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**EXPERIENCES AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF RURAL
TEACHERS DURING ZIMBABWE'S ECONOMIC CRISIS (2016-2020):
A CASE STUDY OF THE ZAKA DISTRICT'S PRIMARY AND
SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.**

By

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

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At the

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

Supervised by

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Date of submission: January 2021

Declaration

STUDENT NUMBER: 201570247

I declare that “Experiences and survival strategies of rural teachers during Zimbabwe’s economic crisis (2016-2020): A case study of the Zaka district’s primary and secondary school teachers” is my own original work. It has not been submitted for degree or examination purposes in any other university. All secondary material that I used, from print or electronic sources, has been carefully acknowledged and referenced according to the departmental requirements. I understand that plagiarism is a serious offence and I have studied the University’s policy in this regard.

Signature: Ms SM Moyo

Date: 15 January 2021



Dedication

This research is dedicated to my supportive father and role model, Douglas Moyo and the Zaka district's teachers who wish for better working conditions and dream of an education system that gives hope to Zimbabwean children.

In loving memory of my mother,
Salome Mpo Mashego.
1958-2003



Acknowledgements

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Abstract

Due to the underdevelopment often noticed in many rural areas of Zimbabwe, the country's civil servants such as teachers, confront hurdles in their workplaces and when navigating their day-to-day lives. This comes as a result of the economic crisis that the country is experiencing. Literature has shown that the livelihoods of educators living in the peripheries are under-researched. The Zaka area is one of the underdeveloped rural districts of Zimbabwe. Therefore, this study aims to understand the experiences encountered by the Zaka district's teachers and the survival strategies they adopt in order to improve their livelihoods. By adopting the Resilience Theory and Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, it specifically seeks to study the role played by these survival strategies in resisting challenges and sustaining rural livelihoods. Literature shows that understanding the experiences of teachers in rural areas, is inherent in policy implementation and development in such areas. Therefore, the study also interrogates the views of these teachers regarding how their conditions can be improved.

To achieve the aims and objectives of this study, a qualitative approach was employed. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 participants, which included teachers, principals and teachers unions' representatives. Results were categorised and analysed thematically. The findings show that rural teachers of Zimbabwe face obstacles such as cash shortages, limited teaching resources, low salaries and poor living conditions. However, through agency, they are able to rise above these difficulties. This study argues that there is a need to improve the spaces that rural teachers work in by providing adequate resources. Additionally, the study calls for practical solutions in improving these teachers' welfare. This research also acknowledges that this is a complex process, which requires significant economic advancement to be prioritised. The study was important in highlighting the challenges and opportunities that the Zaka district's teachers often encounter. Findings in this study can assist local authorities, government and policy makers in the development of interventions that can address the teachers' challenges.

List of acronyms

DFID	Department for International Development
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
HDC	Higher Degrees Committee
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund and
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MOPSE	Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PTUZ	Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe
RT	Resilience Theory
RTGS	Real-Time Gross Settlement
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
US\$/ USD/\$US	United States Dollar
Z\$	Zimbabwean Dollar
ZANU PF	Zimbabwean African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Teachers' Union

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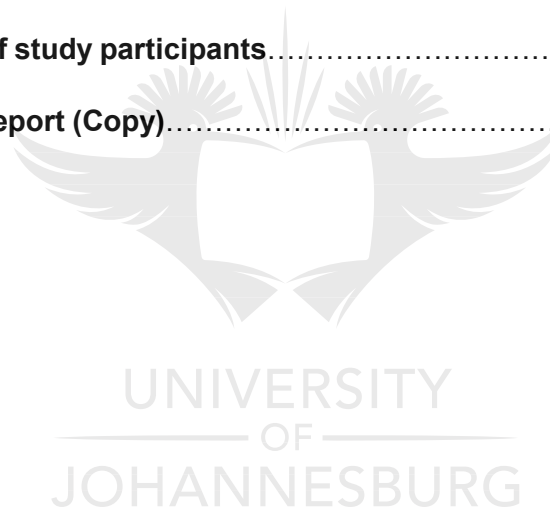
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Zimbabwe has been facing a severe economic crisis that has persisted for over two decades. Aksoy (2015) defines an economic crisis as unusual and devastating changes that occur in the prices of goods and services as well as in the factors of production of a country. Zimbabwe's current economic state has affected people in both the formal and informal sectors (Chagonda, 2012). However, the country's residents are not just passive victims; citizens such as civil servants have responded differently to the socio-economic conditions of the country and found ways to sustain their daily needs. They have also employed different survival strategies in order to improve their lives (Nyamunda, 2014). Survival strategies can be understood as activities that are adopted by people in times of stress, which they see as important in the running of their households (Meert, 2000). The concepts 'survival strategies' and 'economic crisis' will be discussed further in the literature review which follows this chapter. This will be done in the context of Zimbabwe and the Zaka district's teachers who are the focus of this study.

Sadomba, Chigwanda and Manyati (2015) note that teachers find it very difficult to afford basic necessities with their minimal wages. This research seeks to investigate the challenges that Zimbabwean teachers have been confronting since 2016, due to the economic conditions of the country. Zimbabwe's economic crisis dates back to the early 1990s; nonetheless, in 2009, the conditions improved after the introduction of the multi-currency regime (Changonda, 2012). This will be further explored in the section below. The year 2016 is significant because the country faced another crisis, which is known as the liquidity crisis; this then presents an interesting point for analysis as the shortages of cash in the country had drastic effects on the teachers' living conditions (Ngoro, 2016). Since April 2016, the country has experienced cash shortages and conditions in Zimbabwe have deteriorated, leading to a decline in the quality of teachers' lives (Ankomah, 2018). It is also of utmost importance that the teachers' survival strategies are highlighted because they play an essential role in developing knowledge in society; therefore, investigating how they ensure their well-being is imperative (Banda and Mutambo, 2016). The study will outline and discuss

how teachers navigate the economic hardships and still manage to make a living for themselves and their families in the midst of the economic crisis.

This study is situated in the Zaka district which is a rural area that is located in the South East of the Masvingo province of Zimbabwe (Mashava and Chingombe, 2013). In particular, focus will be placed on the Zaka rural district's primary and secondary school teachers. Even though teachers in the peripheries face many challenges as a result of the economic crisis in the country (Steinhauser and Mpfu, 2019), not many studies have been conducted in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. It is therefore hoped that this research will significantly contribute to knowledge on the plight of teachers in Zimbabwe's peripheries and fill in the gaps that have been left by other researchers. The subsequent background seeks to show how and why Zimbabwe's economic crisis has impacted on the country's teachers, specifically those in the rural areas. It also shows that teachers have been active in finding means of survival in the midst of the crisis.

1.2 Background of the study

In order to understand Zimbabwe's current economic crisis, it is important to note that the previous crises between 1990 and 2015 are interconnected and gradually contributed to the crisis that started in 2016 (Conyers and Cumanzala, 2004; Ngoro, 2016), which is the main focus of the study. This section will describe the events between 1996, which is the year that the onset of the economic crisis is usually traced back to, and 2020, which is the year that this study will be completed. The education sector of Zimbabwe was heavily affected by the economy's meltdown. In 1996, the annual earnings of civil servants dropped by 65%. For example, teachers' salaries decreased by more than 50% and in the years subsequent to 1996, the general populace could not afford basic commodities, suggesting a sharp decline in civil servants' quality of living (Chagonda, 2012). Furthermore, by 1997, "18 000 government jobs were abolished and the civil service bill was reduced from 15.3% of the GDP to 11.35%..." This led to unemployment and a decline in civil servants' standards of living (Bond and Manyanya, 2006: 37).

Research provides different reasons for the events described above. Hove (2017:49) and Chagonda (2012:85) are of the view that unbudgeted gratuities of Z\$ 50 000 and monthly pensions of Z\$ 2000 paid to war veterans in 1997 led to a strain on the

country's financial system. To make these payments, the government was forced to print Z\$4, 5 billion, which is equivalent to US\$450 million according to Moore (2002). To a larger extent, it can be argued that this is the reason why, on the 14th of November 1997, the Zimbabwean dollar (Z\$) lost its value against all major currencies and it has not recovered since (Thompson, 2019).

To make matters worse, in 1998 and 1999, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Development Association (IDA) started an anti-Mugabe propaganda campaign, which imposed sanctions on the Zimbabwean government and suspended all loans and support to Zimbabwe (Shire, 2007). The IMF and IDA's decision was fuelled by Zimbabwe's involvement in the second Congo war which killed more than three million people and cost Zimbabwe US\$1 million a day, causing a financial strain on the economy (Moore, 2002; Chagonda, 2012:85). In the subsequent years, Zimbabwe was also unfortunate to face a considerable number of natural disasters. This situation was compounded by drought and cholera.

In 2002, Zimbabwe was affected by a drought that occurred in Southern Africa resulting in a food crisis (Mazzeo, 2011). In addition, Ndoro (2016) and Mazzeo (2011) note that in the year 2005, Zimbabwe faced another drought, which worsened the economic situation of Zimbabwe and led to food shortages, since agriculture was the backbone of the country. In May 2008, the country was also met by a cholera outbreak, which claimed the lives of about 4 000 people. Ndoro (2016) explains that this was not because the disease was incurable but in Zimbabwe's economic state at the time, people could not afford healthcare. It is therefore apparent, that during this time, citizens could not afford basic needs.

To add to the above, just before the 2008 elections, inflation rose; Hanke (2008) records that inflation reached 89.7 sextillion percent making it the highest inflation ever recorded in history. The cost of importing goods and services also increased, making life unbearable for Zimbabwe's citizens (Mazzeo, 2011). While the then president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe's regime continued its "reign of terror" and failed to provide services for the country's citizens, the economic crisis continued to dwindle and people suffered (Conyers and Cumanzala, 2004:387). As a result, the health system collapsed, many schools closed and more than three million people, including teachers, emigrated to seek for better lives.

Civil servants of Zimbabwe were victims of the above-mentioned events. In 2018, people's salaries were reduced by half each day; for example, teachers in Harare could no longer afford to pay for transport to work (Sibanda, Mavenga, Maunganidze and Ncube, 2014; Kapingidza, 2014). Steinhauser and Mpofu (2019) also note that Z\$100 trillion was barely enough for a bus ticket to and from work. According to Makina (2010), 7.5 million people could no longer meet their food and non-food requirements. Due to the failure to afford basic needs and services, civil servants such as teachers had to find other means of survival. De Villiers and Weda (2017) identify this crisis as a push factor, which contributed to the migration of teachers to other countries. One can therefore argue that the very act of migration of these teachers can be regarded as a survival strategy.

In 2008, a large portion of the population, including civil servants migrated to countries such as South Africa, New Zealand and the United Kingdom in search of better life opportunities; to be specific, about 45000 teachers resigned from their jobs in Zimbabwe (Makina, 2010; Chagonda, 2010). De Villiers and Weda (2017) prove this by noting that amongst migrant teachers, Zimbabweans are the largest group in South Africa. By the end of 2008, most public sector teachers had stopped going to work and only a few in the private sector were still teaching. In an effort to counter this economic crisis, a multi-currency system was birthed, leading to stability in the financial sector. This system included the adoption of other currencies such as the South African Rand, the United States Dollar (USD) and the Botswana Pula. In addition to their salaries, teachers started receiving an allowance of US\$100 per month, from the government (Chagonda, 2012). Chagonda (2010) notes that the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) reported that out of the 100 000 teachers before the crisis, by April 2009, 60 000 had gone back to work as a result of the government paying them in foreign currency, specifically the US Dollar. In the same month, 6 000 teachers had returned from South Africa and 3 000 were teaching in government schools.

However, it is important to note that the re-joining of many teachers does not equate to a total revitalisation of the economy because the country was still regarded as one of the poorest in the world (Makina, 2010). Going back to work can be attributed to this "dollarization of the economy" as popularly known in Zimbabwe, leading to a decline in the informal sector, specifically the black market. An introduction of the US dollar meant that teachers could no longer participate in foreign exchange dealings that

helped them sustain their livelihoods before dollarization; therefore, they had to go back to their teaching jobs (Bakasa, 2016). Even though teachers had returned work, their salaries remained low and consequently, the teaching sector remained unattractive.

Based on the events narrated above, it is clear that the current economic crisis is multi-faceted, as it resulted from social, economic, environmental and political factors. These characteristics and effects of the previous crises are also evident in Zimbabwe's current economic crisis, which is the focus of this study. In 2016, a liquidity crisis started in Zimbabwe and it has negatively affected the economic growth of the country. Steinhauser and Mpofu (2019) note that since April 2016, economic growth has degenerated due to the cash shortages that the country is facing. This crisis has led to a hike of not less than 30% in the prices of goods and services such as food, healthcare and transportation (Southall, 2017). Consequently, teachers, who are amongst the lowest paid civil servants (The Worker, 2008), find it difficult to afford their basic needs and sustain their families since their salaries continue to be eroded as a result of inflation.

The shortages of cash in the country continue to intensely affect those in the rural areas. Steinhauser and Mpofu (2019) further explain that when rural teachers travel to the cities, they struggle to withdraw their salaries from banks in the form of cash; this is reflected by long queues at the country's banks. In an effort to deal with such challenges, alternative means of payment have been introduced to reduce the effects of the cash shortages. Zimbabweans have adopted electronic modes of payment, such as the Ecocash mobile service and the Real-Time Gross Settlement (RTGS) in order to purchase goods and services. Munyanyi (2014) explains that Ecocash is a mobile service that 90% of Zimbabweans are registered for, while Ndlovu and Ndlovu (2013) note that the RTGS is an electronic banking method; instead of paying in cash, these two are used by Zimbabweans to do their transactions. However, the effectiveness of these methods in the rural areas remains questionable.

Steinhauser and Mpofu (2019) argue that the cash shortages that started in April 2016 have led to the economic exclusion of teachers living in the rural areas because unlike those living in the urban areas with strong mobile network connection, the mobile network connection in these areas is very weak. Additionally, there are hardly any card

machines, commonly known as 'swiping machines', resulting in most people finding it difficult to purchase goods using Ecocash or RTGS. It can therefore be argued that even though there are alternative ways of purchasing goods and services in Zimbabwe, they have not been very effective in the rural areas. Manyati and Mutsau (2019) assert that this makes life challenging for teachers residing in these areas, as they need to be able to purchase goods and services to sustain their families.

Low salaries earned by teachers are also a cause for concern. The government of Zimbabwe is unable to pay teachers adequate salaries; Ncube (2019) supports this by mentioning that there is a shortage of 2 000 teachers in the education sector and a large number of unemployed but qualified teachers in the country. In February 2019, Manayiti (2019) notes that teachers across the various provinces embarked on a strike to protest against their low salaries which could not sustain them, considering the country's inflation rate (Ankomah, 2018); they described their salaries as insufficient and demanded an increase. However, the government did not accede to their demands and they continue to struggle (Ncube, 2019). Thompson (2019) argues that their low monthly income comes as a result of the government neglecting their needs and not valuing their contribution to the economy.

In the face of Zimbabwe's crisis, one would expect teachers to aspire to move to the urban areas because according to Kline, White and Lock (2013), the quality of life in the urban areas is usually perceived to be better than that of the rural areas because of the easy access or close proximity to high quality goods and services. In rural areas, working conditions are very poor because teaching resources are only allocated one percent of the national budget for education (Chireshe, 2011). However, Ankomah (2018) explains that teachers in the rural areas prefer to stay there because life in the urban areas has become very costly, considering their low salaries. The fact that these teachers do not apply for transfers to urban areas can be considered as one of the rural teachers' survival strategies (Gomba, 2015). This proves that even though teachers in the rural areas have been affected by the economic meltdown, by employing various strategies such as migration and remaining in the peripheries, they have found ways to rise above the difficulties they face. It is against this background that this study aims to investigate these teachers' survival strategies by answering the question: What are the challenges faced and survival strategies employed by the Zaka district teachers during the Zimbabwean economic crisis?

1.3 Understanding rural Zimbabwe

The presentation of a clear and objective definition for a rural area seems to be a conceptual problem (Manwa, Mukeredzi and Manwa, 2016). Couper (2003) defines it as a peripheral area with little infrastructural development and inadequate delivery of services. On the other hand, Dax (2014) characterises rural areas as regions with a very small population that relies on subsistence farming. However, by drawing from the previous definitions, rurality in Zimbabwe can be explained as remote areas that are lightly populated, characterised by the common traditional village style and large tracts of infertile communal lands for grazing and peasant farming which are black owned (Mlahleki, 1995; Mukeredzi, 2009; Nhundu and Makoni, 1999). 'Remote' denotes areas that are several kilometres from urban centres (Kline, White and Lock, 2013). Hlalele (2012) notes that these areas are distinct because they are usually of poor landscape, inadequate infrastructure and poor or unavailable services such as piped water, electricity and roads. Chikoko (2011) and Siabombe (2015) highlight that consequently, rurality is usually met with social disadvantage, exclusion and marginalization.

It is against the above conception that rurality is understood in this research. The crisis that started in 2016 in Zimbabwe, shows symptoms similar to those of the 2008 crisis, where the financial situation took a toll on the population, particularly those residing in the rural areas (Mazzeo, 2011). The Zaka district's rural primary and secondary schools are situated in areas such as those explained above. It is in these schools that the teachers investigated in this study are teaching.

1.4 Problem Statement and rationale of the study

The quality of primary and secondary teachers' lives in Zimbabwe has declined because these teachers face various challenges such as a shortage of basic needs as a result of being paid low salaries (Chagonda, 2012). In order to solve this problem, the government needs to prioritise the teachers' needs and increase their salaries. However, Thompson (2019) proves that this has not been the case in Zimbabwe as the educators' salaries continue to be eroded to the value of \$US35 (approximately R500) per month because of high inflation rates in the country.

Since 2009, teachers and other civil servants were paid in US Dollars. This changed in 2016 when the country started facing a shortage in foreign currency (Ngwenya, Pelser and Chivaura, 2018). By the end of 2016, they were paid in bond notes and the RTGS, which were introduced in the same year to supplement the USD. The government said these two forms of payment would be rated at the same value as the USD (Steinhauser and Mpofu, 2019). However, just as citizens and other economists such as Zvomuya (2017) had anticipated, in 2018, the USD was valued at a rate that was four times more than the bond notes and RTGS (Mahvunga and Musvanhiri, 2018; Steinhauser and Mpofu, 2019). The inflation rate spiked and by the end of September in the same year, it had reached a rate of 60% (Steinhauser and Mpofu, 2019). As of August 2019, the ZimBollar Index (2019) shows that on the black market, the \$US is valued twelve times more than the newly introduced Zimbabwean currency. Thus, Thompson (2019) and Ndlovu (2019) argue that teachers' salaries which were valued at \$US47 (equivalent to approximately R700 per month) in February 2019 and US\$35 (equivalent to approximately R500) in June, are no longer enough to afford basic commodities.

In addition to the facts provided above, eNCA (2018) argues that Zimbabwe's teachers are believed to be some of the worst paid in the world. Even though all human beings have a right to basic needs which include food, health, education, shelter, water and sanitation which promote their physical, social and emotional development (Watson, 2014), these teachers face challenges such as the inability to afford fuel, food, medicine and other goods and services. This clearly indicates a violation of their human rights. According to VVOB (2011), Zimbabwe's teachers spend a minimum of three years and a maximum of four years in teachers' colleges or universities to obtain diplomas and degrees. It is therefore concerning that in spite of their formally educational obtained qualifications, they are paid very low salaries and are not able to afford basic needs.

Zimbabwe's teachers face financial challenges. As similarly discussed by Steinhauser and Mpofu (2019), Ngwenya, Pelser and Chivaura (2018) note that teachers' salaries are deposited in their bank accounts, but it is difficult to withdraw their money in cash. This is a challenge especially in the rural areas because there are not enough swiping machines to purchase goods, using bank cards. In addition, the mobile network connectivity is weak, making it difficult for these teachers to

purchase goods or pay for services using mobile phone services such as Ecocash (Steinhauser and Mpfu, 2019). Further research needs to be done to understand the experiences of these teachers. Therefore, this study seeks to understand these problems and the strategies that have been employed. It is also hoped that the research will aid the government of Zimbabwe to implement financial policies that are sustainable so as to improve the livelihoods of teachers and other citizens of the country. The study also suggests that the government enables the penetration of rural areas by technologies such as card machines and strong mobile network connections so that those living in the rural areas are able to access goods and services easily. In addition to these technological challenges, Zimbabwean teachers' salaries are a cause for concern.

It is important to note that other civil servants have also been greatly affected by Zimbabwe's economic crisis that started several years ago. For example, Todd, Ray, Madzimbamuto and Sanders (2009) indicate that in the year 2008, a medical doctor's monthly salary was the equivalent of less than 1US\$. However, the Zimbabwe Congress of Teachers' Union (ZCTU) monthly lists show that teachers are amongst the lowest paid civil servants. In October, November and December 2008, they were paid Z\$729,000, Z\$3 million and Z\$12million (equivalent to approximately US\$10), respectively as compared to the military whose lowest ranked soldier was paid close to US\$18 in December (The Worker, 2008; Chagonda, 2012). This study focuses on teachers because they are paid very low salaries. It seeks to investigate the strategies that teachers employ in order to sustain their livelihoods.

In addition to low salaries, a liquidity crisis arose in Zimbabwe in April 2016, followed by high inflation rates, which make the cost of living very high. Ndoro (2016) argues that this crisis has reduced the teachers' abilities to fend for their families and has led to food insecurity in the households. While The Zimbabwean (2014) argues that in order to cover essential needs, an average family of six needs at least \$US580 per month, it is concerning that as of June 2019, Zimbabwe's teachers earned approximately \$US35 (equivalent to approximately R500) (Thompson, 2019). However, people in adverse conditions such as those being faced by Zimbabwe's teachers, usually come up with coping or survival strategies, which remain understudied. Without proper understanding of these, teachers' efforts are undermined (Holloway, 2003). Thus, this research aims to uncover the strategies adopted by

teachers in the rural areas to sustain their families in the midst of Zimbabwe's economic crisis.

1.5 Aims and objectives of the study

Literature has shown that there is little known about the experiences faced by teachers in the peripheries of Zimbabwe. Studies conducted by authors such as Chagonda (2012) and Moyo (2009) focused mainly on teachers in the urban areas. Consequently, the aim of this study is to understand the experiences faced and survival strategies that teachers in the rural area of the Zaka district, have employed in order to sustain their families. To achieve this, this study has the following objectives:

- i. To analyse the experiences encountered by Zimbabwe's local districts' teachers as a result of the current Zimbabwean economic crisis.
- ii. To establish the survival strategies adopted by Zaka District teachers in improving their lives in the midst of the economic crisis.
- iii. To explore the reasons why teachers remain in their profession in spite of the challenges presented by the economic crisis.
- iv. To illuminate some of the key areas that the government of Zimbabwe can improve on so that they improve the well-being of teachers.

Additionally, the study has the following theoretical objectives

- i. To review literature on the factors that resulted in the current Zimbabwean economic crisis.
- ii. To appraise literature on the challenges faced and survival strategies adopted by teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe.
- iii. To inspect literature on the Resilience Theory and Sustainable Livelihoods Approach that govern the study.

1.6 Research Questions

In order to understand the Zaka district teachers' experiences and survival strategies, the following dual research question was formulated for the study: What are the challenges faced by Zaka District teachers and their survival strategies during the current Zimbabwean economic crisis? In addition, the research seeks to answer the following sub- questions:

- i. What caused the current Zimbabwean economic crisis?
- ii. How has the economic crisis affected the Zaka district's teachers and their living standards?
- iii. What is the role played by the copying strategies employed by Zaka district teachers in improving their living conditions?
- iv. Why do teachers keep their jobs in spite of the challenges they face?
- v. What measures can the government of Zimbabwe implement to improve the lives of teachers and other their citizens in the midst of the economic crisis?

1.7 Significance of the study

While most studies focused on the informal sector, this is one of the few to focus on the formal sector exploring the experiences of teachers in the Zaka district of Zimbabwe. In addition, studies such as those conducted by Chagonda (2012), Moyo (2009) and Bakasa (2016) focused on teachers in the urban area; this research's focus is mainly on the rural areas, which usually remain unexplored. As a result of little research done in rural areas, there is insufficient information recorded about these areas. For instance, Ndlovu (2011) and Mazzeo (2011) give emphasis on the survival strategies of the general population of some of the areas in rural Zimbabwe but do not pay specific attention on the formal sector. Most studies on Zimbabwe's economic crisis or the citizens' survival strategies generally focus on the informal sector. For example, Jones (2010) and Moyo (2018) focus on how informal traders in Bulawayo and Harare cope with the hyper-inflation in the country obscuring what happens in the formal workplace. Another example is that of Tawodzera (2014) who investigates the strategies of Harare households; this is the capital city, therefore his study neglects the peripheries. Not much has been written on the 2016 crisis triggered by cash shortages. Ndoro (2016) explores people's reaction to the introduction of bond notes while studies by Gomba (2017) and Tshabalala and Ncube (2014) aim to understand why some teachers have remained in the education sector in the midst of the crisis and how those who have left the country managed to do so. As a result, the livelihoods of the teachers in rural areas who participate in certain activities for survival, are ignored. In contrast, this study aims to fill the literature gap in Zimbabwe by focusing on the responses by teachers in the rural areas in Zimbabwe. It also acknowledges that these teachers' livelihoods are important and gives an analysis of how they have responded to economic changes in the country, including their strategies for survival.

Having identified this literature gap, this study also contributes to knowledge in the field of economics as it raises the need for financial policies that contribute to a stable economy.

1.8 Format of the study

Chapter 1 introduces the study by providing the background of Zimbabwe's economic crisis. In order to understand the context of the study, the concept of rurality is discussed. In addition, a description of the research problem that needs to be solved is also provided. The main research question, sub-questions and objectives of the study are also highlighted in the chapter. In Chapter 2, a review of different literature is presented by discussing survival strategies employed by Zimbabwe's rural teachers in the face of the current economic crisis. Their right to basic needs is also discussed. This review gives an in-depth understanding of the problem being investigated by the researcher and an overview of the knowledge that is currently available on the study being conducted. Chapter 3 unpacks the Resilience Theory and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach adopted for the purpose of providing insight for this study while Chapter 4 outlines the research methods employed in collecting and analysing the data used in the study. Chapter 5 presents, analyses and discusses the findings of the research. Results generated from the data gathered are presented in form of themes identified based on the responses obtained through interviews with participants. Participants' responses are also directly quoted as substantiation of the themes. A discussion is provided for each of the identified themes. This is done in relation to the literature review provided in Chapter 2. Similarities and differences between the themes identified and the literature review are highlighted. In Chapter 6, a summary of the findings and common issues identified by the researcher during the study is provided. The chapter concludes the study by summarising the whole study. Limitations from the study are discussed and suggestions for future research are proposed.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW- ZIMBABWE: FROM BREADBASKET TO BASKET CASE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides insights into Zimbabwe's economic crisis. It suggests that, in order to fully comprehend the country's economic crisis, it is paramount that Zimbabwe's economic history is discussed. This is done by discussing the following periods: post-independence, economic decline and the culmination of the economic crisis. This study is significant because as stated by Mazzeo (2011), it is concerning that Zimbabwe has gone from Southern Africa's biggest exporter to a nation that depends on imports and foreign aid. A study that focuses on the livelihoods of those who remain in the country is therefore important. Studies have shown that teachers in the rural areas remain one of the significantly affected groups due to the current conditions of Zimbabwe (Chagonda, 2012; Chitokwindo, Mago and Hofisi, 2014; Bond, 2017; Chireshe, 2011). This study therefore places emphasis on the experiences of educators in the rural areas. Makina (2012) notes that many of Zimbabwe's teachers have migrated and/or resigned from their jobs. However, Hanke (2008) argues that those teaching in the rural areas have kept their jobs. Consequently, this chapter aims to explore the reasons why it is mostly teachers in the rural areas that keep their jobs. It provides an understanding of the strategies that these teachers employ in order to sustain their households.

2.2 Zimbabwe's economic eras

The beginning of Zimbabwe's economic crisis is usually traced back to 1997. However, in order to understand the country's economic decline, it is important to highlight the period after independence and how the policies adopted eventually led to Zimbabwe's economic crisis. Vukanic (2009) describes the evolution of Zimbabwe, post-independence by categorising four eras. These are the decades of political independence, the period of economic independence, the beginning of economic decline and lastly the economic crisis. However, the focus of this paper is economic rather than political; therefore, the three economic eras will be discussed below.

2.2.1 Post-independence period

At independence in 1980, there were hopes that Zimbabwe's economy would be productive because of its well-developed infrastructure (Vukanic, 2009). During this

period, the country was considered the “bread basket of Africa” and had not started its journey to becoming the economic basket case (Machinga and Friedmann, 2013:53). In the 1980s, Zimbabwe became renowned for its subsistence agricultural production and provision of services in the rural areas (Conyers and Cumanzala, 2004). Vukanic (2009) notes that in 1981, the British government provided the Zimbabwean government with 45 million pounds for the Land Resettlement Program that was supposed to last for 15 years. The aim was to buy 18 million hectares of land from white farmers and give them to 160 000 landless Zimbabweans. Bond (2007) notes that the first five years of the program were a success, as the agricultural GDP of Zimbabwe grew by 3.6% annually; however, from 1986, agricultural production was stagnant due to droughts that occurred in 1985 and 1986 and the GDP also stopped growing because the money for land resettlement was finished after being mismanaged by the government.

It is important to note that in spite of the stagnation in GDP and agricultural production, from 1986, Zimbabwe’s mineral resources, especially platinum with the second largest reserves in the world, attracted foreign companies and in this period, the country’s GDP accelerated at the annual rate of 4,5% until 1990 (Southall, 2017). Zimbabwe’s economy became a success story amongst African countries and other developing nations as the country’s economic growth brought better life conditions for its citizens. For example, between 1980 and 1990, while Sub-Saharan Africa’s life expectancy was 52 years, Zimbabwe’s had increased from 56 to 64 years. Child malnutrition decreased from 22% to 12% and the infant mortality rate was lower (49%), compared to Sub-Saharan Africa’s which was over 90% (Vukanic, 2009). It is clear that after independence, Zimbabwe made significant strides towards its economic development.

2.2.2 Economic decline

Even though Zimbabwe’s economy performed exceptionally well for approximately ten years after independence, at the beginning of the 1990s, the economy of Zimbabwe began to slow down and there was worldwide awareness that it was not fulfilling its potential (Vukanic, 2009). According to Conway (1997:157), to a certain extent, this was a result of the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 which led to economic meltdowns in several economies; there was a fiscal deficit (about 10%-15% of the GDP), a decrease in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), foreign debt and unequal

employment opportunities in Zimbabwe. Conyers and Cumanzala (2004) posit that it also became evident that the Marxist policies adopted by Zimbabwean African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), the ruling party, were not economically sustainable. In order to resolve these problems, the government of Zimbabwe was forced to turn to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for assistance (Conyers and Cumanzala, 2004). Turning to aid shows dependence and proves that the country's economic performance was dwindling.

The IMF introduced the five-year Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991 that aimed at reducing debt, reducing the civil service, increasing investor confidence, enhancing trade liberalization and allowing domestic deregulation so as to reduce the cost of doing business in Zimbabwe. However, after a year, this programme yielded inflation of 46% which was the opposite of what was expected (Mazzeo, 2011). This resulted from large foreign investments worth over 40 million US Dollars (\$US) and public monopoly over the purchase and selling of land were abolished by the then President Robert Mugabe, who did not want to let go of his Marxist ideology (Bond and Manyanya, 2006). However, Zimbabwe did not only suffer the consequences caused by ESAP as discussed below.

In 1992, Zimbabwe also experienced a drought, which decreased agricultural production by 25% and led to shortages of food (Vukanic, 2009). The GDP also dropped by 7% and the government had to send aid to a considerable part of the population while trade unions protested against ESAP (Maphosa, 1994). However, implementation of ESAP's programmes continued and the results were devastating in 1995, as fiscal debt did not decrease, and most people could not afford healthcare. The national drug fund declined by 67% while health care expenditure decreased by 40% (Vukanic, 2009); this led to many needless deaths in the country (Thompson, 2019). A considerable number of professionals such as doctors and nurses also migrated to other countries. The annual growth rate was just above 1% but the inflation rate was 30% (Vukanic, 2009). Zimbabwe's healthcare system, which was the best in Africa in the 1980s, started collapsing as HIV/AIDS rates also increased. In 1996, ESAP expired but the new British government was no longer willing to help Zimbabwe (Thompson, 2019). For a country that was dependent on foreign aid, this meant that a detrimental crisis could be expected.

2.2.3 The economic crisis

In November 1997, the British government accused Zimbabwe's government of violently taking land from white farmers. Britain blamed Zimbabwe's government for taking land and giving it to the political elite, senior officials and army generals, instead of giving it to families (Uusihakala, 2007). Vukanic (2009) explains that out of the 160 000 families who were supposed to be resettled, only 70 000 received land. A discussion on the land reform is beyond the scope of this research. However, it is important to note that the events that took place during the land reform program gradually led to the imposition of sanctions onto Zimbabwe, by the West; this will be discussed in the next section.

In 1997, Zimbabwe was the fastest growing economy in Africa; it was commonly known as "the breadbasket" of Africa (Bond, 2007:149). However, Chaza (2018:1) notes that it is now the fastest shrinking and has declined into a "basket case". As mentioned in the first chapter of this study, Moore (2002) notes that in 1997, the Zimbabwean government printed out Z\$4, 5 billion which is equivalent to R7 billion in order to make payments that were not budgeted for, to war veterans. This led to the so-called "Black Friday crash" as the Zimbabwean dollar lost its value (by 74% in four hours), against all major currencies on the 14th of November 1997 (Chagonda, 2012:83; Bond, 2007). Makina (2010) explains that these various events are the reasons why the onset of the economic crisis is traced back to the year 1997.

To make matters worse, in November 1998, the IMF imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe, having been influenced by USA and Britain (Chagonda, 2012). Potential investors were warned off and the IMF froze its loans to Zimbabwe. Vukanic (2009) explains that this stems from the involvement of Zimbabwe's government in the Second Congo War which started in August 1998 and ended in July 2003; this left more than three million people killed and the USA not gaining Congo's mineral resources as planned. Bakasa (2016:1) notes that these events, especially those that took place in 1997, set the "precedent" for what has come to be known as the Zimbabwean economic crisis. Towards the end of the 1990s, most investors started to abandon Zimbabwe as risks of investing continued to rise (Larochellea, Alwanga and Taruvinga, 2014).

In addition to the economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe, several food riots occurred in 1998 as the prices of food continued to rise (Moore, 2001). In 1999, the

country's economic performance worsened at least in part, because of lack of funding from international financial institutions and by the end of the year, Good (2002) records that Zimbabwe's GDP had declined to US\$5,608 million in 1999 from US\$ 8, 784 million in 1990. During the same period, domestic investment dropped from 17.4% to 11.5% and the annual growth rate in GDP from 7% to 0.1%. According to Bond (2007), this crisis resulted in the emergence of a new political party in Zimbabwe, known as Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Morgan Tsvangirai led this party, which became a strong political force and managed to threaten the late Mugabe's power (Bond, 2007). Pswarayi and Reeler (2012) argue that the emergence of an opposition power suggests the number of citizens who were dissatisfied with developments under the late Mugabe's rule.

In the year 2000, the Zimbabwean government introduced the Fast-Track Land Reform programme (Chagonda, 2012). According to Noko (2011), this Land Reform programme was a chaotic process, which involved the invasion of approximately 4500 white-owned farms by Zimbabwe's war-veterans. However, this process was handled by corrupt government officials, therefore worsening food insecurity. Crop production by the new owners of these commercial farms declined and was "lower than pre-land redistribution levels, leading to a significant drop in the country's agricultural production" (Mazzeo, 2011: 407). This resulted in the decreased availability of maize, which is the staple food in Zimbabwe (Larochellea, Alwanga and Taruvinga, 2014). Increased inflation rates followed, and this led to the imposition of even more severe sanctions onto Zimbabwe, by western countries, worsening the economic conditions. Moore (2001) notes that in the year 2 000, some citizens were already demonstrating over the increase in prices of food and transport.

In 2001, the Western powers froze the late Mugabe and his officials' assets and banned them from traveling to the West. The USA mentioned that the sanctions would be lifted if Mugabe and his party gave up power. However, Mugabe had the Chinese government on his side; therefore, he became less vulnerable to the West's sanctions (Vukanic, 2009). It is important to note that having the Chinese on Mugabe's side did not mean that the economic conditions improved.

The economic crisis resulted in the marginalisation of the majority of Zimbabwe's citizens (Witter, Chirwa, Chandiwana, Munyati, Pepukai, and Bertone, 2019). In 2003,

the country's inflation rate reached about 600% and there was a shortage of bank notes; therefore, the government introduced its first batch of bearer's cheques in order to supplement the scarce cash (Zimfact, 2020). In the same year, Zimbabwe was also suspended from the Commonwealth and the European Union (EU) forbade all foreign trade with Zimbabwe (Vukanic, 2009). Due to the failure of ESAP and imposition of sanctions, Zimbabwe had to face overwhelming consequences.

The economic state of the country continued to weaken; this resulted in a large number of citizens, especially informal traders in the urban areas voting for the Movement of Democratic Change (MDC) and protesting against the ruling party (Vukanic, 2009). The Catholic Church, which had also lost land in the Fast Track Land Redistribution programme, also called for a peaceful uprising against Mugabe. According to Kamete (2006) and Vambe (2005), the increase in support of the MDC and the protests frustrated Mugabe and other members of the ZANU PF party.

To prevent people from protesting, in May 2005, an operation that destroyed informal, unplanned and illegal dwellings was implemented in the cities (Tibaijuka, 2005). Vukanic (2009:68) notes that Mugabe's government had turned a blind eye to the illegal dwellings and informal traders, but the problem started when informal traders started voting for the opposition party. Nyamwanza and Mandizadza (2014) note that this was known as Operation Murambatsvina; approximately 40 000 houses were demolished, over 30 000 people were arrested and tortured, about 65 000 families were displaced, 750 000 people lost their livelihoods and 300 000 children of informal traders and city squatter families dropped out of school (Vukanic, 2009; Tawodzerwa, Zanamwe and Crush, 2012). Meanwhile, Ndoro (2016:58) states that in the same year, Zimbabwe experienced a drought and this worsened the country's situation because agriculture was the "backbone" of the economy.

While Zimbabwe faced a drought, the land redistribution process did not stop. According to Chagonda (2012), during 2006, Zimbabwe's government continued the Fast Track land redistribution and forced commercial banks to fund the programme. Those that did not want to participate were threatened that they would lose their licenses. However, Li, Ge and Chen (2013) note that the newly resettled families did not manage to secure loans from commercial banks as they did not have title deeds to the land they had acquired. In addition, farm banks could not extend loans to these

new farmers as most of them did not have enough farming experience; as a result, the land redistribution programme failed and agricultural production dropped in Zimbabwe (Vukanic, 2009: 68). At the end of 2006, Zimbabwe's political environment took a critical turn.

Zimbabwe was affected by political violence at the beginning of 2007 when the country was preparing for the 2008 presidential and parliamentary election (Makina, 2012). On 11th March 2007, the main police station in Harare was firebombed and on the 22nd of March 2007, the MDC political party officials were arrested. Political violence continued between the two parties and by the end of 2007, more than two million people, including professionals had left Zimbabwe to seek better and more peaceful lives (Makina, 2012). Ranga (2015) further notes that about 45 000 teachers left the country since the economic crisis culminated in 2008. This shows the severity of the country's political environment and its impact on the citizens.

At the beginning of 2008, the economic conditions in Zimbabwe became severe; inflation reached 26 000%. Bearer's cheques that were introduced as a replacement of the Zimbabwean dollar, because they were cheaper to manufacture and to print, lost their value swiftly. In addition, the land redistribution programme had not yielded good results, and this resulted in increased food shortages. Green (2018) notes in the same year, the number of HIV positive people exceeded one million because of the collapse of Zimbabwe's health system. Meanwhile, many schools closed down because the state could no longer fund the schools' programmes. Life expectancy became the worst in the world having dropped from 62 years in the 1990s (Bond, 2000) to 37 for women and 34 years for men (Makina, 2010). The only services that operated efficiently were the "police, army and Central Intelligence Organisation" (Vukanic, 2009: 70). The inefficiency of services clearly portrays an economy that is crumbling.

As anticipated, Zimbabwe's elections were held on the 29th of March 2008 and after a long, violent struggle between ZANU PF and MDC, during which, according to Ranga (2015), the majority of casualties were MDC supporters, Mugabe was sworn in for another presidential term on the 29th of June, 2008. However, Vukanic (2009) notes that the MDC and the West did not accept the outcome of the election. In spite of the

criticisms that the elections were unfair, the ZANU PF continued as the ruling party. This meant that the economic conditions in the country would continue to degenerate.

It is key to acknowledge that natural disasters also contributed to the downfall of Zimbabwe's economy. Zimbabwe's economic and humanitarian crisis culminated in August 2008 when there was a cholera outbreak in Chitungwiza, which is a town near Harare. Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) explain that this was a consequence of Zimbabwe's destroyed health system, lack of sanitation and people not being able to afford healthcare. Makina (2010:100) records that this outbreak is said to have afflicted "100 000 people and killed 4 000 victims." Zimbabwe also suffered from another drought that occurred in 2008 and further worsened the condition of the country. A large number of people and livestock also died of starvation. Dixon (2008:2) states that villagers said they had "lost count of how many people have died." These events display the severity of consequences that citizens faced as a result of the deteriorating economy.

The Zimbabwean dollar continued to lose its value causing prices to rise rapidly, leading to the elimination of the Zimbabwean dollar. These price increases, especially between July and October 2008, can also be attributed to the increase in global food prices in the same year. Most businesses shut down as they could no longer afford to import goods from other countries (Ndoro, 2016). It is important to note that Zimbabwe experienced inflation, which according to Mankiw (2014:484), was last recorded at 231million percent in July 2008 and "believed to have reached 89 billion percent by the end of 2008". Makina (2010:114) adds that more than three million people had left Zimbabwe for other countries and more than 7 million people (more than 60% of the population) suffered from hunger. According to Mason (2008:1), "Aid charities and the United Nations estimate that 5 million people in Zimbabwe, half the population, face starvation". Zimbabweans often used expressions such as *kukanga waya* meaning "frying or roasting a piece of wire" (Kadenge and Mavunga, 2011: 157). This reflects the desperateness that Zimbabwean people felt during the crisis as most of them could not afford basic needs such as food. Todd, Ray, Madzimbamuto and Sanders (2009) add that in the same year, due to inflation, a medical doctor's monthly salary was the equivalent of less than US\$1. For the majority of Zimbabweans, this meant a loss of savings and investments, forcing people to employ various survival strategies.

Zimbabwe's ongoing economic crisis meant that the government had to find means to mitigate the situation. Ranga (2015) notes that ZANU PF negotiated with MDC in order to reach a power-sharing agreement and on the 15th of September 2008, this agreement was signed in Harare, making Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC the Prime Minister and Robert Mugabe remaining President. However, this did not mean an end to the economic turmoil; Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) record that in December 2008, Zimbabwe's economy collapsed with an inflation rate of 89.7 sextillion% and an unemployment rate of more than 95%. In order to describe the seriousness of Zimbabwe's situation, Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012:10) note that during this period, the country had become "a world leader in creating poverty".

At the beginning of 2009, Zimbabwe formed a coalition government between former President Robert Mugabe's ZANU PF and former Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's MDC; this union was officialised on the 13th of February 2009 (Chigora and Guzura, 2011). This was known as the Government of National Unity (GNU). With the inception of the GNU, the government of Zimbabwe appealed to Botswana, South Africa and the United States of America for permission to use their currencies. Hence, on the 12th of April 2009, the Zimbabwean dollar was suspended as legal tender and the government adopted the USD as the legal currency, alongside other currencies being allowed to circulate for the purposes of exchange (Southall, 2017). Southall (2017) notes that during the years of the GNU, the economy of Zimbabwe recovered significantly; it grew at a rate of 8.1% per annum and there was a return of consumer goods in shops. Business confidence also grew and as a result, the mining, agricultural and financial sectors improved significantly.

During the years of the GNU, Zimbabwe received foreign aid and loans; for example, Southall (2017) records that the country received a grant of 500 million USD from the IMF and loans of about 270 million USD from different countries. This inevitably increased Zimbabwe's debt, which rose from USD 6.4 billion in 2008 to around US\$ 9 billion in 2013. However, on a positive note, during this period, Zimbabwe managed to pay off debt of approximately US\$100 million (Southall, 2017). The public service sector also showed improvements; in addition to salaries, regardless of qualifications, all civil servants started receiving an allowance of US\$100 per month, from the

government (Chagonda, 2012). These changes also represent a revival of hope in Zimbabwe.

It is worth noting that even though the GNU resuscitated Zimbabwe's economy to a large extent, it had its short comings. Although the "dollarization" of the economy improved various sectors of the country such as education, there was a shortage of USD coins, which made small-scale transactions very difficult. The shortage was compensated for by the acceptance of South African rand and Botswana pula coins, sweets and airtime as change in shops (Southall, 2017:392). The GNU also did little in decreasing poverty and improving formal sector employment. One study carried out in 2012 shows that 72% of Zimbabwean households were deemed as poor and formal sector employment did not exceed 10% (ZimStat, 2015).

The significant developments brought by the GNU did not mean that people had confidence in the state. PTUZ clarified that out of the 100 000 teachers before the economic crisis, only 60 000 returned to work; the remaining 40 000 had secured better jobs in other countries and decided not to move back to Zimbabwe (The Worker, 2009). While a study conducted by de Villiers and Weda (2017) indicates that some teachers would have liked to go back to teaching in Zimbabwe if the economic situation got better, in another study, Shumba and Gwaradzimba (2010) show that most teachers reported that given a second chance, they would not go back to the teaching profession. This further suggests that Zimbabwe's citizens still had little confidence in their government.

Zimbabweans hoped that the GNU would revive their economy but in 2013, the harmonised elections that took place in Zimbabwe ended the coalition government as ZANU-PF won two thirds of the parliamentary votes (Ncube, 2013). Masunungure (2013:100) notes that the MDC rejected the outcome and described the results as "illegitimate" and "heavily manipulated". Foreign investment decreased due to the loss of investor confidence in the ZANU PF government and Zimbabwe faced a liquidity crisis; there was not enough money circulating in the country, especially the informal sector that most people were dependant on. The economic growth rate also slackened from eight percent per annum between 2009 and 2012 to three percent in 2014 (Southall, 2017). In August 2014, the government had to resort to selling treasury bills and bonds as well as begging for money from international financial institutions that

they often described as “imperialist” in order to fund delayed salaries in the public sector; in addition, there was corruption, fuelled by the continuous looting of Marange diamonds by some government officials (Southall, 2017:396). Meanwhile, Zimbabwe was hit by another drought, which worsened the country’s situation.

In 2015, the country was hit by the El Nino phenomenon of the Pacific Ocean; there was “below normal” rainfall and high temperatures, leading to another drought, which caused a further strain on the economy as exports decreased. The drought also led to shortages of food in many households (Ndoro, 2016; Southall, 2017). By mid- 2015, it was clear that the government was running out of funds needed for the economy’s upkeep. As a result, it could not assist the starving citizens, as there was a shortage of money to do this. At the beginning of 2016, the government was facing a severe liquidity crisis, which is commonly referred to as cash shortages (Nyoni and Bonga, 2015). This study focuses on the period between the 2016 and 2020; the reasons for doing so will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.3.1 Cash shortages

This study focuses on the period between years 2016 and 2020, with 2016 being the year that the cash shortages became severe (Ndoro, 2016) and 2020 being the year that this research was carried out. This period is significant for this study because Southall (2017) notes that cash shortages resulted in hyperinflation, which inevitably eroded Zimbabwe’s teachers’ salaries. As noted by the Africa Research Bulletin (2016), the black market continued to grow at the expense of Zimbabwe’s citizens such as civil servants. This means that the value of their salaries decreased, leading to them not being able to afford their daily needs. Therefore, it is important that the events that contributed to and continue to take place during this crisis, are highlighted.

The cash crisis comes as a result of citizens’ preference to keep their money out of banks due to their lack of trust towards financial authorities; consequently, there is no circulation of money in the country resulting in cash shortages on the market (Richardson, 2018:2). Nyoni and Bonga (2017) note that when the cash shortages began, banks could no longer meet the demand of cash needed by depositors and it was rare to find an ATM with money. Since teachers’ salaries are paid into their bank accounts, this means that they faced difficulties in acquiring their money in the form of cash.

Peoples' preference to keep their money at home instead of the banks is not the only factor contributing to cash shortages. Mashakada (2016) adds that Zimbabwe's repayment of international debt and the trade deficit which led to a shortage in foreign currency, also contributed to these shortages. Southall (2017) notes that Zimbabwe is failing to earn the foreign currency that it needs as a result of the decrease in its exports as compared to imports. This therefore means that the country is spending more foreign currency than it is earning. Having acknowledged that this is the case, a shortage of foreign currency is inevitable since there is more spending than selling that is taking place in the country.

On the other hand, Business Day Live (2017) attributes the cash shortages to money laundering by government officials who unlawfully transferred large amounts of foreign currency to off-shore accounts. Southall (2017:391) argues that the money transferred by the political elite, came from the illegal exportation of diamonds that were discovered in the Marange district, which is in eastern Zimbabwe; even though some of this money may "find itself back in Zimbabwe", most of it remains invested in foreign banks and assets. Therefore, cash shortages are likely to arise if large amounts of money are sent out of the country.

The liquidity crisis has had several consequences for different sectors of the economy. Mashakada (2016) notes that as a result of the cash shortages, in June 2016, the government delayed paying public sector workers' salaries on time; this led to a surge of protests by teachers, health workers and other civil servants in June, July and August 2016. The government started to "illegally" borrow money from citizens by delaying their international payments (Southall, 2017:397). Ironically, the Zimbabwean government also began to appeal to Zimbabweans who had migrated to other countries, to increase the amount of money that they were sending back home (Ndoro, 2016). The government of Zimbabwe had to implement strategies to reduce the shortages of cash in the country.

To deal with the liquidity challenge, on the 4th of May 2016, the Zimbabwean government announced that it would introduce bond notes as a "surrogate currency" meaning that they would supplement the scarce US Dollar (Ndoro, 2016:58). Southall (2017) notes that John Mangudya, the governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, said the bond notes would operate at par with the USD. However, Ndoro (2016) argues

that even though the government explained that this currency would be valued at 1:1 with the US Dollar, Zimbabweans were sceptical about the bond notes because the last time Zimbabwe had its own currency in 2009, inflation was very high and people's savings depreciated in banks (Ankomah, 2018). Therefore, the announcement was met with panic from Zimbabweans who had lost confidence in Zimbabwe's financial system since the 2008 economic crisis.

There are notable similarities between the 2008 economic meltdown that left most citizens in despair and the current economic crisis, which culminated when the country began to experience cash shortages (Southall, 2017). In 2008, the demand of cash surpassed its supply. Tawodzera (2014) notes that most people were unable to use their savings to purchase food unless they had foreign currency. Banks put a quota of 50 million Zimbabwean dollars per person; this was inadequate as it could only buy a loaf of bread. This meant that people mostly made payments through the RTGS system. The current cash shortages in Zimbabwe have also resulted in people being unable to withdraw their money from banks as there is not enough cash in circulation; this is reflected by the long queues at various banks in the country (Southall, 2017). Ndoro (2016) states that a result of the cash shortages, those who import goods using the scarce USD, resell them at very high prices that most people cannot afford. It therefore, does not come as a shock that Zimbabweans showed grave concerns towards the announcement to introduce bond notes.

Zimbabweans decided to voice out their concerns regarding the announcement on bond notes. Kufakurinani and Mwatwara (2017) note that this announcement was met with protest action that reached a peak on the 31st of August 2016. People also started queuing at the banks, demanding that they get the money they had deposited in US dollars. When the government became aware of this, the RBZ imposed limits on the amount of US dollars that an individual could withdraw. According to Mugari (2017), in October 2016, the limit had decreased to US\$50 per day (approximately R700). The government then suggested that public service workers would be paid either partially or fully, in bond notes. This prompted fears about inflation and devaluation of people's assets. It also became clear that financial institutions such as the IMF were unimpressed with the Zimbabwean government's decision to introduce bond notes, fearful that Zimbabwe would attempt to clear its US dollar debts in bonds. This was

reflected by a sudden withdrawal of a German company that had been contracted to print the bond notes (Southall, 2017).

In spite of the protests by Zimbabweans, the government proceeded to implement these bond notes in November 2016. However, Zvomuya (2017) highlights that markets and the citizens continued to value the USD more as they feared that if they trusted the government, a financial crisis similar to the one that they faced in 2008 would result and they would lose their savings. Even though Zimbabweans are able to use the bond notes and electronic currency, these have no value outside the country; this has led to the belief that the introduction of the bond notes was a way to enable a few political elites to get access to most of the US dollars (Zvomuya, 2017). As a result, the bond notes were immediately traded at a marked discount to the dollar, on the black market (Southall, 2017). This shows that people have not healed from the experiences of 2008's hyperinflation.

Just as citizens expected, it is apparent that the introduction of bond notes led to devastating effects. It affected both the government and its employees. Southall (2017) adds that at the end of 2016, Zimbabwe's Minister of Finance, Patrick Chinamasa proposed the slashing of 26 000 public service jobs and the freezing of civil servants' bonuses; the country's debt had also increased to US\$ 11.2 billion of which payment of US\$5.2 billion was in arrears. A decrease in public service jobs means a further increase in unemployment levels which results in severe challenges for those who lose their jobs. An increase in debt would mean that the state has less money to provide public services since it has debt to pay off.

Cash shortages also meant that people had to find substitutes for the scarce cash. Therefore, by late 2017, most of the country's transactions were mainly cashless. Ngwenya, Pelsler and Chivaura (2018) explain that the RTGS accounted for 72% of all the transactions taking place in the country's banking sector. This meant that all domestic payments were made electronically; both public and private sector employees were being paid electronically, despite not being able to withdraw this money from the banks. Mugari (2017) notes that this was inevitable as cash had become very scarce. Ndoro (2016) explains that this situation was so acute that some employees no longer received full salaries at the end of the month because companies were experiencing losses. People hastened to spend their salaries, as they feared that

their money would become valueless. They also exchanged bond notes to US dollars at heavy discounts on the black market (Southall, 2017).

While bond notes have increased liquidity, they have resulted in other challenges. Southall (2017) records that since the introduction of bond notes, Zimbabwe has experienced inflation rates of about 200% per annum and there has been an increase in Zimbabwe's debt. This has led to challenges for citizens such as teachers, who were paid in bond notes, because most businesses refused to sell in bond notes. Furthermore, Ndoro (2016) notes that companies often sell gasoline at prices that are higher than regular USD prices. This means that teachers that use cars as a form of transportation to work can no longer afford to buy gasoline for their cars, resulting in severe challenges when travelling to work. Zimbabweans have become desperate for change.

Zimbabwe's political state took a turn when Robert Mugabe resigned at the end of 2017. In November 2017, Emmerson Mnangagwa succeeded Robert Mugabe and became the new president of Zimbabwe. After the resignation of the former president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, Southall (2017:401) notes that "pro-growth" policies were expected under Emmerson Mnangagwa's government. However, this has not been the case as the deeply rooted economic crisis persists, leaving the majority of Zimbabweans struggling to make a living (Marima, 2018). He promised to restore Zimbabwe's shattered economy but it is clear that this has not happened; Steinhauser and Mpofu (2019) argue that the economic situation continues to worsen and cash shortages persist.

With the liquidity challenges' persistence, during the last quarter of 2018, the government introduced a new currency called the RTGS dollar (\$RTGS) which consists of the RTGS (electronic money) and bond notes. As a result, the economic situation was aggravated as the RTGS and bond notes continue to lose their worth (Steinhauser and Mpofu, 2019). Kuyedzwa (2019) notes that this currency (RTGS\$) was rated at RTGS\$2.50 for \$US1 when it was introduced but continued to lose its value. Teachers in the public sector receive their salaries in form of the \$RTGS. However, when purchasing goods and services, they are charged prices equivalent to the USD and as a result, they are not able to afford basic needs such as adequate food and paying their children's school fees (Thompson, 2019). Even though teachers

have expressed their grievances, the government has not increased their salaries because the mining sector which had also improved in 2008 and assisted the government in paying civil servants, is in a state of decline (Ngoro, 2016; Mavhunga, 2018).

The government responded to teachers' and other civil servants' concerns by banning local transactions that were conducted in foreign currency. BBC News (2019) notes that in an effort to do away with the activities of the black market which contributed to the civil servants' sufferings, on the 24th of June 2019, the Minister of Finance, Mthuli Ncube announced a ban of trading in foreign currency in Zimbabwe. However, this ban meant that most companies would not have enough foreign currency to import raw materials and other goods since Zimbabwe is the only country that accepts the \$RTGS. In addition, Steinhauer and Mpofo (2019) argue that this did not assist the economy in any way because by the end of that same month, the inflation rate had reached 100% resulting in serious financial challenges for citizens, thereby making their lives unbearable.

2.3 Challenges that teachers face, in light of the economic crisis

As a result of the Zimbabwe's economic crisis, the country's educators have faced various challenges; the events explained in the previous sections trigger the experience of many social conditions. Zimbabwe's economic crisis has significantly impacted on the rural populations; therefore, this study focuses on the experiences of teachers living in the peripheries (Mazzeo, 2011). For the purpose of this study, the challenges that will be discussed are financial exclusion, low salaries, political violence, poor living conditions and stress. This discussion also makes reference to challenges faced by teachers in other countries; in addition, the discussion stresses the experiences of those teaching in the rural areas.

2.3.1 Financial exclusion

In a well-functioning economy, all citizens should have access to adequate and equal financial services (Diza, Munyanyi and Gumbo, 2017). As argued by Steinhauer and Mpofo (2019), financial inclusion is a need in the progression of a nation's citizens. In the context of Zimbabwe, Ngwenya, Pelser and Chivaura (2018) explain that financial inclusion can be defined as delivering financial services that are affordable, accessible and allow every citizen to save. Civil servants such as teachers

in the rural areas, face financial challenges resulting from Zimbabwe's fiscal challenges. According to Chitokwindo, Mago and Hofisi (2014), the financial institutions in Zimbabwe have failed to include the rural market. Diza, Munyanyi and Gumbo (2017) argue that those in the rural areas suffer more consequences of the cash shortages than those in urban areas. This comes as a result of the lack of plastic money facilities such as banks and swiping machines, in remote areas that some teachers are based in. This means that most of the people in the rural areas have to rely on the Ecocash services (Ndlovu and Ndlovu, 2013; Munyanyi, 2014). However, the majority of retail operators are importers who only accept cash as a means of settlement and this makes it difficult for people to effectively transact. Ndoro (2016) notes that in cases where traders accept Ecocash, people are charged amounts that are higher than cash prices. This makes teachers' lives difficult since their salaries are very low.

2.3.2 Underpayment of teachers

Zimbabwe's economic crisis poses the challenge of low compensation for the education sector. According to Mashakada (2016), Zimbabwe's teachers continue to be underpaid and their salaries are not in sync with the prevailing economic conditions. In a study conducted by Chireshe (2011), it is recorded that given a second chance, most teachers indicated that they would not choose the profession because of low salaries. Literature has also shown teachers facing similar challenges in other countries. For example, Mseyamwa (2006) notes that teachers in Namibia faced poor working conditions and low salaries. Dike (2009) also adds that Nigerian teachers lived miserable lives as a result of poor salaries and unfavourable working conditions. This shows that during an economic crisis, civil servants such as teachers are likely to suffer as a result of the government's failure to pay them.

2.2.3 Poor living conditions

Inadequate salaries usually result in low standards of living. According to Kadenge and Mavhunga (2011), in 2008, Zimbabwe's civil servants were being paid very low salaries. As a result, they could not afford to buy basic commodities such as food and clothes. Chagonda (2012) notes that one of the affected groups of the sector was teachers. In addition, Bland (2011) states that most of Zimbabwe's teachers remain unhappy with services that they receive from the government. For example, as a result

of the government's lack of money to pay them adequate salaries, they have minimum access to basic needs such as food. Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) add that as a result of the 2008 crisis, certain households in Zimbabwe, had to go without food, at least once a week. The standard of living for most teachers in Zimbabwe has declined because food is sold at exorbitant prices (Chagonda, 2012). In addition, Bland (2011) mentions that teachers are offered poor accommodation, especially in the rural areas; most of these their houses do not have services such as tap water and electricity. When teachers in the rural areas air out their grievances, they are often met with political violence (Pswarayi and Reeler, 2012).

2.3.4 Political violence

In Zimbabwe, some teachers face harassment and intimidation that are politically related. Ranga (2015) records that in 2008, many teachers reported to have been beaten up and hospitalised due to politically motivated reasons; this violence usually comes as a result of teachers' demands for better salaries and working conditions, which leads to them being branded as opposition party members. In 2008, teachers were often forced to vote for the ruling party instead of exercising their own choice. It is important to note that it is mostly teachers in the rural areas who were faced with violence. The violence that teachers face includes being tortured, abducted, beaten up or even killed. Kufakurinani and Mwatwara (2017) explain that violence against supporters of the opposition party is a common phenomenon in Zimbabwe. Dike (2009) adds that in Sierra Leone, teachers also faced political harassment during the country's different economic crises. This often causes demotivation, which leads to poor results caused by low teacher commitment. It is clear that in their quest to educate pupils, teachers face challenges that affect their well-being. Pswarayi and Reeler (2012) argue that violence against teachers does not only affect teachers but the education system especially in the rural areas where it is most prevalent; for example, some schools in the rural areas of Zimbabwe have recorded zero percent pass rates. This proves that these areas do not attract qualified teachers. In spite of these challenges, Chireshe (2011) reports that many teachers in Zimbabwe indicated that their plight is not being addressed; as a result, their dignity continues to deteriorate and they become stressed.

2.3.5 Teacher stress

Research has shown that teachers in various parts of the world are faced with stressors such as inadequate salaries, poor working conditions, time pressures, unreasonable workloads and misbehaviour by learners (Engelbrecht and Eloff, 2001; Ngidi and Sibaya, 2002; Jonas, 2001). For the purpose of this study, the first three identified stressors will be discussed. Rout, and Rout (2002: 22) explain that stress occurs when a particular situation is a threat to an individual's goals and he or she is unable to meet these expectations. In two different studies, Mapfumo, Shumba and Daniel (2008) as well as Mapfumo, Mukwidzwa and Chireshe (2014) note that Zimbabwe's teachers were found to be stressed as a result of unreasonable demands of quality work that came with no adequate training nor compensation. These teachers did not receive adequate training because lecturers at teachers' colleges were demotivated by the low salaries that they also receive from the government. Israr, Razum, Ndiforchu and Martiny (2000) state that Cameroon's health workers felt demotivated by the low salaries they received from the government. It is therefore clear that low salaries often lead to demotivation. In addition, Kanyongo (2005) notes that Zimbabwean teachers are often unable to deliver exceptional work as expected; this is because they are often given a short period of time to complete huge tasks. However, they are not able to meet these expectations because there is a shortage of material such as books and technology which are needed for the facilitation of learning. Mapfumo, Chitsiko and Chireshe (2012) highlight that some teachers have to buy teaching aid material with their own money even though this should be provided by the government.

In the case of Zimbabwe, teachers' salaries are eroded as a result of hyper-inflation and they are unable to meet their daily needs (Southall, 2017). This causes them to stress; however, they find ways to deal with this problem. They are actors and not passive recipients of external pressures. The management of stress by adaptive responses from an individual can result in a better personal life (Nahavandi and Malekzadeh, 1999: 543). Therefore, in the midst of the economic crisis, teachers in Zimbabwe have found ways to sustain their needs and make their lives better. Chejter (2003) also uses an example of Argentinean women who are faced with hopelessness as a result of the country's economic crisis. These women "surge forth" as a result of depression caused by economic challenges that they faced as a result of Argentina's

crisis (Chejter, 2003: 537). This shows that during times of economic turmoil, people usually find means to improve their situations. Zimbabweans have responded to their country's economic crisis in a variety of ways.

2.4 Survival strategies

Survival strategies research has been developed in order to understand how people in marginalized situations manage to get by in times of risk or need (Wallace, 2002). Owusu (2007:452) notes that the "survival strategy" approach is usually used to analyse people's strategic responses to an economic crisis while De la Rocha (2001) defines the term as an adaptive behaviour that accommodates stressful economic changes during different economic crises. Owusu (2007) notes that recently, the term has been used in rural contexts; this is done with reference to households who find means to satisfy human needs in harsh and marginal conditions.

This research suggests that Zimbabwe's teachers implement various strategies for survival. Post-independence, the teaching profession in Zimbabwe used to be attractive and regarded as a means to social mobility because teachers would earn salaries that were six times above the minimum wage (Word Bank, 1992). However, through his study, Chagonda (2012) provides proof that this is no longer the case by mentioning that teachers' salaries continue to erode as a result of hyperinflation; therefore, they find other means of making a living. They implement survival strategies to diversify their income and/ or satisfy their household needs (Mutsagondo, 2015). Having acknowledged that people find it difficult to sustain their households during an economic crisis, this section seeks to outline various strategies employed by people to better their lives, during an economic crisis.

2.4.1 Decreasing expenditure

One broadly used coping strategy is cutting down expenditure (Nelson, 2002). This includes changing diets, cutting back on the use of utilities and reduction on consumption. For example, families in Zimbabwe cut down their meals to one per day for adults, so that children could have three meals (Ndlovu, 2011). Setiawan (2001) also found that in Indonesia, people faced with a decline of income in the rural areas cut down on expenditure and less essential goods. In Brazil and Zimbabwe, people cut back on expenditure by skipping other meals (De Haan, Drinkwater, Rakodi and Westley, 2002; Gwahirisa and Manderson, 2012). In a study of poor people in Ethiopia,

Adugna (2006) found similar results that people often buy less quality food and skip meals during a crisis. When civil servants' salaries were cut down in Cameroon, they had to reduce consumption in order to cope with the economic conditions. Decreasing consumption included eating low quality foods and skipping meals (Israr et al., 2000). Lokshin and Yemstov (2004) note that during Russia's financial crisis, people stopped buying clothes so that they could have more money for food. Ncube, Mangwaya and Ogundeji (2018) state that in one of Zimbabwe's districts, Zvishavane, households reduce the number of meals per day; thus, most of the food is reserved for the children and adults only eat in the evening. Coping strategies that involve cutting down expenditure are also noticeable in Zimbabwe where teachers walk for long distances to work, in order to save money to sustain their livelihoods (Chazovachii, 2012). This shows that in times of economic distress, putting certain needs before others is a common survival strategy in households.

A change in diet is often regarded as a survival strategy in a food insecure household. For example, Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) indicate that Zimbabwean families that could not afford meat, fruits, eggs and dairy, changed their diets to vegetables as well as foods made with cereals, grain, oil and butter. However, unlike in urban areas where people usually buy fruits, in most rural areas in Zimbabwe, there is a large supply of fruits because of the large tracks of land (Mavhura, Manyena, Collins and Manatsa, 2013). Hussein and Nelson (1998) also add that in a survey, it was discovered that those in rural Mali reduced calorie intake and ate fruits and vegetables that they could acquire for free; they did so in order to spend less money on food. Therefore, it can be argued that changing diets is a survival strategy since it allows households to save money and spend it on other goods and services.

2.4.2 Asset sales

During an economic crisis, a considerable number of households often sell their assets in order to lessen the demand for cash required to buy food and other commodities. In 2008, Zimbabwean male teachers that engaged in subsistence farming in rural areas often sold their livestock and grain in Mozambique for prices that were ten times higher than what local buyers offered; this enabled them to acquire foreign currency that they would then use to buy food for their families (Mutsagondo, 2015). In another study, Ncube, Mangwaya and Ogundeji (2018) note that in the Zvishavane district of

Zimbabwe, respondents admitted that they often sell their livestock to meet their food needs. As a result of an economic crisis, people are not able to afford adequate healthcare; therefore, they sell cattle to cover medical expenditures for sick household members. Israr et al., (2000) also make record of Cameroon government workers who would sell household assets for survival when their salaries were decreased. This shows that selling assets is strategy used in response to food insecurity and medical costs resulting from a country's economic crisis.

However, the sale of assets has proved to have negative consequences for households, to a certain extent. Mazzeo (2011) argues that coping strategies that involve asset sales are usually unsustainable, therefore, damaging to households as they erode the resources such as draught animal power that people depend on, for their livelihoods. In a study by Mazzeo (2011), when Zimbabwe faced the 2005 drought and 2008 economic crisis, villagers in the Masvingo and Midlands provinces sold cattle for survival; this led to a 13% decline in cattle ownership in the two provinces, between 2005 and 2009. Therefore, it is important to note that selling assets often depletes resources such as draught animal power that are needed for crop cultivation.

2.4.3 Living in the peripheries

Zimbabwe's rural areas are usually viewed as the "epicentre" of poverty (Couper, 2003). However, Gomba (2015) notes that teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe prefer to live there. Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012:2) argue that the reason is that the urban population is more "susceptible" to increases in food prices and food insecurity because most of the food sold in urban markets is imported, therefore expensive. In the rural areas, goods such as tomatoes and mealie-meal are cheaper than in urban areas because there is less demand since most families produce them in their gardens. In addition, Stoeffler, Alwang, Mills and Taruvinga (2015) note that unlike in urban areas, most rural areas have plenty of firewood; this is an advantage for teachers in the rural areas, with the electricity cuts that are prevalent in Zimbabwe. This clearly explains why teachers in the peripheries do not want to move to urban areas. Gomba (2015) further explains that unlike in the past, teachers in rural Zimbabwe are not usually interested in transferring to urban areas. A preference to live in the rural areas can therefore, be considered as one of the rural teachers' survival strategies.

In the rural areas, teachers are able to obtain food through various means. Mutsagondo (2015) argues that, like any other economy, subsistence farming and domestication of animals are means for survival in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. Teachers in these peripheries also engage in farming as a way to sustain their families (Baiphethi and Jacobs, 2015; Mazzeo, 2011). Mutsagondo (2015) notes that some of them own land, which allows them to domesticate livestock and practice farming. Strategies such as having backyard gardens have also been adopted by teachers, to avoid buying expensive vegetables (Gomba, 2015). The practice of subsistence farming is not only found in Zimbabwe; it is also prominent in Cameroon where civil servants grow crops such as oranges, green vegetable and corn in order to sell them to sustain their families (Israr et al., 2000). Owusu (2007) adds that farming is also practiced by civil servants in Uganda in order to increase the sources of food needed in households. Farming is easier in the rural areas since there is plenty of land in these areas, as compared to urban areas. This suggests that in order to reduce food insecurity, some households rely on non-market sources for food. It also further proves that for the teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe, life is easier to bear in the peripheries.

Teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe have proved to be more resistant to the economic crisis than those in urban areas. Mutsagondo (2015) and Hanke (2008) make reference to the 2008 economic crisis in Zimbabwe and notes that when many teachers migrated to other countries, most of those in the rural areas kept their jobs even though the Zimbabwean dollar that they were receiving their salaries in, had lost 99% of its value. The authors further explain that these teachers held on to their jobs because they have cheaper and/or free accommodation as opposed to their counterparts in the urban areas who had to pay their rentals in foreign currency when they received their salaries in form of the Zimbabwean dollar. In their study, Israr et al., (2000) also noted a trend of civil servants going to live in the rural areas when their salaries were reduced. It is clear that living in the rural areas is a strategy that Zimbabwe's teachers are likely to choose.

2.4.4 Urban-rural networks

Studies have also revealed that people maintain strong rural-urban linkages as a form of survival (Namwata, Mgabo and Dimoso, 2010). These linkages have indeed

assumed new importance with the rise of economic challenges in developing countries (Rokodi, 2002). Lesedeti (2003) notes that these links are maintained through frequent communication with relatives and friends, visits and exchange of goods. These are important ways of ensuring that in times of need, those in the rural areas have got a source of help in times of adversity. In Zimbabwe, links are formed between those who are working in the urban areas and those living in the peripheries. Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) posit that those in urban areas also remit cash to their relatives in the rural areas. Bakasa (2016) explains that money that is sent from urban areas to rural areas is a means for survival in the country. It can therefore be maintained that remittances from urban areas are important for the upkeep of those in the rural areas. However, money that is sent from urban areas to rural areas only constitutes a small portion of remittances in Zimbabwe.

2.4.5 Migration and remittances

People migrate for several reasons; in Zimbabwe's case, Vukanic (2009) notes that in 1995, a considerable number of Zimbabwe's teachers, nurses, doctors and technicians, migrated to developed countries to seek for better job opportunities. However, the largest number of Zimbabwe's citizens chose to migrate to other countries when the country's economic crisis escalated in the early 2000s. Therefore, most migration flows are forced; this means that migrations by people in certain countries are a result of poverty, conflict, violence, lack of human rights and instabilities in their countries of origin (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014), rather than economic conditions in destination countries. This is clearly portrayed by Zimbabwean teachers who leave their country as a result of harsh economic conditions they are confronting but wish to go back home if the situation gets better (Makina, 2012).

The wave of migration in the 2000s included teachers who moved mostly to South Africa, Swaziland and Botswana as a result of low salaries (Changonda, 2012). By the time dollarization was officialised in Zimbabwe, the teaching sector had already disintegrated (Changonda, 2012:89). Chireshe (2011:114) notes that low salaries and poor living conditions are the main reasons for the migration of teachers to seek for "greener pastures." However, Ranga (2015) argues that political violence caused by an economic crisis significantly contributes to the migration of teachers as they are often left with no choice but to flee since they fear for their lives. In another study,

Veenstra, Whiteside, Lalloo and Gibbs (2010) note that during the 2008 economic crisis in Zimbabwe, Zimbabweans also migrated to other countries such as South Africa to seek HIV/AIDS treatment since the country's healthcare system was in a shambles. This shows that even though Zimbabweans migrate for different reasons, the economic crisis has been the underlying cause of migration.

A considerable number of Zimbabweans has migrated to western countries. Natale Migali and Munz (2018) note that Zimbabwe is one of the countries with a largest number of citizens living in Europe. Zimbabwe also has the biggest group of immigrants living in South Africa. It is important to note that Africans who are likely to migrate are those with a higher income because they can afford travel documents and are able to pay smugglers; for example, some Zimbabweans pay smugglers at the Beitbridge border post so that they can gain entry into South Africa. Higher qualifications and experience also contribute to migration as they increase the chances of finding a job and earning money abroad. One would expect the poorest people to migrate as compared to those with better income. However, Natale Migali and Munz (2018) argue that poverty limits mobility as poor people cannot afford traveling expenses, especially from African countries to non-African destinations. It is therefore logical to conclude that Zimbabwe's teachers are able to migrate because they are qualified, and they have income sources.

Studies that have been conducted on migration show that there are disparities between the numbers of men and women that migrate. Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) note that in Zimbabwe's case, it is mostly men who migrate and send remittances back home. This can be explained by the argument made by Kozina (2002), that men are regarded as providers and leaders of the family. However, in a study conducted by Mazzeo (2011), Zimbabwean women especially breadwinners were often the remitters as they migrated to other countries and left their children with grandmothers; on a monthly basis, they would send money for food and school fees. It can therefore be concluded that family members that are expected to be providers are the ones who are likely to migrate in order to take care of their families' needs.

It is paramount to highlight that migration is not always permanent; teachers in Zimbabwe are well-known for seasonal migration (Scoones, 1998; Ndlovu, 2011). During school holidays, some Zimbabwean teachers go to countries such as South

Africa to look for work. For instance, Rutherford (2008) records that a considerable number of teachers work on farms in Limpopo as seasonal pickers during harvest seasons. Even though most of these farm workers' salaries are below the statutory minimum wage, the South African currency that they earn has better value than the Zimbabwean dollar; therefore, they are able to take care of their families when they go back home. Rutherford and Addison (2007) note that in 2007, 85% of the farm workers in Limpopo were Zimbabwean. It is noteworthy that some of these seasonal workers find permanent jobs and settle in South Africa because of the reduction in economic possibilities in Zimbabwe. This way, they are able to remit to their families back home.

Remittances are regarded as one of the most common survival strategies during economic crises (Dercon, 2002; Mazzeo, 2011). A study conducted by Bracking and Sachikonye (2009) proved that not only do 50% of households in Zimbabwe depend on remittances for survival, but it is also clear that they play an important role in alleviating poverty. Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) as well as Bracking and Sachikonye (2006) share the sentiment that remittances are a significant form of income in Zimbabwe, especially during the different economic crises experienced by the country. For example, in 2012, they accounted for 40% of Zimbabwe's GDP (Southall, 2017). Migration and remittances are usually viewed as livelihood strategies because those that have migrated are able to send remittances that will improve the lives of those left behind. For example, Mushomi, Ntozi and Rutaremwa (2017) note that in Uganda, remittances were often invested in children's education as well as building of homes. To add, Wordy (2010) states that those Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa have got a monthly responsibility of sending food, money and clothes to relatives back home. It is imperative to mention that remittances do not only assist in alleviating poverty and developing households; they are an important source of liquidity during the current cash shortages (Magudya, 2016). One can therefore, argue that remittances play a significant role in Zimbabwe's financial sector.

The migration of teachers is common in many African countries. Israr et al., (2000) record that Cameroon public sector workers migrated to other countries when their country reduced their salaries. De Villiers (2007) notes that South African teachers often migrate to the United Kingdom because they earn salaries that are four times higher than they were receiving at home. South Africa's example shows that

migrations are not always forced; factors such as high salaries and better working conditions also play a role in the migration of people.

However, it is noteworthy that migration has consequences for family members who remain and those who leave the country. Tawodzera and Themane (2019) note that migrations have consequences on those who remain as they have to sell their assets such as livestock in order to finance the family member who is migrating; for families in the rural areas, this leads to loss of resources such as draught animal power for farming (Bradshaw, 2004). In addition, Hungwe (2013) argues that migration also imposes challenges on those who migrate. For example, Zimbabweans living in South Africa are often exposed to xenophobic attacks. It is clear that people are at times forced to migrate to countries that pose serious threats to their lives.

Migration also has development related challenges. Hungwe (2013) posits that migration results in the “brain drain”, thereby losing professionals that have the potential to contribute to the development of the country. Castles, de Haas and Miller (2014) further add that remittances can also create remittance-dependent communities that do not work hard to improve the conditions at home. This is problematic for development as this may undermine the growth of a nation. However, not every citizen chooses to migrate; those who remain often find ways to generate income to sustain their families.

2.4.6 Community organisations

In times of economic crises, people often mobilize community members to enhance their capacity to gain control of their own lives (Mazzeo, 2011). One example of such a movement is the Binga Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (Binga CCJP), which was formed by members of the Binga district, which is one of Zimbabwe’s poorest districts. They formed this organisation in 1996, to demand their basic rights as Zimbabwean citizens, from the government. When Zimbabwe was faced with an economic crisis in 1997, this organisation introduced projects that sought to provide financial and technical support for people to meet their daily needs. In addition, some projects focused on providing food for pregnant women and children after identifying them as vulnerable groups (Conyers and Cumanzala, 2004). This group was able to enhance capacity building in the local communities, so as to meet people’s basic needs and encourage them to exercise agency over their own lives.

Community organisations are also common in other countries. Chejter (2003) explains that men and women faced with diverse impacts of the economic crisis in Argentina came together to produce their own bricks, bread and vegetables. This creates space for people to participate in social issues. Furthermore, they organised their children's education, health services and jobs for the unemployed adults through cooperatives. It is important to note that such movements or strategies of resistance create a sense of solidarity between members of social groups that could be "subversives" and bring about change (Chejter, 2003: 536). This means that they become aware of their abilities to have control over their lives. It can therefore be argued that community organisations play a crucial role in improving the lives of people during times of economic distress.

2.4.7 Informal income-diversifying strategies

Informal sector literature is dominated by the assumption that the informal sector is mainly associated with the poor and unemployed (Fodoup in Owusu, 2007). However, Owusu (2007) documents the practice of relying on more than one source of income especially by African public workers. For instance, the low salaries and increasing costs of food have made it very difficult for Zimbabwean teachers to sustain themselves; therefore, they have adopted various survival strategies (Jones, 2010). Ankomah, (2018) further explains that these teachers are facing difficulties as their salaries cannot keep up with the ever-increasing prices of goods and services. The informal sector is described as "survivalist" since people have no other choice but to engage in informal activities in order to gain more income (Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush, 2012:9). During Zimbabwe's 2008 economic crisis, while most teachers in the urban areas left their jobs, many teachers in the rural areas remained in their jobs but engaged in other informal activities in order to fend for their families (Mutsagondo, 2015). This practice makes sense to formal workers because despite their low salaries, they are guaranteed of a regular income. It can therefore be concluded that this has become the way of life for many public sector employees.

2.4.7.1 Sale of second-hand clothing (*Mabhero*)

The sale of second-hand clothing has become a common practice in developing countries. Mutsagondo (2012:98) records that in a survey conducted on teachers in the rural areas of Masvingo in 2008, 18% of the informants noted that they participated in the selling of second-hand clothing commonly known as *mazitye* or *mabhero*; *mabhero* is a Shona word meaning “bales.” The most common second hand clothes found in bales include shoes, sheets, trousers, dresses, bras and jackets (Gwatirisa and Manderson, 2012). Mutsagondo (2012) explains that these clothes were usually smuggled from Mozambique and sold on markets in the rural areas in foreign currency such as US dollars or through barter trade. The most preferred goods in barter trade were cooking oil, sugar, mealie-meal and soap. Israr et al., (2000) explain that during economic crises, a large number of public sector workers depends on second-hand clothes because they cannot afford to buy new clothing; in Cameroon, health workers often bought second-hand clothes since they were more affordable than brand new clothing. However, Mutsagondo (2012) explains that this business is risky because some Mozambican agents often dupe Zimbabwean retailers because of the language barriers between the two parties. This shows that Zimbabwe’s teachers often engage in risky activities in spite of the challenges they might face in doing so.

2.4.7.2 Street vending

One common informal activity is street vending. Fodouop in Owusu (2007) notes that when a country experiences an economic crisis, informal activities increase. Owusu (2007) documents that in Ghana, many formal sector employees are involved in street vending in order to increase their sources of income. To add, when there was an economic crisis in Cameroun, most people relied on informal activities and street vending became the source of revenue for the country (Fodouop in Owusu, 2007). Chagonda (2012) also adds that as the economic crisis deepened in Zimbabwe, the formal sector shrunk, leading to a rise in activities of the informal sector. A study conducted by Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) shows that 42% of the participants obtained all of their income from the informal economic activities and 98% were involved in various informal activities. However, unlike in Cameroun, in Zimbabwe, the potential of the informal sector to contribute to local revenue, has been undervalued (Nyamwanza and Mandizadza, 2014) and the practice of informal

activities such as street vending is illegal. Despite the government of Zimbabwe's disapproval of these informal activities, this sector of the economy continues to grow significantly (Nyoni and Bonga, 2017). Nyamwanza and Mandzizadza (2014:57) describe this as "beating the system". This shows the desperation by Zimbabweans to earn a living despite the various obstacles they come across.

2.4.7.3 Cross-border trading

Informal cross-border trading remains a very common survival activity. Chagonda (2012) and Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) record that during the 2008 Zimbabwean economic crisis, the informal market that was thriving in this period was that of cross-border traders because people were able to import goods in other countries and resell them at very high prices, instead of keeping money which swiftly lost value. Mutsagondo (2015) also adds that some women in the Masvingo province smuggled goods such as tealeaves, potatoes and sterilised milk into Mozambique; they sold these to the elite who preferred Zimbabwean foods to their own. More bulky goods such as sugar and beer were smuggled by men. A considerable number of people, especially women imported food from South Africa and Botswana and sold it in their homes, on the streets or door-to-door. In a study conducted by Chagonda (2012), nine out of the nineteen teachers interviewed, were involved in cross-border trading.

Teachers manage to engage in cross-border trading because there is not much supervision at their workplaces since their supervisors are also occupied with fending for their families (Mapfumo, Chitsiko and Chireshe, 2012). This also means that even if they do not perform their duties appropriately or decided not to report for work, they might not get into trouble. Israr et al., (2000) explain that these income generating activities often lead to absenteeism and reporting late for work. Mutsagondo (2015) also mentions that teachers in the rural areas of Chipinge in Zimbabwe also import scarce goods such as fish, cooking oil and mealie-meal from Mozambique; while some goods are imported through formal channels, most are smuggled into Zimbabwe. The author further notes that smuggling was a risky activity because if Zimbabwean or Mozambican police officers intercepted these traders, they often took these goods for their personal benefit. Additionally, Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) highlight that such trade has its own challenges; some Mozambicans deliberately refuse to pay

for these goods and call Mozambican police on these unlicensed traders. It is paramount to mention that cross-border trading is a “black market” activity that is illegal in Zimbabwe (Chagonda, 2012:131). However, the persistence by cross-border traders shows the critical importance of cross-border trading for the survival of families in times of economic crises.

2.4.7.4 Foreign currency dealings

The black market usually thrives in countries experiencing hyperinflation. For example, Owusu (2007) mentions that Germany’s informal sector thrived between 1920 and 1923 and Argentina’s in 1988-1989 while Petrovic’, Bogetic’ and Vujos’evic’ (1999) note that Yugoslavia’s informal sector thrived in 1994 when the country experienced hyperinflation which is recorded as one of the highest in the world. It can therefore be argued that the growing of a country’s informal sector is an indication of an economic crisis. For example, Torri (2009) notes that Haiti is characterised by high unemployment rates and an increasing emergence of various informal activities.

In Zimbabwe, most people participate in the *kukiya-kiya* economy, which refers to surviving strategies, or various ways of making a living that are not usually approved by the government; people engage in these activities in order to earn additional income (Jones, 2010). In 2008 and 2009, a significant number of Zimbabweans engaged in corrupt activities of the “criminal black market” in order to make a living (Kadenge and Mavunga, 2011; Chagonda, 2016:131). Teachers could not just sit and mourn the difficulties that they were confronting; while some teachers permanently left their professions to join the informal sector as dealers, others only used this sector for moonlighting activities to supplement their salaries (Bakasa, 2016). As mentioned by Chagonda (2016), all teachers interviewed in his study were involved in informal activities such as foreign currency dealing.

The foreign currency dealings were referred to by different terms. Gono (2008) calls it the casino economy, implying multiple ways of earning money that are usually illegal. Kadenge and Mavunga (2011:162) use the Shona word *kujingirisa*, which means joining different items together; however, metaphorically, the word means various ways of making ends meet. Therefore, foreign currency dealings can be classified under *kujingirisa*. According to Kadenge and Mavunga (2011:159), various dealers

were involved in *kubhena mari* which can be directly translated into “burning of money” which is a form of bank transfers done through a system called Real Time Gross Settlement (RTGS). Chagonda (2016) explains that under this system, if a person gave US dollars to a dealer and requested that Zimbabwean dollars be transferred to their account, the individual would get Zimbabwean dollars at a rate that was many times higher than the prevailing exchange rates. However, the Zimbabwean dollar’s value continued to depreciate, meaning that the dealers benefited more as they would be the ones in possession of the foreign currency which holds more value (Muronzi, 2019). Currently, burning of money takes place on the country’s streets and has improved many people’s lives. As a means of survival, civil servants such as teachers also participate in *kubhena mari* in order to gain income to sustain their families because according to some citizens, the formal way of doing business “no longer works” and *kubhena* is more lucrative (Chagonda, 2016, Gukurume, 2015:226). It is noteworthy that it is mostly men who are involved in *kubhena*, such that only four in every twenty dealers, are women (Gukurume, 2015). In addition, Bakasa (2016) notes that even though some teachers in the rural areas practice foreign currency dealings, this activity is prominent in the urban areas; however, teachers in the peripheries engage in other survival activities.

2.4.7.5 Village butcheries

In times of economic distress, people often engage in activities that are cheaper to manage (Nelson, 2002). Mutsagondo (2015) notes that in 2008, a few teachers in the Chipinge rural areas of Zimbabwe, sold meat for survival since these businesses are affordable to run as they are unlicensed, and one does not need a building to sell meat. The author notes that those who owned village butcheries operated under trees and this made it easy to escape at the approach of police officers; in addition, while licensed butcheries could not sell their meat in foreign currency, village butcheries would. This is because they were doing this illegally; therefore, they were not licenced. The advantage of practicing informal activities in the rural areas is that there is adequate space to do so and authorities rarely go after those involved, whereas in the urban areas, those found participating in informal activities, are arrested and made to pay fines (Nyamwanza and Mandizadza, 2014).

2.4.7.6 Cross-border visa agents

Before 2009, South Africa imposed a visa fee of R2000 for a period of six months, on Zimbabweans wishing to go to South Africa; however, this fee did not apply to Zimbabwe's civil servants. Instead, they only needed to produce their passports and payslips in order to be allowed entry (Fin24, 2008). Mutsagondo (2008) notes that during the 2008 economic crisis, most business owners made use of teachers to import various goods for them; during weekends, teachers would travel to South Africa and buy various goods for these businesspersons, for some payment. They would be back home on Sunday and resume work on Monday mornings. However, it is noteworthy that Zimbabwe's teachers are not able to use this strategy anymore as Zimbabweans no longer require visas to gain entry into South Africa.

2.5 Shortcomings of the adopted survival strategies

It is worth mentioning that some of the survival strategies adopted in different crises are not sustainable in the long-term; income-diversifying strategies may be illegal. For example, some health workers in Malawi and Zimbabwe adopted various strategies including unethical and criminal behaviour in order to sustain their livelihoods (Mutsagondo, 2015). They stole drugs such as antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) and sold them to vendors and private hospitals (Muula and Maseko, 2003; Veenstra, Whiteside, Lalloo and Gibbs, 2010). Israr et al., (2000) also mention cases in Cameroon where nurses would discourage people from buying medicine from the hospital; instead, they would sell these directly to the patients. These cases reveal that in times of economic turmoil, some people are forced to engage in activities that may result in persecution by the law.

In some instances, children are forced to drop out of school in order to get jobs and increase the household income (Bakasa, 2016); Israr et al., (2000) add that some government workers withdrew their children from school because they could no longer afford the fees. This ultimately has a negative impact on the children as their right to education as outlined in Section 75 of Zimbabwe's constitutional Bill of Rights (2013) is violated and their future becomes unpromising. Following the destruction of livelihoods, women are likely to engage in sexual activities as a currency and economic strategy to get favours so that they can better their lives; this can result in

contracting diseases such as HIV/AIDS which can result in a shorter lifespan (UNAIDS, 1999).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that Zimbabwe's current economic crisis was triggered by events that took place in different economic eras. As a result, Zimbabweans faced an economic crisis that posed consequences, which were mostly severe. The chapter has shown that amongst other citizens, teachers in the rural areas are some of the individuals that have been significantly affected by Zimbabwe's economic turmoil. The consequences are namely financial exclusion, underpayment, poor living conditions, violence and stress. In spite of these challenges, teachers have assumed roles that enable them to provide for their households. These survival strategies include living in the rural areas, selling assets, decreasing expenditure, maintaining networks with relatives in the urban areas, joining community groups as well as engaging in informal activities. Most of these strategies which are mostly informal in nature, are often unsustainable, illegal, risky and detrimental to their well-being. However, they should not be underestimated as various studies reveal that the informal sector has played a major role in sustaining many livelihoods in Zimbabwe. The various studies in different countries highlighted above, also show that there are significant similarities in the informal activities that people practise during an economic crisis. The responses by Zimbabwean teachers have displayed a sense of agency, which can be explained by the Resilience Theory and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach which will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER 3- THE RESILIENCE THEORY AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH IN UNDERSTANDING THE EXPERIENCES AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF THE ZAKA DISTRICT TEACHERS

3.1 Introduction

A theoretical framework serves as a guideline for research. It improves rigor, generalizability and makes the research findings more meaningful in research (Adom, Hussein and Agyem, 2018). This study adopts the Resilience Theory (RT) and the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) as frameworks to understand the experiences of Zaka district's teachers and the survival strategies they have employed to take care of their needs and sustain their families. According to Rutter (2012), the Resilience Theory was put forward by Norman Garnezy in the 1970s. It explains how individuals overcome adversity and produce positive outcomes (Wang and Zhang, 2015). Chitongo (2019) notes that the main advantage of this theory is that it follows a strength-based model instead of one that is problem-centred; this means that instead of only focusing on problems that people encounter, it acknowledges people's capacity to respond to stressors (Chitongo, 2019). Furthermore, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach adopted in this study was coined by the Department for International Development (DFID) in Britain and introduced in the 1980s (Mhongera and Lombard, 2016). This approach focuses on how individuals or households make use of the assets they have, to improve their livelihoods. Thus, it places households at the centre of decision-making (Zhang, Xue, Zhao and Tang, 2019). Its advantage is that it moves beyond financial assets by focusing on and understanding the dynamic activities involved in these livelihoods (Quandt, 2018).

By integrating the RT and SLA, this study aims to understand how the process of resilience has assisted teachers in the Zaka district of Zimbabwe in adapting to the economic crisis of Zimbabwe. It considers their coping capacity in overcoming adversities and producing positive outcomes. Further, the study explores how the assets and resources the teachers in question have, assist them in developing strategies that enhance livelihood processes which improve their lives. In addition, the study acknowledges the teachers' vulnerability as well as the role of agency and different structures in promoting sustainable livelihoods during Zimbabwe's economic crisis.

3.2 Resilience Theory

Early researchers such as Garmezy (1971), Rutter and Madge (1976) and Weick, Rapp, Sullivan and Kisthardt (1989), showed that vulnerability leads to negative outcomes (Masten, 2018). However, they later realised that while many people have negative responses to vulnerability, not all do. They therefore had to generate a theoretical account for this. Masten (2018) mentions that in their studies, these researchers described this as invulnerability. Hadfield and Ungar (2018) note that as a result, Garmezy, Rutter, Werner and Smith later pioneered the Resilience Theory together. In addition, Rutter (2012) notes that clinical psychologist Norman Garmezy coined this theory in the 1970s; however, it only gained popularity in the 1990s (Stallins, Mast and Parker, 2015).

The Resilience Theory was developed in the field of psychology and ecology (Garmezy, 1985; Holling, 1973). It is also largely applied in the discipline of Social Work to explain how people who have gone through similar stressful life events produced different resilience outcomes (van Breda, 2018). However, the field of development studies has also adopted it to explain livelihood sustainability and risk reduction (Fleming, 2016; Matyas and Pelling, 2012). To provide justification for the adoption of the Resilience Theory in this study, it is important that the concept of resilience is explained.

The term 'resilient' is defined by Fraser, Richman and Galinsky (1999:136) as "Individuals who adapt to extraordinary circumstances, achieving positive and unexpected outcomes in the face of adversity." "In the face of" suggests that adversity is on-going (van Breda, 2018:5). Thus, this research focuses on the current or on-going economic crisis of Zimbabwe. In addition, one's coping resources, strengths and attempts to overcome challenges are an important part of understanding a person in their social environment (van Breda, 2018). Therefore, by discussing the survival strategies adopted by Zimbabwe's rural teachers, this study aims to provide an insight on how they have attempted to overcome the challenges posed by the country's economic crisis.

Resilience protects individuals from negative effects that result from stressful events (Wang and Zhang, 2015). For example, in a study conducted in one of America's rural schools, Taylor (2013) reports that despite low salaries, teachers' resilience through

adopting various income generating activities, enabled them to remain in the education sector. In the context of this research, the country's economic crisis is the adversity, which has resulted in unfavourable experiences such as teachers' inability to afford basic needs. Pswarayi (2018), Chipenda (2018) and Gukurume (2015) agree that the *kukiya-kiya* economy in Zimbabwe discussed in Chapter 2 reflects resilience by those affected by Zimbabwe's economic crisis. In particular, this study suggests that in response to the country's crisis, teachers have shown their resourcefulness by adopting various survival strategies described by Mavunga (2011:162) as *kujingirisa*, which refers to the different activities of making a living that are usually informal. To add to this, Moyo (2018) states that people who participate in informal trading show resilience; in spite of the economic crisis, they recover and maintain their presence in the informal sector. Chagonda (2012) notes that even though Zimbabwe's teachers are public sector employees, they also participate in informal trading; thus, they can be described as resilient.

3.2.1 Components of the Resilience Theory

The Resilience Theory involves three components namely adversity, mediating processes and better than expected outcomes, 'resilience' being the process that leads to an outcome and resilient being the outcome (van Breda, 2018). These components will be discussed below.

3.2.1.1 Adversity

Adversity can be divided into two categories, which are acute and chronic. Chronic adversity lasts for a considerable period and may have pervasive impacts on a person. On the other hand, acute adversity has limited impacts, which only last for a short period of time (Bonanno and Diminich, 2013). In the case of Zimbabwe, chronic adversity is being experienced because Zimbabweans face ongoing challenges that started more than ten years ago. Bonanno and Diminich (2013) describe the response to chronic adversity as emergent resilience because it emerges in the face of ongoing challenges. They posit that this kind of resilience produces different outcomes for different people. While some people choose resistance, which is defined by Bottrell (2007:599) as practices of opposition, most choose resilience. This explains the

adoption of various survival strategies by teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe, in order to promote resilience during the current economic meltdown.

3.2.1.2 *The resilience process and outcomes*

Resilience is often viewed as an outcome (Dishion and Connell, 2006). However, Rutter (2012) suggests that it should be regarded as a process. Resilience as a process, involves coping in the face of adversities such as teachers' incapacity to afford basic needs in Zimbabwe. It is a process that involves individuals' interaction with the environment to avoid undesirable outcomes and cope with negative experiences (Wang and Zhang, 2015). People avoid undesirable outcomes by employing various livelihood strategies. Chagonda (2012) notes that in the face of harsh economic conditions, Zimbabwean teachers practice economic activities that improve their living conditions. It is important to note that the process of resilience usually produces positive outcomes during crises (van Breda, 2018). Thus, one could say that a person is 'resilient' because they produce positive outcomes in the face of adversity. This also implies that resilience is not constantly present; rather, it is dependent on the livelihood outcomes (Wang and Zhang, 2015). Yates and Masten (2004) state that resilience is usually motivated by a hope for the future. Therefore, it can be argued that Zimbabwean teachers hope that through the survival strategies they employ, they will attain a better future (outcomes). Shen, Hughey and Simmons (2008) add that the outcomes they achieve are reflective of the successes that livelihood strategies aim to achieve. These livelihood strategies and outcomes will be discussed fully in sections 3.3.1.4 and 3.3.1.5.

3.2.2 Coping capacity and adaptation

Resilience occurs in systems such as families, communities, individuals or organisations (van Breda, 2018). Thus, when individuals, households or communities show coping strength or adaptation in the face of significant challenges, it is said that they have the "capacity for resilience" (Masten, 2018:16). According to Walsh (2006), this ability enables people to rise above adversity and become more resourceful. This supports Mutsagondo's (2015) argument that teachers in the rural areas have adapted to challenges that result from Zimbabwe's economic crisis, thereby reflecting these educators' resourcefulness and adaptation to change. Coping capacity and adaptation

are therefore important when discussing resilience because they reflect action instead of victimisation (Matyas and Pelling, 2012).

It is also important to highlight how people develop the capacity for resilience. Beutel, Crosswell and Broadley (2019:609) note that factors that influence resilience are “circumstance, situation and environment” and they are different in each context. Thus, the Resilience Theory recognises the unique resilience of each individual according to their context or environment (van Breda, 2015). In addition, Matyas and Pelling (2012) explain that people often become resilient through past experiences. For example, the 2008 economic crisis in Zimbabwe introduced activities such as *kubhena mari* (illegal foreign currency exchange) which were also adopted during the country’s latest crisis which culminated in 2016 (Ndoro, 2016). These activities reflect adaptation to change and have protected a considerable number of people from severe impacts of the economic crisis.

3.2.3 Critique of the Resilience Theory

Overall, the notion of resilience aims to sustainably manage resources in a way that develops humans and their well-being; it provides a platform for one to maintain stability in the face of change (Berkes, Colding, and Folke, 2003). However, Quandt (2018:254) notes that resilience has been criticized for being “highly context specific” and difficult to measure, thereby creating challenges in understanding and promoting the notion. Quandt (2018:254) proposes a model which shows that “context, conditions, trends, and institutions” are important in determining whether a people have sufficient capital assets to promote livelihood resilience. She adds that a comprehensive approach that ensures that all social and ecological aspects of resilience are included, is necessary. This will ensure that social, natural and material factors that may ultimately build resilience, are considered. Thus, a livelihood perspective has also been adopted for this study.

3.3 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) can be defined as a system’s ability to continue being productive by enhancing its assets and capabilities, in spite of the disturbances it might have encountered (Ndhlovu, 2018; Morse, McNamara and Acholo, 2009). A livelihood is deemed as sustainable when it can cope with change,

reduce its vulnerability and recover from stress by enhancing its assets and capabilities (Sime and Aune, 2019). The SLA was developed by the Department for International Development in Britain (Mhongera and Lombard, 2016) and first introduced by the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development in the 1980s. This was done to eradicate poverty through advocating for sustainable livelihoods, especially in rural contexts (Krantz, 2001; Shen, Hughey and Simmons, 2008; Helmore and Singh, 2001; Ellis, 2000). This approach has been adopted and is used by humanitarian organisations such as CARE, Oxfam and the United Nations and used in development practice (Quandt, 2018).

Livelihoods are a source of income and subsistence (Masud, Kari, Yahaya and Al-Amin, 2016). Chambers and Conway (1992) in Pour, Barati, Azadi and Scheffran (2018:336) define a livelihood as comprising “capabilities, assets and activities” needed to make a living. The SLA is mainly applied in studying the livelihoods of people in developing countries because that is where poverty is most prevalent (Masud et al., 2016). Therefore, it is appropriate to adopt this approach to the study of the experiences of teachers in Zimbabwe, which is a developing country.

The SLA does not require that people completely change their livelihoods; it promotes adaptation, which makes households less susceptible to a crisis (Morse and McNamara, 2013). This implies that instead of changing every aspect of their lives, Zimbabwe’s rural teachers adopted strategies that enabled them to adapt to the economic crisis. This resonates with Mutsagondo (2015) who notes that while some teachers left the country or their jobs in search of better living conditions, others stayed, especially those in the rural areas and had to find ways to make a living during the economic crisis.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach has been criticised for being too flexible in its design (Sime and Aune, 2019). However, Kollmair and Gamper (2002) argue that it is this flexibility that allows it to be adaptable and applicable to different contexts. This therefore means that it can be used as a tool to identify how different people can be assisted in the development of their livelihoods. By acknowledging that people are dynamic, their various opinions are considered in order to enhance a development approach that is sustainable for each household (GLOPP, 2008).

3.3.1 Components of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods approach encompasses five main aspects which are structure, processes and agency, vulnerability context, livelihood assets, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes (Masud et al., 2016). These will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

3.3.1.1 Structure, processes and agency

Different structures such as institutions and organisations promote human agency. Thus, Romanos (2014) argues that structure should be discussed in conjunction with agency. He notes that structure refers to the social systems or institutions that constrain or expand people's opportunities. Pour et al. (2018) note that agency comprises of an individual's ability to access and control the assets. Van Breda (2018) adds that this agency is important as it reflects the power that people exercise over their own lives. This implies that SLA is not mainly based on the needs of people, but it focuses on how the available resources can be used based on the understanding of their conditions (Mazibuko, 2013). In addition, this approach suggests that in order to promote resilience and agency, society depends on social networks, institutions and actors (Lebel, Anderies, Campbell, Folke, Hatfield-Dodds, Hughes and James in Quandt, 2018). This study reveals that in order to promote their agency, Zimbabwe's teachers depend on various social networks and structures in their communities. Consequently, Quandt (2018) notes that the livelihood processes occur at individual, household and community levels.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach places people at the centre of development; it recognises them as agents that can respond to economic and social changes (Toner and Franks, 2006). Traditionally, the experiences of people were analysed by focusing on what they lacked in terms of money, skills and work; however, this was problematic because it led to a prescription of solutions that were not practical for some individuals and communities (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002). Therefore, this was transformed by focusing on methods of participatory research; for example, Manyena, Fordham and Collins (2008) note that community members in the Binga district of Zimbabwe participate in livelihood activities such as voicing their concerns to community leaders so that their livelihoods are understood from their point of view. In addition, focus was placed on the opportunities that people have in safeguarding their livelihoods instead

of the problems they encounter (Thulstrup, 2015). According to Sime and Aune (2019:14604), the SLA aims to “promote a better understanding of and response to” different aspects of livelihoods; it is concerned with differential capabilities of rural households to cope with shocks. Its strength is being able to recognize a household’s agency to manage its resources during a crisis.

3.3.1.2 Vulnerability context

Vulnerability is a situation where there is insecurity in the well-being of individuals, households or communities in the face of changes that take place in the external environment (Serrat, 2017). Sime and Aune (2019) explain that people’s livelihoods are usually affected by external factors which individuals or communities have little or no control over. The extent to which households are affected by these shocks reflects their vulnerability context (Matyas and Pelling, 2012). Van Breda (2018) maintains that in order to understand people’s experiences and resilience, understanding vulnerability in relation to people’s context is important. The sustainable livelihoods analysis adopts an “actor-based” approach, which places emphasis on the importance of understanding how people in vulnerable situations access livelihood assets (Arce, 2003:203). Arce’s (2003) argument implies that a decrease in vulnerability is linked to an increase in the access to livelihood assets.

The three key areas that contribute to vulnerability context are shocks, trends and seasonality (Ahmed, Lecouffe, Allison and Muir, 2009). Shocks refer to unexpected events such that may affect people’s livelihoods. Trends refer to changes over time that may affect people’s livelihoods. Lastly, seasonality refers to the seasonal changes that may impact people’s livelihoods (Masud et al., 2016). An economic crisis is an example of a shock that can shape the vulnerability context (GLOPP, 2008). As a result of Zimbabwe’s economic crisis, teachers experience stressors such as low salaries which ultimately result in the failure to afford commodities such as food. Inflation in the prices of goods and services in Zimbabwe is an example of a trend that has caused people to struggle to fulfil their basic needs (Mapfumo, Mukwidza and Chireshe, 2014). A reflection of seasonality is the drought that citizens of Zimbabwe were subjected to as a result of El Nino that took place in 2015 (Ndoro, 2016). According to Shen, Hughey and Simmons (2008), factors that make people vulnerable include conflicts, natural disasters as well as economic crises. Thus, in this case,

failure to afford basic goods, and lack of sufficient food caused by Zimbabwe's economic crisis, are some of the vulnerabilities that teachers come across.

3.3.1.3 Livelihood assets

A household's capability to pursue different livelihood strategies depends on its access to livelihood assets. Rakodi in Quandt (2018) explains that these assets constitute capital that can be stored, shared, accumulated or allocated to activities that generate income and sustain livelihoods; they can be accumulated so as to create reserves that help during times of stress. These will be discussed below.

i. Human assets

Human assets are important in engaging different strategies for survival; the term "human assets" denotes the amount of labour possessed by a household and its qualities such as skills, knowledge, the ability to work and good health (Pour et al., 2018:341). Bakasa (2016) notes that this is a direct asset because its attributes are owned by individuals to whom they apply. Morse and McNamara (2013) explain that the quantity and quality of human assets influences a household's ability to employ livelihood strategies; for example, low education levels and being unskilled lead to a household's inability to acquire well-paying and profitable jobs. It can therefore be argued that the health and skills that Zimbabwe's teachers possess have enabled them to adopt survival strategies such as farming and migration as discussed in Chapter 2 of the study.

ii. Physical assets

A physical asset is important in the production processes in a household. Physical assets include infrastructure, equipment, markets, transport and tools (Sidambe, Sidambe and Murenga, 2020). Muringai, Naidoo and Mafongoya (2020) note that in Zimbabwe, assets such as ploughs are important for crop production during an economic crisis. Mutsagondo (2015) notes that teachers in Chipinge practiced cattle production and owned village butcheries. One can therefore argue that the infrastructure that teachers have access to, such as kraals, allows them to domesticate cattle and sell them for meat. In particular, this study seeks to explain how teachers in the Zaka district of Zimbabwe have used their physical assets to contribute to their livelihoods.

iii. Natural assets

Rural households rely heavily on the access of natural resources for survival (Sime and Aune, 2019). Natural resources include wildlife, livestock, land and water; some of these assets are used for production which generates employment and income to sustain livelihoods (Pour et al., 2018; Muringai, Naidoo and Mafongoya, 2020; Ndhlovu, 2018). For example, Mavhura (2017) notes that small-scale farmers in the rural areas of Muzarabani in Zimbabwe use land to plant cash crops such as cotton and tobacco to diversify their income sources. The income is used to educate children (human capital), purchase livestock as well as build infrastructure (physical assets). This further proves the argument by Quandt (2018) that livelihood assets do overlap.

In addition, grazing land is also an important natural asset. It serves as a source of food for livestock (Ndhlovu, 2018). The amount of livestock owned plays a role in the adaptive capacity of households, especially during farming; for example, cattle can be used as animal draught power (Murungweni, vanWijk, Giller, Andersson and Smaling, 2014). Livestock is also a source of food and manure for crops. For example, Sime and Aune (2019) note that households in Ethiopia participate in mixed farming which involves livestock husbandry and growing of crops.

Studies conducted by Pour et al. (2018) and Mavhura (2017) show that in Iran and Zimbabwe, a considerable number of people are interested in purchasing livestock (physical capital) instead of holding onto cash. The authors further explain that this is a mechanism to save the value of their cash from the effects of inflation. Aniah, Kaunza-Nu-Dem and Quacou (2016) therefore argue that livestock can also be regarded as financial assets since they can be converted into cash in times of crisis and vice versa. This proves Quandt's (2018) argument that livelihood assets can be stored for times of stress.

iv. Financial assets

Financial assets refer to saving and having access to credit from formal and informal sources. Muringai, Naidoo and Mafongoya (2020) note that these include cash, savings, wages, remittances and pension. Higher access to financial assets enables pursuers of livelihood strategies to engage in more lucrative and capital-intensive strategies of making a living, resulting in more access to cash (Pour et al., 2018). For instance, Ndhlovu (2018) mentions that rural households spend their income on

farming equipment and inputs; they sell the crops that they grow in order to obtain money for food and education. This study focuses on how teachers in rural Zimbabwe use their financial assets. An example is the argument that teachers in Zimbabwe use the remittances that they receive from relatives working in countries such as South Africa to engage in cross-border trading which brings them more income (Murungweni et al., 2014; Mutsagondo, 2015). Hence, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach's strength is that it is able to draw attention to the fact that the assets used to construct livelihoods can be multiplied.

v. Social assets

Social assets refer to the resources available to individuals or groups of people through membership in social networks; this is the reciprocity between different community members, based on trust that results from social ties (Moser, 2006). This means that these assets are not personal but accessible through a network of relationships. Aniah, Kaunza-Nu-Dem and Quacou (2016) state that both formal and informal structures such as community-based organisations, faith-based organisations and farming cooperatives, form social assets. In a study, Pour et al. (2018) found that community members who were members of social institutions such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) had more power, influence, access to information and financial assets than those who were non-members. This presents them with opportunities to engage in lucrative survival strategies. Thus, Hartling (2008) and Ungar (2012) locate resilience processes within social relationships with family, colleagues and organisations. For instance, Mavhura (2017), Ndhlovu (2018) and Germann (2006) share the sentiment that in Zimbabwe's rural areas, people with many social networks such as cooperatives and neighbourhood support, are able to easily access draught animal power from other community members; as a result, they are more resilient to the country's economic crisis.

3.3.1.3.1. Overall analysis of the livelihood assets

It is important to note that these assets can and do overlap. For example, financial capital can create natural capital and vice versa. To illustrate this further, in their study, Murungweni et al (2014) record that in many rural areas, vegetables and maize are consumed in the household or sold at the nearby township for cash. Further, in order to promote the well-being of individuals, Quandt (2018) argues that there is a need for

a balance of all five assets. This study focuses on the ability of teachers in rural Zimbabwe to use their assets in a balanced manner that promotes the livelihoods' development. Additionally, trade-offs are often experienced; for example, cattle (natural assets) may be sold in order to acquire money for school fees (human capital).

3.3.1.4 Livelihood strategies

Livelihood strategies are defined as different activities that people choose to engage in so that they can generate means for survival and achieve their livelihood goals (Pour et al., 2018; Shen, Hughey and Simmons, 2008). Matyas and Pelling (2012) elaborate that these goals include good health, well-being and food security. People engage in different livelihood strategies which are dependent on their ability to access livelihood assets. These assets, therefore, play an important role in in a household's decision and ability to engage in strategies that sustain their families. Chagonda (2012) and Mutsagondo (2015) note that teachers with assets such as remittances in Zimbabwe engage in different different economic activities to sustain their livelihoods. Thus, the SLA is adopted to explain the survival strategies that rural teachers employ amid Zimbabwe's economic crisis.

Livelihood strategies comprise the choices, activities and decisions that people make in order to achieve their livelihood goals (GLOPP, 2008). These are dynamic processes (Benjamin and Black, 2012); for example, different household members may work at different places permanently or temporarily. For further illustration, in Ethiopia, active members of households migrated to other areas to look for better opportunities during times of drought (Sime and Aune, 2019). It is noteworthy that the livelihood strategies adopted by households depend on their access to the human, social, financial, physical and natural assets (Sime and Aune, 2019). Masud et al. (2016) note that these strategies mainly focus on income-generating activities; for example, in their study conducted in Malaysia, the results found that the majority of respondents in the formal sector had many livelihood activities. In particular, this study seeks to understand how the livelihoods assets that Zimbabwe's rural teachers access, are reflected in the various survival strategies that they adopt.

Diversity is important in promoting a livelihood's ability to cope with change (Hodbod and Eakin, 2015). Livelihood diversification is the process in which people engage in various activities in their "struggle for survival" and in order to "improve their standards

of living” (Tao and Wall, 2009:144). It is important to note that some households with access to the assets discussed above, also engage in wage paying activities in order to promote the diversification of livelihood strategies. Tao and Wall (2009) note that most people living in marginal situations do not have single sources of income; their households survive through a combination of sources of income. As portrayed in the literature review, teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe participate in various survival strategies such as cross-border trading in order to sustain their livelihoods (Chagonda, 2012). Ellis (2000) notes that this promotes sustainable livelihoods because diversification of survival strategies ensures that there are many sources of food. This, therefore, makes them less vulnerable to shocks or economic stressors (Hodbod and Eakin, 2015; Chambers, 1997). This therefore means that households with diversified strategies will be able to produce better livelihood outcomes.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach ensures that there is diversification of capital assets that promote livelihood resilience, instead of just focusing on financial assets; this means that with diversified assets, a household’s ability to cope with stress or change increases. Pour et al. (2018) regards this kind of an approach as holistic as it does not neglect non-financial assets. However, Mutenje, Ortmann, Ferrer and Darroch (2010) argue that a household’s ability to diversify livelihoods depends on its access to assets. Dercon (2002) argues that diversified livelihoods might be a challenge for some households because of a shortage in capital and skills. For example, teachers with no foreign currency cannot participate in the cross-border trading described by Mutsagondo (2015).

3.3.1.5 Livelihood outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are gains that result from livelihood strategies. Paudel Khatiwada, Deng and Paudel (2017) mention that these outcomes include improved well-being, increased income and food security. Muringai, Naidoo and Mafongoya (2020:309) define food security as a state where “all people at all times” have access to enough, “safe and nutritious food” that meets their dietary requirements. They further posit that a household’s food security can be jeopardised by low income which leads to a lack of access to various food commodities. It is important to note that in the context of resilience, a solution is not always or mainly based on a problem; van Breda (2018) argues that people’s survival strategies are informed by what life could look

like, in the absence of the challenges that they face. People produce different outcomes based on their priorities and objectives such as well-being, food security and decreased vulnerability (Ahmed, Lecouffe, Allison and Muir, 2009).

3.4 Integrating Resilience and Sustainable Livelihoods

The Resilience Theory and the Sustainable Livelihood Approach complement each other (Svetina, 2014). Resilience is very important in improving livelihoods (Ndhlovu, 2018). It can be viewed as the capacity of a household to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten the members' well-being. Panter-Brick and Leckman (2013) explain that resilience is a process of harnessing resources in order to sustain the well-being of individuals. The word "process" implies that resilience is not an attribute; some resilience processes include being able to cope with difficulties and recover from adversity (Svetina, 2014). The expression "well-being" suggests a holistic definition of resilience, which does not only limit it to health, and the phrase "harnessing resources" identifies the livelihood assets available in each context (Southwick, Bonanno, Masten, Panter-Brick and Yehuda, 2014:4). Similarly, the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach focuses on how people across generations are able to sustain and improve their "livelihood opportunities" despite the social, political or economic disturbances that they face (Quandt, 2018: 254). This approach aims to promote adaptive strategies, which are the changes and adjustments people make in their livelihood systems in order to cope "under difficult circumstances" (Helmore and Singh, 2001:3). The notion of adaptation during disturbances or difficult times in the definitions of the Resilience Theory and SLA therefore, proves Svetina's (2014) argument that livelihood outcomes and resilience are strongly related aspects.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach acknowledges that there are other non-monetary aspects that promote resilience (Quandt, 2018). It was introduced to promote an integrated and holistic approach. Johansson (2015) elaborates that at the centre of this approach is the notion that resilience should be perceived in terms of people's access to resources, which are physical, natural, financial, social and human. Thus, SLA looks at the measurement of resilience by means of livelihood assets. This means that with these diversified assets, a household's resilience increases (Hodbod and Eakin, 2015). Further, Quandt (2018) explains that the ways in which these assets are combined to form livelihoods and how people are able to expand their asset bases

through interacting with other actors and institutions, should be considered. SLA, therefore, portrays the role played by human agency in implementing strategies that sustain livelihoods. Quandt (2018) argues that this is paramount because it acknowledges that people take active roles in building resilience.

In addition, van Breda (2018) argues that in order to become resilient, individuals become responsible for dealing with the challenges that they encounter and take charge of their well-being, with little or no support from the state. They do this by making use of the assets they can access (Greene, Galambos and Lee, 2003). Thus, one's resilience depends on the assets outlined by the Sustainable Livelihood Approach. These assets enable their well-being, which is the ultimate goal for resilience; therefore, they can either enhance or erode a household's resilience (Mavhura, 2017). Further, these assets contribute to the adoption of livelihood strategies employed by households in times of intensified stress. Quandt (2018) argues that the assets are central to the livelihood resilience; this kind of resilience therefore means that teachers are better prepared to cope, manage and adapt to changing conditions such as price fluctuations triggered by Zimbabwe's economic crisis (Quandt, 2018). This reflects the teachers' resilience to cope with the economic crisis and sustain their livelihoods. Thus, resilience is a component of livelihoods and vice versa (Quandt, 2018).

The adoption of both the Resilience Theory and Sustainable Livelihood Approach addresses the gaps left by earlier researchers. For example, to measure resilience, Berkes and Ross (2013) use a method that recognises households in communities as having similar assets. However, Quandt (2018) notes that this approach is flawed; therefore, the SLA is appropriate for this study because it recognises household as heterogeneous and having access to different assets. She also notes that even though the SLA does acknowledge people's agency in sustaining their livelihoods, it has been criticized for not fully describing the power that people have over their lives. Thus, the Resilience Theory fills this gap by describing the power that people have in changing their situations (van Breda, 2018).

3.5 Conclusion

The Resilience Theory and Sustainable Livelihoods Approach adopted in this study have shown the importance of resilience in the promotion of sustainable livelihoods.

The study is governed by the SLA because of its flexible design, which allows methods of participatory research and application in different contexts. Further, it produces a holistic view on the resources that are important by focusing not only on financial, physical and natural resources but people's human and social capital. In addition, the Resilience Theory recognises the adaptation of individuals who seek to overcome adversities as well as the factors that constrain people's access to resources. The SLA and RT complement each other and the integration of the two shows interdependence.



CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This study highlights the experiences of teachers living in the Zaka district of Zimbabwe as well as their survival strategies in light of the country's economic crisis. This chapter builds up on the previous chapter of the study, which looks at the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and Resilience Theory as the main frameworks governing the study. Firstly, the rationale of the selected research approach is provided. The research design, philosophy and paradigm are accounted for, in relation to the study's objectives and research questions. Furthermore, the study area is clearly presented on a map and the justification for the study sample and sampling method is provided. The interview and data analysis processes followed as well as the skills applied, are explained in detail. Additionally, methods employed to ensure validity and reliability of the study's results and research processes are outlined. The study's benefits, shortcomings, opportunities and the researcher's reflection of the research process, are also highlighted in this chapter. Lastly, the principles considered in upholding the research ethics are outlined and discussed.

4.2 The qualitative research approach

This research follows a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research data is based on human experiences and observations (Rahman, 2017:103). The study aims to understand the experiences of Zimbabwe's rural teachers and their survival strategies during the current economic conditions in Zimbabwe. Creswell (2014) argues that data, which describe experiences, cannot be quantifiable. Therefore, Maziriri and Madinga (2018) recommend a qualitative approach, which is appropriate for the study as it assists in answering the sub-questions by allowing the participants to share their perceptions, feelings, views and experiences.

Further, if a topic seeks to test a theory or conduct an experiment, a quantitative approach is imperative; however, if a phenomenon needs to be explored and understood because inadequate research has been done on a certain group of people, it merits a qualitative approach (Creswell, 2014). As discussed in the first chapter of the study, insufficient research has been conducted on teachers in Zimbabwe's rural areas; therefore, this research adopts an approach that is qualitative. Roller and

Lavrakas, (2015) explain that qualitative research places the researcher close to the participants and subject matter; this is an advantage because it provides an opportunity for in-depth understanding which promotes a thorough analysis of the findings. In this study, the researcher seeks to listen to participants and build an understanding based on what is heard and observed. The researcher was aware that this approach presents the challenge of collecting data in an unbiased manner since it makes use of a relatively small sample that cannot represent all teachers in the Zaka district. However, the participants' perspectives are important in understanding the experiences of teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe in light of the economic crisis.

4.3 The case study research design

The type of research design used in a study should be selected carefully. According to Babbie and Mouton (2012:104), a research design is a plan that the researcher follows in solving a research problem. A case study has been adopted as the appropriate design for this study because of its ability to investigate real life issues (Zainal, 2007). A case study design can be defined as a qualitative method used by researchers to explore a phenomenon or case over time through the use of various methods such as in-depth interviews, observations and reports (Alpi and Evans, 2019). The design was employed to explore and describe the challenges faced by the Zaka district's teachers as well as their strategies for survival. Roller and Lavrakas (2015) posit that in case studies, a case can be an individual or group of people. This study makes use of different participants and treats each individual as a unique and complex case; thus, teachers, principals and union representatives who are the participants, construct their own subjective meanings.

With case studies, researchers assume the role of investigators who continually seek for clues, leads and evidence in order to draw accurate conclusions about the issue in question; in this case, Zimbabwean teachers' experiences are being studied and interpreted in order to draw conclusions on how they have been affected by the country's economic case (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015). In addition, Vissak (2012) posits that case studies are important in studying phenomena that have not attracted much previous attention. As noted in section 1.7 of the first chapter, inadequate research has been conducted on teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe; thus, a case study design was appropriate for this study. Furthermore, Yin (2012) and Starman (2013)

explain that a case study design involves the in-depth analysis of a case which is usually an event, phenomenon or one or more individuals. This in-depth investigation of a phenomenon is enabled by the case study design's ability to allow the researcher to closely examine the phenomenon in a particular context and explore multiple perspectives of the participants under study, thereby enhancing a thick description of the issue under study (Yazan, 2015; Simons, 2009). The issue being discussed is how teachers in the Zaka district have experienced Zimbabwe's economic crisis and managed to sustain their livelihoods. Yazan (2015) further notes that thick descriptions yielded by case studies illuminate the reader's understanding of the issue; thus, this study aims to provide information that allows readers to comprehend the experiences of teachers in question as well as their survival strategies.

In essence, case studies seek to understand complex social issues by bringing out the viewpoints of participants by using various sources of data and data collection methods to gather detailed information (Yin, 2012). Roller and Lavrakas (2015) add that case studies allow the tackling of research objectives from all possible methodologies; this allows the researcher to study complex entities. Ebneyamini and Moghadam (2012) argue that this level of flexibility possessed by case study designs is not offered by other qualitative approaches; thus, they are able to capture complexities of a single case by enabling the researcher to study different aspects of a case in its environment. These complexities include the decisions taken, how they were taken, why they were taken and their results (Ebneyamini and Moghadam, 2012). In the context of this study, decisions taken by Zaka district's teachers in improving their livelihoods are the survival strategies that they adopted. Furthermore, through literature and the teachers' responses, the study uncovers how and why these survival strategies were adopted.

Case studies are often criticised because of their lack of generalizability, which results from a limited number of people being selected as subjects of the study and their usual overdependence on an individual case (Yazan, 2015; Dul and Hak, 2008). However, to reduce the bias that is likely to result from using an individual case, this study makes use of 20 participants. Additionally, case studies have been criticised for overwhelming researchers with large volumes of data being collected (Vissak, 2010). However, it is

this characteristic that enables the researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis of the research findings.

4.4 Research philosophy: Subjective ontology and interpretivism

In research, ontology focuses on the nature of reality (Aliyu, Singhry, Adamu, Abubakar, 2015). This study follows a subjective ontology. This implies that it is based on the interpretations of real-life experiences as described by research participants. Al-Saadi (2014:8) explains that experiences “remain highly subjective” because they are a result of people’s aims to understand and interpret different phenomena. Additionally, there is no single reality; there are multiple, subjective realities. Thus, this research focuses on the participants’ opinions, thoughts, feelings and experiences in light of Zimbabwe’s economic crisis.

The epistemological question focuses on how knowledge is derived in research; quantitative research usually adopts a positivist approach where the construction of knowledge is not impacted by the researcher but based on the facts that already exist (Aliyu, Singhry, Adamu, Abubakar, 2015). However, due to this study’s qualitative nature, the epistemological assumption that informs this research is interpretivist. Knowledge is derived from the researcher’s understanding and exploration of participants’ lived experiences; thus, the researcher constructs meanings and interpretations based on the participants’ views and the researcher’s reflections (Al-Saadi, 2014). Qualitative research is generally interpretative research (Creswell, 2014); according to Starman (2013), this implies that individuals create subjective meanings of their experiences. The research relies on the participant’s view of the issue being studied. Thus, a qualitative form of inquiry places focus on individual meaning. It is concerned with understanding people’s experiences from their subjective point of view (Levers, 2013). The questions are broad so that the participant can construct their own meanings of the subject being studied (Creswell, 2014). The epistemological position which underpins this research is grounded by Al-Saadi’s (2014) argument that there is a need to embrace subjective meanings and multiple realities because people hold different perceptions of the issue being studied. Since this research sought to develop knowledge based on the data collected, rather than prove an already established theory, an interpretative approach was deemed to be more suitable than methods informed by objective ontologies.

4.5 The naturalistic research paradigm

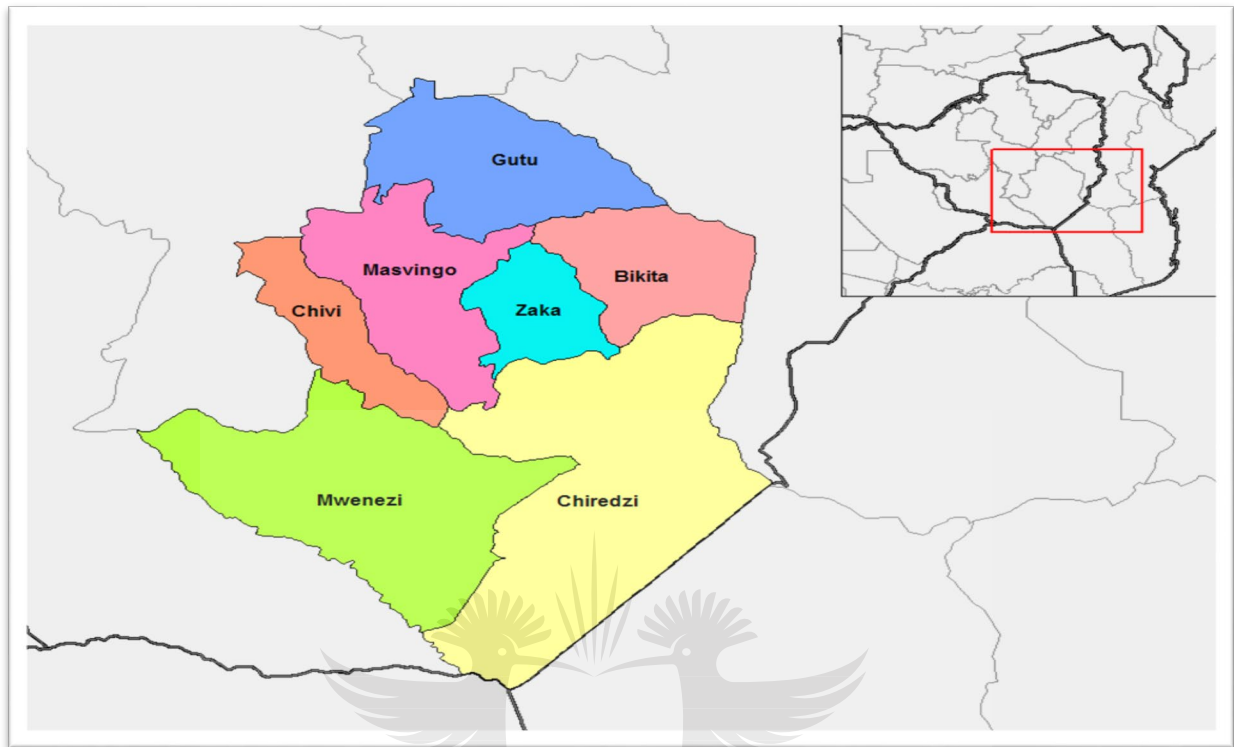
This study is guided by a qualitative research approach, which is governed by a naturalistic paradigm. This implies that inquiry is influenced by the researcher's values (Creswell, 2014). The naturalistic paradigm assumes that meaning is constructed by both participants and the researcher (Moschkovich, 2019). Nowell, Norris, White and Moules (2017) add that the focus is rich description found in the content of the experiences shared by participants about certain issues; therefore, data serves as a resource to reveal different experiences as well as their meaning to the participants.

Moreover, qualitative research occurs in natural settings where events and human behaviour occur (Creswell, 2014; Roller and Lavrakas, 2015). Additionally, in case studies, a phenomenon is studied in its natural setting (Ebneyamini and Moghadam, 2012). This implies that realities cannot be understood in isolation, but in relation to their context (Agostinho, 2005). It is also important to note that this study is guided by Lincoln's (1985) argument that the qualitative paradigm, which has a naturalistic focus, embraces multiple realities; this means that meaning is subjective since individuals in different contexts construct it.

4.6 Research setting

Qualitative research seeks to understand the context of the participant by visiting the research site and personally gathering information (Creswell, 2014). This study was conducted in Zaka, which is a district in the central part of the Masvingo province in Zimbabwe (Guta, Vhudzi and Chazovachii, 2017). Simba, Seyitini, Murwendo, Mapurisa, Chayangira, Matete, Chirima, Mashonjowa and Mufandaedza (2012) further explain that the province, which is located in the south-eastern part of Zimbabwe, is made up of seven districts; however, Zaka is the selected area of study. This communal area is located 86 kilometres South-East of the town of Masvingo. The low-lying area was established in 1923 and has a population of about 181 000 people which is quite high and dense for a mountainous area (Mashava and Chingombe, 2013). Even though the area's soils are generally poor, the main activity in the area is subsistence farming and crops such as maize, sorghum, groundnuts, round nuts and sweet potatoes are mainly grown (Tafireyi, Mkaye and Mapetere, 2019). A map showing the location of Zaka district in the Masvingo province of Zimbabwe is depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Locational map showing the Zaka district in the Masvingo province of Zimbabwe.



(Adapted from www.maplandia.com/zimbabwe/masvingo/zaka/zaka/)

4.7 Accessing participants

The informants in the study are Zimbabwe's Zaka district teachers, school principals as well as teachers' unions' representatives. The collection of data and gaining entry into the field was not a huge challenge since the researcher had built a relationship with one of the community members during her first visits in the study area. This individual is a retired teacher who is well connected to community leaders. This was an advantage because it helped in earning the trust of participants, which is important when conducting fieldwork (Kerasidou, 2016). Through the retired teacher, the researcher was introduced to gatekeepers that the researcher persuaded "of the social value of the study" by clearly explaining its purpose (Singh and Wassenaar, 2016:43). These gatekeepers included two primary school principals and one secondary school principal in the Zaka district. It is important to note the three principals mentioned above, were also participants in the study.

Access to nine of the teachers who participated in the study, was facilitated by the principals who introduced the researcher to teachers who met the criteria of the targeted participants. However, five teachers were introduced to the researcher by the retired teacher since he had a relationship with them. The researcher was aware of the bias that could result from being referred to certain teachers by either the gatekeepers or the retired teacher; however, this was important to honour ethical obligations when conducting research with members of formal institutions such as schools (Das and McAreavey, 2013). All of the unions' representatives were contacted via email after the researcher obtained their contact details from the unions' websites. They agreed to meet in person. Two interviews were scheduled for December 2019 and the other one for July 2020.

4.8 Target population and sampling

There are 137 schools in the Zaka district; of these schools, 94 are classified as rural primary schools, 42 as rural secondary schools and one as an urban secondary school. There is a total of approximately 2 400 teachers in the district comprising 1 520 primary school teachers and 858 secondary school teachers (Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (MOPSE), 2017). MOPSE (2017) further states that many of the schools in the district do not have access to basic services such as water and electricity, making the living conditions of teachers in these areas very difficult. Teachers who participated in the study were selected from four schools that were identified as some of the largest schools by the retired teacher. These schools had a high number of teachers in the Zaka district and the principals who participated in the study confirmed this through the record books kept at the schools; these records showed that these schools were indeed some of the largest in the district. Teachers from the Zaka district were selected as the study population because they come from different parts of Zimbabwe. This ensured that the researcher obtained data that is influenced by people from different backgrounds so as to reduce bias in the study.

The idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select individuals, documents or material that aid the researcher in understanding the research problem (Creswell, 2014). Babbie and Mouton (2012) explain that purposive sampling allows the researcher to get access to information that is relevant to the study and yield the richest data for the topic. This type of sampling can be explained as the selection of a

group of respondents who are knowledgeable and informative in the area of study (Rafael and Rassel, 2010: 96). This sampling technique was adopted in this study because the Zaka district teachers were required to participate in the study since they are the ones who teach in the district and therefore, hold the knowledge on the experiences and survival strategies, which are the issues in question. The researcher met teachers in each of the four schools and purposively sampled them to meet the criteria. During the sampling procedures, the researcher was aware of the potential biases caused by purposive sampling; however, this strategy was important in ensuring that the participants selected could provide information that is relevant to answering the research question.

Initially, 25 participants were approached and selected to participate in the study since they had met the criteria in the section below. However, one of the potential participants indicated that she had cell phone challenges, as her speaker was broken. Two participants said the mobile network connection in their village was very weak; therefore, they could not participate in the study. Even after explaining that information provided by participants would remain confidential, one participant who had an influential position in one of the schools, said she was no longer comfortable to participate in the study since it involved matters of a national crisis. Another potential participant noted that he had a busy schedule and therefore, had to withdraw from the study. The researcher thanked them for their time and did not coerce them to participate in the study; this was important in upholding research ethics, which encourage voluntary participation (Keteian, 2015). As shown in Table 1 below, the sample size consists of 20 participants. Participants who were purposefully sampled included three principals and 14 teachers from these schools. Additionally, three members from two of the largest teachers' unions in Zimbabwe, were interviewed. It is noteworthy that one of the unions was selected because it specifically represents the needs of the teachers in rural areas.

Table 1: Profile of participants

	Number of Participants
Primary school teachers	7
Secondary school teachers	7
Primary school principals	2
Secondary school principals	1
Teachers' union representatives	3
Total number of participants	20

The female teachers who participated in the study were five married women, three single women and one widow; their ages were 42, 40, 36, 52, 45, 32, 27, 32 and 38, respectively. The male teachers comprised of four married men and one single man; their ages were 42, 57, 43, 56, and 41, respectively. Of the three principals who were interviewed, two were male and one was female. They were aged 60, 44 and 52 respectively. In each of the four schools, three teachers were interviewed. However, only principals from three schools participated in the study because one withdrew her participation. One of the unions' representatives was female and aged 31 and the other two were male participants aged 36 and 29. Two of the unions' representatives were based in the rural areas but one was based in the urban areas. The different ages, schools as well as a balance between the distributions of the participants' genders, ensured that there was a wide range of responses, thereby reducing bias.

Participants were sampled using the following criteria:

- i. They are either secondary or primary school teachers/ principals.
- ii. They must have been employed as teachers/ principals during the period between 2016 and 2020.
- iii. They must have been a member of an organisation that represents teachers during the period between 2016 and 2020.

The criteria provided above, ensured that the respondents were able to provide insights on Zimbabwe's economic crisis, experiences of teachers and their various survival strategies during the period that this study focuses on. Creswell (2014) posits that the goal of qualitative research is to understand multiple realities and viewpoints, instead of one; therefore, in addition to teachers, principals and members of organisations were also interviewed.

The rationale for using the purposive sampling technique was to ensure that the study captured the experiences and perceptions of teachers who are in the education sector during the economic crisis. The respondents mentioned above, were selected as they are more knowledgeable of the economic crisis in Zimbabwe and experience the challenges that result from this crisis. Although the sample is relatively small and cannot claim to be representative, the study yields in-depth information about a phenomenon that has yet be explored (Trochim, 2006).

4.9 Primary methods of data collection methods and instruments

4.9.1 Interviews with participants

In qualitative research, the researcher seeks to gather information that contributes to knowledge by interacting with research participants (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015). Creswell (2014) explains that it is important that individuals are interviewed in order to determine how they have experienced a situation. Since this study sought to capture the experiences of teachers, interviews were deemed as the effective method for collecting data. Interviews were conducted between December 2019 and July 2020. Face to face interviews were conducted between the 1st of December 2019 and the 10th of January 2020; telephonic interviews were conducted between 1 June 2020 and 16 July 2020. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and two hours. Follow-up interviews were conducted at the end of July 2020. The follow-up interviews were important in ensuring that the researcher's transcriptions were a reflection of the interview; therefore, they were conducted after the researcher had finished transcribing the interviews. Only five participants were available for the follow up interviews as others indicated that they had busy schedules. The five participants included one primary school principal, one secondary school principal, one union representative and two teachers.

Before the interviews were conducted, an interview guide was developed (see Appendix C). This was done by determining the questions or issues to be addressed and writing them down in a notebook. The researcher was guided by the objectives of the study when developing the interview guide. Coughlan (2009) explains that an interview guide should be flexible; therefore, the guide was developed in a way that enabled the researcher to probe more and seek clarity on specific issues that were important in the study. Coughlan (2009) also adds that a well-designed interview guide promotes rigor in research. The interview guide consisted of both close-ended and open-ended questions. Eleven close ended questions were employed to capture the participants' demographic data such as age, gender, marital status, number of people in the household and highest qualification. Qualitative research makes use of an approach, which according to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009), is more open-ended and exploratory. Therefore, the questions asked were open-ended to ensure that respondents were free to provide any information that they might deem necessary

to the study and also allow the researcher to carefully listen to participants' views. Thus, as recommended by Roller and Lavrakas (2015), clear, simple and short questions were asked in a distinct and understandable manner. Depending on the participant and the information the researcher aimed to acquire, between twelve and 22 open-ended questions based on livelihood experiences, teaching career, income and expenditure and proposed solutions, were asked in order to allow the participants to fully express their views so that the researcher could capture their perspectives in detail.

The study made use of semi-structured interviews to collect data from participants. Roller and Lavrakas (2015) are in support of semi-structured interviews because unlike structured interviews, they promote a flexible dialogue between the interviewer and interviewee. In addition, they allow the interviewer to react to the participant by changing the order and manner in which questions are asked. However, to ensure that important issues are covered, research questions are adequately answered, and the research objectives are fulfilled, the researcher constantly referred to the interview guide.

Further, individual interviews were conducted at venues and during times that were convenient for each participant. In-depth interviews are central to qualitative research because they provide a deep understanding of what people are “thinking and doing, and why” (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015:50). Roller and Lavrakas (2015) add that in-depth interviews help in understanding complex issues such as coping strategies. Thus, in-depth interviews were conducted to allow participants to share their stories (Bless and Smith 2000:01; Morris 2001). Furthermore, these interviews were facilitated using the English language. Participants were also allowed to make use of their local language Shona so as to make them comfortable during the research process; this was not a challenge since the researcher is fluent in the same language.

Interviews were recorded on the researcher's cellular phone. However, notes were also taken down in a notebook, so that they could be used as back-up in the case that recording equipment failed. Another notebook, which was used to record the researcher's own experiences, perceptions and feelings, was kept throughout the study. Roller and Lavrakas (2015) explain that qualitative data is descriptive and recorded in the participant's words; therefore, on the day that interviews were

conducted, recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim, on the researcher's personal computer.

4.9.1.1 Face to face interviews

Roller and Lavrakas (2015) postulate that the researcher should select the appropriate interviewing methods. Thus, face to face interviews were adopted as a means of collecting data. According to Roller and Lavrakas (2015), face to face interviews present a naturalness that promotes a social conversation instead of a formal one; this allows the two parties to build rapport that enhances the free flow of in-depth information and the capturing of the participants' lived experiences. Additionally, face-to-face interviews allow the researcher to gain knowledge from non-verbal communication such as hesitancy to answer questions, one's living conditions and body movements during the interview. Ebneyamini and Moghadam (2012) also add that the trusting environment created by these interviews, promotes extended conversations that can lead to follow up questions. In this study, twelve face to face interviews were conducted with three primary school teachers, three secondary school teachers, one primary school principal, one secondary school principal and one union representative. The remaining face-to-face interviews were scheduled for the July 2020; however, this was not possible because of the Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic that resulted in traveling restrictions. Therefore, the remaining eight interviews were conducted telephonically and online, according to each participant's platform of choice and convenience.

4.9.1.2 Telephonic interviews

Even though telephonic interviews were uncommon in the past, Coughlan (2009) notes that they are increasingly being used in qualitative studies. Telephonic interviews are cost effective because they do not require one to travel. In this study, Zoom, WhatsApp and Skype were the platforms used for the interviews because they enabled video calls and were compatible with the participants' cellular phones. Additionally, Meho (2006) argues that interviews that are conducted telephonically offer a more sensitive approach than face-to-face interviews since they minimize problems that may arise, such as perceived status differences between the interviewer and the interviewee. Therefore, the use of telephonic interviews complements the face-to-face interviews' weaknesses and vice versa.

i. Interviews with teachers

As indicated in Table 1, fourteen teachers participated in the individual interviews. Initially, 18 teachers were selected to participate but four withdrew from the study for various reasons mentioned in section 4.8. Face-to face interviews were conducted in the teachers' homes because this was during the December school holidays when they were not going to work. For telephonic interviews, the participants were kindly asked to sit in a place that was quiet and convenient for them and the researcher did the same. Before each interview started, the aim and purpose of the study were clearly explained by the researcher and the participants were given time to ask question or seek further clarity on any issues that were not clear. Thereafter, they were asked to sign consent forms before participating in the interviews. Each interview lasted for at least 45 minutes or a maximum of two hours. Each interview was facilitated in English language since all teachers could fluently speak the language; however, some teachers provided their responses in Shona; the researcher did not require a translator as she could understand the language.

ii. Interviews with principals

Initially, four principals had agreed to participate in the study; however, one withdrew from participating. Therefore, three principals from three different schools were interviewed individually. One was interviewed in his home; however, the other one insisted on using his office for the interview even though it was a school holiday because his home was not convenient for him. The third principal was interviewed telephonically. Before each interview, the aim and purpose of the study were explained and the principals were given an opportunity to ask questions. Thereafter, they were asked to sign consent forms. Each interview lasted for not more than an hour. It was important to hear the principals' views on the experiences of teachers they were in charge of since some of the interviews questions sought to capture the experiences related to the workplace.

iii. Interviews with teachers' unions' representative

Three teachers' unions' representatives were interviewed. The first two unions' representatives were interviewed face to face in December 2019 their offices because they found it convenient for them. The other representative was interviewed

telephonically since the researcher could not travel to meet him because of the travel restrictions imposed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Before the interviews, the research purpose was explained to the participants and they were subsequently asked to sign consent forms. The interviews were facilitated in English because that was the language of preference for the representatives. One interview lasted for two hours because the participant was very emotional about the challenges faced by teachers; therefore, she had a considerable amount of information share. The researcher was very patient but constantly referred to the interview guide to ensure that the information shared by the participant stayed relevant to the research aims. Roller and Lavrakas (2015) explain that this is important in controlling the course of the interview to avoid digressions from the topic. The second and third interviews lasted for almost an hour. The researcher deemed it important to interview the unions' representatives because they provide Zimbabwean teachers with support; therefore, they would be aware of their experiences.

4.9.2 The researcher's skills

A good researcher has to possess certain skills to ensure that the research process is successful. Roller and Lavrakas (2015) posit that when conducting a study, the researcher should accept all points of views with an open mind and learn to be patient, tolerant and sensitive with participants; this includes carefully listening to participants and not interjecting while they are sharing their experiences. The researcher repeated what the interviewees shared in order to assure them that she was listening, thereby encouraging them to proceed with the conversation. Secondly, emotional maturity is important when dealing with participants; for example, remaining composed even if the interviewee becomes emotional. This skill was applied when one of the participants cried as she was explaining the challenges she has faced as a teacher. The researcher remained composed and asked if the participant required a break. She asked to continue with the interview but asked for a glass of water. After drinking the water, she continued with the interview. Coughlan (2009) notes that a good researcher ensures that the interviewee is at ease; therefore, a comfortable environment is important. To ensure that the participants were comfortable, they were interviewed in spaces and during times that were convenient for them. Additionally, the researcher also told participants details about where she was from; for example, one union representative

became very comfortable when she discovered that she was from the same village as the researcher.

To reduce the interviewee's anxiety on how they are perceived by the interviewer, the researcher conveyed behaviour that was neutral and non-judgemental throughout the interviews so as to avoid a situation where the interviewee withholds information from the interviewer. Additionally, Roller and Lavrakas (2015) note that a skilled researcher should be flexible and adapt to change. Therefore, during the course of this study, instead of visiting one of the teachers' unions' offices twice as planned, the researcher made three visits to the organisation because on the day that the interview was initially scheduled for, the participant asked the researcher if the interview could be rescheduled to a different day. The interview was postponed to a place, date and time that was convenient for the participant.

4.9.3 Pilot study

A pilot study is necessary to improve validity in a study and increases the likelihood of the success of a study (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015). Doody, O. and Doody, C.M. (2015) add that a pilot study is performed to test the feasibility of data collection methods, techniques and interviews. Van Teijlingen and Hundley (2002) define a pilot study as a mini version of the full-scale study that tests research instruments, for example, the interview guide. Pilot testing the interview guide is important in ensuring that the questions asked, meet the research objectives; in addition, pretesting the interview schedule facilitates the identification of inappropriate or vague questions (Berg, 2009). Therefore, the method was employed to ensure that the interview questions asked are valid in highlighting the experiences and survival strategies in the midst of Zimbabwe's economic crisis. Additionally, the pilot study was employed to determine whether the interview would last for the anticipated time. A pilot study is also conducted to identify potential problems and deficiencies in research instruments (Hassan, Schattner and Mazza, 2006). Therefore, by employing a pilot study, the researcher aimed to uncover any factors or circumstances that might lead to the interviews not going according to plan.

The pilot study conducted in this research project included three mock interviews with two teachers and one school principal. These interviews improved my ability to improvise and adapt to different contexts. The first mock interview for about 30

minutes which was 15 minutes earlier than I had anticipated because some questions were phrased in a way that did not allow the participant to share many experiences. For example, I realised that since this was a qualitative study, I needed to rephrase the question “are you satisfied with your salary?” to “Is your salary adequate for all your needs? Please elaborate” in order to give the respondent room to explain further. After the mock interview, I rephrased the question accordingly. I also rephrased the other questions to ensure that they would enable me to gather in-depth information.

Regarding the second interview, three challenges were faced. The first challenge faced was that of punctuality. The interviewee arrived 15 minutes late. However, the participant noted that she had no appointments after the interview; therefore, I could take as much time as I liked to conduct the interview. The interview lasted for an hour. The participant was an emotional individual who posed now and again, during the interview. As an interviewer, I had to remain composed while being sensitive enough to not make the participant uncomfortable. The last challenge was that the interviewee was contacted a week before the mock interviews were to be conducted. She mentioned that the researcher should have communicated earlier because she had made travelling plans. Therefore, the interview had to be re-scheduled to an earlier date. This taught me to adapt to different issues that may arise. I also ensured that all interview invitations were sent at least a month before for the interviews so that participants would have sufficient time.

I did not experience any major challenges in the last mock interview. However, I realised that one of the questions “What are the benefits of teaching in the rural areas?” had been repeated as “What are the advantages of teaching in the rural areas?” the participant was able to pick this and politely mentioned that she had already answered the question. This assisted me in rephrasing the questions in the interview guide in order to ensure that they are not repetitive.

4.10 Secondary data collection methods

Collecting secondary data can be very useful and of advantage to researchers. Martin and Serra (2018) argue that secondary sources help researchers gain background information and understanding on the topic in question. Additionally, they supplement primary sources and assist the researcher in identifying gaps and deficiencies so that

they know the information which needs to be collected. The researcher was aware of the potential bias that could arise from using secondary data (Allen, 2017); however, the use of secondary material was important in highlighting the experiences of teachers in Zimbabwe's rural areas, in light of the economic crisis. Martins and Serra (2018) recommend the use of books, newspapers, journal databases and governmental sources, which may provide useful statistics from surveys conducted.

In this study, the report produced by PTUZ was used as a secondary source, which provided the statistics on the number of teachers who had left the teaching profession as well as those who re-joined. Secondly, books and journal articles were important in the review of literature that was important for this study (see Chapter 2). Recent and relevant newspapers were also used in gaining insight on the current economic crisis in Zimbabwe. The researcher was aware of the potential credibility issues caused by consulting newspapers; however, using them was important in understanding issues that were not outlined in the journal articles and books. Academic dissertations that have been examined and passed, were consulted to review literature related to the study. Moreover, record books, which showed the number of students and teachers in each school, were provided to the researcher by the schools' principals. Lastly, reports published by Zimbabwe's Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education were consulted to get the number of teachers in the Zaka Districts.

4.11 Data Analysis

A verbatim account of the interview is important for the data analysis process (Coughlan, 2009); thus, the all interviews were video-recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were shared with the participants; this was done to ensure validity of the data and interpretation by the researcher. Additionally, an inductive approach was applied for this qualitative study. This means that the researcher generated meaning from the data collected in the field (Creswell, 2014). The data were then organised into themes and the researcher interpreted the themes that emerged from the data. The data were analysed through the thematic approach. Nowell et al. (2017:2) note that this approach helps in "examining perspectives of different research participants" and producing insightful findings. Therefore, they argue that this is the best way to analyse, describe and reporting themes found in a data set.

This is a naturalistic study; therefore, data was presented in a descriptive and narrative form instead of a scientific report, this means that participants' perspectives were conveyed by presenting the actual words they said. Thick descriptions were used to assist in holistically portraying the experiences of Zaka district's teachers and their survival strategies. This further provided "a lens through which readers can view the subject's world" (Creswell, 2014:260). McAlpine (2016) argues that a narrative analysis affords the researcher an opportunity to understand people's lived experiences; it is an interpretive approach which is usually used when studying people's experiences; it helps in "keeping a story intact" in order to prevent biases (Riessman, 2008:53). Thus, it was deemed as the most suitable approach in the data analysis process. The data analysis process was carried out in six phases suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006); these will be discussed below.

4.11.1 Familiarising with the research material

In the first stage, the researcher prepared for the analysis by listening to all recorded audios repeatedly. Thereafter, they were transcribed verbatim on a word document and saved on the computer, memory stick and cloud account in order to avoid losing the research data (Creswell, 2014). The researcher also identified possible patterns and documented thoughts on potential codes or themes. The notebook and reflective journal which were used to document the researcher's experiences, values and feelings throughout the study were used in conjunction with the interview transcripts. By getting to know the data, the researcher managed to identify the data which were relevant for the data analysis process and for the study.

4.11.2 Generating initial codes

After familiarisation with the data, the second phase involved revisiting the data in order to produce codes from the data. Morse and Richards (2002) note that this process allows the researcher to move from unstructured data to focus on more specific and interesting characteristics of the data. As suggested by Creswell (2014), this process involved a systematic approach of analysing and categorising data according to themes that represent a phenomenon that is of interest to the researcher. To promote credibility, a reflective journal was continuously used to record emerging impressions of what the data mean and relate to each other; this includes but is not limited to meanings, frequencies and sequences (Starks and Trinidad, 2007). Braun

and Clarke (2006) note that when coding, researchers should be flexible; therefore, even though there were pre-determined codes, the researcher remained accommodative of new codes.

4.11.3 Identification of themes

After the coding process, relevant data was sorted and collated into themes. The researcher made use of a mind map in order to show the connection between different themes and sub-themes so as to further interrogate them. Nowell et al. (2017) state that the identification of themes is necessary for bringing together fragments of data that are usually “meaningless” when viewed or analysed in isolation. Thus, this process was important in generating meanings for the data.

4.11.4 Reviewing themes

The fourth phase involves the refinement of themes that have been generated (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Roller and Lavrakas (2015) note that when conducting in-depth interviews, the research should ensure that appropriate codes and themes are generated and transcriptions are accurate. Therefore, in this phase, inadequacies in the initial codes and themes were identified and relevant changes were made; for example, if overlapping codes were identified, some had to be discarded and one was kept. Some themes were joined together while others were broken down into additional themes. To ensure that all conclusions were grounded in the data (Nowell et al., 2017), developed themes were compared to the original raw data.

4.11.5 Definition and naming of themes

In the fifth phase, the researcher analysed of the created themes in order to identify which aspect of the data each theme captured. As argued by Braune and Clarke (2006), themes were named according to the data they represented or were about. Additionally, the researcher considered how each theme and its sub-themes were linked or related to the research questions; this process is encouraged by Kind (2004) in Creswell (2014). Thereafter, the researcher moved to the final phase.

4.11.6 Analysing the themes

Once the themes were fully established, the final analysis and write up process was carried out. The researcher ensured that the thematic analysis provided a concise, coherent and logical account of the data across all themes. During the interpretation

of the research material, meaning was attached to the experiences provided by the Zaka district teachers as reflected in Chapter 5. To ensure reliability of the data, triangulation of research material was employed and this is detailed in section 4.13.1.4.

4.12 The researcher's role and reflexivity

Data collection makes use of research instruments. Researchers are considered as the key instruments in research because they are the ones who gather information since they are placed at the centre of the data gathering phase (Creswell, 2014). This role necessitates the identification of personal values, biases and experiences at the beginning of the study. Therefore, researchers should reflect on how their background race, gender, culture or socio-economic origin impacts the research (Creswell, 2014). For a considerable number of years, the researcher lived in Zimbabwe. In addition, between 2012 and 2020, the researcher frequently visited Zimbabwe and witnessed the country's economic crisis. It is believed that this understanding enhances knowledge and sensitivity towards the challenges faced by Zimbabwe's teachers, which enable the researcher to work with teachers as informants. As a result of having lived in Zimbabwe and interacting with teachers, the researcher might bring certain biases to the study. These biases may shape or affect the way perspectives are viewed. To minimize the chances of bias, the researcher kept a reflective journal throughout the study, where all experiences, values and feelings of the researcher were recorded in order to reflect on how these factors influence the outcomes of the research.

Transparency is an important aspect of research. Roller and Lavrakas (2015) explain that being transparent clarifies the bias that the reader brings to the study. This creates and opens an honest narrative that will resonate with the reader. To minimize bias, Coughlan (2009) argues that researchers should reflect on how they influenced the interview process so as to enhance rigor of the data. Since the study was conducted in an area that I am familiar with, I was aware that my position as a researcher, should not result in bias; this is known as reflexivity in research (Patnaik, 2013). The importance of reflexivity implies that a researcher should keep a "self-critical account of the research process" (Nowell et al., 2017:3). In 2018, I conducted a study in Zimbabwe; therefore, I was aware that the previous study could influence the

interpretation of data and the meaning I ascribe to the data (Creswell, 2014). As mentioned in section 4.9.2, to promote reflexivity, I kept a reflective journal throughout the study; this is where I recorded my values and interests. Additionally, throughout the entire research process, I remained objective, neutral and non-judgemental in order to minimise bias.

Having been raised by a teacher in rural Zimbabwe, I was able to relate to some of the participants' experiences such as lack of services such as transport. However, I had to be constantly conscious of the questions I posed to participants so as to avoid leading questions that would lead to biased responses. At first, some participants were hesitant to share their experiences with me after they discovered that I was attending school in South Africa; however, when I opened up about my background and explained that my country of origin is Zimbabwe, they became more comfortable to share information with me.

Conducting this study has broadened my knowledge on the challenges faced by teachers in Zimbabwe. The process has also enhanced my research skills as I have become more confident in my work. At first, the research process was overwhelming as I felt intimidated by participants since most of them were much older than me. However, because the research participants were willing to assist me in making my study a success, I managed to adjust. This process made me embrace working with people of different age groups and backgrounds. Doing a Master's dissertation evoked my interest in doing more research work. I also aspire to do my PhD when I complete my Master's degree because I enjoy exploring new fields of research and acquiring knowledge especially on rural communities.

It is also imperative that I reflect on my feelings and challenges throughout the research process. After some potential participants said they were not interested in participating in the study, I felt discouraged because I felt that I had not approached them in a manner that I should have. However, after speaking to my mentor, I understood that it was common for some people to turn down invitations to participate in research studies and this made me feel better. I was also worried that the telephonic interviews would not be a success because there are network challenges in the Zaka district. However, the participants identified areas with stronger network connections and the interviews were a success. As a student with a part time job, I felt that the

work load became unbearable at times but I tackled everything one step at a time. Lastly, unlike female participants, the male participants were often hesitant and uncomfortable to answer some interview questions. For example, one participant said “I cannot open up to a woman about my challenges.” I respected this as it was not in my place to force him to answer the questions.

4.13 Research validity and reliability/ rigour

4.13.1 Validity

Validity in qualitative research implies that the researcher checks the accuracy of results by employing different procedures (Gibbs, 2007). It determines accuracy from the reader’s, researcher’s and participant’s point of view (Creswell, 2014). Creswell and Miller (2000) note that trustworthiness, credibility and authenticity are the terms used to discuss validity. In order to ensure validity in this study, various methods were adopted and these will be discussed in the sections below.

4.13.1.1 Member-checking and peer debriefing

To enhance validity, the researcher employed the member checking techniques. According to Creswell (2014), this process involves taking the final report, results or themes to the participants in order to determine whether they feel that they are accurate. As mentioned in section 4.9.1, after sorting the data obtained from the interviews into themes, the researcher conducted follow-up interviews with five participants so they could comment on the findings. Other participants could not avail themselves because of their busy schedules. Those who participated, confirmed that the findings were a true reflection of the interviews that were initially conducted.

4.13.1.2 Rich and thick descriptions

Rich and thick descriptions are important in promoting validity (Rahman, 2017). They give the reader a feel of the setting or the discussion an element of “shared experiences” (Creswell, 2014:251). This also involves offering many perspectives about a theme so that the results are more realistic and richer. To promote validity, the researcher did not only present information that mirrors the themes; information that counters themes was also reported. Roller and Lavrakas (2015) argue that this approach adds to the credibility of an account.

4.13.1.3 Peer debriefing

Furthermore, peer debriefing was conducted at the end of the study. Spillet (2013) in Creswell (2014) notes that this process is important in enhancing credibility in research. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) suggest the use of an independent or impartial judge. Therefore, a doctoral student was consulted to ask questions about the study so that the account resonates with people other than the researcher. This chosen peer was a person who was not familiar with the project, therefore impartial; this would minimize bias in the study. Additionally, the student also checked the interview transcripts, the general methodology as well as the final report and provided feedback. This process helped the researcher in becoming more aware of her own views regarding the data.

4.13.1.4 Triangulation

To promote and ensure credibility and validity, triangulation methods were employed. Triangulation in research refers to making use of different research methods or examining evidence from different data sources in order to shed light upon a certain viewpoint and create a “coherent justification for themes.” (Holborn, 2004:3; Creswell, 2014:251). If themes are established based on various sources of data and perspectives of participants, the process can be regarded as adding to validity. Triangulation was deemed necessary for this study since methods such in-depth interviews were be employed. These processes minimised inadequacies and ensured that the researcher gained meaning of data and different insights to the topic by consulting multiple sources (Cameron and Prince, 2009:256). Holborn (2004) indicates that methods of triangulation include pilot studies, review of secondary sources and observations; these methods were employed to validate the data collected from different perspectives.

i. Reviewing secondary sources

A review of secondary sources was conducted in the second chapter of this study. Cowell (2015) explains that a literature review is important because it provides a comparison of different research findings in order to provide a deeper understanding of the research problem. In case studies, literature reviews assist in confirming or denying existing knowledge. In this study, literature is reviewed so that light on

Zimbabwe's current economic crisis is shed. Further, its impact and the survival strategies adopted by Zimbabwe's teachers are discussed simultaneously. The other secondary sources reviewed include books, journals, reports and newspapers as discussed in section 4.10.

ii. Observations

Observations have been recommended as a way of increasing research credibility (Nowell et al., 2017). Observation is an important aspect of qualitative research, especially in case studies because it allows the researcher to monitor people's roles, actions and behaviours (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015; Walshe, Ewing and Griffiths, 2012). In this study, the researcher monitored the roles played by the Zaka district's teachers in sustaining their families and wrote notes in a field diary at the end of the day. This was enabled by visiting some of their homes and watching as well as participating in their daily activities such as gardening. Observation enhanced the researcher's understanding of the experiences of teachers as well as their survival strategies. It is also important to note that the researcher was aware of the bias that may be presented by the participant as a result of being monitored by the researcher; however, this process was inherent to understanding the teachers' experiences (Creswell, 2014).

4.13.2 Reliability

Qualitative reliability reflects that the researcher's approach is consistent with other researchers and various projects (Gibbs, 2007). To promote reliability in this study, triangulation was employed by reviewing previous studies as explained in section 4.13.1.4. Creswell (2014) posits that triangulation strengthens the reliability of research approaches. In addition, the researcher corrected the errors identified on transcript and checked for drifts in the meaning of codes so as to avoid mixing them up. Lastly, in order to ensure that the approaches were reliable, data collection and analysis strategies were recorded in detail so that a clear picture of the methods used in the study was provided. The use of a reflective diary also helped with the recording of the researcher's experiences and observations during the interview processes, thereby enhancing rigor.

Qualitative research is designed to meet rigour and reliability; therefore, rich data is important (Darawsheh, 2014). To achieve these principles, Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) state that at least 12 interviews of a homogenous group should be conducted; therefore, interviews were conducted with 20 individuals. However, regardless of the number of interviews conducted, Mason (2010) and Charmaz (2006) emphasise the importance of reaching knowledge saturation; this is a point where the collection of data no longer sparks new insights or themes. The last interview did not bring any new insights to the study and at this point, the researcher finalized the interviews.

4.14 Benefits and Limitations of the study

It is paramount to reflect on the usefulness of the study and its contribution to new insights (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015). As mentioned in section 1.7 of this study, rural areas remain underexplored by researchers; as a result, there have been deficiencies in literature pertaining to the barriers that teachers face in sustaining their livelihoods. Therefore, a study of teachers in the peripheries is important as it provides a nuance of understanding on the hurdles and the experiences of Zimbabwe's rural teachers in light of the country's current economic crisis. Furthermore, it reveals the challenges that these teachers face in their day to day lives. On the other hand, it shows the agency they possess over their lives and the various opportunities accessible in overcoming these challenges.

Additionally, the report could be shared with Zimbabwe's Department of Education and school authorities such as principals. This could shed light on the various obstacles that teachers are faced with. Moreover, through this research, education practitioners could gain insights on how they can assist in the designing and implementation of solutions that can better the lives of the teachers in question; this implies that new policies can be administered so as to improve the livelihoods of teachers in the rural areas and Zimbabwe at large. Since the schools in the Zaka district are mostly located in villages, through this study, traditional authorities are also made aware of the challenges that teachers face and will be able to present the challenges to the government or relevant authorities.

Despite the benefits and opportunities that this study brings, it had its own challenges and limitations. Firstly, some interviews were scheduled for July 2020; however,

because of the Coronavirus pandemic, the researcher could not travel to Zimbabwe to conduct the remaining interviews. Nonetheless, the researcher managed to conduct these interviews telephonically and online, even though this was a challenge because this meant that the researcher and participants had to incur internet data charges.

Moreover, Creswell (2014) notes that the researcher should spend prolonged time in the field to develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon; the more experience one has with participants, the more accurate and valid the findings will be. However, because of academic commitments, the researcher could not be present in the study area. Nevertheless, the researcher ensured that the time she spent in the Zaka district was used optimally to successfully complete the study.

The age difference between participants and the researcher also posed challenges to the data collection process. As indicated in section 4.8, three quarters of the respondents were more than 10 years older than the researcher during the time that the interviews were conducted; this made it difficult for the teachers to share their experiences. However, the researcher had built a relationship with the participants prior to the interviews and this made them more comfortable to share their experiences.

Due to the challenges noted in section 4.9.1, five participants withdrew from the study. Creswell (2014) explains that in case studies, the more cases investigated, the better the outcomes of the research. However, Roller and Lavrakas (2015) argue that the size of the sample is dependent on availability of participants. Therefore, it was not in the researcher's place to coerce the participants to take part in the study. It is also important to note that even though other potential participants withdrew from the study, the researcher managed to reach the point of knowledge saturation with the 20 interviewees.

This study mainly focused on the experiences of teachers in the rural areas. Focusing on those in the urban areas would have assisted in producing a results that provide a better representation of teachers in Zimbabwe. Their insights with regards to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe could have broadened the scope of this study. Despite the challenges discussed above, this study was of significant importance because it

covers the gaps in literature by highlighting the experiences of teachers in the under-explored peripheries and how they managed sustain their livelihoods.

4.15 Ethical considerations

Mantzorou and Fouka (2011:4) explain ethics as a system of principles which can change previous considerations on choices and decisions. During this research, various ethical principles were taken into consideration in order to protect the participants' rights and ensure that research ethics were followed throughout the study by the researcher. Researchers should anticipate ethical issues that may arise during research and be able to deal with the issues in the event that they do arise (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011). Furthermore, when conducting research, the researcher is obliged to respect the values, rights, needs and desires of participants (Creswell, 2014). To ensure that these obligations were met, various procedures were followed at the following phases and processes of the study: prior to conducting the study, the beginning of the study, data collection phase, data analysis; data reporting, sharing and storing. These will be discussed in the section below.

4.15.1 Prior to conducting the study

Researchers should refrain from any misconduct that might have a negative reflection on their institutions (Israel and Hay, 2006). Thus, research integrity should be prioritised. The study adhered to the University of Johannesburg's guidelines in conducting research. Since the researcher was a registered student at the time of the study, permission to conduct the study had to be obtained from the University of Johannesburg. The researcher submitted a research proposal of the proposed study to the university's Higher Degrees Committee (HDC). Permission to do the study was granted in form of a written letter. Furthermore, ethical issues that could arise from the study had to be highlighted to the university's ethics committee which also granted the researcher permission, in form of a written letter.

Respecting the norms of indigenous populations is important when conducting research. Since the teachers and principals who were identified as potential participants were located in schools that were classified under villages, local permission to conduct the study was obtained from a prominent community leader in the Zaka district. Further, four headmen locally known as *vana sabhuku* were

consulted. These headmen were in charge of the villages that teachers and principals who participated in the study, were based in; thus, their permission was sought by sending them letters through the retired teacher identified in section 4.7 (see Appendix B). They signed the letters to grant permission to the researcher.

4.15.2 Beginning the study

As part of research promoting the research ethics, the researcher should clearly explain the purpose of the study to participants (Sarantakos, 2005). An introductory letter with the University of Johannesburg's letter head was provided attached to the information sheet that clearly introduced the research topic and the interview process. The researcher's name was also written on the introductory letter to confirm that the researcher was responsible for conducting the research.

In an effort to minimise stigmatization of participants and develop trust with participants, the researcher built rapport with the teachers before interviews were conducted; this was done through informal conversations with the participants when the researcher visited their homes with their permission. For example, a participant asked if the researcher was interested in going to the forest to pick some indigenous fruits before the interview. On the way, conversations about a comparison between the food eaten in town and rural areas would erupt. The participants would often ask how about universities in South Africa and the researcher would honestly answer these questions. This enhanced the researcher's access to the teachers' experiences; as a result, the participants felt comfortable to speak freely and provide in-depth information during interviews. By the time the interviews were conducted, participants could freely share their experiences.

When carrying out a study, the researcher should not cause any harm to participants (Mantzorou and Fouka, 2011:5). It was explained to participants that no physical, psychological or social harm would be caused by the study because all the personal details would remain confidential; participants' names would not to be used in the research report or any publications. Assurance was given to participants that their personal information will not be shared with anyone and they would not be identifiable in any reports or publications. This was also explained in writing in the consent form and information sheet (see Appendix A).

To avoid the exploitation of participants, Punch (2005) explains that they should benefit from the study. Before interviews were conducted, it was clearly explained that even though there were no immediate benefits for participating in the study, it was hoped that the study would shed light on the plights of teachers in the rural areas and make the government of Zimbabwe more aware of the challenges faced by its citizens. The study would also contribute to knowledge that will assist teachers and other civil servants in trying to make a living. Additionally, the dissertation would be shared with the participants upon request. The researcher also explained that participation in the study was voluntary, and participants could withdraw at any time, without facing any consequences. Participants should not be coerced into taking part in the research process (Keteian, 2015); therefore, they were not pressured into signing consent forms. The researcher explained that that they did not have to sign the form if they were not comfortable in participating in the study. However, if they agreed to participate in the study, they would have to sign the consent form.

4.15.3 Collecting data

To ensure that participants were not deceived, the researcher explained that the data from the study would be used for academic purposes contributing towards a dissertation for the fulfilment of the researcher's Master's degree at the University of Johannesburg. It was also explained that the decision regarding anonymity would rest with the participant.

The information on the information sheet and consent form were explained verbally in English. Furthermore, the research objectives were articulated both verbally and in writing to ensure that they were clearly understood by the participants. Any clarification required in Shona was also provided since the researcher can speak the language fluently. After the instructions were articulated to participants, formal informed consent was obtained in writing. Participants signed consent forms and returned them to the researcher. It is important to note that at first, some teachers were reluctant to participate in the study as they suspected that the researcher was a government official. However, the information sheet given to participants contained the details of the researcher and this contributed to trust and encouraged them to participate in the study. The retired teacher referred to in section 4.7 also assured the participants that

the researcher was a student and this made participants more willing and comfortable to participate in the study.

Before the interviews began, participants were made aware of the data collection devices. If they were not comfortable with being recorded, the researcher would not do so. However, none of the participants were uncomfortable with being recorded since they believed that the researcher would not share these with anyone. During interviews, the researcher avoided leading questions so as to decrease bias. The researcher also showed interest by actively listening to the participants and asking follow up questions.

4.15.4 Analysing data

To decrease bias, the researcher avoided siding with participants; this was ensured by analysing data in an objective manner. This meant the reporting of both positive and negative research results. Additionally, the researcher did not only report one perspective; multiple perspectives of participants were considered during the data analysis. Creswell (2014) argues that this also promotes a holistic research approach which aids in understanding the issue under study. The informant's wishes, rights and choices should be considered when reporting data (Creswell, 2014). Thus, to promote confidentiality, the right to privacy was considered. This meant that the anonymity of participants would be maintained; instead of the informants' real names, pseudonyms were used (see Appendix D).

4.15.5 Reporting, sharing, storing

The interview recordings were transferred from the recording device to a device that is protected with a security password only known to the researcher. Additionally, the interview transcriptions and consent forms were stored in a computer folder with dates; this device is protected with a password only known by the researcher. To ensure reliability and validity which are important aspects in research (Comstock, 2012), results were presented in an honest manner and no findings were manipulated. Findings that were contrary to the themes were also reported. In addition, the researcher made use of unbiased language. In order to avoid plagiarism, where material is paraphrased in this dissertation, credit has been given to the original authors and quotation marks have been used to show the exact words claimed from

various sources; a similarity report has also been attached to show that the dissertation was not plagiarised (see Appendix E). As part of the university's requirements, the dissertation will be made available on the UJ database and can only be accessed by the university's community.

4.16. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the qualitative research approach, case study design and the naturalistic paradigm as the most appropriate methods because of their ability to investigate and capture the experiences of the Zaka district's teachers and their survival strategies. Additionally, the subjective ontology and the interpretivist approach govern this study because it is based on real life experiences. Twenty informants which are teachers, school principals and teachers' unions' representatives were purposively sampled because of their knowledge on the issue in question. The researcher made use of individual in-depth interviews to capture the perspectives of participants; secondary sources such as books, official documents and journal articles were used to supplement the primary data. The data analysis process was carried out in six phases and the methods used to ensure reliability and validity of the data and research techniques are also outlined. Since the researcher deemed it important to reflect on the research process, the study's benefits, limitations, her role, experiences were also presented. Lastly, an explanation of the ethics considered in order in to minimise bias, promote transparency and participants' confidentiality in the research process, is offered in detail.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE EXPERIENCES ENCOUNTERED AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY THE ZAKA DISTRICT'S EDUCATORS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter builds up on the previous methodology section, which explains the methods and instruments used in conducting the study on understanding the experiences of the Zaka district's teachers and their survival strategies during Zimbabwe's current economic crisis. Firstly, to ensure that the research's aims are fulfilled, a recap of the study's research questions and objectives is provided. The demarcation of findings is also outlined. Thereafter, a thematic analysis of the findings is also provided in this chapter. The research findings are based on the responses provided by participants in the duration of the study. They are analysed and discussed in relation to the literature and discussion provided in the second and third chapters of this study; thus, literature gaps are also identified.

5.2 A recap of the research objectives and questions

The study aimed at investigating the experiences that teachers in the rural areas of Zimbabwe encounter in the midst of the economic crisis. This was done by interviewing different cases, specifically the Zaka district's primary and secondary school teachers and principals as well as teachers unions' representatives. The challenges and opportunities presented to these teachers are highlighted. Additionally, the survival strategies adopted by the teachers in question were also explored. The teachers were required to explain the roles that these survival strategies play in improving their livelihoods. Furthermore, the solutions that the government can implement to improve the welfare of teachers were sought from respondents. Justification for these measures were also provided. Lastly, the study aimed at exploring the reasons why teachers keep their jobs in spite of the hurdles that they confront.

As indicated in the introduction, the findings are guided by objectives of the study and research questions. The themes are demarcated into five segments; firstly, the challenges faced by the Zaka district teachers are presented. Additionally, the reasons for staying in the profession in spite of the challenges, are highlighted. The roles played

by various organisations in improving the welfare of teachers are discussed. Furthermore, the survival strategies adopted by these teachers in sustaining their livelihoods are outlined. Lastly, the solutions proposed by the teachers in question are discussed.

5.3 Challenges faced by the Zaka district's teachers

Teachers in the Zaka district of Zimbabwe face various challenges. The responses obtained from the interviews reflect that these hurdles are economic, social, financial and political; these will be discussed in the segments below.

5.3.1 Cash shortages and inflation in the prices of goods and services

As mentioned by Ndoro (2016), Zimbabwe's cash shortages started in April 2016. This crisis has resulted in the failure to withdraw cash at the bank. To support this statement, Kudzanai, a primary school teacher explained that "Liquidity crunches have been the order of the day. There are no cash withdrawals beyond bank limits of RTGs \$1000 (approximately R150) permitted" (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020). Likewise, Brenda stated that she did not bother going to the bank anymore. She said "For example, in my case I last visited the bank in 2015 because what I know is if you get to the bank you are only told there is no cash. You wait for hours and hours and the only answer is there is no cash and you have to go home without cash" (Brenda, 16 July 2020). Brenda's response shows that she did not have any hope that she could get any cash from the bank, thereby reflecting the hopelessness felt by many Zimbabwean's in the midst of the economic crisis. This lack of hope, which results from the economic crisis, is an example of what Shen, Hughey and Simmons (2008) refer to as a vulnerability that is caused by a change in an economy.

However, respondents clarified that during the period between 2016 and 2017, even though there were cash shortages and their salaries were low, the situation was bearable. It is only after October 2018, that they stopped getting their salaries in US dollars. Brenda expressed that teachers were content with their salaries until that time. She noted "We want our October 2018 salary the 520 US\$ that we were being paid. After that, it has been RTGS through and through" (Brenda, 16 July 2020). Tapiwa, who is a secondary school teacher also added that before 2018, their salaries were enough to sustain their livelihoods as teachers. He noted,

“I would firstly point out that for the period of 2016 to 2017, things were not that bad. The income had not changed that much because whatever we were earning as teachers was indexed to the rate of the US\$ at the rate of 1:1 so the little that we were getting then was enough to buy you maybe the basics and also to do one or two other things...” (Tapiwa, 12 January 2020).

Tapiwa’s response shows that even though the salaries were not high, teachers could cover their basic needs. Precious also supports this by arguing that “Before 2016, salaries were low but the money had value. You could pay your child’s school fees, buy your groceries and everything and even have some left and life would go on” (Precious, 7 December 2019). Brenda, Precious and Tapiwa’s responses show that even though teachers are demanding their 2018 salaries, they still feel that they were not being compensated fairly; however, they are willing to settle for that amount because they could afford a decent standard of living.

After the government of Zimbabwe stopped paying teachers in foreign currency, it began remunerating them in the RTGS\$ currency which includes bank transfers, bond notes and bond coins as discussed in Chapter 2. However, teachers could not withdraw their salaries in cash. Therefore, they could only pay for goods and services using bank cards and the Ecocash or any other mobile transfer system. This was a challenge because as noted by Ndoro (2016), many businesses did not accept non-cash payments since the RTGS\$ was only accepted in Zimbabwe. Brenda explained that,

“You have to use Ecocash of which Ecocash especially these days, it’s now expensive and most of the people do not want to take Ecocash. They will tell you that if I want to buy, the price will be doubled so it becomes a problem for me or they will tell you that other shops are also expensive. It’s like most of the commodities are now cheaper in the black market so most people who sell these commodities do not take Ecocash unless if you go at Pick n Pay, OK, Metropeech of which the prices will be higher” (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

This shortage of cash poses a challenge for teachers because their salaries are not paid in cash. This means that they have to spend a lot of money when they buy using Ecocash or bank cards. Precious also added that currently, there are some shops that still do not accept cashless payments. She mentioned that “Shops are there but now, they are not even taking Ecocash so you have to go to the bank and look for cash to

come and use it this side and that's more transport costs *mari hombe* (a lot of money)" (Precious, 7 December 2019). Teachers have to travel to the banks in town because according to Rufaro, a secondary school teacher, "There are no banks for one thing; if you need banking services you have to travel" (Rufaro, 3 January 2020). Traveling is a challenge for teachers in the Zaka district because of low salaries that will be discussed in section 5.3.2. Even though there are inadequate banking services in the rural areas which make it challenging to withdraw cash, there are business that accepted and still accept the RTGS\$; however, they overcharge customers and this meant that there was a different price for cash, non-cash and foreign currency payments. Tapiwa noted,

"As teachers, we have been negatively affected. This is because we don't get any cash in the bank and at the same time, the goods now become expensive for us due to the multi-tier pricing system in the shop where you find that there is a price for buying in cash. Another price is for swiping. Another price is for buying using foreign currency so we have very much been negatively affected by the shortage of cash in the economy" (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019).

The shops charge non-cash paying customers higher prices because of the expensive costs of exchanging the RTGS\$ for foreign currency in the black market when they need to import more goods and services. Even though the value of the US\$ was initially at par with that of the RTGS\$, businesses were sceptical to take the RTGS\$; as a result, the RTGS\$ lost its value and the prices of goods and services also continued to inflate. Brenda explains that,

"If the black market for example say a 2l bottle of cooking oil is 3US (R50) and if it's Ecocash, they may tell you that it's 800 RTGS (R120). They say they have to buy the money from the black market to get US dollar. That's why they double or triple the price" (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

Based on Brenda's response, it is clear that the cash shortages in Zimbabwe have triggered a thriving black market and a drastic increase in prices of various goods and services in supermarkets as they also have to buy foreign currency from the black market. Kudzanai, a primary school teacher also elaborates that "The teacher has nothing to show for it as prices of everything have shot through the roof" (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020). This shows that the prices have significantly increased, thereby affecting the teachers' livelihoods, as their salaries are low.

Similarly, Tapiwa said

“It’s funny because I don’t even know how much I would need to survive; you would find that the prices are skyrocketing at every time in response to the black market exchange rates so you want to say today I need 10000 (approximately R2000) only to wake up tomorrow and find that that 10000 cannot buy anything so I would think that the best thing is to actually be remunerated in US\$ when I would need at least to live a normal life at least 600US\$ to allow one maybe to get a food basket, health etc.” (Tapiwa, 12 January 2020).

Tapiwa’s tone expressed disappointment in the fact that one is not able to keep up with the rate that prices of goods and services are increasing at. This reflects the extent to which Zimbabwe’s financial system has not been doing well, thus reflecting deteriorated economic conditions which also affect civil servants such as teachers (Diza, Munyanyi and Gumbo, 2017). The escalation in the prices of goods and services discussed above implies that teachers’ salaries are barely enough to cover their basic needs. Precious explains

“The money we are earning now sounds like a lot of money but it doesn’t buy anything. When you hear 1000 (R150), you think it’s a lot of money *unoti zimari zihombe* (a lot of money) but it doesn’t even buy 10kgs of sugar. It’s not even cash but RTGS, *mari yemuphone* (phone money)” (Precious, 7 December 2020). The failure to afford basic goods and services shows that when the prices started increasing, the teachers’ RTGS\$ salaries remained the same or could not keep up with price increases. Therefore, they can no longer afford the same goods and services they could buy with their US\$ salaries. Thus, Southall (2017) posits that cash shortages resulted in the erosion of teachers’ salaries.

5.3.2 Poor remuneration

Due to Zimbabwe’s economic crisis, the country’s teachers face numerous challenges. However, all interviewees noted that the biggest challenge they were facing was being paid very poor salaries. Tina, a secondary school teacher highlights that “There are many challenges; maybe I will start with remuneration; we don’t get much; our salaries are just peanuts so remuneration is the greatest challenge that we are facing here in Zimbabwe as teachers” (Tina, 1 December 2019). Tariro, who is a representative of one of Zimbabwe’s biggest teachers’ unions discloses the salary. She explains:

“Like I told you earlier, I am a teacher. Last month, we were paid 4500RTGS which is equivalent to 30US\$ (Approximately R460) (She laughs in disbelief) I am serious; it means three quarters of the teachers did not get that much because some had taken some bank loans, some accounts and you have to pay utility bills using that salary, buy food” (Tairo, 18 December 2019).

Precious, who is a primary school teacher also shares Tina’s sentiment that poor salaries are the biggest challenge being faced by Zimbabwe’s teachers. She highlights that

“Low incomes *ndoziyaya zihombe chairo* (the biggest challenge). The salaries are not enough. School fees are ranging from RTGS17000 to 20 500 so it’s not enough because we are earning around 2000 RTGS or less and for you to survive “Ahhhhh!” it’s not enough, for health, you will need more money, *mari hobho chaiyo* (a lot of money). You know, everything ranges from 1000RTGS, nothing is below that. “Maybe if they reduce children’s school fees, but no, it won’t help because groceries are very expensive because everything is above 1000RTGS” (Precious, 7 December 2019).

Thabo, a union’s representative notes:

“Income is not enough; if you look at it, we are getting paid about 30US\$ converted from RTGS. Imagine 30US\$ in a family of three, it’s not much. You have to pay fees for your children and also transport to and from work. It’s not basic enough so you have to do extra things to get extra income” (Thabo, 3 December 2019).

It is important to note that Thabo has transport costs because he lives in the urban areas. He explains “I am based in the urban areas but I have worked in the rural areas before. The biggest challenge at this juncture is being underpaid; our salaries are low. That’s the biggest challenge for now, at the moment” (Thabo, 3 December 2019). Thus, Gomba (2015) explains that teachers prefer to live in the rural areas in order to avoid transport costs since they are provided with accommodation that is close to schools they teach at.

The Zaka district’s teachers no longer feel motivated to do their work because they feel that they are not being adequately compensated. Trymore, a secondary school principal explained that,

“Generally, there is demotivation. There is no desire to go the extra mile. Something which I would personally do when things were normal so you would find that you get affected at individual level and part of a team especially in a school situation when you find that there are poor results from individual learners and poor results for the institution as a whole. You are working and being a leader you are also working with people who are demotivated and people who often absent themselves, people who are now habitual late comers and the tardiness that is associated with getting out assigned activities at a workplace especially when you are a leader; it affects you very much so these are some of the experiences that have come my way because of the economic problems that we are facing maybe as a country” (Trymore, 7 December 2019).

Likewise, Tapiwa believes that the salaries being paid to teachers have degraded them in society. He explains “So after 2017, following the introduction of the RTGS dollar, I still remember, is it 2018 or 2019, ehh what has happened is as teachers, we have now been degraded to the lowest social status in society” (Tapiwa, 12 January 2020). There is consensus that the biggest challenge faced by teachers is low compensation. This is in accord with The Worker (2008) that teachers are amongst the lowest paid workers. It also mirrors Chagonda’s (2012) findings that the profession is no longer attractive because teachers are paid very low salaries compared to other members of Zimbabwe’s workforce. Furthermore, Tapiwa’s view that teachers have been reduced to a low social rank further explains why teachers feel demotivated at work as mentioned by Trymore who is a school principal. This is also a reflection of Razum, Ndiforchu and Martiny’s (2000) notion that low salaries often demotivate people when they are performing their duties. Low salaries also make it challenging for Zaka district’s teachers to afford a decent standard of living.

5.3.3 Failure to afford basic needs and services

Low salaries make it difficult for teachers to sustain their livelihoods. Most teachers explained that they cannot afford basic goods and services. The low salaries, which ultimately result in failing to afford basic needs, can be regarded as adversities that alter the livelihoods of teachers during Zimbabwe’s economic turmoil (Rutter, 2012). When asked what benefits there are in the teaching profession, Tapiwa, a secondary school teacher mentioned that,

“At the moment, it is very difficult to mention the real tangible benefits pecuniary or non-pecuniary savvy for the simple realisation that you’ve got a regular salary which is however not enough to meet your needs monthly so we are faced with a number of challenges during the period” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2020).

Tapiwa’s response shows that he is dissatisfied with the salary he earns from his job. This speaks to the argument by Chagonda (2012) that even though the teaching profession was a means to upward social mobility, this is no longer the case as teachers cannot afford basic goods and services. Tina mentioned that even though she has no children to take care of, she cannot afford to buy herself a house or pursue her studies. She noted that,

“It’s very difficult to survive; for instance, let’s say you want to get a mortgage, in order for you to build a house, you do not qualify because you won’t be getting enough so your salary won’t be enough for you to get a mortgage so that is the greatest challenge in relation to remuneration so you cannot even develop yourself like maybe you want to pursue with your studies you can’t do that because of the salaries because at one moment, you have to look after your family, you have to eat and when it comes to upgrading yourself, it’s very difficult (Tina, 1 December 2019).

Tina’s response shows that the teaching profession does not allow one to advance himself/ herself. Isabel, a primary school teacher also expressed that teachers’ salaries were so low that they could not even afford to buy enough food. She mentioned that “Things were really cheap before the crisis. Now you cannot even buy meat or *Mazoe chaiyo* (even juice); prices have increased and our salaries are too low” (Isabel, 10 January 2020). It is concerning that teachers are not able to afford food which is a basic human right and need. Joshua, a secondary school teacher explained that he spends most of his income on food because it is not enough for anything else. He noted,

“I spend most of my monthly income on food (laughs) because that little amount will only amount to something like 30US\$ (approximately R500) or less than 50US\$ (approximately R800) so I spend most of it on food because it’s now hand to mouth. You cannot even save anything because if I am earning 3000, if I am to convert it to US\$, it will be like 30US\$ then 30US\$ maybe I will only be able to buy food so it’s mainly food” (Joshua, 6 January 2020).

Joshua and Isabel's responses shows that teachers have to reduce their expenditure and spend their income mostly on food. Tina mentions that even though she can afford food, she can no longer afford to build a house she has always wanted because since the country's economic crisis, her salary is not enough to do so. She explains "For instance, before the economic meltdown, I had started building my house. I was even saving for buying a car but due to the economic crisis, I cannot do that" (Tina, 1 December 2019). Tariro, a union's representative who is also a teacher adds that the salary is not even enough for food because she has five children to take care of. She elaborates "...because with this 30dollars, you have five kids; they want to dress and eat" (Tariro, 18 December 2019). Based on Tariro and Tina's response, it can be deduced that teachers with a larger number of people in the family, find it more difficult to afford food as compared to those who do not have to provide for many people. The crisis has not only affected the teachers' personal lives but their work at the schools they teach in.

5.3.4 Inadequate teaching resources

The situation in Zimbabwe's rural schools been escalated by the introduction of a new curriculum in Zimbabwe's primary and secondary schools. This means that new teaching resources are required. Teachers seem displeased with the resources in their schools. Olga, a primary school teacher, expressed dissatisfaction by noting that,

"The profession is becoming disadvantaged because of lack of resources. As a teacher, we don't have text books, especially after the introduction of the new curriculum in 2017. The new books were introduced at a time when things had started going bad economically so schools cannot afford to buy them. Sometimes you have to use your own money. For example, if you need to prepare some charts, you end up buying with your own money. The school does not finance that. You even buy data bundles with your own money to do some research to help your students so you go out of your way to make sure that your students pass" (Olga, 2 January 2020).

The fact that teachers have to buy teaching resources with their own money raises question about the government's capability to provide quality education in schools. A shortage of resources in the Zaka district means that teachers have a challenge of not being able to perform exceptionally in their jobs as they are limited by resources. With

regards to resources, Lizzie, a secondary school teacher, shares experiences that are similar to Olga's. She states that,

“Teaching in the rural areas comes with so many challenges. Our pupils they don't have access to the internet. Also we as teachers, we end up using our own money, buying data for research so it is very difficult to teach in the rural areas than in town” (Lizzie, 22 December 2020).

Moreover, Precious, another primary school teacher also expresses that she does not have adequate teaching resources for practical subjects. She notes that,

“Resources are not enough. For example, if you are teaching Physical Education, in the play area, you need seesaws so that children can play. And now, before a child moves to grade one, they need to understand road signs and if there are no road signs at the school, it's another challenge. When you have to go for PE *nevana* (with children), the ground is ugly with potholes. There needs to be a proper ground. The kit is also not there and if a child gets hurt, they need first aid. No matter how much you complain, they say they don't have money to buy it. If you raise the issue, the school says it doesn't have money. Just imagine teaching physics, it's a science subject and there needs to be a lab with everything and when you get to the school, *pane kaLab kasina chinhu* (there is a small lab with nothing). If you tell, the head of the school, he or she says there is no money” (Precious, 7 December 2019).

Not having first aid kits in schools implies that students are at a risk of getting hurt and not receiving urgent help or treatment. The shortage of sufficient equipment in the science labs means that teachers and students cannot effectively carry out experiments for teaching and learning purposes. Brenda also elaborates and refers to the COVID-19 pandemic; she indicates that the schools are not prepared to reopen in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic because there is a shortage of protective equipment and clothing. She explains,

“Here in Zimbabwe, we have a lot of challenges. Most schools, especially those in the deep rural areas don't have things to use. Even as a teacher, you don't have chalk, duster, pens to mark children's books. For example, we are supposed to open on the 28th of July but most of the schools don't have PPEs to protect yourself from corona” (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

Olga and Lizzie, Precious and Brenda's responses reflect a failure to provide teaching resources and protective clothing by the government. This puts their lives at risk of getting infected as the coronavirus is a global pandemic. Considering the low salaries received by teachers, it is challenging for them to buy teaching resources with their own money. Joshua, a secondary school teacher laughs in disbelief and says, "I don't even have a laptop, I cannot afford one" (Joshua, 6 January 2020). Without technology, it is difficult to deliver computer related subjects indicated below. This theme shows that even though it is not easy, some teachers still buy or wish to buy their own resources. This reflects the passion they have for their profession in spite of all the challenges faced, as explained by teachers indicated in section 5.4.2.

As indicated above, Zimbabwe's new curriculum also introduced subjects such as Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), which aim to promote the use of technology in schools. However, this has been more efficient to schools in the urban areas than those situated in rural areas. Nelson, who is a secondary school teacher says,

"We don't have enough resources for teaching like textbooks and technology, unavailability of Wi-Fi internet. You talk of whiteboards maybe projectors these days, they are not available. I want to teach in an urban area very much because I also want to be exposed to the urban schools because I am assuming that in urban schools, there are more resources than in the rural areas so I would also like to teach where resources are adequate so that I feel exposed to another place. Here you enjoy at times and at times, you won't enjoy because of the unavailability of much needed resources" (Nelson, 7 January 2020).

If textbooks, which are the source of knowledge for students, are not adequate, learners' performance is also negatively affected. Nelson's response shows that he is not happy with the teaching experience in the Zaka district because of the unavailability of resources. Moreover, Zimbabwe's rural areas are characterized by inadequate infrastructure and poor services such as electricity (Hlalele, 2012). This is mirrored by Tariro, who is a teacher as well as a union's representative. She notes that,

"In the class for example, we have got this new thing that they call the new curriculum. It needs a lot of research so in the rural areas there is no network

therefore no internet no electricity and you are being told in fact there is this learning area ICT as a learning subject and you are told to teach it. How can you do that without a computer and as a teacher maybe probably 3 quarters of teachers don't have computers. The school doesn't have computers and you are told to teach about ICT. How do you go about it? You just teach theory and maybe one out of 20 teachers teach because some teachers trained long ago in the *hameno* (I do not know) and they don't even know this technology" (Tariro, 18 December 2019).

Similarly, Rutendo, a school principal elaborates that,

"In the rural areas, the biggest challenge is the lack of infrastructure; the schools are not equipped enough to deal with some of the situations and also textbooks. Sanitation facilities are also lacking, especially some of them that are still using pit latrines in the rural areas and it is compromising the safety of the learners and the teachers" (Rutendo, 9 December 2019).

The researcher had an opportunity to take a tour around the school and the toilets were infested with flies and had big holes; this confirms Rutendo's view that the students' safety is compromised as they may fall into the pits because of the big holes or be infected with diseases because of poor sanitation. Unlike Rutendo, Rufaro who is a secondary school teacher believes that the lack of resources is not only a result of schools being situated in the peripheries. She argues that the economic crisis of Zimbabwe contributes to the challenges being faced by teachers in the rural areas. She states that,

"Again we have barely enough resources, but in some cases it's not because we are in the rural areas. It's because of the economy of our country. The schools cannot afford everything that we would need like internet resources, text books and stationary and the like" (Rufaro, 3 January 2020).

Tinotenda, a primary school principal, attributes the lack of resources to students' poor backgrounds. He explains,

"There are inadequate resources e.g. books that meet demands of new curricula e.g. in sciences or ICT, laptops or desktops are not available in rural schools that need electricity. There is no electricity and there are poorly equipped classroom, thus teaching of sciences hard as well as living and working conditions. This is also a result of the failure by parents to pay approved government fees, only 50%

are able to pay due to poor socio economic backgrounds” (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020).

Correspondingly, Trymore a secondary school principal who also teaches science subjects shares similar sentiments with regards to teaching resources. He adds,

“Resources have never been enough; this is because the majority of our parents are peasant farmers and they do farming for subsistence, and this farming is their source of livelihood and because we are talking of financially poor communities, it means that the fees that are often charged are very low; it results in very little resources being available in the school. The fees are low to fully equip these schools with the required resources. Also you would find that in rural areas, we lack those specialist rooms. As a science teacher, it doesn’t make science teaching very interesting when you don’t have labs which are well equipped. You also find that in rural areas we have got dilapidated structures due to the low and non-payment of fees and that does not make a very good conducive environment for teaching, so generally in rural areas there are less financial and material resources for teaching and learning and that doesn’t make teaching very interesting in rural areas as compared to towns” (Trymore, 7 December 2020).

There was an agreement between teachers that the economic crisis in Zimbabwe has led to the failure to afford teaching resource by schools and the government as well. However, Trymore and Tinotenda’s responses show that the lack of resources in rural schools is not entirely a result of the current economic crisis but backgrounds of less privileged students and a lack of development in rural areas as noted by Hlalele (2012). Kanyongo (2005) shows that there is a link between lack of resources and poor performance in schools as teachers fail to meet deadlines or teach effectively due to limited resources. For example, a lack of technology means that subjects such as ICT mentioned by Precious, cannot be taught practically. This is also reflected in Trymore’s response who is a school principal who explains that students cannot learn effectively due to a shortage of resources. A lack of teaching resources leads to a violation of Section 75 of Zimbabwe’s constitutional Bill of Rights (2013) which states that every citizen of Zimbabwe “...has a right to a basic State-funded education.” Having identified that teachers are unhappy with the inadequacy of teaching resources and salaries, one would expect them to raise these concerns with the government; however, their responses are contrary to this.

5.3.5 Intimidation and political violence

Responses from teachers and union representatives show that teachers are intimidated and as a result, they are afraid of voicing out their concerns. However, Brenda, a primary school teacher clarifies that violence and intimidation are mostly prevalent in the rural areas. She also expresses that teachers are also intimidated by school principals. She states that,

“Zimbabwean teachers, for example in the rural areas let’s say nowadays the teachers are complaining about their salaries. Let’s say if they want to give their grievances to the employer. Maybe if they want to demonstrate. If you are a rural teacher, you are not given that chance. You are politically intimidated and you will be told by the headman that you shouldn’t be away from the station. Obviously, the head will tell the village heads. The headmasters work with the village heads to try and intimidate the teachers. It’s because of our headmasters. They want to be felt to the bone” (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

The comments by Brenda made the researcher wonder why the school principals participated in the intimidation of teachers. When asked to clarify, Brenda exclaimed,

“They are not even being paid better! They are just power hungry and I know because of their position they shouldn’t go on strike *handiti* (right?) but then they should let *isusu* (us) the ordinary teachers *hedu* (us) to go because if we go and our grievances are addressed, obviously they also get paid better. They don’t want to be in the frontline because of the nature of their positions maybe” (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

Most respondents indicated that due to political intimidation and school principals, teachers are afraid to voice out their grievances. Those who speak out or participate in protests, are often met with further intimidation and at times, violence. Tariro, a union’s representative highlighted that,

“The home of the president of the union was raided. If you raise a point with these “people”, they just think you are politically affiliated. They don’t want people who tell the truth because if you ask them how are you gonna implement this new curriculum they don’t answer; they just harass you thinking *kuti* (that) maybe you are being sponsored by what what. I don’t know what’s in their heads (throws her hand at the back showing dissatisfaction)” (Tariro, 18 December 2019).

Hosea, who is a different union's representative expressed concerns that are similar to Tariro's. He stresses that,

“Here in Zimbabwe we are having challenges as trade unionists AKA teachers for example my president, our president comrade is being hunted by this regime. He has gone underground; we are concealing him underground. You see this regime; this military junta. It is trying to silence all voices of decent Zimbabweans. The democratic space in Zimbabwe is weathering away” (Hosea, 27 July 2020).

The use of the phrase “military junta” and the word “hunted” shows that the government is believed to use a military approach that is violent, towards teachers that try to voice out their grievances. Political violence is not new among Zimbabwe's rural teachers. Ranga (2015) explains that many teachers were tortured for demanding better working conditions and salaries. On the contrary, Trymore and Tinotenda who are secondary and primary school principals respectively, note that there is no political violence or intimidation in the schools. Trymore says that “On the issue of political violence, I can say that since 2016, there haven't been much to talk about in terms of political violence. I want to think that political parties are taking heed of the order that was given to avoid use schools for political rallies and activities” (Trymore, 7 December 2019). Tinotenda also adds that “Concerns were raised and government generated circulars imploring school heads not to turn schools into political grounds i.e. not allowing politicking in schools” (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020).

The above responses suggest that since both of them are rural school principals, they might not want to oppose other school principals and portray the Zimbabwean government in a negative manner since they could get into trouble with the village heads, as explained by Brenda. Another explanation could be that they are also part of the school heads that intimidate teachers as noted by Tariro.

5.3.6 Hostile working environments

As a result of the intimidation that is often faced by teachers when they protest for better working conditions and salaries, the workplace has become an unfavourable environment. Tinotenda explains that the schools they teach at are “...Hostile environments at school because of politics” (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020). Brenda's views are also similar to Tinotenda's. When asked about the school environment, she says “*Hwu hwu hwu!* We are intimidated very much. It's the headmaster who tells them that

teacher so and so is away from the station because of ABCD and obviously when you get to the station, you will be intimidated” (Brenda, 16 July 2020). This further proves that school principals are often affiliated with Zimbabwe’s ruling party.

Due to the power that most school principals hold, owing to being politically affiliated with the ruling party, some teachers expressed that there was abuse of power by school principals. Brenda’s opinion was that,

“...some superiors just want you to go bow down to them; for example, say you want to go for a leave; they might not want to take your leave forms for no apparent reason. They think they are more superior (Laughs). For example, let’s say you are in Bulawayo and you work here in Masvingo. There in Bulawayo you face a problem, you try to call him and he says you should come to the station and hand in your leave forms instead of calling. That’s a big challenge because *iwe* you want to attend to the problem but he or she is telling you to come to the station and submit the forms which is not good” (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

This approach by school principals reflects power hungry leaders who do not prioritise the well-being of teachers. As a result of the violence and intimidation that these teachers are often exposed to, it is difficult to practice democracy.

5.3.7 Lack of democracy

The researcher asked whether teachers had raised their concerns to the school principals or any organization and Jestina, a primary school teacher said “*unoudza ani iwe uchitya?* (Who will you tell when you are scared?) We are politically harassed” (Jestina, 12 July 2020). Isabel, another primary school teacher also expressed that she was not comfortable to raise the challenges she was facing. She explained: “We don’t usually raise these challenges with the government or organizations because we are scared of being fired so we just pretend to be happy. Some people have protested against the government and lost their jobs” (Isabel, 10 January 2020). The example provided by Tariro can be used to support this. She says,

“There is no democracy now. A lot of teachers in our union are not being paid now. They have been removed from the pay sheets. They are not on the payroll. They are going to work; their hearings are pending. Just like the president, he has been removed from the payroll since 2 years back. It can get to that in our country” (Tariro, 18 December 2019).

Brenda's statement also mirrors Tariro's sentiment that democracy has been eroded in the workplace. She elaborates as follows:

"Because once you want to raise such issues, they say you are politically affiliated to the other party. I think you understand what I'm saying. Once you say something which they don't want to hear about, you are now labeled as affiliated to another party" (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

Based on Tariro and Brenda's responses, it can be concluded that teachers are often afraid of raising concerns because they fear losing their jobs like other teachers who have been fired, especially in an economy where it is difficult to secure formal employment as indicated by ZimStat (2015).

In addition, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are not able to assist teachers because they are accused of belonging to the opposition parties. According to Precious who is a primary school teacher,

"Let's say there are donors from outside Zim, they are stopped from assisting because the government says they are from the opposition parties *iwe uri kuMDC* (you are part of the MDC) which is not even true so it's a challenge so donors can't even help teachers" (Precious, 7 December 2019).

This makes life even more difficult for teachers; Precious' view shows that teachers wish NGOs could provide assistance to them since their salaries are inadequate to sustain their livelihoods. However, this is difficult as these NGOs and teachers are violated and labelled as opposition party members. Even if it were the case, it does not justify the violence faced by teachers because Zimbabwe is regarded as a democratic country. Ironically, democracy is not being practiced because teachers are not able to support opposition parties without being threatened. This is not a new phenomenon in Zimbabwe. Literature mirrors these findings by highlighting that in 2008, many people were victimised for supporting the MDC; they were also forced to vote for the ruling party (Kufakurinani and Mwatwara, 2017). This shows a lack of democracy in the workplace and Zimbabwe at large. Teachers do not only face challenges in the workplace but they also highlighted that they are provided with very poor services.

5.3.8 Inadequate service delivery

As noted by Couper (2003), rural areas are usually areas with little infrastructure and poor service delivery. Zaka district's teachers are also victims of such conditions since they reside in the peripheries. During interviews, teachers explained that as a result of the economic crisis, the government is not able to provide adequate services for those living in the rural areas. To be specific, Zaka district's teachers face challenges regarding services such as accommodation, healthcare, water, electricity, and transport services.

5.3.8.1 Poor accommodation

Many teachers expressed that one of the biggest challenges they were facing was accommodation. Hanke (2008) notes that Zimbabwe's rural teachers are provided with free accommodation. However, Kudzanai expresses the concern that even though teachers do not have to pay for accommodations, "The conditions in the houses are very deplorable because people are living in tiny rooms that have cracks and are unpainted" (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020). Brenda's response also mirrors Kudzanai's view. She elaborates,

"Accommodation is an issue. I will take it from my side. Eh at my school, I have one small room and I have got three kids; maybe it's just 2Mx2M just imagine and they are boys. It's a problem. I teach in Masvingo, Mashava, the rural part" (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

Besides living in dilapidated houses, two or more families are often expected to share one house. Tina explains that she shares a room with one of the teachers at the schools. She elaborates, "Working here in the rural areas, firstly there isn't much accommodation like the schools they don't provide enough accommodation like you have to end up sharing with others and their buildings are so dilapidated" (Tina, 1 December 2019). The researcher also noticed that Tina's house had cracks and as a result; there were termites in the corners of the house. Tinotenda also mentions that in the rural areas, there is "Poor or lack of accommodation as teachers with families share sub-standard and dilapidated houses (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020). It is therefore apparent that accommodation is a significant challenge especially for those who live with family members.

Dilapidated houses can be viewed as a reflection of the government's failure to renovate and provide decent accommodation due to the economic crisis in the country. Most teachers who live in these houses also struggle to get access to water and electricity for personal use or teaching purposes. These findings are in accordance with Bland's (2011) study which reveals that most teachers in the rural areas are offered poor accommodation which lacks basic services such as water and electricity.

5.3.8.2 Shortage of water and electricity

Most respondents highlighted that there is no electricity in the schools they teach at. Tapiwa, a secondary school teacher explained that only a few rural schools were electrified. "You find that generally, the majority of schools in rural areas are not electrified, luckily mine is electrified but I can tell you that other schools, seven or so schools in this cluster are not electrified; it is only two which are electrified" (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019). Due to inadequate services such as electricity in the rural areas, teachers often struggle to effectively teach students. Precious explained that not having electricity in schools often results in teachers failing to teach subjects that need the use of electricity. She argues that "ICT is compulsory from ECD to Upper 6- (last grade) but there is no computer lab since there is no electricity. You just teach the kids theory but the kids need the practical aspect to learn" (Precious, 7 December 2020).

Some teachers mentioned that as a result of not having access to electricity in schools, the mobile network coverage is very poor. Jestina explained that "Some schools have no electricity which leads to poor network coverage" (Jestina, 12 July 2020). Another secondary school teacher also added that as a result of poor network coverage, "There is lack of access to internet which provides more info to students" (Takura, 1 June 2020). Jestina and Takura's responses mirror Tariro's view in section 5.3.4 that without access to adequate resources and services, assisting students with research is difficult in the rural areas. Brenda notes that students' homes are also not electrified and this is a challenge because they are not able to do some of their school work if there are no lights. She states that "There is no electricity at home. There is nothing to light up their homes with to do their homework" (Brenda, 16 July 2020). However, schools and homes that are not electrified are not the only challenge faced by teachers; there is also lack of access to water close to schools.

Except for one teacher, who mentioned that “The only thing that is easily accessible here in the rural areas is water, we have sufficient water” (Tina, 1 December 2019), most teachers mentioned that they can only fetch water from areas that are far away from schools since there is no water close by. Precious expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that water is not easily accessible because this makes it difficult for her to teach. She highlighted that,

“Now, they have introduced agriculture in primary schools and you are told to go to the garden with children; when you get there, the garden is not fenced, *panoshoshewa* (Branches from trees are used as a substitute for a fence). There is no water to water the garden. It has to be fetched very far from school so I think it’s another resource challenge, there should be water close by” (Precious, 7 December 2019).

The concerns regarding electricity and water to teach practical subjects justify Pswarayi, Reeler’s (2012) argument that schools in the rural areas, often produce poor results because of inadequate resources since students cannot study at night, and teachers are not able to effectively teach certain subjects. Furthermore, Brenda mentioned that she had the same problem that Precious highlighted. She said “At my station there is no water; there is this jojo tank and a submissive pump and they say the water table is very low so we only get two 20L buckets of water per week; we have to buy water from that salary” (Brenda, 16 July 2020). A majority of the Zaka district’s teachers’ lives are negatively affected as they put a further strain on their budgets since they have to use their low salaries to buy water. Inadequate access to clean water often leads to poor hygienic conditions in work places; for example, Mazzeo (2011) explains that in 2008, a shortage of water in Zimbabwe led to a cholera outbreak in the country. It is therefore clear that the teachers’ health is at risk because of insufficient water. In addition to the aforementioned water and electricity challenges, teachers do not have adequate transport services in the rural areas.

5.3.8.3 Transport challenges

The Zaka district’s teachers also raised concerns about the lack of transport services in the rural areas. Rufaro mentioned that “If you need something, sometimes you have to wake up very early to catch the buses; there are no commuter omnibuses so you actually face transport challenges” (Rufaro, 3 January 2020). Tina also added that she has to walk for a very long distance in order to get other forms of transport if she is not

able to catch the bus. She explained, “With regards to transport because at times, in order for you to board a car, you need to walk for like 7km or you have to wait for a bus which comes like once every day so with regards to transport, that’s a challenge” (Tina, 1 December 2019). Rufaro and Tina’s responses show that it is not easy to access the public transport available as it is very limited. However, contrary to the findings, Chazovachii (2012) attributes walking long distances to saving money instead of transport shortages.

Limited transport services are a result of poor roads since most bus companies are not willing to operate on such roads. Precious elaborates that “When it comes to rural areas, the roads are bad” (Precious, 7 December 2019). These roads also become more dangerous in some seasons. Tapiwa notes that “The transport infrastructure is very bad, with bad dust roads and it becomes even worse especially during the rainy season when it’s slippery” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019). Kudzanai added that he incurs “...high transport cost to and fro town and hospital or clinic because bus companies know that people do not have a choice even if they are overcharged” (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020). It can be concluded that poor roads are a result of the government’s inability to provide adequate services; this could be attributed to the economy’s failure to generate funds due to the crisis in the country.

5.3.8.4 Inadequate healthcare services

Participants also indicated that in order to get medical assistance, they have to travel because there are no hospitals close by; there are small clinics without enough medicine. Takura mentioned that there are “...poor clinics with no meds” (Takura, 1 June 2020). Isabel’s response is similar to Takura’s. She notes that “There is no medication in clinics; if someone gets sick, they will die at home” (Isabel, 10 January 2020). Due to the lack of medication in local clinics, Kudzanai indicated that getting treatment will involve “...walking long distances to the hospital” (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020). Precious shares concerns that are similar to Kudzanai’s. She says, “Services in the rural areas are not adequate because if you get sick, you need to go to a hospital and these are only found in the urban areas” (Precious, 7 December 2019). Tapiwa also added that teacher’s salaries are not enough to afford adequate healthcare services. He emphasises that,

“This has resulted in difficulty to buy even basic medicines for mild illnesses and even to support maybe some of our relatives with chronic diseases. I’m talking of BP, hypertension. I have got a sister who is epileptic. I used to get the monthly medicines at around US\$17 in 2016; now it’s out of reach. These are some of the challenges that we are facing here. Umm you also find that when things are not enough, there are squabbles here and now in the family” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2020).

It can therefore be concluded that lack of access to proper healthcare was escalated by the economic crisis that aggravated in 2016. Ncube, Mangwaya and Ogundeji (2018) who are of the view that civil servants cannot afford healthcare because of low salaries triggered by the economic crisis also reflected this in their study. These poor salaries also make it difficult for teachers to afford medicine which can only be accessed in urban areas. Based on Tapiwa’s response, it is also clear that financial constraints resulting in inability to afford medicine result in family disputes.

5.3.8.5 Lack of basic commodities

All respondents indicated that they struggle to acquire some basic commodities from local shops because they are either very expensive or unavailable. Therefore, they have to walk for very long distances or travel to towns to purchase certain goods. One of the teachers explained, “Another thing, you can’t find some things in the shops that are close by. You can only find a few things; therefore, you will be forced to spend money on transport to go to town and the money is not even enough” (Precious, 7 December 2019). Rufaro, another rural teacher noted that even though teaching in the rural areas is not a bad experience, she felt that those teaching in the urban areas have better social status than those in the rural areas. She highlighted that,

“Teaching in the rural areas is fair; it’s not really bad but you meet a number of challenges which I highlighted in some of the questions above; you actually feel it that you are in the rural areas or that you are a rural teacher. Somehow, you feel that you cannot be at the same level with teachers in the urban areas. The supermarkets and shops cannot meet the standards of the likes of OK, Pick n Pay and the like, so you really feel that somehow, you are a bit backward. There are certain things which you can’t get this side even if you have the resources to buy them so I have to travel to town to source certain things” (Rufaro, 3 January 2020).

Since there are a few shops in the rural areas, teachers do not have the luxury of choosing the shop they want to buy from. Nelson notes that “Shops and other things, they are not adequate because you will be forced to buy your things at a certain shop” (Nelson, 7 January 2020) because according to another secondary school teacher, “In the rural areas, there is poor transport network, poorly built shops with very few goods which are scarce” (Takura, 1 June 2020). In instances where commodities are available in local shops, they are sold at exorbitant prices that most teachers cannot afford with their poor salaries. Tapiwa elaborated explained “In rural areas, you’ll find that we don’t have those big therefore cheaper supermarkets and that leaves us at the mercy of highly priced independent shops that you can find in rural areas” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019). Tina also adds that,

“The shops are there but they are super expensive and in most instances, they double the price. Let’s say in town, a 2kg of rice is going for 200RTGS (R25), here in the rural areas you can get it for close to 300 (R30) and something which is too much. Because there is transport, you have to walk to wherever you want to buy the food. The monthly salary is not even sufficient. I think the government is letting us down to be frank, they are not giving us sufficient salaries; we are struggling to survive” (Tina, 1 December 2019).

Teachers cannot afford most of the goods sold in the local shops because they are expensive and teachers’ salaries are very low. As a result, it is difficult for them to sustain their livelihoods. If teachers’ welfare were to be improved, the government should re-look service delivery in the rural areas. This also depends on the economic conditions in the country.

5.4 Reasons for staying/ joining in the teaching profession

In spite of the challenges highlighted above, many teachers, do not leave the profession. The section below highlights the reasons why the teachers in question do not leave their jobs considering that there is a severe economic crisis in Zimbabwe.

5.4.1 Lack of opportunities

Having established that as a result of the economic crisis, teachers face numerous challenges, it is important to understand why they remain in the teaching profession or do not migrate to other countries since migration is a common phenomenon

amongst teachers in African countries. Teachers who are highly qualified also have a high chance of getting jobs in other countries (Israr et al., 2000). For example, Tapiwa notes that in addition to his teaching qualification, he has “a Master’s degree in Business administration” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019). Most teachers highlighted that they were interested in leaving the teaching profession; however, they lacked opportunities to do so. Rufaro, a secondary school teacher in one of the school in the Zaka district said “I would consider leaving the teaching profession if I get something better elsewhere like maybe joining a non-governmental organisation or moving to another country for greener pastures” (Rufaro, 5 January 2020). Tapiwa also adds that he would like to leave the teaching profession but even after furthering his education and acquiring more qualifications, he struggles to find another job. He explains,

“Yes, I have tried a number of times to leave the teaching profession especially after acquiring some qualifications that have nothing to do with teaching. I have tried my luck in other government departments where the conditions of service seem to be better, to mention Zimbabwean Electoral commission, the public service commission, and the president’s office. I have tried my luck there but to no avail but given a chance, I would definitely want to meet new challenges in other departments which offer better conditions compared to the teaching profession. I have a MBA degree but cannot find another job” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019).

Similarly, Jestina’s response shows that she would leave the teaching profession due to poor salaries; however, it is difficult to find another job. She says “There is no benefit of being a teacher in Zimbabwe. I once wanted to leave the teaching profession due to poor salaries but could not get a better profession” (Jestina, 12 July 2020). Cynthia also expresses that low salaries are the main reason why she would leave the profession; however, she is struggling to get another job. She states that “Now I want to leave the teaching profession because the salary I am getting is not enough to sustain my family but I have not found another job” (Cynthia, 16 June 2020). In another interview, Kudzanai clearly explains that there are no benefits in the teaching profession and the only reason why he has not resigned is because he cannot find another job. He expresses, “At this particular epoch, no benefits can be derived from the teaching, but what can I do? There are no jobs in the country” (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020).

The responses above are consistent with literature presented in Chapter 2 which posits that in a study conducted by Chireshe (2011) after the 2008 economic crisis, most teachers indicated that they would not choose the profession if they had another chance to do so; however, they were limited by opportunities. The teachers' failure to acquire any other job in the country reflects Zimbabwe's very poor and unproductive economy which is not able to create job opportunities for its citizens. The responses from teachers also show that some of them are interested in migrating to the other countries. However, a study by Natale Migali and Munz (2018) shows that many people are limited by financial resources. It can be deduced that since Zimbabwe's teachers do not earn foreign currency, it is difficult for them to migrate to other countries as they will incur travel expenses. It is important to note that not all teachers are interested in leaving the profession; many of them mentioned that the passion they have for teaching keeps them going, despite the setbacks they encounter as a result of the country's crisis.

5.4.2 Passion

The majority of respondents indicated that they became teachers because of the passion they have for the teaching profession. For example, Lizzie notes that her passion for teaching is rooted in preserving the Zimbabwean culture and empowering future generations. She explains,

“I became a teacher because it was a passion because I am teaching indigenous languages to teach the younger generations not to distort our culture as Zimbabweans and Shona people. The benefits of being a teacher is to increase the literacy rate of the future generations” (Lizzie, 22 December 2019).

Nelson's response also shows that he remains in the teaching profession because of his passion for empowering young people, especially those in the rural areas. He states that,

“In Zimbabwe, if you get exposure, you should help other young people to realise their dream. The advantages are that in the rural areas, it's not about talking about pass rate; it's about helping those young ones to be literate unlike urban schools and high schools where maybe the units for secondary they would require a maximum of some units for those kids who are enrolling into the secondary unlike

in the rural schools, you get everyone who was in grade seven as a school so the pass rate doesn't count much." (Nelson, 7 January 2020).

Likewise, Olga explained that the reason why she is a teacher in the Zaka district which is her village of origin, is because she wanted to empower the community and her family members are also teachers. She says "I became a teacher because I wanted to help my community. Teaching is an area I am familiar with, so somehow *ndozvekumba kwedu* (It is a family profession)" (Olga, 2 January 2020). Isabel's reason for staying in the teaching profession is linked to her love for children. She explains, "I have always wanted to be a teacher because I enjoy teaching and working with kids and I wanted to make a difference" (Isabel, 10 January 2020). Another primary school teacher's response, shows that as a result of her passion for teaching and little children, she is adamant that even though Zimbabwean teachers often face challenges due to the poor economy, she will not leave the profession and she is hopeful. This is consistent with Yates and Masten (2004) who explain that this resilience to challenges is motivated by hope. However, she would consider migration. In a loud voice, she clarifies and emphasises,

"My passion for teaching attracted me to the profession. I love children that's why I am an ECD teacher, I feel for little kids. After retiring, I will also get pension unlike other jobs I will never leave teaching! I would rather study further and maybe move to secondary school or become a lecturer because I really like this profession, *zvitori mubhonzo* (It is in my bones). If I ever leave teaching in Zim, I would have migrated to another country but I will remain a teacher" (Precious, 7 December 2019).

Based on the afore-mentioned responses, passion can be considered as the reason why many teachers remain in their profession in spite of the challenges that they face. The responses above are also in accord with Morse and McNamara (2013) who highlight that the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, which governs this study seldom, involves taking major decisions such as moving to other countries but implies that people use the assets available to them to better their lives. This explains why some teachers in the rural areas of Zaka do not resign from their jobs but prefer to engage in other income-generating activities discussed in section 5.6 of this chapter. Zimbabwe's educators were mostly attracted to the profession by the job security associated with it in the past.

5.4.3 Job security

The majority of the teachers and principals interviewed expressed that before Zimbabwe's economic crisis started in the 1990s, the teaching profession would allow one upward social mobility. This has continued to attract people to the profession with the hope that this might be the case in the near future. Tapiwa explains,

"I would say I joined the teaching profession simply because of the good status that by then would be associated with the teacher and also the salary levels were actually better than any other industry for I had to leave the retail trade where I was employed as a sales person to actually train as a teacher" (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019).

Tapiwa's argument that the teaching profession was reputable is reflected by the World Bank (1992) that teachers' salaries were six times above the minimum wage in Zimbabwe. However, this is no longer the case; for example, one of the teachers mention that "To join the profession I was attracted by good working condition and comparatively good pay in the early years of Zim independence but all benefits have gone to the dogs" (Kudzanaï, 19 June 2020). Therefore, teachers stay in the profession because of job security. Tina, another secondary school teacher explains that the profession has always offered security, which is the reason why most teachers joined it. She notes that,

"To be frank, there isn't anything much that attracted me to the teaching profession only that during that time, teaching was the only available job which had security and those were the only jobs that were available. Everyone was running to be in the teaching profession" (Tina, 1 December 2019).

Tina joined the teaching profession in 2011 after the 2008 crisis and since then, unemployment has been high; this explains why she has struggled to get another job. As highlighted in section 5.4.1, the economic crisis makes it difficult for one to acquire a better job in Zimbabwe. However, the teaching profession allows teachers to have an income even though their salaries are not adequate for their needs. Takura explains that "The need for income to survive is the reason why I am still in the teaching profession" (Takura, 1 June 2020). It can therefore be deduced that teachers stay in the profession because they do not want to be unemployed and have no income at all, considering that jobs are very difficult to acquire.

On the other hand, Olga, a primary school teacher expresses that the teaching profession does not yield any benefits unless one resides in the rural areas. She argues that “There are no benefits of being a teacher in Zimbabwe though if you are not in the rural areas” (Olga, 2 January 2020). Olga’s response is consistent with Hanke’s (2008) argument that teachers prefer to live in the rural area than in urban areas. This also confirms his observation that during Zimbabwe’s economic crises, many teachers in the rural areas do not resign because life was more bearable in the peripheries than in towns. The section below aims to shed light on the reasons why teachers in the rural areas are more likely to stay in the profession than those in the urban areas

5.4.4 Low costs of living in the rural areas

Even though teachers in Zimbabwe are faced with many challenges, those living in the rural areas cope with the economic crisis better than those in the rural areas. This is reflected in Hanke’s (2008) study, which shows that those in the rural areas are less likely to leave the teaching profession in spite of its challenges. Having established that there are challenges, it is important to understand why these teachers stay or do not leave their jobs such as those who migrate to other countries or move to the informal sector. Most teachers’ responses show that despite the hurdles, there are benefits of teaching in the rural areas, the main one being a more affordable life than in urban areas. Tina explains that

“Maybe there is one advantage like life in the rural areas is not that expensive; for instance, in as much as the accommodation is not sufficient, we don’t pay for accommodation, we don’t pay water bills, we only pay for electricity which is different from someone teaching in the urban areas. That person has to foot in for electricity, housing bills and transport costs, we don’t have that maybe once in a while when you want to go to town, that’s when you have to get your own transport, but besides that, we don’t have any challenges” (Tina, 1 December 2019).

Precious, another teacher similarly notes that,

“The benefits of teaching in the rural areas are that you are given free accommodation, you don’t pay rent. No transport costs because you are next to your school, it’s very close because in towns, you have to pay rent and you will have transport costs from your place to town. You don’t have to buy mealie meal

because you can farm in your own field and get your own food so as a teacher so you will save money. Plus things in the rural areas are cheaper than they are in town. *Kumamusha* (in the rural areas), people are always willing to help you unlike in town when none will be willing to help you if you need anything” (Precious, 7 December 2019)

Tapiwa also adds that given a chance, he would not move to a school in the rural areas because his salary is not adequate to cover accommodation and transport costs in the urban areas. He says that

“Pertaining to whether I would be prepared to transfer to town, if given a chance it’s an emphatic NO because from experience, I have colleagues who left this place, went to town and they are struggling to survive there because what teachers are generally getting is not enough to meet the rent, transport and other costs of living in town, so definitely I would prefer to stay here in the rural areas where provisions are cheaper as compared to town because you would find that I don’t have much of those transport costs and the like. In fact, I happen to be one of the local teachers so I will simply have to walk for 40 minutes to get to my homestead anytime that I want, so my costs are cheaper and this is the situation that is obtaining to many of our rural teachers because they are making efforts to move closer to their homes as a way of reducing the costs like transport, food and so forth” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019).

Rufaro also highlights that she is able to save some money because in the rural areas, she does not have to pay any bills or incur transport costs by traveling to work. She expresses the following sentiments:

“If you are employed by the government as a civil servant, you enjoy the job security I mentioned earlier. There are quite a number. Perhaps, one I could easily think of is availability of accommodation at some of the teaching institutions and hence one saves a lot on transport costs. You don’t need to spend anything on transport costs when you have to move to and from work. That’s one thing; if you are working in such a school like myself, you don’t pay rents, you also get free water in the rural areas, whether it’s the borehole or from the school’s water works. You don’t pay anything; you can use it for anything, be it gardening or whatever (Rufaro, 3 January 2020).

Isabel's response also mirrors Rufaro's response about saving money as she also indicates that she grows her own food; therefore, she does not have to spend a lot of money on food. She states that,

"You don't have to pay for transport because you can walk to the school. The lifestyle here *kumamisha* (in the rural areas) is actually cheaper than in the urban areas. Food is cheap. We have our farm here; we grow *chibage* (maize), *nzungu* (groundnuts) so we don't have to buy a lot of things like those in towns" (Isabel, 10 January 2020).

To add, Olga's response shows that life in the urban areas is very costly; this explains why many teachers in the rural areas are not interested in moving to towns even though there are better services. She mentions that,

"Yes, I would move to an urban area because of availability of services but not at the current moment because if I move to town now, I will live a "miserable life". With the way things are difficult, I cannot afford to go and live in town, paying rent, transport, school fees for my primary school children. Vegetables and fruits are cheaper and there are no transport costs when going to work" (Olga 2 January 2020).

Kudzanai also mentions that he does not have to buy fruits since they grow in the Zaka district's forests. He notes that "One gets access to free household fuel e.g. firewood and water from wells or borehole. You also get free fruits from natural forests e.g. *mazhanje* (loquards) and guavas, free accommodation too" (Kudzanai 19 June 2020).

Jestina also clarifies that the reason why she would not move to the urban areas, is the cost of living. She explains that,

"The advantages of teaching in rural areas are that life is cheap. Even if I had the opportunity, I wouldn't transfer to a school in an urban area because life in urban areas is more expensive than in rural areas. Here, we get free accommodation and free water" (Jestina, 12 July 2020).

The low costs of living in the rural areas are a result of free food such as fruits and vegetables as there are large tracks of land for farming and some fruits grow in the forests that everyone has access to. This explains why rural teachers are able to sustain their livelihoods and remain in the teaching profession in spite of the economic challenges as indicated by Hanke (2008). The responses above also mirror findings

by Tawodzera, Zanamwe and Crush (2012) who explain that people in the urban areas are prone to food insecurity, as they have to buy expensive food while those in the rural areas can farm their own food. The affordable lifestyle in the rural areas explains why the Zaka district teachers prefer to stay in the peripheries.

5.5 The role played by unions in improving the experiences of teachers

Zimbabwe's teachers have not just been passive recipients of the hurdles; some join organisations that represent teachers' needs. This agency can be explained by the Resilience Theory which acknowledges people's strength to not only focus on the challenges they face but also find solutions to these issues (Chitongo, 2019); it helps them in coping with the various challenges they are facing as these spaces enable them to find a voice and speak out on their experiences as teachers. Wang and Zhang (2015) describe this agency as being resilient in the midst of adversities. This is reflected by the responses provided by the three unions' representative interviewed during the study. Thabo, a representative one union says,

“Well, basically the situation in this country especially with the deteriorating education system and because teachers are being paid less, so joining the union was gonna give me a chance to put my voice across. It has always been easier to be part of a group to voice out your concern than being alone” (Thabo, 3 December 2019).

Similarly, Hosea, a member of a union that represents teachers in the rural areas notes that when he raised concerns over poor working conditions and poor salaries, he was moved to a remote area; this affected one of his children but the union he joined, gave him hope. He explains that,

“I was transferred from a group A school to a remote area in Mwenezi in a satellite school and my first born child who is now doing form two developed some health problems. He has developed epilepsy as a result of that psychological trauma. And I am going through hardships now, hence finding this new home. We are being harangued left right and center but we are not going to give up this struggle fighting for labour justice in Zimbabwe. We are here for a cause. I know you complement this struggle by virtue of you being outside the country. Yes, you went outside the country by circumstances which were beyond your control but when you analyze that issue, some of us have got to remain within these borders so that

we keep on partaking in this struggle. One day we are going to win the struggle” (Hosea, 27 July 2020).

Rutendo, a school principal who is also a member of a union mentions that teachers’ unions play a vital role in presenting the teachers’ concerns to the government and advocating for their rights. She explains that,

“As principals we engage unions because unions have more power when it comes to collective bargaining with the government in terms of salaries so when teachers have grievances or lack of resources they come to us as a union especially in the rural areas. We play a pivotal role because we can get NGOs to help us e.g. the food parcels, so we try to help wherever we can” (Rutendo, 9 December 2019).

This shows that teachers are more comfortable to approach unions than the government. Teachers are often met with violence if they engage the government because they are labelled as opposition party members who threaten the ruling party’s power (Ranga, 2015); therefore, it can be deduced that they would rather engage the teachers’ unions than the government in order to avoid losing their jobs.

It is important to note that members of these unions are very patriotic individuals who love the teaching profession. Hosea explains that he is not interested in leaving the profession or migrating to another country. He highlights that,

“...so we are trying our level best as teachers who are patriotic, we still love this country. We are highly qualified. We can even go to diaspora at any moment but because of our love for this nation we can’t do so. We are only fighting for better salaries so the government doesn’t want to hear any of that. It wants to keep on paying us in the RTGS which is valueless” (Hosea, 27 July 2020).

The above response is a reflection of the passion for teaching as discussed in section 5.4.2. The unions also play the role of empowering teachers to stand up for themselves and engage the government; they encourage more people to join unions so that their voices may be heard especially during protests. Thabo, a union’s representatives mentions that unions use protests as an opportunity to speak out. He notes that

“As a union, during the 2016 protests, we tried to show how important our role is especially in schools, how fundamental we are in the child learning environment. We have different workshops at least once a month in different provinces to discuss our

problems and try to get people to join the union so over the years, we have seen our numbers grow exponentially” (Thabo, 3 December 2019).

Hosea adds that the union he belongs to would also be part of the upcoming protests, which aim at speaking out against corruption in the Zimbabwean government. He emphasises that,

“On the 31st of July, we are grieved about our salaries, we are demonstrating or protesting in view of salaries which have now been eroded by inflation. We are fighting for our 520 US\$ salaries. We are not going back; we are not going to give up. We are still soldiering on. Until the government of Mnanangagwa. Until this military junta, until this regime pays us our US\$ we are not going to give up” (Hosea, 27 July 2020).

The agency described above, allows teachers to find solutions and not only focus on their problems. By engaging the government through unions, the issues they are facing are understood from their point of view. Manyena, Fordham and Collins (2008) posit that this agency puts them at the centre of the issues they are dealing with and this helps them come up with solutions suitable for their challenges; in the case of the Zaka district teachers, by engaging the government, they are able to suggest solutions that are appropriate for their distinct challenges. It is important to note that as mentioned by Hosea, teachers’ unions participate in many protests such as the one on 31 July 2020, even if it is not about teachers because issues such as corruption also affect them. This means that they are knowledgeable about the root causes of teacher’s challenges, therefore are suited to lobby for teachers.

5.5.1 Responses from the government

Out of all the participants, only one teacher indicated that they had appealed to the government to increase their salaries. Rufaro states that “Speaking about it? Personally, perhaps not because I might lose my job” (Rufaro, 3 January 2020). As indicated in section 5.3.7, many teachers are afraid to speak out because they do not want to lose their jobs. However, other teachers’ responses show that in spite of all the efforts to get the government to increase the teachers’ salaries and improve their working conditions, the government has not made any significant strides in meeting the teachers’ demands. Takura states that some teachers’ unions have engaged the government to increase teachers’ salaries but nothing had been achieved. He

indicates that “PTUZ and ZIMTA have represented us before the government but to no avail” (Takura, 1 June 2020). Tariro notes that the government has not responded to teachers’ appeals because it does not want to acknowledge that there is an economic crisis in Zimbabwe. She states that,

“They blame the union very much; they don’t want to hear about the union because they know that the union itself, it’s representing the needs of the teachers so they don’t want people who give their problems to the employer. They just want to say everything is fine” (Tariro, 18 December 2019).

The government does not want to acknowledge the economic crisis in the country because they do not want to be portrayed as a failure to the international community. This can be reflected in the statement made by Nick Mangwana who is Zimbabwe’s Secretary for Information who mentioned that there is no crisis in the country (Reuters, 2020).

In order to stop teachers and their unions from speaking out on the hurdles they confront, they have labelled them as politically affiliated individuals who are against the ruling party. Jestina explains that “Unions have raised the concerns with the Zimbabwe Teachers Association (ZIMTA) and they raised the concerns with government but the government turned a deaf ear. Teachers have been labelled as opposition members” (Jestina, 12 July 2020). Jestina’s response is in accord with Kufakurinani and Mwatwara’s (2017) study that revealed that political violence is very common in Zimbabwe, especially amongst teachers.

On the other hand, Trymore mentions that the government acknowledged the challenges but is unable to increase the salaries; he posits,

“The challenges that I have alluded to are raised every day in the negotiation forum that involves our teacher union representatives and the representatives of the employer but the answer from the government has often been that they are incapacitated to pay these teachers living wages” (Trymore, 7 December 2019).

Rutendo also explains that concerns continue to be raised but no solutions have been implemented the government mentioned that it cannot afford to pay teachers adequate salaries. She adds that,

“We have raised numerous concerns to the union about what we are facing in the teaching profession. We have engaged the government’s education department.

To be honest, the process has been peached off because they said they are looking into it but they don't come back to us or they say they don't have money to improve the situation because of the economy of our country" (Rutendo, 9 December 2019).

Likewise, Nelson also argues that the government is aware of the challenges faced by teachers but does not solve them. He mentions that "Yeah I think we have unions; they have raised that with the government. The government said we are aware and we will do something and nothing was done" (Nelson 7 January 2020). In another interview, Precious highlights that even though the Zimbabwean government acknowledges the challenges faced by teachers, it does not fulfil the promises made to teachers. She states that "The teachers' unions present teachers' challenges to the government but the government keeps saying *tozvigadzirisa* (we will fix the problems) but nothing is done" (Precious, 7 December 2019).

Brenda's response also shows that the promises to increase teachers' salaries have not been fulfilled after engaging the government several times. She postulates that,

"We tell the ministry the problems. They put it in writing and they ask to meet with the minister and the payment secretary of which sometimes they do and sometimes they are not allowed to meet them but even if they meet them, nothing positive comes out. They are just empty promises. They don't give clear information. Most of the times they just say they have heard it and they are going to look into it but they don't even look into it. Most of the protests are in vain. Like recently, we were asking for US dollar salaries and they just promised and gave all the civil servants including the teachers 75US\$ in the nostro account of which we are not eligible to withdraw that 75 US\$. You can only buy some groceries in some shops of which the shops have since hiked the prices. And most of the teachers haven't got that 75US\$ thing; the banks are saying they are still processing their umm, I don't know. They do what they want" (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

There is a general consensus that the government has been engaged by unions and teachers on several occasions but it has not addressed the teachers' grievances. The promises that the government made have also not been fulfilled. Since the government has not responded to the teachers' concerns, to improve the teachers' agency, assist

students and gain more bargaining power, teachers' unions have had no choice but to partner with other organisations.

5.5.2 Partnering with other organisations

In their quest to get labour justice and improve the lives of Zimbabwean teachers, the teachers' unions also work with various organisations that provide legal advice and financial assistance. Tariro explains,

“What made me want to be part of the union is that it represents the teachers who have got problems, maybe with their superiors or problems in their environment, it may be politically. We give them legal advice. We work with the ZLHR (Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights) lawyers” (Tariro, 18 December 2019).

To support Tariro's statement, Hosea adds that these organisations encourage them to take safety measures by training some members to evacuate teachers when they no longer feel safe in the workplace. It is also important to note that teachers also feel unsafe because of the school principals who are affiliated with the ruling party as previously mentioned in section 5.3.6. Hosea mentions,

“We also helped our members in the workplace especially in this highly volatile environment we are working in, under this so-called second dispensation. We are not safe in the rural areas. You know the regime is going to hunt us down for every member who belongs to our union. It even rallies its supporters in the rural areas so that it can turn against us and ultimately harm us so we are telling our members that if push comes to shove on how they are going to safeguard themselves deep in the rural areas because we have some overzealous school heads of school managers who want to be present at the workplace when we know that the environment won't be safe for us to do so. So we have our members with evacuation skills. That's why we partner with the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights; they give us advice whereby we are being told that it is not a crime for us not to report for duty where you know your life will be at stake. It's better for you to opt for safety first then raise awareness at a safe place” (Hosea, 27 July 2020).

By empowering teachers in the rural areas, the unions also assist children in the rural areas by partnering with organisations that provide financial assistance to these children. For example, Nelson who is a secondary school teacher highlights that unions support children “...through some organisations which support our kids for

example BEAM, CAMFED” (Nelson, 7 January 2020). Correspondingly, Hosea further elaborates that,

“We have another challenge of children who are disadvantaged who are not even able to access education in the rural areas. We even have another problem where the highly qualified teachers are shun in the rural outskirts so we as a union, we are saying to our members we must go in the rural areas and search for talent. There is a lot of talent there. We are trying to link up with other organizations so that their fees are paid for and even sent to better schools so that they excel in their lives. I worked with CAMFED in Mwenezi and when the time is right, I will follow up on some kids to see if they have finished their education. There are even some who will be failing to go to tertiary institutions *asi vari vanhu vane njere vari talented vogumisira vakuita maChildhood* marriages (they are intelligent but end up getting into childhood marriages) and some manual jobs outside the country” (Hosea, 27 July 2020).

However, partnering with organisations is a challenge because as mentioned by Precious in section 5.37 of this chapter, organisations that assist teachers and learners are often accused of belonging to opposition parties. Based on the discussion above, it is apparent that teachers in Zimbabwe are resilient as they find their voices in the face of various adversities. Furthermore, they do not leave the profession because of passion and lack of opportunities. Additionally, the low cost of living in the rural areas makes teaching in the peripheries more bearable. Due to the economic crisis, these teachers adopt various survival strategies to sustain their livelihoods; these will be explored in the subsequent section.

5.6 Survival strategies

As indicated in the afore-mentioned section, different survival strategies are employed by teachers to improve their lives in the midst of Zimbabwe’s economic crisis. The Zaka district’s teachers’ ability to come up with strategies that improve their livelihoods reflects the control that they have over their own lives in the midst of the economic crisis (van Breda, 2018; Mazibuko, 2013). Based on the interviews conducted with the Zaka district’s rural teachers, seven main survival strategies were identified notably joining the informal sector, cutting down expenditure, piece jobs, social groups, asset ownership and farming. These will be expounded on below.

5.6.1 The informal sector

Except for Cynthia and Precious, all the teachers who participated in the interviews noted that they participated in informal activities to sustain their livelihoods. Precious explains, “We are just surviving with *kamari ikaka* (this little amount). That is all.” (Precious, 7 December 2019). Similarly, Cynthia explains that she did not have any extra income. She mentions that, “I don’t receive any assistance from anyone in the country or outside the country and I have no other income” (Cynthia, 21 June 2020). However, the other teachers mentioned that they participated in various income-generating activities in the informal sector described by Mavunga (2011) as *kujingirisa*. ZimStat (2015) notes that the informal sector in Zimbabwe is bigger than the formal sector, which only employs about 10% of the total workforce of Zimbabwe. However, it is noteworthy that even though teachers are employed in the formal sector, they maintain their presence in the informal sector (Chagonda, 2012). This also mirrors with Tao and Wall’s (2009) notion that diversification of income streams leads to sustained livelihoods as shocks and vulnerabilities are reduced, leading to the well-being of individuals.

Zimbabwe’s civil servants have joined the informal sector because their salaries are not adequate for survival. Therefore, they earn extra income through activities described by Pswarayi (2018) as *kukiyakiya* (various ways of making a living) in the second chapter of this study. Takura’s response shows that teachers’ social status has been downgraded as a result of poor salaries. He argues that “You would realise that illegal gold panners and even touts are better off than us as teachers, that is downwards social mobility especially from 2019” (Takura, 1 June 2020). This can be regarded as justification for joining the informal sector, which performs better than Zimbabwe’s formal sector (Gukurume, 2015). To add, when asked if she has anyone else helping her with household sustenance, Lizzie explains, “I don’t just rely on my salary; I have got some projects which I do. I have a poultry project and I buy stationary and sell to the parents” (Lizzie, 22 December 2019).

Further, Tina also explains that “hustling” is better than teaching because those in the informal sector have better livelihoods. As a result, she is considering leaving the profession or moving to an urban area. Her response shows that the informal sector in urban areas yields more income than in the rural areas. She mentions that,

“I have been considering that and I am definitely going to leave the teaching profession because it’s very clear that it’s not paying. Like I have been working for seven years but I don’t have anything much to write home about, I don’t even drive, I cannot afford to buy a car, I cannot even build a house. I cannot even afford to go on vacations because of the little that I am getting, so in as much as we are trying to teach these students, giving it our all, we do not get anything much at the end of the day. Maybe it’s better off, I leave the teaching profession and maybe hustle, I think it’s better off that way, rather than spending many many years and at the end of the day, there won’t be much to show. I am into cross-border trading so sometimes I go to Zambia and order clothing and also I bake cakes and I am working on a piggery project. I would rather transfer to a school in urban areas and live at home because that way I will be able to hustle while teaching” (Tina, 1 December 2019).

Literature on cross-border trading has portrayed women as the main participants in the activity. This explains why amongst the interviewees, the only person who participates in cross-border trading is a woman. However, this is not reflective of Chagonda’s (2012) study which shows that many women participated in cross-border trading as Tina is the only respondent who engages in this activity. This activity is common amongst Zimbabweans because they do not require visas to enter most nearby African countries (iVisa, 2020). Tina notes that she uses the income she obtains from her salary to engage in cross-border trading. This refutes literature by Mutsagondo (2015) who explains that remittances from relatives working in other countries are used to fund cross-border trading. Unlike many teachers in Zimbabwe, remittances are not common in the Zaka district. Bracking and Sachikonye (2009) also note that half the population in Zimbabwe depends on remittances. However, contrary to these findings, remittances are uncommon among the Zaka district’s teachers. Only one participant indicated that she received remittances from her children; however, she uses the money to “...buy groceries and pay for medical expenses and also to pay for workers' wages” (Jestina, 12 July 2020). The lack of remittances in the Zaka district can be regarded as a contributing factor to the liquidity shortages amongst the district’s teachers as Magudya (2016) posits that many people depend on them for cash. However, the employing of survival strategies by these rural teachers can be attributed to the lack of remittances as they are believed to create communities that work hard.

It is important to note that unlike many teachers, Tina is willing to relocate to the urban areas because she will not have any rental expenses since her mother lives there. Cynthia offers a contrasting view that is not interested in moving to an urban area because she cannot afford to pay for accommodation. She argues, “There is business in town but I would never move because my salary can't meet town expenses like rent” (Cynthia, 21 July 2020). On the other hand, Rufaro explains that even though she cannot generate a lot of income from her informal business, the extra income helps her cover other costs. She states, “I also bake cakes and sell them to students. This income helps us pay our children’s fees” (Rufaro 3 January 2020).

One would wonder how the teachers in question develop the resilience to withstand or overcome the challenges that they are facing. Matyas and Pelling (2012) explain that this resilience is often built by past experiences. For instance, Zimbabweans went through a severe economic crisis in 2008 and the informal sector became very prominent as a survival strategy. It is important to note that the majority of participants were also employed as teachers during the 2008 crisis in Zimbabwe. This explains why teachers in the Zaka district mostly depend on the informal sector. Literature on the informal sector reflects the responses provided by teachers. Mutsagondo (2015) explains that the informal sector supplements rural teachers’ low salaries; this also explains why these teachers remain in their profession while those in urban areas are likely to resign. It makes sense that the informal sector is thriving in Zimbabwe because a study by Owusu (2007) shows that informal activities thrive in countries going through economic crises. It is important to highlight that contrary to literature that mentions *kubhena mari* as a common informal survival strategy amongst teachers, none of the interviews indicated that they engage in this activity. The reason for this could be that many teachers in this area do not get any remittances; therefore, there is not enough foreign currency to participate in *kubhena mari*. Most Zaka district’s teachers indicated that the income generated from informal activities is not enough to cover all households’ needs; therefore, they have to decrease expenditure.

5.6.2 Cutting down expenditure

All respondents indicated that there was a change in their expenditure patterns since 2016. This is due to inflation in the country. Cynthia mentions that “Expenditure has been reduced due to hyper-inflation” (Cynthia, 21 June 2020). As noted by Southall

(2017), hyper-inflation has eroded teachers' salaries. For instance, Lizzie, a secondary school teacher highlights that the reduction in expenditure is because of low salaries being paid to teachers since 2016. She explains,

"The salary we are earning now compared to the salary we were earning before 2016 it decreased so we have adjusted in many areas. We adjusted for example, we were used to buying bread from the shops; now we are making our own bread at home. We used to go to the salon for the hair; now we no longer do our hair; we are just having our short hair. We no longer go to town for shopping as it is very expensive now so we go to rural shops to buy commodities, which are offered at the rural shops" (Lizzie, 22 December 2019).

Tapiwa, another secondary school teacher mentions that his family had to forego luxury in order to afford basic food items. He notes,

"I can say there has been little expenditure now on basic and luxury items than before. For example, I can say I used to travel with my personal car, I was constructing a house in town, I had a thriving broiler project, which I have since stopped; I have since stopped moving around with the car. I have since stopped constructing that house because of the changes in the economy so I have drastically reduced my expenditure on everything as the income is losing value on a daily basis whilst prices are increasing inaccessibly" (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019).

Likewise, Nelson also cut down luxuries from his budgets. He explains,

"I have cut down the expenditure. Prior to 2016, I would buy a grocery for 100US\$, it was sufficient for the whole month and it had everything, basic commodities and luxuries and I would also be able to buy some fuel for my car but nowadays it's impossible" (Nelson, 7 January 2020).

Instead of using their cars, teachers have resorted to public transport or walking long distances. Olga notes, "I also have to stop driving my car and I just use public transport" (Olga, 2 January 2020). Precious explains the change in her lifestyle by mentioning that,

In the past, you could go to town on pay day with your car and even buy petrol with that money and come back with a full tank but as for now, you can't do that. *Hazvitomboiti* (It is impossible), you just have to leave the car and walk because

petrol needs the Rand and US\$ and you are earning RTGS\$” (Precious, 7 December 2019).

Considering that teachers earn 3000RTGS\$ (approximately R600), which is less than a 7th of the US\$520 that they earned before the crisis, it is only logical that expenditure is reduced drastically. Kudzanai adds, “A glaring difference between income and expenditure before and after 2016 is noted. Family budgets have been cut down drastically” (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020). This theme is in accordance with the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, which posits that people often have to adjust their livelihood system so that they can cope with challenges (Helmore and Singh, 2001); cutting down expenditure and putting certain needs before others can therefore be regarded as an adjustment that Zaka district teachers have made because of their low salaries. Teachers have also cut down on the number of meals and amount of food consumed on a daily basis.

5.6.3 A decrease in food quantities and number of meals consumed per day

Cutting down on food is often a compromise made so that families can pay for other needs. Tapiwa explains that is not enough to afford basic needs such as food and other expenses. He points out that,

“As a result, we are foregoing so many things that are naturally basics but it means we have forego some of the basic food items that would we would generally need. For example, we would need bread and the like but I don’t know when is the last time that I bought a lot of bread so you now have to prioritise and say probably let me spare much of this to get children at school and then we have to forego the rest. I am talking of food items, clothing items etcetera. We are foregoing those goods” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019).

Similarly, Olga also mentions that her salary is not enough to pay her children’s school fees. This supports Tapiwa’s response that in order to pay for other important needs, one has to forgo other needs. She sobs and says,

“I use my whole salary on food “all of it and it’s not enough. Sometimes, I have to take a loan to pay for my children’s school fees. However, school fees are about 300 RTGS for the one in primary school. Our salaries, it can barely suffice basic things but it depends on what I prioritise; it cannot even buy food so we have to change the standard of living. I have to forgo certain things because my salary is

not enough. The baby is crying; I can't even afford a helper. Instead of three meals, we have two meals. We also use firewood instead of electricity" (Olga, 2 January 2020).

When asked how teachers are managing with the low salaries, Tariro a union's representative emotionally said, "Ahh truly speaking, people are suffering, we are living on one meal per day and children have adjusted to that because you tell me what can we do?" (Tariro, 18 December 2019). Similarly, Takura and Isabel mention that they have also cut down on meals as a coping strategy. Takura mentions, "Now that I get paid less, I can only afford to have two meals instead of three" (Takura 1 June 2020). Isabel's response is also similar to Takura's. She explains,

"We eat twice a day; in the morning, we bake bread and when we come back from work, we eat *sadza* (pap). In these rural areas, no one eats thrice a day; it doesn't work like that. We have cut down a lot of groceries and other things. I can't even remember the last time I ate meat from the shops, I think it was last of last year. We have chickens that we sell so we sometimes eat those" (Isabel, 10 January 2020).

All teachers indicated that their lifestyles had changed and most of them had to cut down meals. This is consistent with the view that cutting down meals is a broadly used strategy in times of economic turmoil. This strategy has been adopted not only in Zimbabwe but in countries such as Indonesia and Brazil (Setiawan, 2001; Nelson, 2002). Eating less food or foods that are of less quality shows an adjustment to lifestyles in order to cope with economic conditions in Zimbabwe. As indicated in Chapter 2, Ethiopian civil servants have also bought less quality foods when the government paid them low salaries. As indicated by Tapiwa, this allows teachers to spend their income on other needs such as children's education. It can therefore be said that Zaka district's teachers often put certain needs before others during difficult times.

5.6.4 Piece jobs

Teachers often do other jobs to supplement their low incomes. Tinotenda, a primary school principal points out that "Teachers do moonlighting" (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020). This is consistent with Bakasa's (2016) findings that record moonlighting as one of the common survival strategies amongst Zimbabwean teachers. Additionally, Rufaro

explains that she has to sustain her family with the salary she gets; however, sometimes she also does part-time work. She explains,

“We make do with what we have; we try to make adjustments here and there and we also have side hustles such as extra lessons that help us earn a little bit more income. I do, like offering private lessons where I can work from home; that helps me earn a few extra dollars” (Rufaro, 3 January 2020).

However, Thabo, a union representative argues that teachers in the urban areas have better opportunities to earn extra income than those in rural areas. He mentions that,

“Those in urban areas managed to come up with means to raise more money like extra lessons, but in rural areas, there are no such opportunities to get extra income because students don’t have money. Therefore, some NGOs have tried to chip in with things like food hampers for teachers and students and we are very thankful” (Thabo 3 December 2019).

Thabo’s response is mirrored by Tapiwa who indicates that these students are from poor backgrounds. It therefore makes sense that they cannot afford to pay for extra lessons. Tariro also explains that it is difficult to participate in extra income-generating activities at school as this is prohibited. She explains,

““You have parents, they want to eat and dress. You may sell things to students and provide extra lessons to students but ah you don’t get much. I don’t want to lie because for example in school, they say you are a public servant and you mustn’t sell. *Hanti mapaona?* (Do you see?) It’s not allowed” (Tariro, 18 December 2019).

In another interview, Takura explains that the coronavirus pandemic has affected his livelihood and ability to participate in other activities. Therefore, he only relies on providing lessons to students. He states, “I also hold private lessons and with this lockdown, you cannot do other piece jobs, which can give you an extra dollar. It’s really pathetic” (Takura, 1 June 2020). This theme is in line with Bakasa’s (2016) study which reveals that teachers often do moonlighting activities to supplement their salaries. Zaka district teachers provide extra lessons and sell some goods to students in order to sustain their livelihoods.

5.6.5 Social groups

In an ailing and unproductive economy like Zimbabwe, people often find support in different organisations or groups. These help them financially and socially. Out of all the interviews conducted, only one participant indicated that he did not belong to any social groups. Other participants highlighted that they belonged to religious organisations, saving schemes and other cooperatives. For instance, Olga explains that the local church provided her with support. She explains, “I belong to a church. Sometimes the church sources donations and we are given. Last time we were given cooking oil. Sometimes they hold business seminars to help people how to survive in this economy. Prayers too” (Olga, 2 January 2020). Similarly, Lizzie explains that the church supports her morally. She indicates, “I belong to Reformed church in Zimbabwe social group whereas women we help each other moral support- how to keep our children and how to live morally” (Lizzie, 22 December 2020). Precious also indicates that the church is a source of strength when she is confronted with difficulties. She explains, “I belong to church; I love church. When I face challenges, my church mates just tell me to pray; they encourage me to pray” (Precious, 7 December 2019). Additionally, Cynthia mentions, “I go to church so I can learn discipline and to be contented with what I have” (Cynthia, 21 June 2020). For Tina, the church is not only a source of moral support but a business opportunity. She states that,

“I only belong to church for two reasons; it helps me in upholding my moral values. It’s also my clientele base. Like I said, I sell so you get to sell your goods to church members and they are so supporting you know. It’s very difficult for me to belong in any other group like a saving scheme in this economy. You cannot be saving RTGS because it’s losing value every day” (Tina, 1 December 2020).

Religious organisations are not the only social groups that teachers in the Zaka district depend on; they are also members of savings schemes. Savings schemes serve as motivation to work hard amidst the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. In one interview, a secondary school teacher notes that,

“Besides being a member of the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe, I also have saving scheme with colleagues from work where we have pay turns. They motivate me to work especially the saving scheme because I have to raise something every month to contribute towards that scheme” (Rufaro, 3 January 2020).

Since the Zimbabwean currency constantly loses value because of inflation, teachers contribute US\$ to the savings scheme. This money is used when one of the members faces death or sickness in the family. Isabel notes that,

“We have *mukando* (savings scheme) here as teachers. At church, we also have savings so that when someone faces a challenge such as a sickness or death in the household, we help that church member out with that money. In both groups, we try to save the money in US dollars. We change that little money to the US\$ and contribute, maybe US\$5 per teacher” (Isabel, 10 January 2020).

Moreover, other respondents indicated that they joined social groups for interaction and social support purposes. For example, Nelson explains that the clubs he joined offer him entertainment and social support. He explains, “We have a darts club and we also have a pool club. Yeah you relax, you get social support, entertainment you socialise with other people and you hear some views of life in these trying times” (Nelson, 7 January 2020). Tapiwa’s response reflects that social groups are not only a source of social support but a source of food too. He indicates that,

“I am a member of the Reformed Church of Zimbabwe and also a member of the Zaka Chapter Zimbabwe national army Commander’s executive interaction where we interact with members of the military connecting the leaderships, business people. We will be sharing notes and also trying to appreciate how the military works. I am also a member of the Makurumidze gardening project so from those social groups, we interact, we share notes, we share ideas, we give each other moral and social support; for example, we also produce food items like I’m talking of a garden cooperative where we produce vegetables for subsistence” (Tapiwa 12 December 2019).

The responses above are consistent with literature as Quandt (2018) explains that livelihood processes do not only occur at individual or household level; people depend on various social networks and organisations in communities to sustain their livelihoods. These social networks are referred to as social assets (Moser, 2006). The prayer groups, saving schemes, gardening projects, cooperatives and leisure clubs help Zaka district teachers to cope with the challenges they face due to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. They provide moral and financial support and are also a source of food that they struggle to afford with their low salaries. It is therefore clear that it is difficult to cope with Zimbabwe’s economic challenges as an individual; other

community members play a vital role in the sustenance of livelihoods of teachers. Thus, Ungar (2012) explains that resilience is found in networks that people create with those surrounding them; these networks are also believed to promote agency and encourage people to have control over their own lives by bringing change in the midst of crises (Chejter, 2003). Thus, the Zaka district's teachers join cooperatives, churches and other projects to improve their livelihoods during Zimbabwe's economic crisis.

5.6.6 Asset ownership

Livelihood assets play a very pivotal role in sustaining livelihoods. As noted by Rakodi in Quandt (2018), these can be classified as human, physical, natural, financial and social assets. Hughey and Simmons (2008) explain that one's ability to engage in livelihood strategies depends on the access to the afore-mentioned livelihood assets. Thus, the Zaka district's teachers depend on various assets for survival. Sime and Aune (2019) argue that these assets reduce vulnerability in times of stress and sustain livelihoods. Since they live in the rural areas with large pieces of land, Zaka district's teachers are able to use these assets for activities such as farming. It can therefore be concluded that ownership of assets is important in sustaining the lives of teachers living in the rural areas. For example, Isabel explains this by noting that,

“We have cattle that we use for farming. They help us farm maize and we don't pay rent. This is our house because my husband is from this village so I do not require accommodation at school. We have sheep and goats as well and these are our source of food” (Isabel, 10 January 2020).

As explained in Chapter 3, livelihood assets also overlap; this implies that one asset can be used to acquire another or two assets can be used concurrently to produce a desired outcome. For example, Kudzanai explains that, “Due to my meagre monthly salary, my family and I engage in income generating projects such as poultry, piggery and shop keeping as well as livestock rearing. We own a family shop” (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020). This is an example of how physical and natural assets are able to produce financial assets. These findings are mirrored by Mutsagondo (2015) who explains that people sell livestock to supply meat to surrounding communities. The livestock is also often used as a source of food; Isabel notes, “We have chickens so we sometimes eat those” (Isabel, 10 January 2020). On the other hand, Lizzie explains that her livestock is sold for profits. When asked about her survival means, she states that,

“I only have the poultry project which helps me to have foreign currency. I buy them and sell them at 5US\$ each so it helps me to sustain and living in this economic hardship Instead of buying relish, I just kill a cow and get meat” (Lizzie, 22 December 2019).

The income gained from activities such as poultry projects can be used to cover other household expenses. Nelson notes that,

“My monthly income is not sufficient at all because I do other activities that supplement the salary; the salary itself cannot cater for all the needs that I want per month. You have to do other activities, like right now I can say I had some savings long back, those help me to cover some expenses. We had a poultry project at our school home, which gave us some profits so those monies are the ones I use to supplement the insufficient salaries and cover expenses like our children’s fees. I also do a little of farming and poultry projects” (Nelson, 7 January 2020).

Teachers in the rural areas are able to save for these income-generating activities because as mentioned in section 5.4.4, they do not have expenses such as accommodation. This allows them to channel this money towards various projects. Tapiwa mentions,

“I have pointed out that we don’t pay any rent so that can allow one to work on certain income-generating projects if the economy is stable. I was also ehh, around 2016 2017, when things were a bit better economically, I had a broiler rearing project where I would raise batches of 50 broilers and sell them to the community to supplement my income” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019).

Tapiwa’s response shows the importance of owning assets that generate income during an economic crisis. Concerning other assets, the responses from the interviews revealed that no teachers except one, own any houses. Tina notes that she has not been able to finish building a house because of the economic hardships in Zimbabwe. She says,

“The only asset I have is my stand or land where I have started building my house but I am still on the foundation level. It’s very difficult for me to continue now because of this economic meltdown so that’s the only thing that has my name on it. It doesn’t play any role in sustaining my livelihood” (Tina, 1 December 2020).

Similarly, Nelson explains that his assets do not benefit him in any way. He notes that, “I can say I have a car and an unfinished stand. They require my monies. In other words, they don’t play any significant role. Maybe if it was a complete house, I would say I would get something but the house is not complete” (Nelson, 7 January 2020). In a different interview, Tapiwa’s response also reveal that his assets do not contribute to his livelihood in any way. He mentions,

“On the assets which I have, I think I have said I have a vehicle which is currently down because of shortage and the high prices of fuel; I am also struggling to service that vehicle. It’s grounded. It doesn’t have tyres and so forth. I also have an unfinished house under construction so basically I can say these are assets that I can talk about but I am deriving no benefits from them as of now” (Tapiwa, 12 December 2019).

Olga, who owns a house, mentions that it does not benefit much as her tenants are failing to pay the rentals. She elaborates, “The house should give me US\$15 (Approximately R250) per month but they haven’t paid since I charged. In the previous month, they were giving me 300RTGS\$ (R80 at the time)” (Olga, 2 January 2020). This reflects an unproductive economy with people who do not earn adequate salaries. Houses are not the only assets that people depend on for income and sustaining of livelihoods; people also use their cars to provide public transport.

The responses from the interview show that people often use their personal cars for the transportation of passengers to gain income. For instance, Cynthia notes, “I use my car for transporting people to get money” (Cynthia, 21 June 2020). Rufaro explains that she also used her car for transport services but this is no longer the case. She points out, “I lost my car in an accident so I do not get any benefits from it anymore” (Rufaro, 3 January 2020). Takura also explains that his vehicle does not give him any income because “It is currently dormant and I have no money to fix it so it has no role” (Takura, 1 June 2020).

The theme above mirrors the literature in Chapter 3 in that the importance of all livelihood assets is revealed in the responses provided by participants. Assets such as land, livestock and cars also generate income for the teachers in the Zaka district. This reflects Murungweni et al’s (2014) notions that all assets play an important role as they often overlap. These assets do not only generate income for them but also allow them to save money and channel it towards other expenses such as children’s

fees. Ndhlovu's (2018) study mirrors with these findings as he explains that rural households often sell their assets in order to obtain money for education. This also mirrors Ncube, Mangwaya and Ogundeji (2018) who indicate that this is a common practice in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. However, it is also clear that some people's assets do not assist them in developing their livelihoods as they have become dormant due to the economic crisis. The economic crisis has also made it difficult for these teachers to afford assets such as houses since their salaries are very low.

5.6.7 Farming

The Zaka district communities are heavily dependent on subsistence farming (Tafireyi, Mkaye and Mapetere, 2019). Teachers in the district indicated that they also relied on farming for survival since their salaries are very low. Tapiwa explains,

"We are trying everything to make ends meet by supplementing this income through farming, partaking in for instance I am part of garden cooperative where I also have my piece there where we grow vegetables, beans, onions, tomatoes, etc. I also do subsistence farming and chicken rearing so basically that helps me to have some basics that I cannot be able to procure because of the little income that we get" (Tapiwa, 12 January 2020).

In addition, farming can be regarded as an income generating activity. Cynthia notes, "I depend on farming for food and also sell some of my produce for income" (Cynthia, 21 June 2020). Similarly, Jestina practices in farming in order to earn income. She states that, "Living conditions in rural areas are better than in urban areas. I do farming to obtain extra money and I also do poultry farming to make ends meet" (Jestina, 12 July 2020). Farming in the rural areas is enabled by the availability of large pieces of land. Precious explains that, "There is also a lot of land in the rural areas so they can also give you "a piece of land" to farm on" (Precious, 7 December 2019). Isabel notes that through farming, she is able to sell a variety of products. She explains,

"As I said, we have a garden. We sell farm produce such as tomatoes and maize and we also sell chickens. We have our own cattle that we use for farming. I use my salary to buy the seeds *ndakangoshingirira pamari shoma iyoyo* (I just sacrifice the little income I get)" (Isabel, 10 January 2020).

Farming is enabled by the large tracks of land in the rural areas. Teachers in the Zaka district farm crops such as maize and they domesticate animals. This implies that they

do not have to spend a lot of money on food such as vegetables as they have gardens and fields. They can also sell the surplus farm produce. Social groups discussed in section 5.6.5 also make farming more convenient since resources can be shared. This theme is consistent with Baiphethi and Jacobs (2015) who mention that subsistence farming is a survival strategy in the rural areas of Zimbabwe; this also makes life more bearable in the rural areas than towns. Even though the Zaka district's teachers have found ways to rise above the challenges they are facing, they also suggested that the government implements strategies that improve their well-being.

5.7 Proposed solutions

The Zaka district's teachers did not only highlight the challenges they were facing in the teaching profession; they also proposed various solutions to the issues they faced on a daily basis. Trymore posits,

“As a parting note, I think I want to be very emphatic to conclude and say that there is a need to seriously address the issues of teacher welfare for quality service provision in our schools as currently the motivation is at its lowest ebb that does not make a good situation for children's learning” (Trymore, 7 December 2019).

It is noteworthy that many teachers mentioned that the challenges they were facing resulted from a failed economy; therefore economic solutions were needed. Thabo explains that,

“The problems we are facing are symptoms of an economy that has failed. Most of these problems that we are facing as teachers are not independent problems but problems that emanate from the economy so once we start facing the economy and engage with the government and the government listens to us, these problems will be solved. As a union, we cannot provide infrastructure in the schools; we don't have that kind of money so we need to face the economy before we get anywhere” (Thabo, 3 December 2019).

Having identified that the challenges faced by teachers are caused by the economic crisis in Zimbabwe, teachers in the Zaka district stated that the economy needed to be revived through dollarisation.

5.7.1 Dollarising the economy

Based on the responses provided in the interviews, it is clear that Zimbabwe's financial systems are unstable. This is caused by high inflation rates triggered by the re-introduction of a Zimbabwean currency (Kuyedzwa (2019). Rufaro suggests that in order to solve the financial challenges in the country, "The Zimbabwean dollar should be scrapped out and this way, the economy will be revived because the problem is the economy" (Rufaro, 3 January 2020). Isabel also expresses dissatisfaction with the current Zimbabwean currency by suggesting, "The government should get rid of this bond, we don't want this RTGS anymore and increase our salaries" (Isabel, 10 January 2020). Olga suggests that after discontinuing the use of the RTGS\$, "The government should dollarize the economy" (Olga, 2 January 2020). To elaborate on Olga's stance, Precious explains that "Transport is being charges in us dollars" (Precious, 7 December 2019). To show that teachers are in support of dollarising the economy, Nelson mentions that his needs could be met if he is remunerated in the US\$ currency; he notes that he "...would need a minimum of 400US\$ per month (Approximately R7000)" (Nelson, 7 January 2020) in order to cover all his monthly needs. This therefore serves as a rationale for dollarization.

5.7.2 Remunerating teachers in foreign currency

Responses from the interviews show that dollarising the economy would enable the government to remunerate teachers in foreign currency, specifically the US\$. Paying teachers' salaries in stable currency will reduce inflation; this implies that their salaries will not continue to be eroded. Lizzie posits, "We have raised our concerns with the organisations which represent us and the government increased our salaries but our main concern is that they should increase in forex because the RTGS loses value every hour" (Lizzie, 22 December 2019). It is important to note that this strategy was adopted by the Zimbabwean government in 2008 until 2018 and this improved the teachers' livelihoods (Chagonda, 2012). However, after the government started remunerating them in the RTGS currency, their salaries decreased. Brenda explains,

"The government should give teachers a better salary maybe so that they can make a better living. From 520 US\$ in 2018 to 30US\$ now, actually it's even less because if you have got some accounts what what what you will surely go home with 10US\$" (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

Many teachers in the Zaka district are in support of being remunerated in the US\$ currency. For example, Trymore suggests, “The solution lies in remunerating teachers in a stable currency like the US dollar and that would enable them to consume and also save a little to start income generating projects to supplement their earnings” (Trymore, 7 December 2019). Similarly, Kudzanai also states that, “Offering US\$ or Rand salary or any stable currency salary would solve teachers’ challenges” (Kudzanai, 19 June 2020). It is also difficult for teachers to budget their finances as prices continue to hike. Rufaro says, “Unfortunately, it is very difficult to calculate how much I would need on a monthly basis because prices change every day. Maybe 500US\$” (Rufaro, 3 January 2020). Mentioning a US\$ amount could be interpreted as showing dissatisfaction and lack of confidence in the RTGS\$ currency. These solutions also reflect the findings by Chagonda (2012) that paying teachers in foreign currency improved their welfare and confidence in the 2008 economic crisis.

5.7.3 Increasing salaries

Other teachers expressed that even though the US\$ would be ideal for remuneration purposes, they would not have a problem with being compensated in the RTGS\$ as long as it is sufficient to cover all their needs. Jestina states that, “The only solution to the challenges faced by teachers is that they should get better salaries” (Jestina, 12 July 2020). This could include “...giving rural teachers hardship and transport allowances based on real time value for money” (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020). Without mentioning the US\$, Takura also adds “Government should find any suitable way to revive the teachers’ salaries” (Takura, 1 June 2020). Similarly, Precious mentions that the RTGS\$ salaries paid to teachers should be enough to sustain their livelihoods. She notes,

“I think the government should reduce prices in shops. They can pay us in RTGS as long as it will be enough to buy what we want. They should also reduce school fees at universities and colleges so that the salaries can cover our children’s fees and also allow us to further our studies” (Precious, 7 December 2019).

Tina also expresses that she did not mind being given the RTGS\$ salary as long as it is sufficient. She elaborates,

“Well, I think the government should try to maintain and uphold teachers’ standards through giving us money which is sufficient because not everyone can hustle and not everyone wants to be a hustler so I am saying they must give us money which is sufficient then if one does want to do something, they can do it. I would need something like 500US\$ (approximately R8000); if we are to convert that money, with the current rate let’s say 1000RTGSX500. If they give me that amount, maybe I will be able to sustain the lifestyle that I want because at the same time, I have to save and invest. However, if I am getting something like 30US, it will only be sufficient for food but if I am to get something equivalent to 500US\$, will be able to buy my food and also save and also invest at the same time” (Tina, 1 December 2019).

A specific response from Lizzie shows that some teachers are not demanding a lot of money from the government. She states that “My family needs roughly RTGS \$12 000 (Approximately R1800)” (Lizzie, 22 December 2019). R1800 is below South Africa’s minimum wage (Hasham, 2018) and this reflects an economy that is not performing well.

As mentioned by Chireshe (2011), the teachers’ dignity has been eroded because of the low salaries they are receiving. Their plight is not addressed and as a result, they do not put maximum effort in their work; therefore, increasing their salaries would restore their confidence. Rufaro posits that, “The government should just come in and listen to the plea of teachers and do something about it, raise our salaries, give us incentives of whatever form that would help us and help us restore the dignity of the teacher” (Rufaro, 3 January 2020). This will also improve their performance in the workplace. Nelson explains this by noting, “I think the government should remunerate teachers so that they can sustain their lives so that they can concentrate on their work” (Nelson, 7 January 2020). Nelson’s view are similar to Trymore, the school principal who explained that he is working with demotivated teachers who produce poor results. This is consistent with Dike’s (2009) findings that poor salaries often lead to poor results in schools.

5.7.4 Building infrastructure and providing adequate services/ resources

All teachers in the Zaka rural district showed dissatisfaction with the unavailability of infrastructure, services and resources in the rural areas; this shortage has made

teaching and learning challenging in schools. Since there is no electricity in most Zaka district schools, implementing the new curriculum which includes subjects such as ICT, has been difficult. Brenda notes that,

“In the case if this new curriculum thing, I think the government should electrify all rural schools so that all the kids get equally what the other kids in towns are getting because it’s a big disadvantage because if you take a rural child juxtapose with that one from the urban school they are totally totally totally different. They should electrify the rural schools so that all the learners can have access to these computers which is in line with this new curriculum” (Brenda, 16 July 2020).

The lack of electricity in the Zaka district has widened the gap between the quality of education in the rural areas and in towns. Tinotenda suggests that, “Rural school electrification should be expedited to reduce gaps between town and rural. Solar panels can be used to electrify schools” (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020). Similarly, Precious explains that “If the government can’t provide electricity, they should at least provide generators” (Precious, 7 December 2020). This is important in the teaching of technology subjects that require electricity. It is also important to note that even if the government provides electricity in schools, learning will continue to be a challenge without technological resources such as computers. Nelson mentions, “I would like to say that maybe if resources could be pulled together and if technology would be availed to the rural areas, it would help those teachers in the rural areas” (Nelson, 7 January 2020). As a way to curb the technological gap and improve the learning experience as well as saving costs, Precious also suggests that,

“The government could build computer labs and provide computers to rural schools so that children can go to the lab for the practical. When it comes to agriculture, they should make sure that there is water close by and also fence the garden. That will be better, they should also provide the first aid kit to avoid the burden of transporting the child to a hospital when he or she gets hurt” (Precious, 7 December 2019).

To solve the issue of water raised by Precious, Tinotenda suggests, “Sinking boreholes for easy access to water for teachers and students doing gardening. Solar panels can also be used for tapping underground water” (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020). This will make the teaching of practical subjects such as Agriculture, less difficult.

Another solution proposed by Lizzie, involves having a budget for rural schools such as those in the Zaka districts. She adds that,

“The government should give teachers rural allowance because many schools in rural areas do not have facilities, water or electricity. Only a few have electricity and piped water so our concern is that the government should have a budget for the rural schools for the development of the schools and also that there should be access to internet.” (Lizzie, 22 December 2019).

The shortage of infrastructure such as classrooms also makes teaching a challenge in the Zaka district. Cynthia posits that “There are many students but because there is a shortage of classrooms, I have to teach large classes and this is very challenging because they are difficult to manage” (Cynthia, 21 June 2020). The researcher noted that in one of the classes, there were about 60 students and some were sitting on the floor because of a shortage of desks and chairs. Tinotenda suggests that the government should assist in building the infrastructure so as to improve learning. He states that “Providing government grants to build or develop required school infrastructure would make a significant difference. There should also be provision of adequate age appropriate furniture and textbooks by government” (Tinotenda, 22 July 2020). This theme shows that there is an agreement that poor and inadequate infrastructure is a disadvantage to learners and teachers; this is because teachers cannot fully carry out their tasks, and students are not able to engage in practical subjects. The lack of infrastructure such as computer labs in the rural schools also implies that the quality of education offered in urban areas is better than the standard of education in the rural areas.

5.8 Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter show that hurdles that take a toll on their well-being and livelihoods at large often confront Zimbabwe’s rural educators. These challenges result from the economic turmoil that Zimbabwe is currently going through. However, instead of leaving their professions, these teachers rise above these challenges and adopt different strategies that improve their livelihoods and standards of living in the face of the country’s economic crisis. Through engaging unions and other organisations, teachers in the Zaka district have demonstrated agency in overcoming the hurdles they encounter in their daily lives. It is also noteworthy that the

rural areas also offer opportunities for teachers to engage in various livelihood strategies that those in urban areas cannot practice. The solutions suggested by the Zaka district's teachers, which are mostly governed by economic issues, are a call for change and show that there is a need to improve the well-being of teachers as well as the standards of education in rural schools. The subsequent chapter concludes this study and offers recommendations on how to conduct further research.



CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This study aimed at exploring the experiences encountered by teachers living in the rural Zaka district of Zimbabwe. Furthermore, it sought to highlight the survival strategies that the teachers in question employ as a way of sustaining their livelihoods during Zimbabwe's economic crisis. Studies show that teachers living in the peripheries face numerous obstacles as they navigate their day-to-day lives (Mutsagondo, 2015; Hanke, 2008; Mazzeo, 2011). Their livelihoods are characterised by low salaries, violence and poor living conditions. Evidence used in this study was gathered through case studies with teachers from four schools in the Zaka district and the general consensus was that the teachers' standards of living have dropped as a result of the afore-mentioned challenges. Further interviews were conducted with representatives from teachers' unions and three school principals. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and Resilience Theory were adopted to guide the study and in analysing the data gathered in the study. This chapter will summarise the research findings in relation to research questions and objectives; recommendations will also be provided. Additionally, the study's limitations will be pointed out and suggestions for further research will be highlighted.

6.2 Summary of findings, recommendations and implications

Based on the research findings presented in Chapter 5, it can be noted that teachers in the Zaka district encounter challenges that result from the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. The findings also show that teachers in this area are exposed to experiences that result from underdevelopment of the peripheries. This study argues that there needs to be significant improvements in the livelihoods of rural teachers and the communities they live in. The recommendations provided in this study are derived from responses from the interviews conducted with participants and they are centred on societal, practical and policy implications.

The findings show that there is a common understanding between teachers that every individual has a right to basic needs such as food, health and education (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; Zimbabwe's Constitution, 2013). However, based on the teachers' responses, it is clear that the majority of these educators cannot afford to pay their own or their children's school fees. Further, they struggle with affording

food and covering health costs. It is therefore clear that their rights have been violated. This results from the Zimbabwean government's failure to pay these teachers adequate salaries due to the recent economic crisis mostly caused by the cash shortages in the country. Southall (2017) explains that these cash shortages are a result of the country's corrupt government officials that participate in money laundering. The solution to teachers' low salaries lies in remunerating teachers' salaries that are sufficient to sustain their livelihoods. However, this calls for solutions that deal with the country's financial system. It is clear that re-introducing the Zimbabwean dollar has worsened the conditions in the country; the government should therefore consider adopting the US\$ or any stable currency officially as this had worked in Zimbabwe's 2008 crisis. Additionally, to deal with corrupt officials, policymakers should implement laws that are very strict and punish officials who are found on the wrong side of the law to curb issues such as money laundering.

The results in Chapter 5 also reflect frustration in the teachers' workplaces. This is caused by the lack of resources in these rural schools. Due to the lack of teaching and learning resources, teachers cannot carry out their duties effectively and this continues to affect Zimbabwe's education system in a negative manner. Moreover, teachers live in fear because of issues such as political intimidation and violence in the workplace. This erodes democracy and even when teachers face challenges, they are afraid to speak out. This is confirmed by Ranga (2015) who notes that political violence is a very common phenomenon in rural schools of Zimbabwe. The government should channel more funds into developing rural schools so that resources such as labs and textbooks are available; this will also improve the standards of education in rural areas. To promote democracy and reduce violence towards teachers, the international community and organisations such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) should intervene and hold the Zimbabwean government accountable; this will promote the rights of teachers and Zimbabwean citizens at large.

All respondents indicated that services in the Zaka district of Zimbabwe are not adequate. Teachers noted that they live in dilapidated houses; in many cases, these houses do not have running water and electricity. Additionally, it is difficult to get access to transport services, as there are poor roads. Teachers often have to walk for very long distances to get access to public transport. Moreover, as a result of the economic crisis, teachers in the rural areas are exposed to poor health facilities; due

to their low salaries, they cannot afford proper healthcare (Ncube, Mangwaya and Ogundeji, 2018). Interviewees also explained that it is difficult to acquire some goods because the local shops only sell a few goods or they are very expensive. To solve the afore-mentioned issues, the government should construct better roads so that transport companies can operate in these areas. Local authorities such as councils or traditional leaders can also assist local communities by building facilities such as boreholes so that people do not struggle to get access to water. To improve learning and teachers' services, the government should install electricity in the rural areas. The government should also ensure that the hospitals and clinics in the rural areas have enough medicine and other medical resources.

The Zaka district's teachers have demonstrated various coping strategies in response to Zimbabwe's economic crisis. Through this, they have practiced agency over their own lives (van Breda, 2018). Instead of abandoning their professions, these rural teachers have risen above difficulties and found ways to sustain their families. The findings also show that those willing to leave their jobs are not able to do so because of passion, lack of opportunities and job security; instead, they live within their means and adopt various ways of practicing agency and providing for their families. For example, by engaging unions, they have managed to voice out their grievances to the government. Financial, physical, social, natural and human assets that teachers in question have access to, play a significant role in improving their livelihoods. They are also able to make use of these assets because of opportunities such as large tracks of land in rural areas. Agencies or donors that help teachers in the rural areas should understand local coping strategies so that their assistance enhances teachers' existing strategies and makes their lives more sustainable.

Even though teachers in the Zaka district have employed strategies to sustain their livelihoods, this study argues that there is urgent need for the government of Zimbabwe to address the grievances of teachers; this will improve teachers' welfare and also avoid demotivation due to poor remuneration. The interviewees suggested that the government dollarises the economy and remunerates teachers in a stable currency. All teachers were also of the view that increasing salaries would improve their standards of living. To create environments that are conducive for learning and teaching, the teachers emphasized that the infrastructure in schools needs to be

improved. The government should therefore consider these recommendations. All objectives were fulfilled and research questions answered.

6.3 Contribution to existing body of literature

This study is important in understanding how teachers and other citizens of Zimbabwe living in the rural areas navigate their day-to-day lives and manage to sustain their livelihoods. Even though teachers' welfare has been one of the topics that researchers in Zimbabwe focus on, teachers and most rural contexts remain unexplored. For academics, this study improves understanding on how rural livelihoods promote agency in their own lives. It also proves that people living in the rural areas are not just passive but active agents in improving their lives. This study also highlights that there is a need to revise or implement policies in Zimbabwe in order to revive the economy and advance the lives of citizens; therefore, this document can be of significant contribution to policy makers. By gathering and presenting primary data, this study also raises awareness on the challenges that teachers in the peripheries often face and offers recommendations on how the working conditions of teachers can be improved by the government or local authorities. The study is also of great contribution to various rural societies; other different rural communities can also adopt some of survival strategies applied by teachers in the Zaka district.

6.4 Limitations and suggestions for further research

This study was conducted successfully and literature gaps were filled; however, the researcher acknowledges that it had some limitations. Due to time constraints and limited resources, the study mainly focuses on one district; therefore, a study that involves interviewing and observing teachers from other rural districts over a long period is suggested. Further research on this topic could also include the views of government officials. Their position regarding the welfare of teachers is inherent to reducing bias; additionally, it could have broadened the scope of this study. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, other interviews had to be conducted individually and telephonically. Other researchers could make use of focus group interviews so that the teachers can share different views and the researcher can collect a considerable amount of data that is rich. In spite of the study's limitations, this study is important in

understanding the experiences of rural teachers and stresses that they display coping strategies that significantly contribute to the sustenance of their livelihoods.

6.5 Conclusion

Literature shows that research in survival strategies has become increasingly prevalent, especially in communities going through economic crises. This study argues that civil servants such as teachers are greatly affected during times of economic turmoil; therefore, they adopt various survival mechanisms. Moreover, it is clear that some solutions that the government has adopted, have not made teacher's livelihoods better; to improve the living and working conditions of teachers such as those living in the Zaka district, the government should consider these teachers' grievances and implement solutions that will improve the education sector and contribute to a sustainable economy.



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8. APPENDICES

Appendix A: Participant information sheet and Consent form (Copies)

Information Sheet

Formal informed consent form for _____ who is a teacher, principal or teachers' union representative.

Name of researcher: Sobongile Mukono Moyo

Name of supervisor: Mrs Hilda Bbenkele

Name of institution: University of Johannesburg

Introduction

My name is Sobongile Mukono Moyo and I am a Development Studies Master's student at the University of Johannesburg. I am conducting a research study that investigates the experiences and survival strategies of Zimbabwe's primary and secondary school teachers in the rural Zaka district area during the current economic crisis (2016-2020). Consequently, I kindly ask for your participation as it will be of great contribution to this under-researched field of study. Your participation is voluntary; you may withdraw from the interview at any stage and you will not face any consequences.

The information that you provide will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will be used exclusively for academic purposes. Your signing and the subsequent forwarding of the consent form back to me, will be interpreted as your willingness to participate in this study.

1. Invitation

You are being invited to take part in this study. It is important that before you do so, you understand what the research is about. Please take time to read this and decide if you would like to participate in the study. Should you have questions, please feel free to ask and I will clarify.

2. Research title

Experiences and survival strategies of rural teachers during Zimbabwe's current economic crisis (2016-2020): A case study of the Zaka District's primary and secondary school teachers.

3. The research purpose

This research's purpose is to understand the experiences of teachers in the rural areas and the survival strategies they have employed in order to sustain their livelihoods.

4. Confidentiality

I declare that all information shared in this study will not be shared with anyone apart from the University. You will not be identifiable in any reports or publications as pseudonyms will be used, instead of your actual names. This extends to any information you provide.

5. What will happen to you if you decide to participate?

You will participate in a 45-60 minutes telephonic/ face to face interview, to be held at a time and place of your preference/ convenience. The interview will be conducted in the language of your choice.

6. Information sharing

Once the research has been submitted to the university, the research report will be shared with you.

7. Benefits of taking part

Participation is voluntary and there are no immediate benefits for taking part in the study as this is voluntary, but it is hoped that this information will be used in shedding light on the plight of Zimbabwe's teachers. The study will also contribute to the domain of knowledge in scientific inquiry regarding this matter.

Researcher's contact details:

Cell phone number: +27815685445

Email address: 201570247@student.uj.ac.za



Participant consent form



I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the research, as provided in the information sheet.	
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	
4.	I understand that I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. Use of names, pseudonyms, anonymization of data, etc.) to me.	
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	
7.	The use of data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	
8.	I understand that the university will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data as specified in this form.	
9.	I understand that the information I have provided as part of this study will be used in the research report	
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this consent form.	

Researcher's signature: _____

Date: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix B: Letter of permission from the headmen (Copy)



Letter of permission

Dear Sabhuku

My name is Sobongile Mukono Moyo; I am a Master's student at the University of Johannesburg who is conducting a research study entitled "Experiences and survival strategies of rural teachers during Zimbabwe's current economic crisis (2016-2020): A case study of the Zaka district's primary and secondary school teachers." Consequently, am I seeking permission to conduct interviews with teachers and principals in your village. These participants were selected because they possess valuable information that will greatly contribute to the completion of the study. The individual interviews will be conducted at venues that are convenient for the participants and each interview will last between thirty minutes and two hours.

Participation in the study is voluntary and there is no remuneration for taking part in the study. However, this study is important in informing solutions that will improve the learning experience of students and the livelihoods of teachers in The Zaka district. All the information gathered in this study will be used for academic purposes only. If permission has been granted to the researcher, please kindly sign the letter in the space below.

Thank you for your assistance

Sincerely,

Sobongile Mukono Moyo

I, Sabhuku _____ grant the above mentioned researcher permission to conduct research in this village

Headman's signature _____

Appendix C: Semi-structured interview guides

Demographic Information

To help us develop a picture of the background of our informed respondents, please answer the following questions:

1. Gender:

Male	
Female	

2. Age:

3. Marital status:

Married	
Single	
Other (Specify)	

4. In which monthly income category do you belong? (\$RTGS)

1) 0 to 500	
2) 501 to 1 000	
3) 1 001 to 5 000	
4) 5 001 to 10 000	
5) 10 001 to 20 000	
6) 20 001 to 40 000	

5. Level of education attained:

No formal education	
Grade 1-7	
Form 1	
Form 2	
Form 3	
Form 4	
Form 5	
Form 6	
College certificate	
College diploma	
College degree	
University diploma	
University degree	

6. Teaching qualification:

Certificate	
Diploma	
Degree	
Post-graduate diploma	
Masters	
PhD	

7. Type of school:

Primary	
Secondary	

8. Number of years as a teacher (Indicate the years):

9. Which district are you originally from?

10. Number of years in living in the Zaka district:

11. Number of people in the household:

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS

1. Teaching career

What attracted you to the teaching profession?

What subject(s) do you teach?

What are the benefits of being a teacher in Zimbabwe?

What challenges have you faced as a Zimbabwean teacher?

What challenges have you faced as a teacher who is based in the rural areas?

Have you ever considered/ would you ever consider leaving the teaching profession? Please explain.

If you had the opportunity, would you transfer to a school in the urban areas? Why or why not? Please explain.

2. Income and expenditure

What do you spend most of your monthly income on?

How much do you spend on food, children's education, transport, etc.?

Is your monthly income sufficient for your household's needs? Why or why not?

Approximately, how much money do you need to sustain all your monthly needs?

If the money you need is more than what you get, how do you manage/cope with less money?

3. Livelihood experiences

Are there any differences between the income you received/ spending patterns before the economic crisis that started in 2016 and after the 2016 economic crisis began? (Probes: have you cut down/ increased expenditure on anything?)

Have you been affected by the cash shortages? How? Please explain.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of teaching in a rural area?

How is the general experience of teaching in the rural areas? Please explain.

Do you feel that the services in the rural areas are adequate for your livelihoods? Please explain. (Probes: banking, transport, roads, housing, water, electricity, shops/supermarkets)

Do you have enough resources for teaching? Please elaborate

How are the living conditions in the rural areas?

Besides your salary, do you have any other means of obtaining income? (Probes: partner, rentals, remittances, informal businesses or farming)

Do you receive any form of support from anyone in the urban areas/ anywhere in the country? What kind of support? How important is this support in sustaining your livelihood?

Do you own any assets? What role do they play in sustaining your livelihood?

4. Community engagement/social groups

Do you belong to any community/social group (e.g. church, cooperatives, stokvels/credit unions/saving schemes)

What role do these groups play in your life?

Are there any benefits of belonging to such a group?

Do you receive any form of support from the group(s)?

5. Suggestions/ solutions

What do you suggest as solutions to challenges faced by teachers in the rural areas or Zimbabwe as a whole?

Have you raised your concerns with anyone/ any organisation? What was the response? Please explain (Probe: political violence).

Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS' UNIONS REPRESENTATIVES

What position do you hold in the union?

How many years have you held this position/ have you been a part of this union?

What inspired you to join this union?

What challenges are faced by teachers in Zimbabwe?

What challenges are faced by teachers teaching in the rural areas of Zimbabwe?

Have teachers raised any issues with regards to the teaching profession? (Probe: protests in 2016)

Do you think teachers are earning enough income to sustain their households? Please elaborate?

Has the crisis that started in 2016 affected teachers in any way? (Probe: Cash shortages)

How are the living conditions for those teaching in the rural areas? (Probe: housing)

Do you think that teachers in the rural areas are provided with enough support/resources/services to make the teaching experience/ livelihoods convenient?

As a union, what kind of support do you provide to teachers?

What measures has the union taken to raise awareness regarding the challenges faced by Zimbabwe's rural teachers/ teachers in general? (If there are any). What was the response? (Probe: engage the government).

What do you think should be done to address the challenges faced by teachers in Zimbabwe, and specifically in the rural areas?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

1. Career

What attracted you to the teaching profession?

As a principal, do you teach any subjects? Please explain.

What are the benefits of being a teacher in Zimbabwe?

What are the benefits of teaching in the rural areas?

Are Zimbabwean teachers facing any challenges?

What challenges are faced by teachers who are based in the rural areas?

Have any teachers from your school resigned between 2016-2020? Please explain.

2. Income and expenditure

Are teachers generally satisfied with their monthly income? Have teachers in your school raised any issues regarding their salaries?

Do you think that the teachers' monthly income is sufficient for their needs? Why or why not?

3. Livelihood experiences

Are there any differences between the incomes that teachers received/ spending patterns before the economic crisis that started in 2016 and after the 2016 economic crisis began? (Probes: have you cut down/ increased expenditure on anything?)

Have you been affected by the cash shortages? How? Please explain.

How is the general experience of teaching in the rural areas? Please explain. (Applicable if the principal also teaches)

Do you feel that the services in the rural areas are adequate for your/ teachers' livelihoods? Please explain. (Probes: banking, transport, roads, housing, water, electricity)

How are the living conditions in the rural areas?

Do teachers have enough resources for teaching? Please elaborate.

What are the coping strategies employed by teachers during the current economic crisis?

Do you offer your teachers any form of support (Probe: Student Development Committee)

4. Suggestions/ solutions

What do you suggest as solutions to challenges faced by teachers in the rural areas or Zimbabwe as a whole?

Have you raised any concerns from teachers (if any) with anyone/ any organisation? What was the response? Please explain.

Appendix D: Profiles of study participants

Teachers

Pseudonym	Primary/ Secondary school	Age	Gender	Number of years teaching in the Zaka district	Marital status	Number of people in the household
Brenda	Primary	32	Female	5	Single	4
Cynthia	Primary	42	Female	21	Married	9
Precious	Primary	27	Female	4	Single	5
Isabel	Primary	40	Female	10	Married	6
Takura	Secondary	42	Male	13	Married	7
Jestina	Primary	52	Female	29	Married	4
Tina	Secondary	32	Female	9	Single	3
Joshua	Secondary	57	Male	32	Married	4
Tapiwa	Secondary	43	Male	20	Married	5
Nelson	Secondary	41	Male	17	Married	4
Lizzie	Secondary	38	Female	12	Widowed	6
Rufaro	Secondary	42	Female	20	Married	6
Olga	Primary	36	Female	10	Married	6
Kudzanai	Primary	56	Male	17	Married	4

School principals

Pseudonym	Primary/ Secondary school	Gender	Number of years as a principal in the Zaka district
Trymore	Secondary	Male	11
Tinotenda	Primary	Male	8
Rutendo	Primary	Female	10

Union representatives

Pseudonym	Gender	Number of years in the union
Tariro	Female	2
Hosea	Male	4
Thabo	Male	6

Appendix E: TurnItIn Report (Copy)

Moyo_MA Dissertation			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
10%	8%	3%	2%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	hdl.handle.net Internet Source		1%
2	www.tandfonline.com Internet Source		1%
3	repository.up.ac.za Internet Source		1%
4	uir.unisa.ac.za Internet Source		1%
5	repository.nwu.ac.za Internet Source		<1%
6	researchspace.ukzn.ac.za Internet Source		<1%
7	mafiadoc.com Internet Source		<1%
8	Submitted to University of Johannesburg Student Paper		<1%
9	moam.info Internet Source		<1%