because I think the playing field is not right. (Interviews, 00021, January 2017)

This quotation suggests that Vasliona was not opposed to raising funds if it could help her to become academically alive. She wanted this responsibility inserted into the performance appraisal so that somehow she can earn points that count towards her promotion whenever she generates funds for the institution. By referring to the playing field as not being level, Vasliona implied that revenue-generation is not adequately rewarded and it would not contribute to her becoming academically alive.

Ndyokaak, who is a lecturer from the sciences, echoed this view and added that it should not be mandatory for academics to double as fundraisers for the institution unless adequate reward systems for its recognition are built into promotion criteria:

> I think it shouldn't be necessary. I think it shouldn't be mandatory. And unless the University also may be factors that into how people get to advance because now the current set up is on teaching and research but the fundraising issue. I mean we need to do something if it brings in money for the university then that's great, but I don't know if we should make it mandatory. Because lecturers and researchers is it all of us, who have got entrepreneurial thinking at the end of the day? (Interviews, 00027, January, 2017)

On the other hand, Malakai, who hails from the humanities, urged the differential weighting of the fundraiser function relative to the other core function of the institution. S/he said the fundraiser function should be adequately rewarded in the promotion system, without losing sight of the fact that UNZA is a public institution which should be funded predominantly by public funds:

> Now the institution needs to run, and it needs to run with some funding. Now if I am going to be made the primary source of funding, then I've got a bit of a challenge. It means now I must get a chunk of my time and put it into consultancy so that I can generate money for the institution. I have got no problem with contributing to some extent but not to be like the primary source of income for the institution. This is a Government institution first, and if it is a Government institution, the Government should be able to know that to run a University it requires funding. Correct. It involves funding (Interviews, 00027, December 2016).

Whilst agreeing that raising money was important, Omutima, from the sciences, asserted that raising funds for the UNZA should not be made a central part of one's academic life:

> It's essential for someone to raise funds for their research, for the institution I think that's very important. But having it put in as a specific, maybe in the job description, it can be encouraged but perhaps not as an indicator of a performance may be for promotion or something to say this one brought funds, this one didn't so we cannot promote this person because I think the playing field is not right. Unlike in the past we hear a lot of stories about the history, about how the institution was well funded, there was a lot of research money and something like that, so people didn't need to engage in this but then that is the story they give us we don't know how accurate or not accurate it is (Interviews, 0023, December 2016).

Munkondia, a Ph.D. holder from humanities, also stated that given the financial status of UNZA, where the institution was having severe challenges raising funds, faculty should have no problem stepping forward to take responsibility for raising money:

> I think in my opinion that is the way it's supposed to go but about UNZA like they are supposed to raise funds from also tuition fee. But with UNZA about 65% of the students are supported by government, so then I think we also still get some funding from Government. So, I have heard people complain to say that sometimes Government does not remit the money quickly for the students that are on bursaries. And then like that it's difficult to develop the institution because mostly what happens is that whatever resources that are raised from research diagnostics, like in this case, consultancy funds and all that, all of them are mopped, and they go

> towards the wage bill. So, you find that all these other areas they start lacking (Interviews, 00028, January 2017).

These reflections of the faculty to the added responsibility of fundraising for the university demonstrate that in the Zambian academy, diverse scholarly identities are formed as individuals with different locations within it and varied personal preferences interact with the neoliberal environment in which they work. Amidst great material, financial and logistical constraints, the faculty at UNZA recognize and act upon or confront their limitations. By basing their willingness to take on a fundraiser identity, on an incentivizing of the role of researcher, some of the faculty show that they may be willing to align their identities as scholars with the discourse of efficiency. In their quest to be mentioned, these faculty members appear prepared to take on an identity as appropriate subjects of a system that exalts being efficient, measured here as the ability to generate revenue.

Yet equally important is the fact that the conversations with the faculty show a divergence of views on the fundraiser role that is cast upon them by the university administration. Those faculty who accept an added fundraiser identity asserted that any fundraiser roles should be adequately rewarded in the promotion system. This has implications for the ontology of mention because faculty who support the fundraiser role tend to do so on account that it will lead to

their becoming alive academically when the promotion committee acknowledges their hard work and rewards them with a promotion. Below, I provide two examples of how some faculty members envisioned the reward system for fundraising.

Vasliona described a project which she and two other senior colleagues had applied for and obtained funding. She considered it a significant achievement for her name to be associated with a project that brought vast amounts of money into the institution. She stated the following when I asked her what it meant to have secured funding for UNZA in an open competitive process:

> I do not know what I can say. Of course, it is nice to have your research published and to be visible to other scholars in your field but to have my name associated with big money coming into UNZA is a tremendous achievement which will change how the leadership in the university looks at me. They will probably say ‘oh that Vasliona and she is one of those that brought so much money into the university.’ This way, my name will be part of the history books, as one of those successful academics that brought monetary value. It is hard to erase that kind of accomplishment, just like you cannot delete the publication record of someone. (Interviews, 00021, December, 2016)

A second example of how early-career academics view fundraising is given by Ndyokaak from the sciences who had been in his post for seven years. She asserted that bringing money into the university represented, for her, an improvement in her standing in the eyes of her peers and her superiors. She said

she tried to make sure that she got involved in big projects so that when her name is associated with a significant project that brought money into UNZA, it helps to make her visible even in the meetings:

> With XXXX Science, I don't know if its NS I don't know if its UNZA, the general UNZA thing and you know how it is to move from one level to another, Lecturer III to II, where you're expected to demonstrate accomplishments in specific areas, so research apparently is a big one and securing funding for projects which is another huge one. So, if you can say look I did this consultancy, and this is how much I money brought in to the University then that goes a long way. But not only that you get involved in this consultancy and it is shared among peers, so it kind of like puts you in a position of you know what maybe I should use the word respect or recognition or acknowledgement so that if you put up your hand to say something in a group people will not look over you and go for the person next to you. So, for me, I think as a person that means a lot to me (laughter). (Interviews, 00027, January 2017)

Here again, the ontology of mention through consultancy and fundraising is illustrated. Ndyokaak believed that her respect among peers was elevated when her name was associated with some prominent consultancy that brought money for the institution. When faculty members attend a meeting, people frequently indicate their willingness to speak by raising their hands so that the chair of the meeting can point at them and give them a turn to contribute. At times the chair must choose from several options hands, and some faculty members end up not getting a turn to participate. But what Ndyokaak was saying was that raising money through consultancy increased her visibility in the

meetings, and with that, her chances of being mentioned were also raised. She could attend the meeting as an active, recognized participant who could be mentioned by name, and that meant a lot to her. She elaborated that the mention elicited by being associated with a significant project was like being visible only because one was walking alongside a renowned professor:

> The University atmosphere can reduce somebody to something minimal. They can reduce you to something tiny. I think it's not here. I used to see it even at my University when I am walking with my supervisor because he was a big person, he was a Professor, and he is a leading scholar in the area, and he was Dean at the Faculty where I was. So, it was a case of where people wouldn't even acknowledge me when I am on my own, but if I am walking with him people greet me by name. Suddenly you are being invited to say 'could you can we want you to come and give this talk.
>
> So, there's this ranking system people must earn stripes and when you reach a certain level even the way you talk, what you can say you will be given a platform to express yourself, people even listening to you. I mean if you don't care, it's okay. You can afford to sit in a corner within the University, and nobody will ever recognize you. But if you want that recognition then you must go out there you must keep yourself out, and people must know who you are. (Interviews, 00027, January 2017)

Ndyokaak's sentiments further illustrate how mention can be gained when one's name begins to be associated with projects. One can notice that walking alone, without any merit to her name, Ndyokaak feels that she is not alive, but the moment her name turns up alongside a recognizable figure, such as a well-

known professor, doors begin to open for her to be invited to various functions within the academy. The metaphor of earning stripes can be related to military life, where the number of lines a marine has indicated their seniority. In the academy, these stripes likely refer to being mentioned, to become academically alive by whatever means possible.

Whereas the faculty members from the humanities had no objection to the fundraiser roles for academic work, their counterparts from the sciences seemed to be opposed to this role because they believed it took away from what it means to be an academic. Several faculty members from the sciences stated that raising money did not sit well with the core functions of academia. Napoleon from NS said the following when I asked him what he thought about academics being required to raise money for the institution:

> Now look, Ferdinand, this is a public institution which belongs to the State and as the owner of the institution, the State has a responsibility to provide the revenue for the smooth operations of the institution and I, as an academic, have specific clearly articulated responsibilities which are connected to the core functions of an academic, namely teaching, research and consultancy. There must be a clear demarcation of roles. If they are going to expect me to be raising money for UNZA, they might as well employ me as a business strategist so that I do not have to worry about teaching, research, and all those things. In the real University world, money is not as valuable as the knowledge that academics produce. (Interviews, 00024 December 2016)

Similarly, Chameya from NS stated that raising money should not be inscribed in the job of the academic because it has nothing to do with being a real academic. She noted the following:

> In as much as I appreciate the ideas of some colleagues about promoting business activities, through whichever ways, the core business of all universities worldwide is teaching and research. Universities are not business houses; they are academic and research institutions! Thus, people employed as academics should be focused on teaching and making publications. It is unacceptable that we should even think about this unless we were a private university that existed for profit. So, let's be clear, if the owners of UNZA are unable to provide money, then they must sell the institution like they did the mines, then we can talk about lecturers fundraising for UNZA (Interview 00030, January 2017)

Here, Chameya questions the imposition of the fundraising role for academics because it had nothing to do with her job as an academic.

Ndyokaak stated similarly that fundraising had no place in the academy because sometimes the value of knowledge could not always be monetary:

> What I think is very important, the money aside is the knowledge transfer. So, that is very important because there is a lot of things that I am doing even here. I am the only one who does them in Zambia okay. So, there's been knowledge transfer to me, and then I need to transfer that knowledge to others so that we can have these systems within Zambia and create things on our own, do this research on our own. I think gaining the knowledge, is more important than the financial gain that the institution might have from just one piece of research (Interviews, 00032, December 2016).

In insisting that money was not the primary focus of her job as an academic, Ndyokaak was effectively rejecting the fundraising role.

Dudu also stated that there was a real danger in thinking of faculty members as the sources of revenue for the institution because it would dilute the academic work of the lecturers if their focus were to be on how to mobilize resources for UNZA:

> The danger of overemphasizing business activities is that these would override the core business of the university. You have areas that are not so appealing to the industry (don't seem to have a direct/clear cut link to industry) like my field of specialization but are so fundamental and so necessary for our existence in this universe. These must be funded through government research grants. The university should not have to abandon its core business to generate income. We should have a clear dividing line between business and the core duties of universities. If government cannot provide money to the university, any business pursuits undertaken by the university should not interfere with teaching and research... Besides the idea to engage purely in teaching and research requires proper government funding... We need serious investment into current infrastructure resources such as books and ICTs for teaching and research. (Interviews, 00025, December 2016)

Similarly, Hilary voiced her objection to any monetary motivations for the value of education, stating that the insistence on fundraising would privilege the sciences over the humanities:

> I think that asking faculty to raise money for the university is problematic because if cost-benefit analysis becomes the only measure of worth for universities, then we are faced with a real cultural crisis. Institutions of

> higher education don't turn out worker bees; they are the repositories of human history and culture. Eliminating subjects without careful consideration deprives students of connections to the past, present, and future. They will be set adrift in an eternal "now" that assumes technology will somehow solve all our problems and the "market" will determine what's important to know. They will have nothing to use to think. In an era when attacks on knowledge, facts, science, and expertise seem to be growing more and more influential, we need all the cultural fortification we can get. Devaluing the role of the university devalues all of us. (Interviews 00026, January 2017)

These sentiments of an NS faculty member took me by surprise, and I asked her why he felt this intense dislike for the monetary motivations for contemporary academic work. Hilary responded that it was important for the university to retain the original idea of what it meant to be a seat of knowledge. She stated the following when I asked her to elaborate:

> I am very disturbed by the recent trends where the politicians have been busy trying to place emphasis on sciences as opposed to arts [humanities], now this drive to insist that the lecturers must be raising money through their research will disadvantage those lecturers who are in discipline that are not attractive to industry, such as literature, philosophy, but which nevertheless have a lot of value in terms of what they contribute to the development of critical thinking among our citizens. This "economizing" of UNZA’s operations will do more harm than good. (Interviews 00026, January 2017)

In this conversation, we witness the value that a faculty member sees in a discipline that is not necessarily hers. Hilary's sentiments also illustrate what might happen to the academy if the raising if money was going to be emphasized as a part of the academic's job. One can also see the kind of opposition such attempts will face, as the faculty members exercise agency in determining their role within a neoliberal university, such as UNZA. Thus, in the section that follows, I address the issue of faculty agency in the neoliberal reforms of HE in Zambia.

Early-Career Faculty as Agentic Actors

In this section, I seek to show how early-career faculty members have performed agency in this highly entrepreneurial and managerial context. By agency, I mean the faculty's ability to recognize and act upon multiple subject positions availed by the political economy of HE. I look at faculty agency by exploring how early-career faculty members confront the two discourses of accountability and efficiency. The interviews show some degree of agency exercised by the early-career faculty members at UNZA. These include consortia of Anglo-American universities, multilateral and bilateral aid agencies, and corporate bodies involved in pharmaceuticals and agri-business ventures. I consider how these faculty negotiated their position within a neoliberalized

academy and how they navigated the pressure to produce types of research per the dictates of the multiple funding agencies.

In my interviews with early-career faculty members, one other theme that emerged was the who determined the direction of the research agenda, of UNZA. It was clear that the available monetary and other material resources for UNZA to support faculty research have been steadily eroded since. At the center of this deterioration was the power of faculty to determine the research agenda of the institution or their agenda because it is now primarily shaped by actors located outside of the academy.

There were some convergence and some divergence between the academics in the humanities and in the natural and physical science regarding the degree of agency they felt that they had over the determination of the research agenda and the assertion of a scholarly identity, even where the funds for research were obtained from an external organization. Overall, the faculty in the sciences indicated that they had a considerable amount of agency in their research activities. For example, Omutima in NS told me that, although to obtain funding she had to align her research agenda to areas that were more capable of attracting funding, she could steer the research in any direction that she felt could get her published:

> I do feel I have a fair amount of freedom, or at least some room to determine the direction of the research, even when the funders have articulated a clear agenda. I have been fortunate in that for the two, well, let me say the two main funders that I've had in my past studies, of course for my PhD studies it was somehow structured to say diagnostic tests, but within that it was so broad I could have done a whole range of things. So, I decided what specific part of diagnostic tests I wanted to look at and to do. So, in that way I still had my own kind of freedom to manipulate within that topic. That I could do something that I felt would be useful for the common person and that would get me published easily. (Interviews, 00023, December 2016)

Similarly, Sibalombwana, an early-career faculty who obtained his Ph.D. in the USA within the past five years and who is already an established scholar in Agric, told me that he first lets the potential funders articulate the broad contours of a research agenda. He then develops a conversation that he then places on the more general theme of the donors. He insisted that even if the funder dictated the research agenda, the financier is nonetheless at his mercy because he has the one thing that money cannot buy—his positioning at the ground. By ground Sibalombwana meant that as the researcher, it was his job to conduct the fieldwork, either within UNZA or at some location within Zambia:

> Of course, they know the information they are looking for. But they have very little power on the hands, on like what I mean by that is at the end of the day, no matter what, they still need somebody to be on the ground and so what I report on the ground is what they take as final. So, the word you used when you said, is it leverage? … leverage … ya, it's quite critical. I am under their guidance, yes, but they are at my mercy on the work to be

> done, somebody to be on the ground to do the job. They cannot come on the field and do it (Interviews, 00029, January 2017).

From the humanities, Vasliona told me that she exercised some measure of control over the research agenda by adding her interests to a research activity funded by an external organization. She described to me how she had, on several occasions, inserted her interests in a questionnaire administered as part of a commissioned research project:

> Sometimes you are lucky to be engaged in significant studies where may be an organization is trying to do something, and then you find yourself there, and if you feel there is something that you need to get which is extra, you use that time and money because already people have been sent to collect data. So, you use that as an opportunity to get the data you want as well so that you're able to continue publishing as well as being engaged in research. (Interviews, 00021, December 2016)

Vasliona went further to narrate to me how, at times, she had to request to include some aspects of a research problem that the funders had not initially considered:

> Sometimes we are involved in significant studies of course funded by people out there. You request for additional questions or additional tasks so that you can tap into the information that you want and your study becomes part of the more extensive research. So, when you are a part of that group, you tell them to say, 'I think I am interested in this, can I add this component to whatever it is you are doing so that I can get extra information, analyze it and be able to produce a paper?' (Interviews, 00021, December 2016)

At other times, Vasliona was willing to forfeit any monetary payments just so that she could get her research objectives included in a more significant study:

> So, yea, for me, I think I've had the privilege to work with people in the health sector. And so, those they have a lot of funding for research, so you find that when they're trying to study, I also go there with my questions. And you know I tell them, can I help you with this study? Sometimes they don't even pay me. 'Can I help you with this study but as I help with this study, I also want to get this information?' And then I get the information, in my own time, analyze it and possibly do a publication. (Interviews, 00021, December 2016)

In contrast to this support for the fundraiser role of academics, Omutima, introduced earlier, said that even though the scholarly identity she cultivated was based on her being recruited into a scholarship with a focused research agenda, she felt that she was entirely in charge of her identity. She narrates that she was initially attracted to her current research interests by the availability of funding:

> Well for me the … what led me to this kind of research in the first place was the organization under which I got the scholarship had structured Ph.D. There were specific Ph.D. studies so for the one that was available for me to apply for was in the production of diagnostic tools for some types of infections. So, I got into it that way and now that I found myself in this research area of these emerging diseases. (Interviews, 00023, December 2016)

She went on to tell me that once she had secured the funding and completed her studies, she found that she could do almost anything she wanted

without answering to the whims of the external funding agency. More strikingly, Omutima told me that she decided to stick with this research because it gave her a unique identity, which very few other Zambians had:

> It was also a pass [an added advantage] for me to say I can develop my career in this field where I am not going to be bumping shoulders with other people, and I can almost, if I have the funding, determine what I want to do with this kind of diseases and conditions and run with it. There are some diseases; I am not going to say that they are specific to people, but people have been researching, or there have been researching consortia or research groups funding by external donors for diseases that are of interest. So, I would not want to join a field where you might have conflict with other people in what you want to do.
>
> So, it was a plus for me that I could be in an entirely new field where I am coming in as may be one of the few people who work in that specific field. So, I basically have freedom and license to going in any direction within this research area. So, it's getting that knowledge that I have gained and translating it to other conditions and may be making rapid tests for these other things. So, there's a wide range of things that I can do. So, it's just about the funding. If I can get the funding, if I can get maybe some students under me, I can do quite a lot. (Interviews, 00023, December 2016)

In this conversation, Omutima demonstrates that she has the power to determine which direction she will take with her research, without necessarily being dictated to by those that are financing the research.

Cyprian also provided a striking example of how faculty could be agentic within the university when he told me that he had taken up the issue of the PAS

(see above) with the Registrar. He narrated that after pressing the Registrar, he managed to obtain an assurance that management would thoroughly consider the input and concerns of the faculty before finalizing the PAS instrument:

> So personally, I have had a problem with the way the whole thing has been handled. It has not engaged all stakeholders who are going to be affected by this. And because of that it may be a bit difficult to implement, it has its advantages, but let the members have a say. And I have mentioned this to the Registrar; I had a chat yesterday with him. I referred to him that this is a progressive idea but let our members have a say. They have not done that. So, he has agreed that they will give us a document once they finalize it before it is sent to Council for approval it will be brought to us and we will it to the members so the members can have a stake, can have a say in the system being proposed that it will be easier to implement it. And that's the way to go in a big organization. We need that. We need that its real. (Interviews, 00022, December 2016)

Cyprian's questioning of the administration's motivations and handling of auditing via the PAS demonstrates the kinds of actions that the faculty could undertake should they feel disadvantaged by any of the neoliberal structures at the university. Cyprian's hint at the possibility of the ulterior motives on the part of the government or the UNZA administration demonstrates that the faculty may not always be willing collaborators, receiving the dictates of the UNZA administration without asking questions or raising objections.

Several times during my faculty interviews, I asked the respondents which kind of knowledge, in their opinion, had more value: that which had monetary

value and, thus, would enable them get funding for research; and that which had more theoretical than monetary value, such as a research problem that would break new theoretical grounds in their disciplines. I believed this question related to agency because I got the sense during interviews that losing the autonomy over the research agenda was simultaneously empowering and disempowering to the faculty members. It could be empowering if, at the end of it all, they felt that they had not been pushed to stray too far away from their original areas of research focus. The faculty members were willing to lose autonomy if it helped them to become alive academically. They appeared to be manipulating a constraining situation, in the lack of money and tilting this relationship in their favor, so that, ultimately even when the research was not theirs to determine, they got away with the opportunity to publish. But it could be disempowering when the faculty members were compelled to refocus their research focus to align with the research agenda demanded by those financing the research. Thus, in my conversations with the faculty, I encountered a plethora of responses which, again, reflected the nuanced understandings of research.

Dudu responded to this question by asserting that there is no debate regarding the theoretical or monetary value of knowledge. As she put it, “money is everything,” even when the problem can contribute to new theoretical debates, money is the root of all research:

> I think funding is everything. You can have all the ideas, but if you don't have the money there's nowhere you can go. There's nothing that you can do. The plans will stay in your head. You can maybe conduct a literature review, and that is it, you know literature research. Funding is the key; it's the thing that drives research because even here a lot of the research agenda is inspired by the funding and the funding usually is coming from external sources with their interest into that research agenda. So, funding is everything if you look at research especially in the sciences where research is so expensive because of the equipment that you need, the reagents that you need, all the infrastructure, it costs a lot. (Interviews, 00025, December 2016)

The centrality of money notwithstanding, Dudu's identity as a scholar lies in being able to carve for herself space, where she can articulate her on own unique scholarly identity which makes her stand out even from scholars that are pursuing similar conversations identities. By this, she probably means it was possible for her to pursue a research interest that could be characterized as being both theoretically relevant and monetarily viable: "You must balance," she told me. "Is what you want to do something that is relevant?", she continues, before adding that funding will most of the time consider what theoretical contribution your study is making: "So, you can go into all this science and abstract science but is it going to translate into something?"

Dudu's narrative highlights the opportunities for identity negotiation that are inherent in a context dominated by research agendas of actors located outside the Zambian academy. Dudu exemplified the contests that may be made

inevitable by the material and monetary constraints to adapt continuously and to invoke a combination of strategies to isolate the one approach that might provide her with the most significant potential of success in securing funding for her research: After all, funding is everything.

Discussion and Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been the development of professional identity among early-career academics or the third-generation faculty members. I intended to map how identities emerged, got reshaped, shifted or realigned themselves concerning two neoliberal discourses, accountability and efficiency. I used the concept of the ontology of mention to capture dilemmas the faculty members faced as they tried to discover their professional identities.

The reflections of the faculty highlight essential implications of the discourse of accountability for professional identity. Some faculty members voiced unequivocal support for the introduction of audit techniques associated with accountability because of the work culture of their colleagues. The faculty members felt that the teaching responsibilities and become too heavy for them to bear without suspending their research activities. Because research was a very important pre-requisite for becoming alive academically, these faculty members felt that the uneven distribution if teaching responsibilities within UNZA tended to disadvantage them. Thus, they felt that audit techniques would catch

underperforming academics, and this would in turn help to distribute teaching loads more fairly. Once the teaching had been equally shared, the faculty members then thought that they would free up some time and effort to concentrate on research, which was the primary means of getting published.

The reflections of the faculty members also show a divergence of views regarding the discourse of efficiency. Most faculty members from the humanities seem to regard efficiency as an essential part of their identity because they believe the university is faced with a volatile financial situation in which resources are scarce it helps to make them academically alive through the recognition that results from successful consultancies. These conversations above show that the faculty members from the sciences are not comfortable with the fundraiser identity. These faculty resisted the fundraiser role and insisted that their efficiency as academics lay in being able to publish and to produce graduates for the country. Thus, these faculty members articulated their identities in a fashion that challenged the conception of efficiency as having to do with faculty mobilizing resources for the institution, but rather as faculty being able to produce knowledge through research and publications.

It was not clear why the views on fundraising were divergent between the two sets of faculty, but one can theorize that the humanities faculty tended to support fundraising because they saw it as an added avenue for them to get

mentioned and to, therefore, become alive academically. On the other hand, the sciences faculty members likely did not see the value of fundraising because there were different ways available for them to get mentioned through the more conventional avenues, such as research and publications. Opportunities for research were much more widespread in the sciences than in the humanities because the, unlike the latter, the value of scientific research was less questionable and therefore, many donor countries were willing to commit money for research in those areas. A recent study by Masaiti and Mwale (2017) showed that the research productivity at UNZA was heavily skewed towards the sciences. For example, the sciences faculty accounted for over 80% of UNZA's publication output for the year 2013, while the humanities faculty accounted for the remaining 20%.

Thus, in either the humanities or the sciences the support for a fundraising role for academics was invariably linked to the opportunities for mention that were available for either set of the faculty. It appears that the faculty members who had limited opportunities for being mentioned, saw the fundraiser role as helping to raise their visibility, while those who had the chances, saw this role as somehow diluting their identity as academics. It is also interesting to note that although the sciences faculty members' publication productivity could be

translated into a monetary gain for the university, they did not want fundraising to be a primary aspect of their identity.

The rejection of the fundraiser tag by the sciences faculty corresponds in a way with the perceptions of some first-generation faculty, who saw themselves as serious researchers, having parity with scientists in the Global North. The former faculty members arrived at this conception of their identity because of the had numerous opportunities to engage in research, as the resources for doing so were available. Similarly, the availability of research funds for the third-generation science faculty gave them a comparatively stronger sense of their worth as academics than their counterparts from humanities.

The interviews provide vivid examples of how some of the faculty managed to shape not only the direction of externally-funded research but also their identities as scholars. At times, they shifted or expanded the research agenda, or created new research foci. At other times, they crafted for themselves unique identities that made it easier for them to get published, without, as in the case of Omutima, "rubbing shoulders with others." Some of the faculty also stated that they felt empowered and sufficiently independent to proceed with their research as they wished, after having obtained the funding. These faculty showed that they could exercise agency in the negotiation of their scholarly identities by steering the research in ways that could change the agenda. The

freedom that this entailed formed an essential part of their ontology of mention. To a considerable extent, some of the faculty demonstrated that they could direct their work and get academically alive through their determined research agendas. It seems the loss of autonomy over the research agenda was a small price to pay for the reward of getting mentioned and thereby becoming academically alive.

Chapter 6: Returning to the Problematic

In this final chapter, I return to the problematic of the study by discussing the significant theoretical contribution of this study to the field of Comparative and International Development Education (CIDE); to scholarship on neoliberalism and higher education; and to research on identity studies. In the first section, I provide an overview of the problematic and outline the objectives I hoped to fulfill in undertaking this study. In the section that follows, I then consider the implications of this study for policy and practice, both within and outside Zambia. After this, I discuss the contribution of this study towards theory and suggest possible

avenues for future research. I then conclude by providing an overview of the chapter.

Overview and Objectives

This study had four objectives. First, I sought to understand how the professional identities of the faculty at UNZA emerged, shifted, and became reshaped due to shifts in the political economy of Zambia. Second, I wanted to explore how faculty identities could have changed over time since the creation of UNZA in 1966. Third, I attempted to understand how the introduction, in 1991, of neoliberalism in Zambia affected faculty identity. Finally, I sought to establish how early-career academics resist, appropriate and adapt the discourses and policies associated with this reform. These four objectives enabled me to explore in an historical and comprehensive manner the development of faculty identity at UNZA

In the two data chapters—chapters 4 and 5, I discussed the four most significant findings of my study. The first was that the identity of the faculty changed alongside the political economy of the country at different epochs in the history of the country. I argued that several different subject positions were available to the faculty to articulate their professional identities at these different times, which paralleled changes in the history of UNZA. From the 1960s through to 1991, the relative abundance of financial and material resources in the country

and at UNZA allowed faculty to see themselves as serious scholars who were at par with scholars in the Global North. The second significant finding of the study was that after Zambia transitioned from a socialist to a neoliberal economy, some faculty members at UNZA started to embrace entrepreneurial and commercially oriented academic identities. Third, the effect of the political economy on faculty identity was evident in how some of the participants in this study saw themselves as embodying both commercial and academic dimensions in their academic pursuits. The final significant finding of the study was that the deterioration in state funding from the 1990s onwards has led the early-career faculty members to engage in various strategies so that they could become academically alive—the "ontology of mention" discussed in Chapter 5. These faculty members embraced neoliberal discourses because they believed these would help them to become visible in the academy through their research and publications even though they had greater difficulties in doing so than in the heyday of UNZA in the 1960s and 1970s.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of this study point to the need for the development of institutional policies in Sub-Saharan African universities that would ensure more apportionment of teaching responsibilities so that faculty members can find the time for the allied duties of research and community service that are very central

to their professional identities. Several respondents across three generations of UNZA faculty indicated that the immense teaching responsibilities hindered their opportunities to conduct research on a scale and of the quality they deemed desirable. Thus, the faculty members relegated the research function to a peripheral role in their workload. This situation is not unique to UNZA but to the burgeoning higher education sector in many Sub-Saharan African countries where enrollments are increasing far faster than the size of the faculty.

Therefore, African universities and UNZA need to develop policies that consider three issues concerning teaching loads for early-career faculty. First, university policy must acknowledge the centrality of research and publications to the career prospects of a junior faculty member, as well as the impact of research productivity on the profile of the institution where these faculty members may be working.

Second, policy for promotion needs to be sensitive to the specific contexts in which faculty members are operating, which are different from the settings in which faculty in the Global North operate. This means that the expectations for publishing need to be realistic so that faculty members in the Global South, do not have to meet the same standards as their more empowered colleagues in the Global North.

Third, the policy-making authorities in Sub-Saharan African universities

must develop institutional policies that reflect the equal relevance of community service, teaching, and research and how this might affect the professional identity by faculty members. The policies also need provide incentives for these three core functions of academics proportionally so that the faculty so that they can create institutional conditions that facilitate the development of research, teaching, and community service. Thus, universities must create reward systems that appreciate the nature and purpose of each one of the core academic functions of the faculty as part of the basis for promotion. Without attention to all three, and especially to creating better conditions for research, faculty will not feel they are alive academically. It is clear from the findings of this study that some faculty members were willing to risk their productivity in teaching so that they can get published, even at the risk of losing autonomy over the research agenda to corporate and non-corporate entities within UNZA. Against this background, my study recommends the formulation of policies that reduce excessive teaching and community service demands on faculty, particularly early-career faculty, and reduce the number of challenges the faculty face in negotiating their professional identities.

Contributions to Theory

This dissertation makes three critical theoretical contributions to the study of faculty lives and the field of Comparative and International Development

Education. First, the findings inform on-going debates about the effect of neoliberalism in higher education by comparing theoretical assertions to actual experiences of the faculty in a specific context, namely, the liberalized Sub-Saharan African economy of Zambia. This contribution is significant for several reasons. For one thing, it is a central concern of scholars in CIDE to examine how forces, such as neoliberalism, travel around the world and how local actors appropriate them. CIDE scholars are also concerned with how they are re-configured to local realities, meanings, and contexts (Dean, 2012), while also highlighting the ways that such localizations embody universal principles in global settings. Thus, my study has contributed to these debates by showing how one group of local actors in the Global South experience the neoliberal forces in higher education, and how individual identities emerge, shift, and re-align with different neoliberal discourses.

A second theoretical contribution of this study is the ontology of mention which was the central theme in Chapter Five. I used the theory that was first introduced by Broudy (1983) to argue that the faculty in my study faced ontological dilemmas in becoming alive academically, in seeking to penetrate the consciousness of others sufficiently enough to elicit mention in scholarly publications and conversations. In deploying this construct in novel ways, my dissertation has contributed to theory building by creating a conceptual category

that can be used to study the negotiation of professional identities in other higher education spaces both within and outside Sub-Saharan Africa. The ontology of mention can also be deployed as a logical device to study how faculty in different locales take-up, resist, adapt, or appropriate the adage ‘publish or perish.’ The ontology of mention makes an important contribution to theory building regarding the notion of academic personhood. By examining being and non-being as important conceptual categories, this dissertation points to a need to further examine how academic personhood is constituted. Thus, the ontology of mention illuminates what is distinctive about the UNZA case, beyond money being in short supply.

The third theoretical contribution of my study is in creating additional avenues for understanding faculty identities. The findings in Chapters Four and Five have illustrated how the professional identity of faculty at UNZA is neither a uniform nor a fixed construct. By presenting identity as historically constituted and contingent on multiple factors, this dissertation contributes to the poststructuralist theory which denies that identity is necessarily stable over time. The poststructuralist conception of identity therefore assumes that the self, work, and society are always in a state of flux. Thus, identity is constantly co-created through the interaction of self with others in response to contextual demands, including the political economy. The findings of this study align with this

conception of identity in that my respondents appeared to have cultivated their professional identities by moving into and out of subject positions availed to them at different critical moments in the history of UNZA. Thus, professional identities at UNZA emerged, shifted, and were reformed at the intersection of different national, international and institutional discourses.

Avenues for Further Research

In this section, I consider several possible ways in which I could extend this research further. In this final section of the chapter, I explore several avenues for future research that I intend to conduct. First, I plan to explore the unique positionalities of faculty from the School of Veterinary Medicine (Vet Med), whose research output far exceeds the faculty from other schools. A study by Masaiti and Mwale (2017) found that in 2013 Vet Med accounted for over 257 out of the total UNZA output of 287 books and journal articles. Some respondents in my study explained that the comparative productivity of Vet Med faculty could be because of the relatively small undergraduate and postgraduate student numbers admitted in this school, which means the faculty teaching load is less than in other schools. Other Vet Med faculty told me that their productivity was the result of the intense training and induction they received in the run-up to a career in the academy (including prolonged undergraduate training lasting close to seven years).

With these competing claims about the reasons for the productivity of Vet Med faculty, I am keen to undertake an ethnographic study of this group of faculty concerning those in other schools to explore the underlying reasons for these differences. At a minimum, I envisage two journal articles on the unique positionalities of individual faculty members within UNZA's school system. One piece could focus on etic and emic experiences of being a faculty member in Vet Med, while the second article could extend the focus to include faculty members in the Schools of Medicine (Med Sch) and Agriculture (Agric). These schools, together with Vet Med, are grouped into what the Senate categorizes, for administrative purposes, as the Life and Plant Sciences. The three schools are collectively regarded as the most suitably positioned to attract funding from corporate and non-corporate entities because of the research they can undertake. For example, the School of Agricultural Sciences, I found during my investigation, is the recipient of vast sums of money from agricultural business (Agri-Business) entities specializing in the manufacture and sale of seed to service the country's burgeoning agricultural sector. Med Sc, on the other hand, is also attractive to numerous pharmaceutical corporations, as well as bilateral and multilateral aid organizations that commit large amounts of funding towards research into tropical and other infectious diseases. Thus, I imagine that the faculties in the three strategically positioned schools are situated at the

intersection of several neoliberal discourses, which make it worthwhile to explore how their professional lives can be affected by their positioning.

A second possible avenue for further research would be to apply an anthropological lens to the exploration of the emerging role of UNZA's School of Education faculty as principal suppliers of expertise to teacher training colleges within Zambia. This relationship with the colleges is a focal revenue-generation avenue under the UNZA strategic Plan-2013-2017. These additional responsibilities are taken on by the faculty who already have tremendous teaching responsibilities resulting from the growth of student numbers. I would, therefore, explore how the Education faculty experience these added roles which they take on because the institution must maximize non-governmental sources of revenue. It would be interesting to explore how faculty members navigate these extra responsibilities, while at the same time seeking to remain academically alive through research and publications.

The third avenue for further research would explore the dynamics of private versus public higher education faculty education in Sub-Saharan Africa, a topic of critical import to the field of CIDE. Such a study might compare two flagship universities in Africa and two of the many burgeoning private universities across the continent. Such a study would help to expand perspectives and theory on what happens to the faculty when monetary motivations begin to drive the

research agenda of the faculty members.

Fourth, I would like to develop a longitudinal study that examines in even greater depth than I could in this dissertation the ways that professional identities, particularly of the early career faculty, may shift, reform, and realign with the neoliberal discourses as the faculty gain traction within their diverse teaching fields and their research interests. For example, how might the faculty continue to exercise agency in articulating their professional identities after initially trading off their autonomy in return for a chance to become academically alive? Would their identities shift or would new identities emerge as these faculty make the transition from being early-career to being mid-career and late career faculty? By considering the ontological dilemmas that the early-career faculty face in becoming alive academically, this dissertation has provided the basis for the further development of the theory of ontology of mention that I would like to explore longitudinally.

A final possible research avenue would address the horizontal axis of comparison in the CCS approach (CCS) formulated by Bartlett and Vavrus (2017), which I had intended to use for my study but did not due to the unsuitability to my research site. The horizontal axis of this approach involves the comparison of how similar but separate forces, policies, and processes are actualized in different but complexly connected locations. Zambia belongs to a

regional bloc of countries known as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) which is comprised of ten nations: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia. These SADC countries have some historical similarities and share a similar relationship with the IMF and the World Bank. Thus, a useful future study would compare how the ontology of mention, and the related discourse of publishing or perish has been taken up, resisted, or appropriated by faculty members at the flagship institutions in the SADC region. Such a study could also look at how the broader purpose of higher education has shifted at institutions across the region. A comparative study of how “different but similarly and complexly connected” institutions in SADC have adopted, adapted, resisted, or appropriated the importation of the corporate logics into the academy could be a valuable addition to knowledge (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014, p. 131).

Conclusion

This dissertation has been primarily about the intersection of the political economy of higher education in Zambia and the professional lives of the faculty at the flagship institution in the country, UNZA. It has taken me four years to complete the study, starting from its preliminary stages. During the writing of the dissertation, I have had to make hard decisions about what to include and what not to include in the final document. Something I have not included in the

previous pages is a captivating scenario related to me by one critical informant in this study. It seems appropriate to conclude with it because the scene illustrates some of the transformations that faculty underwent because of shifts in the political economy of higher education in Zambia.

From the time, I interviewed this informant; he has since risen to the rank of Associate Professor, a very rare accomplishment given the material and logistical challenges Zambian faculty face in rising through the ranks. During an interview with him, he explained to me how a fish species found in Zambia managed to sense impending changes in climate in the region and managed to migrate beforehand to more favorable climatic conditions. I asked him how this fish species from Botswana could have traveled to the Zambezi and Congo when these two river systems were not connected to each other, let alone to the defunct lake in Botswana. He responded as follows:

> In the evolutionary biology of fish, you get a lot of different fishes, types of fish in ponds and not in rivers. The lake, unlike a river, has many different environments contained within it. These environments create opportunities for different fish to specialize and in the process become separate species. Fish can radiate or depreciate into many types, because of the lake environment providing so many opportunities. Because these are slow processes and because the fish has these instincts to survive. Also, they have cues or signals which they can detect that things are now becoming bad (climatically), and they can also identify the ultimate way out. When the signs indicate that a lake could become dry in fifty or so years, the fish can drift towards the wet direction away from the dry areas, and if there are some episodes of flooding, the fish could accelerate this

> drifting out of the original environment. We can confirm that some fish species in the Congo and Zambezi rivers could have ended-up there by slowly drifting from a lake in present-day Botswana that is believed to have dried up several hundred years ago, to the rivers in the nearby vicinity through a lot of means; including flooding and just survival. Also, some fish might have been trapped in some marshy areas whenever there was a flooding episode. In the end, they found themselves in the Zambezi and the Congo river systems. We have shown by using biological data that this is what happened. (Interview, August 2016)

The story of evolutionary biology was a fascinating story which captured interesting evolutionary dynamics that I could relate to my study. Most of the participants in my research indicated, through their reflections, that the political and economic environment of Zambia had a substantial effect on their development of professional identities. They, like the fish, picked up the signals that were present in their academic environment to articulate identities that reflected the realities of the times. The 1960s and 1970s provided subject positions for the cultivation of the nation-builder academics. This epoch also enabled some scholars to develop anti-colonial activist identities. The 1970s and 1980s allowed faculty members to aspire to emulate the scholars that inducted them into the academy. The scientrepreneur academics emerged in the 1990s due to the political economy of neoliberalism that the state embraced at that time. Finally, after the year 2000, we saw the emergence of the academically alive neoliberal subjects, at least for some faculty. In all these epochs, we can

apparently recognize the effect of the political economy on faculty identity.

In the years to come, I intend to continue studying faculty identity in the Global South, to see how the faculty identities will shift in relation to the emerging shifts in the political economy of higher education. The current government in Zambia has, in the past four years, created five public universities. This indicates that the state is no longer keen to pursue the deregulation/privatization of HE that government practiced in the 1990s. This apparent paradigm shift is bound to have implications for the professional lives of the faculty members, as new subject positions will likely be opened, by the changing political and economic character of the country.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol

1. **Entry into the academy**: I would like to hear the story of how and when you became an academic.
    1. Please tell me the story of how and when you became a member of the University of Zambia (UNZA) faculty
        i. How did you come to your current position in your department?
        ii. What is your position in the university?
        iii. What is your department/unit?
        iv. What are your roles and responsibilities?
        v. How long have you been in this post?

2. Tell me about the pre-1991 working conditions?
3. What tensions and crises if any did you face in becoming an academic?
4. What advice would you give to someone joining now?

2. **Professional identity** in an era of liberalization, privatization and de-regulation of higher education:
    1. Do you feel that UNZA is becoming entrepreneurial in outlook?
        i. Do you have any examples?
        ii. If so how does this affect people becoming academic?
    2. What sort of tensions do you anticipate or have you experienced in becoming an academic in this era (pre-1991 and post-1991)? Any opportunities? Challenges?
    3. How do you envision your role as a faculty member, changing because of shifts in the higher education climate (pre-1991 and post 1991)?
    4. Do you feel there are ideas and strategies from the corporate world integrated into the academy?
        i. If so how do you describe your role in appropriating, resisting or contesting some of these influences?
    5. How do you see these influences as affecting or not affecting your identity as an academic?
    6. How have you changed, or not changed, over time as an academic?
        i. What factors have contributed to this change or lack of it?
    7. Describe what you like/dislike about being an academic in this era as compared to times past?[10]
3. **Perceptions** on the changing role of faculty in higher education.
    1. Do you think that that raising money for the institution should typically be included in the job description of a faculty member?
        i. Why or why not?
    2. How do you describe your interaction with the fundraising projects in your institution?

[10] This question is reserved for older, more senior faculty

3. Do you ever feel tensions between your role as an academic and the need to raise money for the institution?
    i. If so how do you handle such tensions?
4. Do you believe that as a faculty member you can have a say on how the reforms are pursued at UNZA?
    i. If so what role do you see for the faculty and can you provide some examples of how this might play out or how it played out in the past?
5. What is your take on the performance appraisal system?
    i. Any pre-1991 equivalents?
6. What other issues do you want to discuss about the changing role of the academics?
7. Do you have any questions for me?
    i. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study. Do you have any questions for me?
    ii. If at any time you have any questions about or related to this interview, please do not hesitate to contact me.
    iii. I should also like to mention that if you wish, I could send the transcript of this interview for you to review once it is ready, so that you can go over what we have discussed today. Once again, thank you very much for your time.

Appendix B: Consent Form

You are invited to be in a research study on the negotiation of professional identity by University of Zambia (UNZA) faculty. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to participate in the study. This study is being conducted by: Ferdinand Mwaka Chipindi (chipi001@umn.edu), PhD student at the University of Minnesota who is advised by Professor Frances Vavrus (vavru003@umn.edu), of the University of Minnesota in the Department of Organizational Leadership, Policy, and Development.

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to investigate how faculty members at UNZA negotiate their professional identities in the context of neoliberal reforms of higher education in Zambia. It seeks to explore how

discourses associated with neoliberalism can shape the professional identities of faculty.

Research Question: My overarching question is: How do the professional identities of faculty at UNZA emerge, shift, and become reshaped due to shifts in the political economy of the country? The main research question is expanded by three sub-questions exploring change over time in three domains:

a) How have faculty identities changed over time since the creation of UNZA in 1966?
b) How did the introduction of neoliberalism in Zambia affect the identity of the faculty at UNZA?
c) In the context of the neoliberal reforms of higher education in Zambia, how do early-career academics resist, appropriate and adapt the discourses and policies associated with this reform?

Procedures: If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things: Participate in a semi-structured one-on-one interview with the researcher; Allow me to record the entire conversation that we will have in the interview or to take notes for the duration of the interview; Agree to being observed by the researcher in your interactions with other academic and non-academic members of staff of the institution in campus settings, such as meetings, seminars and symposia.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study: There are several risks involved in participating in my study. First, it may be uncomfortable and/or painful for you to recall any unpleasant events or conflicts or tensions in your trajectory as an academic. To minimize or avoid these risks, you are at liberty to decline to answer any question during the interview. You can also decline to read the interview transcript once I have typed it and given it to you.

Confidentiality: All the audio files and text transcripts in this study will be kept under the strictest confidence. I will also ensure that in any report or publication that I make out of this study, there will be no information that will be included that could make it possible for anyone to identify any of the respondents in this study. Physical and electronic research records will be stored securely, and only the researcher will have access to the records. Audio recordings will only be accessed by the researcher and will not be used for educational purposes. They will be erased once transcription is completed and verified.

Voluntary Nature of the Study: Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Zambia (UNZA) or the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions: The researcher conducting this study is Ferdinand Mwaka Chipindi. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact Ferdinand Mwaka Chipindi at 330 Wulling Hall, 86 Pleasant Street SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55455, by phone at 612- 294-0479, or via email at chipi001@umn.edu. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650. Email irb@umn.edu.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature:______________________Date: ______________________________

Signature of Investigator: -____

Appendix C: Respondent Recruitment Letter/Email

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Ferdinand Mwaka Chipindi; I am a doctoral student in Comparative and International Development Education (CIDE) at the University of Minnesota. As part of my doctoral research project, I am interested in exploring the experiences of University of Zambia (UNZA) faculty in negotiating a professional identity in the Zambian higher education climate, which for the past two to three decades, has been characterized by the liberalization and privatization and deregulation of higher education institutions. The purpose of writing to you is to invite you to participate as an interview respondent in my study. If you choose to participate, you will retain the right to terminate your participation in the study at any time.

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to investigate how faculty members at UNZA negotiate their professional identities in the context of

neoliberal reforms of higher education in Zambia, which started in 1996 with the passing of *the Educating our Future (EoF)* policy document. It seeks to explore how discourses associated with neoliberalism can shape the professional identities and how faculty contestation, resistance and negotiation may in turn shape these various discourses.

Research Question: My overarching question is: How do the professional identities of faculty at UNZA emerge, shift, and become reshaped due to shifts in the political economy of the country? The main research question is expanded by three sub-questions exploring change over time in three domains:

a. How have faculty identities changed over time since the creation of UNZA in 1966?
b. How did the introduction of neoliberalism in Zambia affect the identity of the faculty at UNZA?
c. In the context of the neoliberal reforms of higher education in Zambia, how do early-career academics resist, appropriate and adapt the discourses and policies associated with this reform?

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study: There are several risks involved in participating in my study. First, it may be uncomfortable and/or painful for you to recall any unpleasant events or conflicts or tensions in your trajectory as an academic or as government official or former government official. Second,

the interview that I am hoping to have with you may have no fixed duration and may last more than an hour. Additional time may also be required for you to read the interview transcript for accuracy it will take several hours, if not longer, to participate in the interviews and journaling and read the transcript for accuracy. To minimize or avoid these risks, you are at liberty to decline to answer any question during the interview. You can also decline to read the interview transcript once I have typed it and given it to you after the interview.

Confidentiality: All the audio files and text transcripts in this study will be kept under the strictest confidence. I will also ensure that in any report or publication that I make out of this study, there will be no information that will be included that could make it possible for anyone to identify any of the respondents in this study, unless any of the respondents expressly request that we I use their real names rather than the pseudo names that will otherwise be used in this study. Physical and electronic research records will be stored securely, and only the researcher will have access to the records. Audio recordings will only be accessed by the researcher and will not be used for educational purposes. They will be erased once transcription is completed and verified.

Voluntary Nature of the Study: Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) or the University of

Zambia (UNZA) or the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Procedures: If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in a semi-structured one-on-one interview with the researcher. The interview will be conversational in nature and will last approximately an hour and 15 minutes.
- Allow me to record the entire conversation that we will have in the interview or to take notes for the duration of the interview.
- Read the transcript of the interview that I will type and give to you and correct any information that I may have recorded incorrectly. You may then keep a copy of the transcript for your history.
- Agree to being observed by the researcher in your interactions with other academic and non-academic members of staff of the institution in campus settings, such as meetings, seminars and symposia.

Contacts and Questions: The researcher conducting this study is Ferdinand Mwaka Chipindi. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact Ferdinand Mwaka Chipindi

at 330 Wulling Hall, 86 Pleasant Street SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55455, by phone at 612- 294-0479, or via email at chipi001@umn.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

Yours' sincerely,

Ferdinand Mwaka Chipindi