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TEACHERS' COPING STRATEGIES IN FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES: A CASE STUDY OF THE 'CLASSROOM TUCKSHOP' PHENOMENON IN ZIMBABWEAN URBAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN NORTON

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Abstract

The study sought to investigate the prevalence of the 'classroom tuck shop' phenomenon in Zimbabwean urban primary schools. The sample consisted of five school heads, fifty teachers, and one hundred pupils, all drawn from five urban schools in Norton. Interviews were conducted with the five school heads and one hundred pupils. Questionnaires were administered to the teachers and focused group discussions were conducted with the school teachers and pupils. The study found out that the 'classroom tuck shop' phenomenon is prevalent in urban primary schools. A large number of teachers felt that this phenomenon does not affect the teacher pupil relationship though the majority of pupils were of the opinion that teachers should not sell items in their classrooms. All the school heads felt that this practice negatively affects the quality of instruction. It was also found out that teachers have resorted to this practice as a result of the unfavourable macro economic environment, which has witnessed a decline in the status of the teacher. The study recommends that teachers should not sell items in their classroom. The concerned Ministry should seriously consider reviewing teachers' salaries and schools should be allowed to engage in income generating projects to cushion teachers from the effects of the harsh inflationary macro economic environment.

1.0 Introduction

The plight of the teaching fraternity in Zimbabwe today at both the primary and secondary school levels leaves a lot to be desired. This situation mirrors the plight of the teacher elsewhere in the world in general and other parts of Africa in particular. Over the years teachers in Zimbabwe have raised concern over the levels of their remuneration which in the majority of cases has been pegged below the Poverty Datum Line (P.D.L.) Generally, in developing countries teachers' salaries are insufficient to provide a reasonable standard of living (World Bank, 1988:15; UNESCO, 2004:163), so that teachers' real average salaries have been on the decline. In Zimbabwe real average primary teachers' salaries declined by about 37% between 1980 and 1985 (Zymelmann and DeStefano, 1993:128). The erosion of salaries in Africa has left teachers in many countries with official salaries that represent half the national income poverty line (Watkins, 2000:117). The inadequacy of their remuneration has forced teachers to devise certain coping strategies in an attempt to make ends meet and keep body and soul together. This is because teachers are finding it equally difficult to build a sustainable life of their own (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 March, 2008). It is the contention of this paper that different coping strategies will continue to persist unless policy makers recognise that teachers are men and women with their own identities, experiences and priorities through which their professional and personal concerns and needs are constructed (Kirk and Dembele, 2007:2).

2.0 Conceptual Framework

This study is going to be informed by symbolic interactionism which is a micro sociological perspective that places emphasis on meanings that arise out of the interaction process (Giddens, 2004:17; Haralambos and Holborn, 2004:37; Marsh and Keating, 2006:66). Such meanings tend to influence subsequent interaction. Focus needs to be placed on the way pupils define a situation where others are able to buy the teacher's wares and others fail to do that. The teacher is a significant other who has an effect on the notion of the self (Kirby *et al.* 1997:38; Levin and Spates, 1990:99) and is in the best position to guide behaviour (Datta, 1984:73). Pupils desire the teacher's affection, and recognition. Therefore, buying from the classroom teacher may be construed by some pupils as one way of gaining the teacher's approval and recognition.

Labelling which leads to the self-fulfilling prophecy (Pfohl, 1985:243; Levin and Spates, 1990:283) is an issue that needs to be brought under the spot light. It can be argued that some of the pupils who buy from the teacher tend to be positively labeled, which boosts their self-esteem, while those who fail to buy may be negatively labelled. This situation sets in motion trends that may affect pupil's educational experiences.

Becker (1989:107) argues that those in service occupations conduct their business on the basis of the ideal client. The ideal client for teachers possesses certain characteristics that include social class. It is not a far fetched argument to suggest that the pupil who is the teacher's regular customer is part of the teacher's conception of the ideal client (pupil). Such developments may tend to have a negative impact on teacher-pupil interaction consequently affecting the quality of instruction that pupils receive.

3.0 Teacher Status in Zimbabwean Society Today

There are variations in teachers' salaries from country to country and throughout the world, teachers seem to face remuneration problems. A report by The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in the *Sunday Times* of October 7, 2007 reveals that in the developed world, teachers enjoy high status with earnings more than double the average income per head in Turkey and South Korea. This shows the importance that these countries attach to the teaching profession. On the other hand, in much of Africa, teachers' salaries have been on the decline with salaries lower in real terms by the year 2000 than in 1970 (UNESCO, 2004:164) and salaries have not gone up as rapidly as prices in general as reflected on the GDP deflator (World Bank, 1998:15)

The issue of low teachers' salaries is part of global trends as generally teachers tend to receive low salaries in comparison to jobs requiring similar academic qualifications and years of training both in the private and public sectors (Chivore, 1990:143). In Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Burundi real wages in manufacturing increased or remained the same between 1980 and 1985 while the real average primary teachers' salaries decreased (Zymelmann and DeStefano, 1993:128). While it is important to look at teacher remuneration elsewhere, in the Zimbabwean context there is need to observe that the position of the teacher has been exacerbated by the hyper inflationary environment that has been engendered by unfavourable macro economic fundamentals. This has seen a situation where some non professionals (for example hawkers, vendors,

black market traders), realize more money than teachers. This affects the teacher's status negatively. Teachers are generally negatively affected by low remuneration because their salary is their only limited income and they do not get other benefits and facilities like free education for children (Sidhu, 2000:144).

The teacher's status in Zimbabwe today is generally on the decline due to diminishing earnings and purchasing power. Datta (1984: 115) outlines some of the factors that determine the status of an occupation relative to other occupations as: the level of remuneration, general working conditions and the importance attached to it measured by the amount of money the state spends on it. These factors can be viewed as material factors. Teachers are generally affected by the low remuneration as their low income compared to other professionals prevents them from appearing prestigious. Therefore teachers' salaries and earning prospects relative to those in other comparable jobs can affect decisions by qualified individuals to enter or remain in the profession (UNESCO, 2004:163).

The low level of remuneration accorded to the teaching profession in Zimbabwe has seen teachers resorting to industrial action in an attempt to have their remuneration grievances addressed. Lack of reward has been cited as a factor related to teacher burnout in Zimbabwe (Chiwakata, 1991 cited in Mpfu, 1997:112). This has resulted in a situation where morale among teachers is generally low, eroded by the high inflationary environment (Government of Zimbabwe, 2004:24). Of late, there have been incidences where teachers have taken industrial action as much as twice in a single year with their salaries being adjusted more than once in that year. This is evident in the developments that took place in 2006 and have recurred in 2007 and 2008. Low salaries and reduced social status have all combined to lower level of teacher morale and in many cases diminishing quality of teaching (Watkins, 2000:111).

Low remuneration, then, leads to a negative perception of the teaching profession, which affects the teacher and quality of instruction. The Dakar Framework of Action seeks to promote quality education and salaries that are too low bring cost for quality (UNESCO, 2002:147; UNESCO, 2004:164; Edwards Cox, 1993:53). This is a cause for concern as the International Labour Organisation. The UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations Concerning Teaching Personnel in October 2006 recommended the need for better salaries and benefits (Kirk and Dembele, 2007:3). As a result of low remuneration, some teachers in Zimbabwe are now

forced to engage in income generating ventures such as selling sweets and snacks to their pupils (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 March, 2008). This practice is an act of misconduct in terms of Statutory Instrument Number 1 of 2000 (Public Service Commission, 2000:7). In some instances teachers have resorted to other income generating activities outside their classrooms. For example, a Shamva teacher has resorted to brush-cleaning pigs due for slaughter in return for a bag of maize per week. Another teacher in Bindura brews 'skokiaan' (a one day home made brew) for sale while other teachers operate phone shops as well as engaging in cross border trading (*The Zimbabwean* 1-7 May, 2008). Mehrotra and Buckland (1998:61) observed that in Sierra Leone, salaries may be too low to enable teachers to concentrate on their professional duties which may encourage absenteeism if teachers supplement their earnings from other sources. This is a result of a situation where those who have remained in the system are forced to supplement their incomes with a variety of extra curricular activities. Inevitably the resulting absenteeism damages children's education (Watkins, 2000:111). These activities are a symptom that as a result of low remuneration the status of the teacher has declined. While in the past the title 'teacher' was a term of considerable respect, today in contrast, primary school teachers are often a beleaguered and dispirited force, their status much eroded and their working conditions poor (World Bank, 1988:41). This has resulted in some instances where teachers become objects of ridicule, scorn and contempt and all this affects the teacher's status. In some instances bus and commuter omnibus touts have been heard remarking that '*Nhasi handitenge cascade ndototenga coke. Ndiri ticha chaiye*' (Today I cannot afford a cascade I do not have enough money, I am just a teacher) Such a scenario leads teachers to define their situation in a certain way and devise appropriate coping strategies.

4.0 Statement of the Problem

Low levels of teacher remuneration in a hyper inflationary macro environment in Zimbabwe has resulted in a situation where some teachers have resorted to operating 'classroom tuck shops' as a coping strategy. This practice tends to affect teacher-pupil interaction and may also affect the quality of instruction negatively.

5.0 Research Questions

This study sought to address the following research questions:

- (a) How prevalent is the 'classroom tuck shop' phenomenon in Zimbabwean urban primary schools?
- (b) In terms of gender, which teachers are mostly involved?
- (c) What sort of goods are mostly sold?
- (d) What is the position of the Ministry of Education Sports and Culture on this practice?
- (e) Does the classroom 'tuck shop' phenomenon affect teacher pupil interaction?
- (f) What is the status of the teaching profession in contemporary Zimbabwe today?

6.0 Research Methodology

The research design adopted for this study was the case study design which is a way of organizing data for the purpose of viewing social reality (Best and Khan, 1993:193). The case study approach is an in depth study of instances of a phenomenon, in its natural context and from the perspective of the participants involved in it. It enables the researcher to make thick descriptions (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996:194). In this case five urban schools in Norton (two low density, three high density) were selected for the purpose of the study.

7.0 Population and Sample

The population consisted of 5 heads of selected urban schools in Norton 139, teachers and 5896 pupils. From the population a sample consisting of 50 teachers (20 male and 30 female) and 100 pupils (50 boys and 50 girls) was selected. The sample was selected using stratified and systematic random sampling techniques. The heads of the five urban schools were part of the sample.

8.0 Data Collection Instruments

Data for the study were collected through the descriptive survey method. The survey gathers data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions (Cohen and Manion, 1987:67). Data gathering instruments consisted of questionnaires, interviews and focused group discussions. The questionnaires consisted of questions that required the

respondents to give reasons for their responses, thus, emphasizing the qualitative research paradigm. Fifty questionnaires were administered to teachers at their respective schools, interviews were conducted with the five school heads and one hundred pupils. Focused group discussions were conducted with teachers and pupils.

9.0 Data Presentation

The study generated quantitative and qualitative data. Data obtained through interviews, questionnaires and focused group discussions were presented in a narrative form as descriptive data with verbatim statements following the order of the research questions. Much of qualitative data comprise people and the words they say (Patton, 1990:19).

10.0 Findings: School Heads Interviews, Teacher Questionnaires, Pupils' Interviews and Teacher and Pupil Focused Group Discussions.

10.1 Prevalence of the 'Classroom Tuck Shop' Phenomenon

The study found out that the 'classroom tuck shop phenomenon' is prevalent in urban primary schools. Four of the school heads stated that this phenomenon is prevalent in their schools. This is supported by the following information obtained from the interview of school heads which said that:

- The majority of teachers run these 'tuck shops'.
- It is prevalent in the school though teachers do not come out in the open.

This was also supported by information obtained from teacher questionnaires where eighty percent of the teachers stated that this phenomenon is prevalent in their schools due to a variety of reasons. Some of their responses included:

- They are supplementing their salaries which everyone knows to be below the poverty datum line.
- To try and make ends meet.
- Because teachers are underpaid so it is better to sell sweets and get bus fare than to lie and go on sick leave.

This was also further supported by information obtained from the interview of pupils where sixty seven percent of the pupils said that this phenomenon is prevalent in their schools for a variety of reasons which include:

- It is because of their salaries.
- To get money to sustain themselves.
- Maybe he wants to provide food in his home and to have bus fare.

It can be argued that 'classroom tuck shops' are a result of inadequate salaries (World Bank, 1988:15, Watkins, 2000:111; UNESCO 2004:163). This also reinforces the view that teachers have their own priorities (Kirk and Dembele, 2007:3) which could be met by supplementing their income.

10.2 Involvement of Teachers in Running 'Classroom Tuckshops'

It was found out that there are some teachers who are currently running 'classroom tuck shops' in the urban schools and some who face limitations in their attempts do so. Fifty eight percent of the teachers stated that they sell items in their classrooms for a variety of reasons. Their responses included some of the following:

- To subsidise my transport and food.
- Inadequate funds.
- I sell so that I can afford to buy some tomatoes.

Twelve percent of the teachers stated that they were not currently involved in selling items in their classrooms though they were interested in selling. Some of their responses included the following:

- I do not have enough money to order the items.
- I would have liked to sell sweets but the School Development Committee (SD.C.) chairman threatened to remove us from the school if we were found selling anything.

This shows that there could be a big number of teachers involved in selling of items in the classrooms were it not for considerations of capital. In focused

group discussions teachers stated that there were large numbers of teachers involved in selling. This practice of operating 'classroom tuck shops takes a gender dimension. This is supported by information obtained from the interview of school heads which said that:

- The economic situation affects women who have to think about the family.
- Women tend to be patient.
- Most women are responsible mothers who always find means to help their children in all respects. They are the hardest hit by poverty.

Seventy six percent of the teachers who responded to questionnaires indicated the following responses:

- Because in schools females are far more than men hence the trend.
- Motherhood instinct.
- They are responsible for buying and cooking food for their children at home so they want to top up money so that they can buy basic food.

Focused group discussions with teachers also showed that it is women who are mostly involved. Some of their responses included the following:

- Women are mostly involved in the practice since they always ensure that the family is provided for.

The sale of items in the classrooms can then be seen as a situation forced upon teachers due to limited income (Sidhu, 2000:144; Watkins, 2000:110; Zymelmann and DeStefano, 1993:128).

10.3 'Business Hours' and Items Mostly Sold

The research found out that teachers sell a variety of items particularly those that children love to eat with the items being sold at different times. Information obtained from teacher questionnaires showed that the following items are mostly sold:

Sweets, buns, maputi, freezits, biscuits, roasted soya beans, chips, snacks, nuts, juice powder, Zapnax, peanuts, books, corncurls, bubble gums and jolly juices.

Information obtained from the interview of pupils added the following to the list:

Zapnax (the wrestlers brand), pictures to stick on books, plastic covers and chewing gums.

Focused group discussions with teachers revealed that:

- Teachers also sell stationery but this is not lucrative.

These items are sold at different times as shown by the following response from one school head:

- Some teachers sell their wares before they teach, at break time and during lunch time.

Seventy two percent of the interviewed pupils gave the following responses regarding time when teachers sell their wares:

- Before the lesson, at lunch and home time.
- They sell in the morning before teaching and at break time.

This was contradicted by information obtained from the pupils interviews where the responses of twenty eight percent of the pupils included:

- When writing a child can buy and eat.
- Some move round classes during lesson time. At times they send other children to sell their items.
- At times they do it secretly, since they do not want other teachers to know.

Although it appears that goods are not sold during the course of lessons, the tendency for some teachers to sell their items during the course of the lessons remains a possibility. This affects the teacher's concentration on his / her work (Mehrotra and Buckland, 1998:61).

10.4 Involvement of Pupils in the Sale of Items on Behalf of Teachers

What emerged from the study was that there are some teachers who ask pupils to sell items on their behalf. This is illustrated by some of the school heads responses which include the following:

- Teachers sometimes ask 'bigger' pupils to sell their wares especially at break time.
- This practice does not come into the open, but if you see a child selling an item it is on behalf of a teacher.
- This happens although at the school we do not have a problem as the blanket ban on selling extends to pupils.

In focused group discussions teachers expressed similar views. Some of their responses included the following:

- The practice is prevalent. Pupils feel happy about it but sometimes these pupils become dishonest and teachers cannot punish them since it is illegal to engage them in this practice.

Seventy percent of the pupils from focused group discussions also indicated that teachers send some pupils to sell their items as shown by the following responses:

- The teacher may say to the child, "The headmaster says no teacher must sell things".
- Teacher says to pupil "Sell these things for me, I do not want to be seen because I will be suspended."
- Some teachers send school children and sometimes they are lazy. They do not want to be discovered by the head.

Thirty percent of the teachers who responded to questionnaires said that teachers engaged some pupils to sell their items for some of the following reasons:

- They do this for higher sales.
- They may have different items they want to sell quickly at break.
- Some are shy to sell outside, while others are afraid of the administration.

This practice tends to affect the relationship between the pupil and the teacher as the teacher is a significant other (Kirby *et al.* 1997:38; Datta, 1984:73; Levin and Spatés, 1990:99). Selling on behalf of the teacher can also be construed by teachers as another characteristic of the ideal client/pupil (Becker, 1989:107).

10.5 Ministry Policy on the Practice

All the school heads stated that the Ministry does not allow this practice in classrooms. This was shown by some of their following responses:

- Statutory Instrument 1 of 2000 does not allow such practices.
- This is not acceptable. The Ministry does not allow it, and it is like robbing a child.
- The position of The Ministry is very clear as the Ministry states that it is a chargeable offence.

In terms of mechanisms to check on the practice, it was found that the Ministry tends to rely on the school head. Some of the school heads' responses on the issue included the following:

- The mechanism hinges on the head who in most cases understands his/her colleagues.
- The Ministry relies on the head. The latter finds it difficult to penalize those who run 'classroom tuck shops' because she understands their plight.
- The Ministry relies on the school head but it is unfortunate if the head is also involved in selling.

If the head empathises with his/her colleagues, or is also involved in the practice then this presents some problems on checking and monitoring the practice.

10.5.1 Teacher Awareness of Ministry Position on 'Classroom Tuck Shops'

The study found that that all the teachers are aware of the Ministry position on operating 'classroom tuck shops' as shown by some of their responses which included the following:

- Teachers are not allowed to sell.
- It is illegal to engage in vending in classrooms. It should be done 200 metres from the school gate.
- You can be charged as it is defined as an act of misconduct.

The question that arises then is why teachers continue to engage in the practice when they are fully aware of Ministry regulations on the practice. It can be concluded that the prevalence of the 'classroom tuck shop' phenomenon could be one way of coping with financial difficulties (Zymelmann and DeStefano, 1993:128; Government of Zimbabwe, 2004:24; Watkins, 2000:111).

10.6 'Classroom Tuck Shop' and Teacher -Pupil Interaction

10.6.1 'Classroom Tuck Shop' and Teacher -Pupil Relationship

Mixed feelings emerged on the issue of teacher-pupil relationship in operating 'classroom tuck shops' as sixty four percent of the teachers felt that the operation of 'classroom tuck shops' did not affect teacher pupil relationship. This is shown by the following teachers' responses:

- The two are separate entities.
- Teachers are professionals who treat all learners equally.
- Both parties have got used to the practice, so it is a normal thing.
- Pupils are customers who choose what to buy and what they do not want to buy.

During interviews, seventy four percent of the pupils expressed similar views as illustrated below:

- They treat all children equally even if you do not buy. They are not concerned.
- Not really, one could be buying but the teacher may not like the child.
- Pupils who buy are sometimes the last ones in class.

Contrary to the above views school heads gave some of the following responses:

- A distance is created between the teachers and the children who do not buy from them.
- The child is put under pressure with the slogan '*Tengera ticha wako*' (Buy from your teacher).
- The pupils cannot be treated in the same way. Some pupils are labelled.

Information from teachers' focused group discussions echoed the school heads views where some of the following responses were given:-

- Pupils without money may feel unwanted.
- Pupils might end up buying things they do not like just because their teacher is selling those things.
- Pupils get favours from teachers they buy from.

Whilst the majority of teachers may claim that all pupils get equal treatment, an element of bias and favouritism cannot be ruled out completely. This may lead to negative labeling particularly when some pupils fail to buy from the teacher. (Giddens, 2004:45; Haralambos and Holborn, 2004:28; Marsh and Keating, 2006: 66). Buying the teacher's goods can be seen as another characteristic of the ideal pupil! (Becker, 1989:107).

10.6.2 'Classroom Tuck Shops' and the Quality of Instruction

It was found out that pupils harboured mixed feelings on the issue pertaining to quality of instruction. Forty seven percent of the pupils stated that 'classroom tuck shops' have a negative effect on the quality of instruction as shown below:

- There is a problem, teachers are not paid a lot, so they think about other things.
- Some teachers leave children and move from class to class selling.
- Because when they are teaching the other teacher comes in selling, children forget what they are learning and think about sweets.
- They will think about selling and put less effort on teaching.

School heads were of a similar opinion as shown by the following responses:

- Time spent on advertising for example '*Ita work yako uchitsengerera*' (Do your work whilst you chew something) brings problems where eating and learning take place simultaneously.
- Suppose a teacher has some items for sale on the table, the children will not concentrate on learning as they are attracted to the teacher's wares.
- Teachers are haunted by poverty such that even during lessons they are engrossed in selling their goods to pupils.

Such a situation impacts negatively on the attention devoted to the core business of teaching (Mehrotra and Buckland, 1998:61). Salaries that are too low negatively affect the quality of education (World Bank, 1988:15; Edwards Cox, 1993:53; UNESCO, 2002:47; UNESCO, 2004:164; Zimbabwe Government, 2004:24).

10.7 Pupil Perceptions of the 'Classroom Tuck Shop' Phenomenon

Seventy six percent of the pupils felt that teachers should not sell items in class despite the fact that a larger number had felt that 'classroom tuck shops' do not negatively affect the teacher pupil relationship. Some of the responses obtained from the interview with pupils said that:

- Teachers are there to teach . They are not vendors.
- They should sell at break time when children are free. In classes children may not concentrate, because they will be enjoying eating the things.
- They disturb learning.

In support of the above views, eighty percent of the pupils from focused group discussions gave some of the following responses:

- Children will think about buying.
- It is bad. Children will not learn.
- Some of the things distract learning.

These responses show that the 'classroom tuck shop' phenomenon tends to negatively affect the quality of teaching and learning (UNESCO, 2002:147; UNESCO, 2004:24).

10.8 The Macro Economic Environment and the Teacher's Status

All the teachers felt that the prevailing macro economic environment in Zimbabwe has negatively affected the status of the teacher. The data from teacher questionnaires highlighted the following:

- Teachers are now regarded as very poor people.

- The teacher is always hungry, cannot send his or her children to a school of own choice, cannot dress properly, and cannot look after the family.
- Very low remuneration has made the teacher's status the yardstick of poverty in society.

Ninety eight percent of the teachers who responded to questionnaires reiterated that the teachers' status has declined as indicated below by information obtained from teacher questionnaires which said that:

- There are many things that today's teacher cannot afford which teachers of yesteryear could afford. Since they are paid little, during their spare time (which includes school holidays), they sometimes do menial jobs for example selling fish, being maids, gardeners and herd boys in neighbouring countries like Botswana and South Africa. That is degrading to say the least.
- Teachers whom people expect to own cars cannot even afford a bicycle.

School heads expressed a similar opinion as shown by some of their following responses:

- The teacher has been reduced to almost a beggar, meagre salaries affect teachers, and they are the laughing stock in the community.
- The teachers are no longer respected because they are denigrated by even vendors, for example, prospective housemaids could say '*Mongonditangisawo neyateacher*' (Give me the salary equivalent to that of a teacher for a start).
- Teachers are now a condemned lot in society, they are associated with poverty and disgrace.

Thus, the unfavourable macro economic environment has witnessed a decline in the status of the teacher. Levels of remuneration are associated with the status of an occupation (Datta, 1984:115). The salaries of teachers have been on the decrease (Zymelmann and DeStefano, 1993:128) resulting in teacher burnout (Chiwakata in Mpofu, 1991:112). This has resulted in a situation where teachers operate 'classroom tuck shops' as a coping strategy (Kirk and Dembele, 2007:3; Watkins, 2000:111). Teachers continue to engage in this practice with the full knowledge that the Ministry does not condone it (Public Service Commission, 2000:7).

11. Conclusion

The study has shown that the 'classroom tuckshop' phenomenon is prevalent in urban schools in Norton, with various items being sold at different times. Whilst conclusive evidence on its impact on the quality of instruction cannot be established, it can only be concluded that the practice tends to affect teacher-pupil relationship negatively.

12 Recommendations

This study seeks to make the following recommendations:

- The Ministry of Education Sport and Culture should seriously consider an upward review of teachers' salaries.
- The mechanisms to check on the operation of 'classroom tuck shops' should be strengthened.
- Operation of 'classroom tuck shops' should be abolished in schools.
- Individual schools should be encouraged to set up income generating projects to benefit teachers.
- The Ministry should consider a salary levy on parents to go towards teachers' salaries.
- Delinking teachers' salaries from the public service salary schedules.
- There is need for further research with a larger sample.

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