

Global localisation: the crisis of "transformation" in African public universities in the face of the epidemic

--The University of Botswana strike as an example

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executive summary

African universities experienced a series of strikes in 2022. This paper examines the strikes at the University of Botswana at the end of 2022 through the lens of global localisation in an attempt to present the localised consequences of the New Crown Epidemic and neo-liberal reforms in the African higher education sector. Through participant observation of the strike and analysis of legal texts, supplemented by interviews with stakeholders, the author argues that the economic downturn triggered by the New Crown epidemic triggered a strike with the main demand for pay rises, but that the form of the strike reflected Botswana's local institutional colours and was a continuation of resistance to the neoliberal reforms that had been introduced at the university since two decades ago. Through a compendium and empirical study of the circulation and consequences of neoliberalism in the higher education sector in Europe, America and Africa, the author argues that neoliberalism in education has a kernel of audit culture that has led to the rise of authoritarianism. This empirical observation constitutes a critique of neoliberalism which believes in marketism.

Keywords: neoliberalism, epidemic, African higher education, audit culture, strike, Botswana

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introductory

The University of Botswana (UB), located in Gaborone, Botswana's capital city, is Botswana's supreme institution of learning and, until 2005, Botswana's only public university.²⁰²² In November 2012, a two-week strike was called at UB. The two unions on strike were the Union of Teachers, Researchers and Senior Support Staff (UBASSSU) and the Staff Union UBSU. The striking teachers and support staff were organised under the banner of "UB staff are being discriminated against in terms of pay" and the slogan "UB can't get any worse! "Save UB, the Chancellor is out of office!" The procession marched through the campus with traditional dance steps and placards, singing "We want money, you (the university administration) tell stories" in Tswana. When the procession reached the meeting point in front of the campus, several strike conveners gave speeches in turn, with the strikers chanting, "Whoever divides us, we will divide!" "UB, we know everything but one!" "Chancellor step down! Step down!"

Because the strike coincided with the month of final exams before Christmas, the university management, as a matter of urgency, convened a meeting of faculties and departments and assigned heads of faculties as the "core staff" to supervise the non-unionised teaching and research staff who, in the face of the strike by the supportive staff, were strictly enforcing the examination discipline and ensuring that the examination papers were distributed and collected in such a way as not to affect the examination results and the degree certificates. Degree certificates. The strike was reported several times in the local media in Botswana, and at one point the strikers demanded that the Minister of Education participate in the dialogue, but the Minister of Education did not appear before the strikers as expected. One of the strike leaders told the author that a new strike would be launched for the following year's midterm exams if the strike demands were not met.^②

Tensions between UB's faculty and the university administration are not unique. The wave of strikes at African universities has been rising at a time when the New Crown epidemic is easing.²⁰²² In February, teachers at the Great Zimbabwe University (GZU) went on strike to demand a salary increase. ^③The University of Ghana Teachers Union (UGTU) launched a nationwide strike in 15 tertiary institutions, demanding a 60 per cent salary increase to combat inflation. ^④The most serious were

The English term "support staff" is used because this historic title is related to the previous reform of UB, so the author adopts the translation of "support staff" instead of "administrative staff" which is commonly used in Chinese universities. The author adopts the translation of "support staff" instead of the term "administrative staff" commonly used in Chinese universities. This will be discussed further below.

^② This union leader, also a professor, told the author about the intention to continue the strike while attending a party organised by the dean of the author's faculty for fellow friends and colleagues at UB.²⁰²³ In mid-February, UB faculty members again went on strike for a week and demanded a 27% pay rise.

⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ "GZU Lecturers Join Incapacitated Colleagues, Announce Strike," *New Zimbabwe*, [24 February 2022], <https://www.newzimbabwe.com/gzu-lecturers-join-incapacitated-colleagues-announce-strike/>.

^④ "UTAG strike continues as govt fails to meet demands of striking lecturers." *Ghana Web*, 30 November 2022, <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/UTAG-strike-continues-as-govt-fails-to-meet-demands-of-striking-lecturers-1672178>

The strike by the teaching staff of Nigerian public universities has left students without classes for eight months. ① Teachers of Nigerian universities

The protests are against the underfunding of school facilities, the low salaries of teachers (professors are paid as little as \$1,000 a month), and the fact that the government is constantly investing in the construction of new private universities, while government officials send their children to colleges and universities in Europe and the United States. Reports indicate that public universities in Nigeria have experienced 17 strikes within the last 23 years. ② The strike movement organised by the African Universities Trade Union (AUTU) is indicative of the crisis facing the higher education sector in Africa, and echoes university strikes around the world. ③

Was this crisis triggered by the economic downturn caused by the New Crown epidemic? Or is it the result of other factors that have swept through the education sector globally and in Africa? Or is there some localised institutional culture at play? Using the University of Botswana's 2022 strike as a case study, this paper attempts to analyse the institutional causes behind this phenomenon, using the globalisation perspective as a framework for analysis. The paper first describes the mobilisation process of the participants in the strike and the conflict between the strikers and the university management. Secondly, it discusses the genesis of neoliberalism and the mechanisms of its expansion and grounding in the African higher education sector within the framework of glocalisation. Finally, the strike is situated in the context of changes in higher education in Botswana to reveal the new changes in the crisis of transformation of higher education institutions embodied in this strike.

I. University strikes: the crisis of "transition" and strike alliances

Botswana is located in southern Africa, bordering South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The discovery and successful nationalisation of diamond

resources at independence in 1966 avoided the "resource curse" common to African countries, and the economy grew at an annual rate of more than 9% for decades. Botswana's transformation from one of the world's poorest countries in the 1960s to an upper-middle-income country (Botswana's GDP per capita will reach \$6,367 in 2021)^④ has been an "exception" and a "miracle" in Africa. ^⑤

The University of Botswana was the only public university in Botswana until 2005, when it was founded by the University of Botswana of Rio de Janeiro.

^① "Nigeria's public university lecturers suspend strike after eight months," *Reuters*, 14 October 2022,

<https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/nigerias-public-university-lecturers-suspend-strike-after-eight-months-2022-10-14/>

^② "17 strikes in 23 years: a unionist explains why Nigeria's university lecturers won't go back down," *The Conversation*, 8 " *The Conversation*, 8

September 2022, <https://theconversation.com/17-strikes-in-23-years-a-unionist-explains-why-nigerias-university-lecturers-wont-back-down-190170>

^③ For example, in January 2013, a staff strike also broke out in the UK, sweeping through 150 colleges and universities. Refer to the Universities and Colleges Union website. URL. <https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/12671/2023>

^④ Data source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/botswana/gdp-per-capita>, accessed 15 January 2023

^⑤ See J. Clark Leith, *Why Botswana Prospered*, McGill-Queen's Press, 2005. The economist Leith attributes Botswana's rapid growth to its control of diamond resources and initial infrastructure development, and argues that Botswana's traditional culture contains considerable democratic elements that have contributed to economic development. Leith attributes Botswana's rapid growth to its control of diamond resources and initial infrastructure development, and argues that Botswana's traditional culture, with its considerable democratic elements, has contributed to economic development. Critics, however, have argued that Leith has consciously avoided discussing the failures of Botswana's internal development programmes: the billions of pula invested in broiler self-sufficiency, the bad bank loans, the absolute dependence on the South African economy and the economic homogeneity and inequality caused by an overdependence on diamonds (Botswana's Gini coefficient will be the world's 10th lowest in 2023). See Ian Taylor (2006).

Pius XII University of a strong religious character set up by the Catholic Church of Malaysia in Basutoland (present-day Lesotho). ^① Because of the bo
The relative wealth of the Tswana state treasury has ensured adequate budgetary allocations for public university education, with the University of Botswana's annual budget in the region of US\$150 million since the 2010s. Since the UB salary scale is not publicly available, I can only estimate the annual income of a university lecturer/senior lecturer to be in the range of P400,000 to P600,000 (US\$1 = 12.8 pula).

Botswana experienced two major outbreak shocks in March/April and July/August 2021 during the New Crown epidemic,^② and in December 2022 reported the discovery of the Omicron variant for the first time. The country's GDP fell by 10.6 per cent in 2020, but rebounded in 2021 as the global diamond market recovered. ^③ 通胀率从 2022 年初的 2% 上升到 12 月的 12.4% The transport sector alone contributes 6.8%. ^④ 俄乌战争 to inflation, which has triggered a rise in the cost of fuel in Botswana, with minibus drivers in Gaborone staging a citywide strike in 2022 年 5 月 to protest against government increases in fuel prices that have left them unable to make ends meet. ^⑤

In economic terms alone, Botswana faculty and administrators or support staff who participated in the strike were affected slightly differently by the epidemic. Rising transport costs and rents brought on by the economic downturn triggered by the New Crown and the Russo-Ukrainian war hit support staff harder, as they do not have transport and housing allowances in their contracts. For faculty and researchers, their salaries are directly tied to the budgets of public universities. The most common complaint is that their salaries have not increased in five years and have shrunk due to inflation. Faculty members used to have bonuses (half a month to one month's salary) for excellent annual teaching evaluations, which have also been eliminated with the new crown.

More relevant to the interests of staff is the "transformation" reforms introduced by the current UB chancellor, who has been in office since 2017.

"The Transformation was initiated in the context of government funding cuts and enrolment expansion, with the aim of 'transforming' UB from a not-for-profit to a for-profit university, and from a teaching to a research university, and from a national to an international university. Between 2011 and 2012, the University of Botswana's total projected budget for 2011-12 was \$4.5 billion.

^{Pius XII} Catholic University was established in Lesotho in 1946 as a higher education institution named after the Pope.

^② Refer to the Wikipedia entry on the Botswana Newseum outbreak, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/COVID-19_pandemic_in_Botswana.

^③ Botswana's GDP during the New Crown epidemic is as follows: \$16.7bn, \$14.93bn, \$17.61bn, \$18bn in 2019 (projected for 2022).

^④ Statistics Botswana, [14 January 2023], <https://tradingeconomics.com/botswana/inflation-cpi>

^⑤ "Commuters stranded due to transporters' strike," *Mmegi*, 20 May 2022, <https://www.mmegi.bw/news/commuters-stranded-due-to-transporters-strike/news>

The budget was \$145 million, of which 77 per cent came from Government funding and 21.5 per cent from student fees. ①The pre-epidemic period of 2018 to For 2019, UB's total budget is approximately \$148 million, of which 59.3 per cent is government funding and 28.0 per cent is student tuition.② Staff costs for 2019 are up to 70.5% of the total budget of \$145 million. ③As you can see, while the total budget is flat, government appropriations are down 18 per cent over seven years, while tuition revenue is up 8 per cent.

At the all-school staff meeting in February 2022, when the new chancellor took office, the headmaster continued to emphasise the 'transformation' and profitability of the school in his speech, announcing the establishment of committees and a roadmap for consultation, validation and implementation of the 'transformation'. The roadmap. The training for faculty and researchers that I attended as an entry-level faculty member centred on "transformation", and the documents and presentations on "transformation" were full of bar charts, line graphs, Wayne diagrams, and "strategy" and "innovation". These "transformation" documents and presentations are full of bar charts, line graphs, Wayne diagrams, and "strategy", "innovation", "stakeholders" and other management and success psychology terms (e.g., "out of the comfort zone"), but have nothing to do with actual teaching and research. and research.

The more immediate impacts of the "transition" on public university faculty are the temporaryisation of contracts, the increase in classroom hours, and the reduction of research funding without reducing the pressure to publish. Starting at least in 2019, UB's contracts with faculty members will begin to be made temporary on a large scale, with both new recruits and veteran faculty members being offered two- to three-year contracts based on the annual performance management system (PMS).

(The performance management system (PMS) is used to determine whether a

contract is renewed, and at the time of renewal, the Human Resources Department puts out a job advertisement, requiring the renewed staff to compete with the new recruits for the job. Another purpose of "transformation" is to carry out **retrenchment** or **layoff** after various assessments, which has become a "sword of Damocles" hanging over the heads of all teaching and research staff (especially those on fixed-term contracts). This has become a "sword of Damocles" hanging over all staff (especially those on fixed-term contracts). Supportive staff expressed the view at the aforementioned February campus-wide meeting that the "transition" would not solve the immediate problem, given the chronic lack of funding for infrastructure (e.g., network) and maintenance of equipment, and the inability to upgrade the hardware. In contrast, a professor pointed out that the various measures under the "transformation" were all **wish lists** that could be hoped for but were not feasible, and that funding for the "transformation" was **nowhere to be found**. The funds for "transformation" are nowhere to be found.

In Botswana, there are legitimate organised channels for the grievances of teaching, research and support staff to be expressed - trade unions and strikes. Botswana inherited the British system of industrial relations. Within the legal framework, the rights of school unions are almost equal to those of school authorities. According to the agreement between the UBASU (Union of Teaching and Research Staff and Senior Support Staff) and the school authorities.

^① Richard Tabulawa & Frank Youngman, "University of Botswana: A National University in Decline?" in Damtew Teferra eds. *Flagship Universities in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, p. 37.

^② University of Botswana Report 2018-2019.

^③ Ibid.

Freedom of association is the basis of trade unions, and school authorities may not interfere with or threaten trade union office holders or trade union members; and trade union offices

Members, workers' representatives, and trade unionists are also prohibited from interfering with and threatening school employees. Collective wage negotiations and strikes are also subject to legal procedures. Strikes or "industrial action" may be called by trade unions only after negotiations have broken down.

It was within this legal framework that the unions went on strike, and in **October 2022**, when the University of Botswana was celebrating its **40th** anniversary, the UBSU (Union of Teaching, Research and Senior Support Staff) called on its members to boycott the celebrations. From **October** onwards, the unionisation process accelerated under the leadership of the union, including urging each union member to recruit **five** new members, asking departments to elect workers' representatives (**shop stewards**), and forwarding relevant legal documents such as Collective Labour Agreements (CLAs) to union members and non-unionised staff. At the same time, the two unions, "Ubasu" and "Ubusu", filed a request for arbitration with the university administration over the salary increase at the district **labour office** where the university is located. After the arbitration was annulled by the Industrial Court, a two-week strike was launched in **November**.

The report of the arbitration, which is quite detailed, shows the specifics of the dispute between the union and the university and the union's strategy of struggle. The **applicant** was the president and general secretary of the union and the **respondent** was the university's director of human resources. The union argued that the **UB** President's finances were not transparent and demanded that the university increase salaries by **3-5 per cent** in response to the shrinking salaries of back office staff brought about by inflation in Botswana in recent

years, and the outcome of the arbitration was clearly in favour of the union. Firstly, the Respondent (the school) had applied for legal representation to represent the school on the grounds of the complexity of the case, but the Claimant (the union) argued that the introduction of legal representation would be discriminatory against the union, which had limited membership fees and could not afford to pay the costs associated with the introduction of legal representation. The Arbitrator found that the matter itself was not complex under the Industrial Disputes Act and that the introduction of legal representation was indeed unfair to the Union and therefore dismissed the Respondent's request in favour of the Union. The second dispute was whether the services of support staff were "essential services". The Respondent (the University) argued that faculty and researchers were the core of the University and that the services of support staff were not "essential services". The Arbitrator again invoked the Industrial Disputes Act and held that the support staff were necessary for the teaching and learning services and that their services were "essential services". Thirdly, are the salaries of UB employees linked to the Government of Botswana? The Respondent (the University) has repeatedly stated that the University Council has consistently argued that UB salaries are not linked to government salary scales. The Arbitrator rejected the Respondent's (the University's) claim because the University Council had been advised by legal counsel that the salary of the Vice-Chancellor was equivalent to that of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education of Botswana and that the University of Botswana, as a "parastatal not-for-profit institution" (non-profit institution), is not linked to the Government of Botswana, in accordance with the provisions of the Botswana National Policy on Income, Employment, Prices and Profits Amendment Act (2005). The University of Botswana, as a "non-proprietary parastatal", remains a "non-profit institution" under the terms of the Botswana National Policy Amendment Act (2005).

Receive funding from the government. The Arbitrator found that while the University of Botswana could maintain some autonomy in its internal payroll. However, this does not mean that the headmaster's salary is delinked from the government. Fourthly, with regard to the Union's request for 3-5 per cent of the salary, as the parties had not fully shared the relevant information, the Arbitrator recommended that the Union request disclosure of the 2021-22 budget from UB the following day, and following the latter's reply on 25 October, the parties would consult again on 3 November.

In terms of the strategy of legitimate union struggle, one can see that the campaign is directed at the headmasters and argues that the salaries of the teaching and research staff and senior support staff will inevitably rise in line with the government's salary increases by linking the government salary-principal's salary-teaching staff's salary-support staff's salary link. The author will return to this point in section three.

However, on 10 November, the Botswana Industrial Court overturned the resolution of arbitration between UBSU and the university, stating that it lacked a legal basis, and on 11 November, an email from the union to faculties indicated that mediation between UBSU and the university had reached an impasse. On 11 November, an email from the union to the faculty indicated that mediation between UBUSU and the university administration had reached an impasse and that the president of UBUSU had signed a strike declaration with the director of human resources of the university administration, deciding to take the lead in the strike, which would take place from 14 to 18 November in accordance with the law. This was followed by a strike at Ubasu.

The actual process of mobilising for the strike demonstrated the strong alliance between the support staff and the researchers. Firstly, in terms of disruption, the strike was timed to coincide with the final exam period, and as a direct consequence of the support staff's participation in the strike, the exams

could not be held. **Support staff** include teaching staff, but also electricians, carpenters, IT, teaching secretaries, and the school's specialised invigilators. In accordance with school rules and regulations, the invigilator arrives at the examination centre forty minutes before the start of the examination, sets the clock, takes the examination papers out of a zip-lock bag and places them separately on the desks, and then hands them over to two members of staff (mostly the teachers of the course) who have arrived half an hour beforehand. Before the start of the exam, the invigilators check student IDs and then remain outside the exam room for an hour. Half an hour before the end of the exam, they return to the exam room to collect the passes and extra papers. Thus, the absence of invigilators affects the proper conduct of the final exam; and the final exam results are more relevant to the awarding of a student's degree. Secondly, at the discursive level, the union emphasises the unity of the two categories of personnel against the divisiveness of the university administration. The university responded to the strike by pressuring faculty members through the college to take over invigilation duties from the faculty researchers, under the supervision of the head of the department as the "management". However, the union leadership objected at an emergency meeting of the faculty in response to the strike, arguing that the substitution of teaching and research staff for blame was legally "strike-breaking and disruptive of solidarity".

However, the author argues that the alliance between support staff and teaching and research staff is merely a strategy for striking rather than based on day-to-day working relationships. In the day-to-day teaching and research activities of the university, teaching equipment (e.g. projection equipment, speakers) etc. is often dysfunctional, and teaching management systems purchased from South Africa are often flawed, but the IT staff are either absent or unable to solve the problems.

Question. The air conditioner in the office could not be cooled, and the school maintenance workers came to the house seven or eight times and still could not fix it, and finally the author was sued.

Knowing that the cost of repair materials is insufficient, the application can often take months. As a result, every repair visit is more or less a show of getting things done. Many office workers, such as administrative secretaries, who have been at the university for decades, often do not come to the office because of sick leave or leave of absence, and are complained about as **"deadwood"** by the faculty. The inefficiency and incompetence of these service departments has become an undisclosed but well-understood secret, or what anthropologist Hertzfeld has called **"cultural intimacy"**.¹ When I complained about this phenomenon to local faculty, they explained this inefficiency or "incompetence" to me: administrative positions in government and universities are mostly permanent. "Many people sit in their offices for 20 or 30 years and have come to think of their offices as their homes, coming back tomorrow if they can't finish their work." And when new leaders try to make any changes, they are often rebuked by veteran staff with their old credentials.

The paradox observed at the University of Botswana of different institutions being at each other's throats in their day-to-day functioning and moving towards unity in the event of a strike requires an understanding of the proliferation of neo-liberal reforms in the African higher education community and their consequences, as recounted below, as well as familiarity with the local institutional structures and people's (overt and covert) preoccupations, in order to make an effective "deeper picture" (Gertz's term). In the following, I will use the framework of **glocalisation/glocal** to look at this phenomenon. The concept of "global localisation" actually originated from Sony in Japan in the 1980s to guide the adaptation of advertising strategies to local needs in different markets around the world. Mike Featherstone has

argued that this "Japanesisation" was "a global strategy that does not seek to impose a standard product or image, but rather to tailor it to the needs of local markets", from which the concept of "global localisation" is derived. ② 维克多·Ludendorff has further developed the conceptual genealogy and evolution of global localisation at . ③Richard Tabarawa of the University of Botswana, on the other hand, suggests that the global and the local are often two sides of the same coin in the increasingly intertwined realities of the world, and that the interaction of global and local factors often has unforeseen consequences. ④Through the analytical framework of global localisation, the author will sort out the origins, manifestations and proliferation of neoliberalism in African universities in the next section before returning again to the discussion of the current strike.

① Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics and the Real Life of States, Societies, and Institutions*, London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

② M. Featherstone. *Undoing culture: globalisation, postmodernism and identity*, London: SAGE, 1995.

③ Victor Roudometof, "The glocal and global studies," *Globalizations* (2015) 12.5: 774-787.

④ Richard Tabulawa, "Global Influences and Local Responses: The Restructuring of the University of Botswana, 1990-2000," *The International Journal of Higher Education and Educational Planning* 53. No. 4 (2007): 457-82. *The International Journal of Higher Education and Educational Planning* 53. No. 4 (2007): 457-82.

II. Neoliberalism, audit culture and African universities

Neoliberalism, widely regarded as an ideology and practice based on the Washington Consensus and the substitution of market forces for state power, has spread from Europe and the United States as a global force with significant political, social and cultural impacts throughout the world over the past half century. The political and economic impact of neoliberalism in sub-Saharan Africa has centred on structural adjustment policies. Beginning in the 1960s, independence movements and decolonisation swept the continent, as independent African countries attempted to sever political and economic ties with their former sovereigns, but economic crises occurred in the late 1970s. Starting in the 1980s, institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund began to dominate the political and social processes on the continent by offering structural adjustment programmes in the name of rescuing the economic crisis. The thrust of structural adjustment was to reduce public expenditure, education and services in African countries and to rely on the power of the market and the private economy to bring about economic recovery. However, the implementation of structural adjustment was not as successful as it could have been, with Africa experiencing nearly two decades of economic stagnation relative to China and Southeast Asia, which were emerging at the same time. ⁽¹⁾ Manufactured industrial goods had to be imported from the West.⁽²⁾

What, then, is the role of neoliberalism in university education in Africa? How has neoliberalism manifested itself in the field of education if public expenditure, education and services are necessary components of the state or public sector? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to discuss the relationship between neoliberalism and African higher education in a longer historical context.

Prior to independence, higher education in Africa was relatively weak compared to the rest of the world and was highly dependent on the interests and ideologies of the former sovereign states. University education in pre-independence Africa was mostly financed by the colonial powers, but in different ways. For example, British higher education reinforced the consolidation of political and economic relations between the sovereign and the colony, France focused on cultural assimilation, and Belgium emphasised basic education and theological education. ③ Oziva Eicher argues that the higher education systems in these colonies were influenced to some extent by the theological tradition of the university, which had its origins in medieval Europe“象牙塔”, and by the social needs of the colonies themselves.

① Paul Collier and Jan Willem Gunning, "Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Vol 13. No. 1. 3. (1999), pp. 3-22.

② Interestingly, the disparity and isolation of economic development has created a new phenomenon in the new century: as China became the "factory of the world", a large number of African merchants began to come to Hong Kong and mainland China to buy goods, which has attracted widespread academic attention (e.g. Adams Bodomo 2017; Gordon Mathews 2019). Many of these businessmen were also former government employees (leaving business can be likened to "going to sea" in China in the 1980s and 1990s). This can also be seen as an unintended consequence of neoliberalism in Africa.

③ Ajayi, J. F. A., Goma, L. K. H., & Johnson, G. A, *The African experience with higher education*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 1996.

There is a serious disconnect between demand and supply. ^①This disconnect did not improve until after the independence movement, but after the economic crisis.

Once again, Africa's indigenous needs for higher education have been ignored by international organisations represented by the World Bank.

In fact, as early as the 1960s, the World Bank put forward the **"basic needs" approach**, which argued that higher education was not a basic need but a luxury, and that basic education would suffice for the development of African countries to produce the talents needed by the economy. Because neoliberalism believes in individualised choice, whereby individuals and institutions make decisions based on the 'rate of return', the decision of whether or not to go to university should not be left to the public sector, but purely to the private sector. Therefore, the Bank had no intention of investing in or assisting higher education in Africa. This "basic needs" agenda continued to be reflected in the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s: higher education should be left to the private sector of the economy rather than to the State. However, the marketisation of universities has not been without its successes in Africa, such as the "Makerere Miracle" at Makerere University in Uganda, ^② even referred to as the "Harvard of Africa". The university has improved teaching conditions by expanding its enrolment, as well as the well-being of its staff and faculties. Critics, however, point to the doctrine of personal choice and the proposition that higher education is not a "basic need", leading to a real-world situation in which higher education is only affordable for wealthy families, in effect depriving the poor of their right to education. Even at Makerere University, the beneficiaries of the high rates of return are in fact the teaching profession rather than education itself. The consequence of the expansion of enrolment is that the teacher-student ratio increases rapidly, and while teachers' salaries rise as a result, students are even more

inadequately instructed; the introduction of uniform degree standards after the expansion of enrolment, while the curriculum ignores the local context in favour of the European and American, resulting in a mismatch between the supply of education and the job market, and the students are pushed into the job market in such a mismatch, which often has a disastrous outcome, and the universities are unable to do anything to change the under-employment situation. This type of privatised provision is growing rapidly in Africa, resulting in the proliferation of degrees and the devaluation of qualifications.^③

Apart from the fact that neo-liberalism does not rely on the government but vigorously promotes the privatisation of higher education, its operation mechanism cannot be separated from the "audit culture" that has increasingly attracted the attention of scholars. ^④The audit culture originated from the period of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's administration. Since 1980, under the guidance of neo-liberalism, the British government has vigorously promoted the privatisation of state-owned assets, selling off British Petroleum, New Town Development Group, and the British Government.

^① James R. Ochwa-Echel, "Neoliberalism and University Education in Sub-Saharan Africa." *SAGE Open*, (2013): pp. 1-8.

^② A. Sawyerr, "Challenges facing African universities: Selected issues," *African Studies Review*, 47(1), (2004): pp. 1-59.

^③ "African universities recruit too many students: over-recruitment is a continent-wide problem," *The Economists*, 12 April 2017.

^④ Cris Shore and Susan Wright. "Audit Culture and Anthropology: Neo-Liberalism in British Higher Education," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 5, No. 4, (1999): pp. 557 - 575.

Corporation, Regional Water Authority, British Aerospace (BASF), and the United States Department of Defense.

The Audit Commission was formed in 1982 from the Big Four accounting firms (e.g. PricewaterhouseCoopers). From 1982, the Audit Office was formed from the Big Four accounting firms (e.g. PricewaterhouseCoopers) to audit public sector finances not only in the name of 'quality', 'efficiency', 'performance', 'value for money', etc., but also to practically regulate the adoption of ratings, "In 1992, the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (OFSTED) was established. In 1992, the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (OFSTED) was set up to audit LEAs, teachers' programmes and education-related research, and was extended to UK universities.^①

Chris Shore and Susan Wright argue that neoliberalism, which nominally espouses the primacy of the market, actually obscures the workings of power - and according to the sociologist Foucault, the power that is obscured is often the most effective power.

^②In the UK, the government has shifted the power relationship to the reviewer and the auditee by giving the third-party auditing firm the right to review. between investigators, effectively strengthening government control over the auditee, and paradoxically leading in practice to a certain degree of rising anti-market authoritarianism. In the UK, for example, the Higher Education Funding Convocation was set up in the 1990s, consisting of senior academics and administrators who gave each department a score. In the absence of satisfactory results, funding for faculties was withdrawn and programmes that did not appeal to students were cut. During the same period, the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) and the Teaching Quality Assessment (TQA) were introduced in anthropology departments in UK universities. In the first phase of implementation, staff were able to propose to each other to create a climate for improving research and teaching, but in the second phase, the climate of collegiality among university staff was seriously undermined by

the introduction of penalties for laggards and the linking of departmental rankings to grants received. In other words, the audit culture, which on the surface appears to be objective management, is inseparable from punitive authoritarian behaviour. At the same time, the audit culture quantifies teaching and research activities that are difficult to quantify, those that cannot be quantified become worthless, and the career development of university employees becomes fragmented under the baton of quantitative goals. People are intimidated by the fear of falling behind, and teachers become individuals who are accountable only to themselves, self-motivated, and who monitor their own behaviour according to appraisals.^③ But it is hard for people to go against the system, and they can only act within it by striving to get ahead, instead reinforcing the system.

^① Ibid.

^② Ibid.

^③ Ibid.

How does neoliberalism take root in Africa compared to the UK experience?

At Makerere University, Uganda.

The actual consequences of neoliberal reforms are often hidden behind economic figures. Mohamed Mamdani was Dean of the University's Faculty of Social Sciences and President of the Joint Union of Academic Staff (JUAS) in the 1980s, and later Chairman of the Commission for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). In *Scholars in the Marketplace: The Dilemma of Neoliberal Reforms at Makerere University 1989-2005*, Mamdani argues that in terms of the university's budget, the public budget in 2003/4 cost 3 million Ugandan shillings (Ushs) (US\$1,530) per student, whereas the privately-funded cost per student was The public budget in 2003/4 cost 3 million Ushs (\$1,530) per pupil, while private funding cost 1.2 million Ushs (\$612) per pupil, but the perception is that the school's financial resources come from the latter. This illusion is actually caused by the way school finances are allocated: the public budget is distributed through the school's administrative structure, which constitutes the basic salary and income of regularly employed staff, while the income of the teaching units comes from self-financed tuition fees, which constitutes the performance of the teaching staff.¹ In other words, people are more concerned about the cost per pupil than about the cost per student. ^① In other words, more attention is paid to the increment of the economic pie at the expense of the stock of the economic pie. However, neoliberal incentives have led faculty members to desperately try to expand the number of self-funded students. At the discursive level, university faculty assert that the university belongs to the people who work for it, and that they have gained pedagogical and financial independence in the name of "decentralisation" of faculties and departments, thus breaking up the original faculty pedagogical co-operation. Courses in non-market career-oriented service subjects such as pedagogy are not cross-taught by faculty members from sister departments (e.g., students

in the field of literary education are required to take courses in literature); and even when they are taught, there is often a delay in the submission of the results of the marking of papers-sometimes up to six months, a crisis in the graduation of the student, or simply a lack of cooperation between students of the department and those of the faculty. "aren't our students" and give low grades. ^② More confusion is caused by decisions made by members of the university senate (senate). In 1995 the Faculty of Education, in an attempt to make a profit, introduced an evening programme parallel to the day programme of the Bachelor of Arts in Education (B.A.E.). Three years later, because of the need to ensure the quality of teaching, the requirement to adopt uniform standards for both day and evening courses was introduced, and the Faculty of Arts was mandated to guide the evening courses. But paradoxically, by this time, the programmes of the Faculty of Arts were already completely market-oriented, so how could the educational standards of the evening schools be ensured? Other faculties, such as Religious Studies and Literature, were also in disarray, mostly because the management of the faculties wavered between ensuring the quality of teaching and making a profit.

An anthropological study conducted by Chris Verot in a tertiary institution in south-eastern Nigeria reveals the sectarianism and antagonisms that have arisen within the university's faculty. ^③ The social policy department at this school is divided into two factions, and between them the

^① Mahmood Mamdani, *Scholars in the Marketplace: The Dilemmas of Neo-Liberal Reform at Makerere University 1989-2005*, South Africa: HSRC press, 2007, p. vi - vii. vi - vii.

^② Ibid. p. 59.

^③ Chris Willott, "Working Factionalism and Staff Success in a Nigerian University: a Departmental Case Study," In Bierschenk, T. and de Sardan, eds., *States at Work*, Brill, 2014, pp. 91-112.

The rivalry can be traced back to the ideological confrontation triggered by the Cold War in the 1960s. One group can be called liberal, the other Marxist, socialist, and involved in trade union activities, with an academic leader in each group. The 1970s saw a boom in Nigerian oil due to the abundance of oil, but in the 1980s the country underwent structural adjustment, which triggered social shocks and a sharp depreciation of the Nigerian currency, the naira, and a drastic reduction in the income of the teaching staff. Some faculty members then sought ways to earn extra income by playing the law. The ideological opposition between the two factions faded, but a new dichotomy arose in the attitude towards "earning extra money": the liberals were in favour of earning extra money, while those in the left-wing tradition were against it due to the devaluing of self-interested behaviour. In terms of student development, the left-wing tradition is largely based on grading students on the basis of their academic performance, whereas liberals are mostly involved in so-called "sorting", i.e., making money deals with students to help them get high grades. Liberals also earned extra money by renting out university space, selling handouts, and rigging exams, etc. After 2005, when the new president promoted a liberal to department chair, the liberals received institutional support for their actions, and the rivalry between the two groups intensified, especially in the case of the other group. The rivalry between the two groups intensified, particularly in another area of real interest to teachers - promotion. Unsurprisingly, the faction that favoured financial gain prevailed in promotions. Virot believes that ideological rivalries tended to continue to fade under these new conditions, as the Marxists often argued for financial gain at faculty meetings and also sought the support of the "big boys" in order to pass exams and gain promotions.

What about Botswana, a fellow African country? According to Professor Motsoomi Marobela of the University of Botswana, neo-liberal policies such as

privatisation, competitive bidding, contractualisation of employment, and flexible employment have performed very inconsistently in Botswana compared to other African countries that have operated with high levels of indebtedness and have been subjected to World Bank structural adjustment because of Botswana's unique mineral resources, which have shielded the government from the accumulation of debt.¹⁴ In other words, the government and the public service are not on the verge of bankruptcy. ^①In other words, the government and public services would not have to accept structural adjustment programmes because they were on the verge of bankruptcy. But Marobela argues that neo-liberal advocates such as the World Bank and foreign consultants have eroded Botswana's public service by promoting and training a section of senior managers and supervisors and ensuring that their interests are not compromised. This mechanism is supported by empirical research. In retracing a reform of the University of Botswana in 1998 and its aftermath, Richard Tabarawa pays particular attention to

^① Motsomi Ndala Marobela, *Political Economy of Botswana Public Sector Management: From Imperialism to Neoliberalism*, VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2010.

up the school's foreign senior staff and middle managers. ① According to Tabarawa, in contrast to other countries where structural adjustments have been imposed

For example, Botswana's assimilation of global economic concepts was achieved through foreign consultants, but interacted with established governance structures in a counterproductive manner. This reflects the intertwined relationship between the global and the local in the process of "global localisation". This university reform is described in more detail below.

The background to the 1998 UB reforms was the following: the global economy had suffered a decline in the 1970s and 1980s, and the UB reforms had been implemented in the 1970s and 1980s.

Botswana's diamond revenues declined. By the early 1990s, the government was investing fewer resources and had to be self-financing, and began to promote "efficiency" and "effectiveness". 1996 onwards, the World Bank classified Botswana as an upper-middle-income country, and contributions from rich countries (such as USAID) declined sharply, but student enrolment tended to increase. After 1996, when the World Bank classified Botswana as an upper-middle-income country, contributions from rich countries (e.g. USAID) declined sharply but student enrolment tended to increase. This posed an external challenge to the 1998 university reforms: the need to manage more students and larger institutions with fewer resources.

In terms of local structural factors, Tabarawa argues that the administrative organisation of the University of Botswana can be portrayed as a mixture of collegiality and administrative hierarchy. The former is a "horizontal" or "horizontal" organisation and the latter is a "vertical" or "vertical" organisation. According to the University of Botswana Act (1982), the Chancellor of the University of Botswana is either the President or the Vice-President, with the Vice Chancellor (②), the University Council () and the University Council ().

(The University Council, the Senate, and below it, directorates and departments. This structure follows the British university system, and the Senate, in particular, carries the function of shared governance, i.e. the division of labour and shared responsibility among university staff in academic matters. There is a strong democratic tradition of consultation among staff, where consensus is reached and then acted upon. However, such consultation is time-consuming and labour-intensive, and therefore a target for top management, which emphasises efficiency and implementation.

As mentioned earlier, in realpolitik, university reforms, however, depend on middle and senior management. The reforms of the second incumbent Vice-Chancellor, Professor Thomson Gwu (a Botswana historian), have only gone as far as the Committee of Directors, which is yet to be established.

^① Richard Tabulawa, "Global Influences and Local Responses: The Restructuring of the University of Botswana, 1990-2000." *The International Journal of Higher Education and Educational Planning* 53 (4). (2007): pp. 457-82.

^② The President of Botswana has a direct relationship with the University of Botswana. a 2008 law stipulated that the position of Chancellor need not necessarily be held by the President, but the President still had the power to appoint the Chancellor. in 2011, the new Chancellor appointed was not recommended by the Board of Governors but was a political ally of the President. in 2012, the Board of Governors included one of the President's brothers and business associates. in 2013 the Chairman of the Board of Governors was the President's attorney. Later, the Minister of Education could appoint the Rector. Under the Rector, the Dean is appointed by the President and recommended through the Faculty Council. Heads of departments were required to consult with members of the department before recommending them to the president, rather than being elected. But the tradition of elected deans ended after the 1990s. See Richard Tabulawa & Frank Youngman, "University of Botswana: A National University in Decline?" in Damtew Teferra eds. *Flagship Universities in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 17-55.

Before the faculty members were touched, there was resistance from the administrative group. The "professionalisation" reforms he introduced required staff to have a positive attitude to their work.

style certification before they can take up their posts, to the detriment of those who have only a university degree or no degree at all, but who have been promoted to middle management positions through years and years of work. These administrators have had many meetings with the president to express their dissatisfaction and have lobbied powerful political figures to intervene. In fact, the university councils also often have political allies appointed by the president, and the president does not even appoint the president, as required by law, but the president directly appoints the candidate. ①When the reforms did not work well downwards and were channelled upwards to the country's top leadership, the University Council decided that Professor Sharon Seawalt, an American woman, would be the president and continue the reforms. Tabrawa speculates that precisely because outsiders are unaware of the internal contradictions and local politics within the institution, it is in turn possible to correct the organisational inertia or even semi-paralysis caused by the reforms of the previous chancellor.

The third Rector took strong measures at the beginning of his term: the Rector consulted the Vice-Rectors on major decisions.

(The decision was made by the **deputy vice** chancellor and implemented by the lower echelons. This highly assertive stance demonstrates the principle of efficiency and implementation, but when it comes to middle management, the headmaster has abandoned the previous compulsory redundancy and severance programme and adopted a policy of **redployment**, giving priority to those with both qualifications and experience, and providing suitable training to those without to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the organisation.

Those who lacked qualifications and experience were given appropriate training to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the organisation. The end result of the reforms was that no one lost their job, but management became bloated and at least two vertical administrative organisations were created. The first vertical organisation was the senior management team, including the three newly appointed executive vice-principals for administration/finance, academics and students, who reported directly to the headmaster and strengthened the headmaster's authority. The second vertical organisation is the Director's Office at the middle level. The reform has resulted in the emergence of 17 directors, including those in research and development, student welfare and human resources.

Organisational bloat has a serious impact on the delivery of teaching and learning activities. In the case of the **Directorate of the Centre for Academic Development (CAD)**, for example, CAD may be headed by an associate professor or higher, but the director must rely on subordinates from non-academic backgrounds. This is the body that sets key policies for assessment, curriculum development, and the promotion of new teaching methods. Policy proposals are generally made by the office in consultation with the faculty. As a result, academic and research decisions are transferred to this department. However, such institutions are also under pressure from neoliberal reforms. The middle management of these directorates is contracted because of the neoliberal belief that contractualism is directly related to "productivity" and that contract workers are more productive than those with permanent positions.

^① Ibid.

More productive and the contractual system strengthens the authority of the decision-making level (**executive**) (in particular the right to appoint, dismiss and renew).

(Power). Therefore, the pressure on these middle managers has also increased, reinforcing the implementation and weakening the tradition of consultation. The occupation of such non-academic staff in managerial decision-making positions caused serious dissatisfaction among academic staff, so the university hierarchy rationalised the change by renaming **non-academic** staff (**non-academic**) as **support staff** to signify the integral role of this group of staff to the university's business.

At the same time, the **senate**, an important vehicle for "shared governance", has been diluted by management. Prior to 1998, people with academic backgrounds (deans of faculties, heads of department and professors) constituted the senate, but the senate was seen by the reformers as too unwieldy and its deliberations too lengthy, which had a serious impact on its efficiency. After 1998, department chairs were subtracted and replaced by two representatives from each faculty, one of whom had to be a professor or associate professor. At the same time, a number of directors were added (including executive directors of R&D, Academic Services and Centres), which led to an increase in the proportion of so-called "academic administrators". The seemingly drastic reforms of the second Rector resulted in a bloated organisation and increased bureaucratisation of the University, with important consequences for the subsequent governance of the University.

III. Re-examining university "transformation" and strikes

If the University of Botswana underwent similar reforms 20 years ago, what are the similarities and differences between the "transformation" advocated by the current Chancellor and the earlier reforms? Are the

reactions of university staff, including strikes, a repetition of history? Answering these questions will help us understand the development of abstract neoliberalism on the ground and the new structural contradictions. Due to the author's limited perspective, I will only provide some preliminary on-the-ground observations and analyses below.

A comparison of the reforms that the University of Botswana underwent twenty years ago and the current reforms reveals a subtle shift in the position of academic staff and administrators. The reforms of two decades ago addressed the inefficiencies of university staff governance, but they first targeted **non-academics**. After the second president's "half-hearted reforms," non-academics were defined by the administration as "support staff" to rationalise their contribution to the university. Twenty years later, the president attempted to use administrative force to reform the faculty, but the faculty volunteered to join the support staff. In the text of the arbitration resolution between the union and the university, it appears that the services of the "support staff" were defined by the "UBASU" (the union of teachers and researchers and support staff) as "essential services", reflecting the linkage between the two parts of the workforce. This reflects a linkage and identification between the two groups of employees. It is clear that this recognition is based on real interests. Firstly, since 2019, both teaching and non-teaching posts at the University have been

Short-term contractualisation (fixed-term contracts of two to three years) is being pursued. Secondly, inflationary prices under the new crown epidemic Upward mobility is a common pressure for both categories.

However, if the two reforms are put together, the author believes that the basis of their unionisation is more based on the long-established psychosocial expectations of the Botswana society and the "mutual guarantee" of the targets of the reforms. The linking of the salaries of support and research staff to the headmaster, and of the headmaster to the government, is a manifestation of how school staff - whether they are research staff or "support staff" (i.e., administrators) - feel about the state-owned organisations. --the dependence of university staff - both teaching and research staff and "support staff" (i.e., administrators) - on public universities, which are part of the state sector. The institutional dependence of university staff can also be seen as a microcosm of Botswana society. According to the Botswana Labour Department, until 2011, Botswana remained a predominantly public economy, with the central government remaining the largest employer, accounting for 26.3 per cent of the 640,000 people employed; local governments accounted for 20.8 per cent, parastatals 4.4 per cent, while private economy employees accounted for 48.5 per cent. ① Jobs in government departments or universities are prestigious and envied. Many university graduates from the University of

Botswana prefer to work for the government on a low internship salary (约 1600 pula/month, or 840) rather than work for a company. ② Practical interests and traditional social psychology explain reality to some extent better than ideology. The Nigerian case reveals an early dilution of ideological colours in the higher education sector. And the University of Botswana trade union strike, though initiated by left-wing organisations, did not target the counterproductive effects of neoliberalism directly, namely inefficient school governance caused by the constraints of an expanding administration, but tended to work together to protect themselves.

It is worth noting that the University of Botswana has a tradition of employing teachers from African countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and India, in addition to whites in higher positions and on the faculty. The University of Botswana hopes to have 30 per cent expatriate staff by 2022 to

make up for the lack of qualifications of domestic staff.^{UB} In terms of the actual composition of the staff, there is a small number of Oxbridge graduates who have worked for many years and have risen to senior teaching and management positions, as well as a significant number of faculty members who have taken up lectureships without obtaining a PhD. Those who have obtained their PhDs in Commonwealth or other countries

Source: Human Resource Development Council of Botswana. <https://hrdc.org.bw/?q=public-sector>

^{The} higher prestige of government jobs, which leads youth to prefer to remain unemployed rather than seek work, is also found in other African countries. See Daniel Mains, *Hope is Cut: Youth, Unemployment, and the Future in Urban Ethiopia*, Temple University Press, 2011, for an analysis of Ethiopian youth.

The foreign teachers who come in are on two- to three-year contracts. These new expatriate teachers are on two- to three-year contracts.^①

The casualisation of universities is not a new phenomenon worldwide.²⁰²³ The strikes that erupted in the UK in early 2023, involving 150 HEIs and 70,000 university staff, were largely directed against career anxiety and inflationary pressures caused by short-termisation of contracts.⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ Similar to the UK, the casualisation of university staff is prominent in Australia.⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ In the case of the Australian National University, for example, the university has recruited researchers from all over the world in large numbers to improve the university's rankings through increased publications, attract international students, and raise tuition fee revenues. Between 2014 and 2019, the university's tuition fees for international students tripled, while a large number of students were given temporary faculty to teach their classes.

So, are Botswana's temporary international employees actively participating in the strike, and what are their interests? The Director of the Employee Welfare Office, whom I interviewed, said that the reforms were rather opaque, and that there seemed to be only a few senior staff planning to "scale down" the workforce. However, local pensioners will not be laid off easily unless they are at fault, while contract workers are at greater risk. Two expatriate lecturers from Pakistan and Zimbabwe told the author that locals tend to take over administrative positions, leaving newly recruited expatriate teachers to do much of the teaching in the faculty. With dozens to a couple of hundred students on these courses, the teaching load is enormous, but the department often relies on these expatriate teachers for published papers as well. With such a heavy burden, they are deprived of time to even participate in strikes.

In the first section, the author has dealt with the conflict between management and trade unionists in the crisis of strikes triggered by the

transition. Is this contradiction reflected in teaching activities? In the author's faculty, this contradiction is internalised through the mechanisms revealed by Marobela. Marobela argues that the early neoliberal reforms in Botswana were implemented by promoting and training a section of senior managers and supervisors and ensuring that their interests were not compromised.

Botswana's tradition of hiring expatriate experts for short periods of time dates back to at least the 1970s. See "Botswana: In the Shadow of Pretoria," *The Atlantic*, August 1978, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1978/08/botswana-in-the-shadow-of-pretoria/661843/> "GZU Lecturers Join Incapacitated Colleagues, Announce Strike," *New Zimbabwe*, 24 February 2022, <https://www.newzimbabwe.com/gzu-lecturers-join-incapacitated-colleagues-announce-strike/>.

^② Refer to the webpage of the Association of Universities and Colleges of the UK <https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/12680/Universities-to-be-hit-with-18-days-of-strike-action-before-April>

^③ Joe McCarthy argues that the Australian National University employs a large number of casual lecturers and temporary faculty by labourising teaching time.

(CASUAL TUTOR) to reduce salary costs for tenure-track faculty. The university's 2019 FTE (Full Time Equivalent) for temporary lecturers and faculty is five times higher than in 2010, while FTE for lecturers and above is virtually unchanged. See "The Concern over Rising Academic Casualisation: An Interview with Joe McCarthy," *Woroni*, 19 March 2021, <https://www.woroni.com.au/news/the-concern-over-rising-academic-casualisation-an-interview-with-joe-mccarthy>.

Following the departure of the previous expatriate Head of Department, a local lecturer was appointed by the Dean as Head of Department. The new Head of Department does not have a PhD.

The title of sergeant, and therefore, can be considered as a breakthrough promotion to receive the stipend of the head of the department. Upon assuming his duties, the new Head of Department closely supervised the invigilation of other faculty members during the examination to ensure that the examination was not affected by the strike at all. Subsequently, other supportive departmental guidance documents (such as the CAD test evaluation guidance provided by the Academic Development Centre mentioned above) were strictly enforced without regard to the actual laws and practical needs of teaching and learning activities. The new department chair was also unwilling to adjust the academic training provided by CAD to students when some faculty members reported that it lacked relevance. Ironically, the new chair was quite lenient in grading student exams and encouraged other faculty to follow suit, since student feedback is an important part of faculty evaluations. Both the CAD's teaching guidelines and the mutual assessment between students and teachers reflect the intensification of administrative control from top to bottom at the University of Botswana and the rise of a culture of perfunctory performance at the expense of the actual quality of teaching and learning. The above cases, though isolated, reflect the simultaneous strengthening of internal audit culture and authoritarianism in the local context of the University of Botswana as a result of the impact of the strike. It is clear that this strengthening of 'enforcement' and a decline in the quality of education has come at the cost of a weakening of the consultative spirit of university colleagues. This is similar to the negative consequences of the audit culture of the 1990s in the UK^①.

concluding remarks

This paper discusses the impact of the epidemic and neoliberalism on higher education in Africa within the framework of global localisation and through the strike activity at the University of Botswana, a public university. The paper argues that neoliberalism, which originated in Europe and the United States, has been a response to the economic downturn but has become a one-size-fits-all ideology. The current economic downturn induced by the New Crown epidemic and the Russian-Ukrainian war constitutes the conditions for a resurgence of neoliberalism, i.e., a resurgence of reforms of universities, especially public universities, in the name of efficiency and productivity.

However, based on its origins (e.g., in the United Kingdom) and its consequences worldwide, it appears that neoliberalism has often led to the opposite of the marketism it advocates, i.e., increased power, decreased efficiency, and so on. These unexpected consequences, as revealed by the global localisation theory, are the result of the complex interplay of local pre-existing institutional cultures and global neoliberalism. As can be seen from the cases of Uganda, Nigeria and Botswana, where neoliberalism in the public university faculties is mainly reflected in the marketisation of the teaching behaviour of university teachers.

^① Cris Shore and Susan Wright. "Audit Culture and Anthropology: Neo-Liberalism in British Higher Education," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 5, No. 4, (1999): pp. 557 - 575.

This includes the exchange of marks by staff for financial gain, and the formation of inter-staff relations around appraisal and competition

(b) The factions of the University of Botswana. The University of Botswana's top-down 'staff reduction and efficiency' reforms at the beginning of the 20th century led to an administrative backlash and half-hearted reforms, an expansion of the power of the middle level of the administration, and a dilution of the power of 'collegiality' of the staff both at the top level (the University Senate) and at the grassroots level (the horizontal level). The power of "collegiality" has been diluted at the top (university councils) and horizontal levels of the faculty. In contrast, the marketisation and profit-seeking behaviour of public universities in Uganda and Nigeria is more blatant, while in Botswana public universities are more administratively stratified under relatively generous budgetary conditions. The former to the detriment of students, and the latter's reconfiguration of power and institutional implosion under pressure to reform, are at odds with the neoliberal advocates' preconceptions of marketisation as a means of increasing efficiency, productivity and 'value for money' - in Uganda and Nigeria, students' diplomas have lost their value. In Nigeria, students' diplomas have lost value rather than "getting value for money"; in Botswana, the efficiency of university governance and the quality of teaching have not improved.

Finally, by analysing new strikes and changes in internal governance at the University of Botswana, the paper argues that strikes are based on both Botswana's legal traditions and on Botswana society's psychological reliance on the communal economy and the stability of employment and its resistance to marketisation. School authorities under pressure to strike have tightened their control over teaching and learning activities through an enhanced audit culture, and there has been a rise in authoritarianism in day-to-day teaching and learning activities. The process of global localisation occurring in education as far away as Africa is equally worthy of reference in other parts of

the globe, including Chinese universities. Firstly, in the face of the new crown epidemic and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, as well as the uncertain future, the reform of higher education institutions should be adapted to the needs of various stages of socio-economic development, and in the face of short-term economic fluctuations, it is still necessary to cultivate and reserve talents with a forward-looking vision, so as to maintain the strength in the midst of the treacherous changes in the situation. Secondly, the author thinks that in the crisis, colleges and universities should not adopt the strong medicine of neo-liberalism and auditing culture, but should weaken the function of the "baton" of quantitative indexes, and stick to the mission of teaching, researching and serving the society with knowledge, and return to colleges and universities as the carrier of convergence, creation and dissemination of knowledge.