”I think it’s good, it’s only the remunerations, they are poor”
- Perceptions on Being a Teacher in Zimbabwe

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Preface

During January and February 2014, we were in Zimbabwe to collect data for our final student essay. A Minor Field Studies Scholarship (MFS) from Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) made it possible for us to perform the field studies for the essay. Through the Swedish teachers’ trade union Lärarförbundet, we got in contact with Zimbabwe Teachers’ Association (ZIMTA). Thanks to ZIMTA, we accessed schools where we met teachers who participated in our study.

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All ZIMTA employees, as well as the many ZIMTA members that we have met, The Swedish Embassy in Harare, Barbro Gunnarsson at SAFRAN and Stellan Bäcklund.

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Abstract

This study aims to identify factors that influence teachers’ conditions in Zimbabwe. Eight teachers have been interviewed in different parts of Zimbabwe. Theories on motivation have been used to analyze the findings. The analysis led up to two categories of factors with impact on teachers’ conditions, which are named Remuneration Factors as well as Non-remuneration Factors. Our findings reveal that when the remunerations are on such a low level that the teachers experience hardships in satisfying their most basic needs, their over-all motivation is negatively influenced. However, the teachers are at the same time motivated by the fact that they enjoy the job itself.

Keywords: development, education, motivation, professional status, remuneration, salary, teachers, Zimbabwe
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Appendix 1: Interview Guide
1. Education and the Teacher Challenge

The Millennium Development Goals set up by the United Nations, as well as the six goals of Education For All (EFA)\(^1\), declare universal primary education by 2015 along with other educational and developmental goals. Education is critical to the development of societies as well as to empower people to be good citizens (Kanyenze, 2011:297-299). It also helps reduce poverty and strengthens democratic systems as well as improves peoples’ health (UNESCO 2014b). In order to be successful, the education systems need competent and dedicated teachers (Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) 2002:10).

Yet, education around the world currently faces multiple challenges because of a global learning crisis (UNESCO 2014b:191). Sadly, the latest Education For All Global Monitoring Report (EFA Global Monitoring Report) reports that there is no chance that any of the EFA education goals set in 2000 will be achieved by 2015 (UNESCO 2014a:5). Along with the difficulties in improving education around the globe, there is a global trend of decreased working conditions for teachers. Low salaries, stricter regulations of job assignments and an increased work load are factors that affect teachers worldwide (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:5 & UNESCO 2014a:42). The lack of recognition for teachers applies to the teaching profession in many countries and the declining attractiveness of the teaching profession leads to a lack of teachers (UNESCO 2014a:42).

Traditionally, teachers’ inner motivation to perform well at work has been associated with the high status of the profession (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:10). At times with a global trend of decreased working conditions for teachers, Bennell and Akyeampong state that surprisingly little research has been performed on the issue of teacher motivation in the latest years, especially in Low Income Development Countries (LIDCs) (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:3). In OECD countries, research can tell us that the main factor of teacher motivation is the lack of working with children and the job itself rather than monetary achievements (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:6). The little research that has been conducted on the issue in developing countries reveals that teacher motivation in general is very poor (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:6), especially compared to other occupational groups (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:25).

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\(^1\) The six Education For All Goals set in Dakar, 2000: Goal 1: Early childhood care and education, Goal 2: Universal primary education, Goal 3: Youth and adult skills, Goal 4: Adult literacy, Goal 5: Gender parity and equality, Goal 6: Quality of education
The last two decades, teachers in Zimbabwe have been objects for divergent hardships, such as political instabilities resulting in violence against teachers and the most severe hyperinflation in the world. During the toughest years, about 20 000 teachers left the profession and the ones who are still in the profession stresses about getting their low remunerations to last\textsuperscript{2}. Teachers in Zimbabwe are among the lowest paid in Africa, and maybe even in the world (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:62). Despite the hardships for teachers, education levels in Zimbabwe are high compared to other countries in Southern Africa. Zimbabwe has, for example, been rated with one of the best literacy rates on the African continent (Gapminder 2011).

1.1 Aim and Objectives

With this understanding of the situation for teachers in Zimbabwe, we are curious to get the views from the teachers themselves. We want to hear teachers’ stories about their conditions, sources of motivation and their views on the state of the teaching profession in Zimbabwe. Thus, we have come up with the following question:

- What factors do teachers consider have the greatest influence on their conditions?

Our aim with the field study, is to find factors that we can categorize, put in contrast to each other and analyze. This, in order to get a better understanding for the situation for teachers in Zimbabwe.

\textsuperscript{2} Senator Coltart, D., former Minister of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture in Zimbabwe, meeting in Bulawayo on 19 February 2014.
2. Contextualizing Education in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is a land-locked country in southern Africa with borders to Moçambique, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa and has a population of about 11 million people (Landguiden 2012). Throughout the past centuries, Zimbabwe has undergone radical political changes. The country was a British colony from the end of the 19th century, known as Southern Rhodesia and later Rhodesia from 1965 to 1979. Independence was attained in 1980 after fifteen years of violent conflicts, known as the three chimurengas, between the Rhodesian government under Ian Smith and the guerrilla movements ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People’s Union) (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:3).

The first democratic election was won by ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front, former ZANU and ZAPU) and its leader Robert Mugabe was elected prime minister. He later assumed the position as president of Zimbabwe, one he has held since then. In 1999, a political party called MDC (Movement for Democratic Change) was founded in opposition to Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF under former Trade Union leader Morgan Tsvangirai (Nationalencyklopedin, 2013). Since MDC entered the political arena in Zimbabwe, the elections have been associated with violence, primarily against the opposition and civilians (Human Rights Watch 2006:157). However, there were no reports on violence associated with the 2013 elections.

There has been long-standing contradictions between the main ethnic groups in today’s Zimbabwe, the Ndebele and the Shona societies. The majority of the Zimbabwean population are Shona whereas the inhabitants in Matabeleland in southern Zimbabwe are mainly Ndebele. There are other minor ethnic groups in Zimbabwe as well, such as the Tonga.

This chapter will put the state of Zimbabwean education in context, in order for the reader to get a wider understanding of the situation for teachers in the country. We will use black and African as synonyms and white and European as synonyms, names that are used widely within the literature and which we have adopted from ”Beyond the Enclave” (Kanyenze 2011:300).
2.1 The State of Education in Rhodesia

By the time Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980, a majority of the people in the country did not have equal access to education (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:xii). By then there were two parallel education systems running; one for the white population and one for the black. This system was inherited from the early colonial years, when the colonial government only provided education for the Whites and where for (parts of) the black population were provided with education by missionaries (Kanyenze 2011:300).

In 1935, education in the Southern Rhodesian state was made free and compulsory for white children from the age of seven up to the age of fifteen (Kanyenze 2011:301; Shizha & Kariwo 2011:17). It was not until the 1940s that the colonial government made a plan for education of the black population in Zimbabwe. According to Kanyenze, they did this to make sure that the black population did not get too well educated, but would get vocational training to maintain as cheap labour (2011:300). This enabled for the government to sustain the white supremacy in the state (Kanyenze 2011:300; Shizha & Kariwo 2011:17). The colonial rulers made no attempts in integrating the school systems for Blacks and Whites during their time at power (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:23). In the early 1970s, all white children in school going age attended school, but only 43,5% of the black children did (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:17-18). This could be explained by the annual budget level for education, which was between ten and twenty times more for European education than for African education (Kanyenze 2011:302; Shizha & Kariwo 2011:17). The school curriculum was not designed to correlate to different ethnical groups in Zimbabwe, which was one of the factors adding to hatred between Africans and Europeans (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:18).

However, there was an attempt to integrate the two different school systems in 1979, under the 'new' Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government by Abel Muzorewa and Ian Smith (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:24). Instead of separate school systems for Blacks and for Whites, a system with A-, B- and C-schools was introduced. A-schools were private or government run high-fee schools, which used to be for Whites only. These schools were located in areas where Africans were still not allowed to own a house. B-schools were low-fee schools situated in urban African residential areas. C-schools were located in rural areas, where the majority of Africans resided, and were mainly non-fee. A zoning system was introduced along with the new school system, which only allowed children
to attend a school in their residential area. Thus, access to good quality education was still a matter of skin color and socioeconomic background (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:24-25).

2.2 Education in Independent Zimbabwe

The new government in independent Zimbabwe followed a socialist path and was driven by the goal of "Education for all by the year 2000" (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:46). Education was considered a basic human right and primary education was made free only four months after independence (Kanyenze 2011:303-304). The new government improved the enrollment in schools enormously in the 1980s. The secondary schools in Zimbabwe expanded more in the first five years of independence than during the many years under colonial power (Kanyenze 2011:305). During the first decade of independence, the number of primary schools expanded by 87.6 %, from 2401 schools in 1979 to 4504 in 1989 and the number of secondary schools increased with as much as 748.6%, from 177 schools in 1979 to 1502 in 1989 (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:47).

Whereas the socialist government in Zimbabwe spent a lot on schools and other parts of the welfare sector (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:29), the western world had agreed to follow the free-market ideology inspired by the British prime minister Thatcher and the American president Reagan (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:45). As education was on its rise in Zimbabwe, the government had yet no strategy to create jobs for the newly educated population in the country. With increased unemployment rates in the end of the 1980s and with high inflation, Zimbabwe’s debt had increased to a level where the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:51).

2.2.1 The ESAP-Period

A new strategy to create jobs and to kick-start the economy was to adopt the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) prescribed by the World Bank and the IMF (Kanyenze 2011: 305; Shizha & Kariwo 2011:29). ESAP was introduced in 1990 and lead to deregulations of the economy, trade liberalization and privatizations as well as cuts in social expenditures, especially in education and health (Kanyenze 2011: 305;
Shizha & Kariwo 2011:29). It was hoped to help Zimbabwe to reach an annual growth of 5% of the GDP (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:52). ESAP was introduced although it was in conflict with the socialist ideology of the government (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:46).

Some educational reforms were made during ESAP. For example, school fees were reintroduced in primary schools in urban areas and in all secondary schools in 1992 (Kanyenze 2011: 304-305). Former A-Schools now charged higher fees, which enabled improvements of the schools but also denied access for the poor (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:54). According to Shizha and Kariwo, education now became an investment for individuals rather than a universal right (2011:29). During the ESAP period, poverty became more acute in Zimbabwe and many parents found it hard to pay school fees for their children (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:30). Thus, the dropout rates increased, especially for girls (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:54). Despite this, there was still an increase in pupils attending primary and secondary school during the ESAP period (Kanyenze 2011:306). By the year 2000, less than 10% of children in school going age were not enrolled in the primary school system (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:28). From 1985 the expenditure on education had decreased from 3,1% of GDP to only 0,5% on 1996^3 (Kanyenze 2011:306).

2.3 The Crisis Period

In 2003 the education system in Zimbabwe was ranked second best in Africa in terms of literacy and numeracy (Kanyenze 2011:308). The quality of education in Zimbabwe has been valued very high compared to other countries in Southern Africa, though some social scientists are doubtful about the quality of the education since the economic hardships that followed after ESAP (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:27).

In the beginning of the new millennium, Zimbabwe faced a serious educational crises. Grades went down due to economic deprivation, a lack of learning resources at schools and unmotivated teachers (Kanyenze 2011:309-310). According to Shizha and Kariwo, the economic hardships during the 1990s were much a result of the ESAP, but the

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^3 Sweden spent 6,5% of the GDP on education in 2010. 
continuing economic difficulties in the new millennium were caused by directives from the Zimbabwean government (2011: 57).

2.3.1 Land Redistribution

The economic hardships grew worse as the land redistribution was carried out in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. As part of the indigenization politics\(^4\), the government wanted to take land from white farmers in order to give it to black farmers (Matondi 2011:93). When the first white settlers came to Zimbabwe, they benefited greatly from the knowledge that the indigenous people had about farming and animal husbandry. Despite this, the black population was forced into bad employments at the commercial farms the settlers built (Matondi 2011:79).

Short after independence, some families were re-settled but the high objectives of moving 160 000 families were hard to reach and the land issue has ever since been present in the politics of the country (Matondi 2011:79-80). It was said that the British government would help in financing the land re-distribution, but in the late 1990s the new labour government in Great Britain declined any further cooperation on the issue (Matondi 2011:91). With no help from Britain and a growing opposition with the newly started party MDC, the government had to act and did so with illegal large scale farm invasions (Matondi 2011:9-931). Although many were of the opinion that the land redistribution was a political and economic necessity, the outcome of it affected Zimbabwe tremendously (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:38). Most of the people who got land from the resettlement were from within ZANU-PF (Matondi 2011:93).

Before the land reform, about 400 000 workers where employed at commercial farms in Zimbabwe which corresponded to nearly a quarter of the work force employed in the formal sector (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:38). By 2003, after the aggressive farm invasions, about 78% of the former farm employees had lost their jobs (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:38). On the commercial farms, mostly owned and run by white farmers, many children where provided with education. But at the time of the land redistribution, the new farm owners were unable to maintain the schools situated at the farms and many had to close. As many as 250 000 children were robbed on their education (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:40).

\(^4\) The indigenization politics aims to re-gain power for the indigenous population of Zimbabwe.
2.3.2 Operation Murambatsvina

In 2005 the government initialized an operation called Murambatsvina\(^5\) (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:38). The campaign was set out to restrain informal economic activity in urban areas. For example it meant cleaning up in areas where vending was illegal and also demolishing illegal settlements, like additional cottages on peoples’ properties. The aim of the operation was to relocate people from urban to rural areas and to give people an exit from the informal sector (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:38-39). Shizha and Kariwo write that about 200 000 - 300 000 children's education was affected by Operation Murambatsvina due to their parents losing their income and/or their homes (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:40). Before farm invasions and Murambatsvina, primary school enrollments were as much as 96\% (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:40).

2.3.3 The Hyperinflation

The 14th of November 1997, ”the Black Friday”, is known as the day when the Zimbabwe dollar collapsed. The government had promised gratitudes to war veterans from the independence struggle, but did not budget for it. Instead they wanted to fund it through a war veteran levy, which was dismissed by workers who went out in the streets demonstrating against it (Chitambara 2011:40). This made the economy very volatile and with further unplanned economic actions, such as sending military troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo, the situation for the Zimbabwe economy worsened (Chitambara 2011:40-41). When many investors left Zimbabwe during the following years, a shortage of foreign currency appeared, which lead to an increased informal sector (Chitambara 2011:41). This together with meager exports, a lack of products in retail and increased foreign debts lead to a hyperinflation (Chitambara 2011:44).

In February 2009 the inflation rate reached 231 million per cent, which is equivalent to a daily inflation rate of 98\% (Chitambara 2011:44). By this date the government adopted dollarization which meant a multiple exchange rate consisting of the US dollar and the South African rand (Chitambara 2011:50). With the dollarization the economy

\(^5\) Murambatsvina is Shona, the official translation of the term is ”Restore Order”, while a more direct translation would be ”Get rid of the dirt/filth”.
stabilized and the hyperinflation was eliminated. By August 2010 the inflation rate was down at 3.6%, though fluctuating (Chitambara 2011:50-51).

At the time of the hyperinflation, education was severely effected. Education provision was made expensive and parents could not afford uniforms, food, fees and books. Many children dropped out of school (Kanyenze, 2011: 312). Although schools were not allowed to rise fees more than 10% per term, they did during these times. This resulted in some schools accepting foreign currency or fuel coupons that were used at the time (Kanyenze 2011:312). Teachers in government schools were tremendously effected when all civil servants salaries was reduced to $100/month⁶ (Chitambara 2011:48; Kanyenze 2011: 316).

2.4 The State of Education Today

Today, the school system in Zimbabwe consists of seven years of compulsory primary schooling and six optional years of secondary schooling (Nationalencyklopedin 2013). At secondary school you can attend four years of Ordinary Level Education (O-levels) followed by two years of Advanced Level Education (A-levels) (Embassy of Harare 2008). In 2009, the general pass rate of pupils in Grade seven was 39.3 %. There were, however, great diversities within the country, where the urban areas Harare and Bulawayo had pass rates on 72 % whereas some rural provinces had schools where no students did pass (Kanyenze 2011:316). The pass rates for O-levels in 2009 was of 19.3 % and for A-levels the same year 76.8 % (Kanyenze 2011:318).

To become a teacher in Early Childhood Development (ECD) or a primary school teacher in Zimbabwe, one needs to study at a Teacher Training College for three years. Five of nine semesters⁷ consist of teacher practice where you are placed at a school somewhere in the country. If you have exams from A-level you can become a secondary school teacher after two years at a Teachers Training College (where two semesters are teacher practice) and if you have exams from O-level you can study for three years at a

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⁶ At the time, even employees at the Ministry of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture also earned $100 per month, including the Minister as well as the cleaning staff (Coltart, D, 2014).
⁷ There are three semesters per year in schools and at Teacher Training Colleges in Zimbabwe.
Teachers Training College (where one year is teacher practice). Teachers in some subjects need a diploma, which requires longer studies\(^8\).

A vast majority of schools in Zimbabwe are government schools and thus a majority of the teachers in the country are government employees. Since the dollarization, remunerations for civil servants\(^9\) have been below the national poverty datum line of $505 per month\(^10\). The latest salary negotiations between government and civil servants ended in January 2014 with the outcome of increased remunerations. Government employed teachers are paid remunerations that consist of a salary plus allowances for housing and transport and the lowest remuneration level after the negotiations is approximately $500\(^11\). On February 13th 2014, the government announced that there was not enough money in the budget to pay the salary increases so the pay rises will be postponed to April. In Zimbabwe parents can pay incentives to schools, which means that they contribute to the school and the teachers’ salaries by paying an additional sum of money apart from the school fee. The amount of money that parents pay and also what the teachers get, differs between schools.

The low remuneration levels force teachers to find an additional income, often in the informal sector (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:62). According to public service regulations, having an additional income as a civil servant is an act of misconduct. Despite this, the government encourages people to have their own enterprises as part of the indigenization politics run by the ruling party\(^12\).

There is a large Zimbabwean diaspora consisting of about 3-4 million people (Kanyenze, 2011: 327). A vast majority of the diaspora are well-educated and as many as 26% of the diaspora are teachers (Kanyenze, 2011: 328-29). By the end of 2008, around 20 000 teachers had left Zimbabwe for work outside the country. About 70 000 teachers are still in Zimbabwe (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:32).

Other difficulties affecting teacher motivation is poor possibilities for teachers in rural areas to find decent housing and the expensive and unreliable transportations for teachers in urban areas (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:62-63). Teacher absenteeism and lateness in urban

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\(^8\) Tendeukai, M., President of Student Teachers’ Association of Zimbabwe (STAZ) & Mukobvu, R., Information Secretary of STAZ, meeting in Bulawayo, 15 February 2014.

\(^9\) Civil servants are teachers, the police force and nurses (also the military, but they have their own negotiations).

\(^10\) Lunga, A., Training Officer at ZIMTA Head Office, meeting on 26 February 2014.

\(^11\) Lunga, A., Training Officer at ZIMTA Head Office, meeting on 26 February 2014.

\(^12\) Lunga, A., Training Officer at ZIMTA Head Office, meeting on 26 February 2014.
schools is caused by bad and expensive transports (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:63). There is also absenteeism due to HIV/Aids (Kanyenze, 2011:310). Children may be absent either because they have the virus themselves, or because they need to take care of parents or other family members (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:34). There is also teacher absenteeism due to HIV/Aids, teachers being ill and dying or they need to care for family members or orphaned children (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:37).

During the election year of 2008, teachers and pupils where in schools only for 27 days in the whole year\textsuperscript{13}. This because of violence against teachers at times of elections, and due to teachers protesting against poor working and living conditions (Kanyenze, 2011:313). UNICEF states that 2008 was a "wasted academic year" in Zimbabwe (Kanyenze, 2011:314-315). In 2013, 100\% of all schools in Zimbabwe were open and running, although it was election year. Still, Zimbabwe has many challenges left to overcome. The former Minister of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture, David Coltart, is skeptical to the development in the country, where tax incomes are declining and many businesses shut down every day. During his last year as minister in 2013, the Ministry of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture was promised millions of dollars by government in order to maintain and develop schools in the country. Before the elections in July, the Ministry had got $20 000\textsuperscript{14} to cover costs in all schools around the country\textsuperscript{15}.

### 2.5 Trade Unions in Zimbabwe

During the time as a British colony, trade unions were prohibited. In 1934, the Industrial Conciliation Act provided regulations for trade unions, however, this act only applied to white workers (Kanyenze, 2011:257-258, Lunga et al. 2013:28). After independence, in 1981, an umbrella body for trade unions was formed, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) (Kanyenze, 2011:261), which still organizes the trade unions in Zimbabwe.

\textsuperscript{13} Senator Coltart, D., former Minister of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture in Zimbabwe, meeting in Bulawayo on 19 February 2014.

\textsuperscript{14} Exclusive teacher remunerations.

\textsuperscript{15} Senator Coltart, D., former Minister of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture in Zimbabwe, meeting in Bulawayo on 19 February 2014.
There are three Zimbabwean trade unions for teachers: Zimbabwe Teachers’ Association (ZIMTA), The Progressive Teachers’ Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) and Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (TUZ). ZIMTA was first formed in 1942, at that time named Southern Rhodesia African Teachers’ Association (SRATA) and consisted of black teachers (Lunga et al. 2013: 43-44). There was also an association for white teachers, National Teachers’ Association (NTA) (Lunga et al. 2013: 44). In 1964, SRATA changed its name into Rhodesia African Teachers’ Association (RATA) (Lunga et al. 2013: 45), since the name of the country was changed. In the late 1970s, RATA again changed its name, this time into Zimbabwe Teachers’ Association (ZITA). In 1981, shortly after independence, ZITA and NTA decided to merge into one association with the same name as at present (Lunga et al. 2013:46-47). Today, ZIMTA is an apolitical union for teachers in Zimbabwe (ZIMTA, 2011), most of their members are employed by the government. In 2005, ZIMTA was recognized as a union, but decided keep the name of the organization. ZIMTA is a member of Education International (EI), which is the global umbrella organization for teacher trade unions.

In 1999, The Progressive Teachers’ Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) was registered. This union was formed as a reaction on bad conditions for teachers in post-colonial Zimbabwe (PTUZ 2013). Hence, PTUZ is the oppositional teachers’ union who organizes teachers both from private and government schools. In turn, as a reaction on the formation of PTUZ, the government decided to form yet another union for teachers in early 2000’s, TUZ (Teachers’ Union of Zimbabwe). In 2009 teacher students began to organize themselves in an organization called Student Teachers’ Association of Zimbabwe (STAZ).

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16 Lunga, A., Training Officer at ZIMTA Head Office, meeting on 15 January 2014.
17 Lunga, A., Training Officer at ZIMTA Head Office, meeting on 15 January 2014.
18 Lunga, A., Training Officer at ZIMTA Head Office, meeting on 15 January 2014.
19 Tendeukai, M., President of Student Teachers’ Association of Zimbabwe (STAZ) & Mukobvu, R., Information Secretary of STAZ, meeting in Bulawayo, 15 February 2014.
3. Motivation Theories and Professionalization

To be able to structure and analyze the stories from teachers, we will apply theories on motivation. This because the theories can help us to see whether some factors may have greater impact on teachers’ lives than others. Motivation theories are suitable to this as motivation, or de-motivation, is not a part of someone’s personality, but something that occurs “…as an interaction between the individual and the setting.” [our translation] (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:142). Thus, there are many different theories about why and when motivation occurs. We will present three theories on motivation below. We will also present the term professionalization, a term that will be useful in our analysis later on.

3.1 Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs consists of five categories of human needs: (1) physiological needs, (2) safety and security needs, (3) social needs, (4) esteem needs of status and prestige and (5) self-actualization needs. The lower needs take priority, whereas the higher needs are not activated until the basic needs are fulfilled. According to Maslow, the self-actualization need differs from other needs as it cannot be completely satisfied.

Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs is not thoroughly rigid, but an unsatisfied need at a low level within the hierarchy will indeed cause motivation to satisfy this need. These lower needs do not lead to any further motivation once fulfilled, but when unsatisfied, they cause more stress than unsatisfied needs of higher order (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:143). Abrahamsson and Andersen point out that there is little evidence supporting Maslow’s theory, and that some research imply that there should be two or three categories instead of five (2006:143-144). There is, however, evidence that basic needs

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20 “...; som en interaktion mellan individ och situationen.” (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:142)
cease to exist once they are satisfied ("enough is enough") whereas satisfaction of needs of higher order causes motivation ("more of the same") (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:144). Bennell and Akyeampong argue that Maslow’s theory is a useful theoretical framework when investigating teacher motivation in LIDCs, as teachers who cannot fulfill their most basic needs are unlikely to become strongly motivated professionals (2007:4).

### 3.2 Herzberg’s Theory

Herzberg’s two-factor theory focuses on one’s job satisfaction. The two-factor theory suggests that there are two unconnected dimensions within job satisfaction. One dimension consists of basic needs of lower order, called *hygiene factors*\(^\text{21}\). These factors are linked to the working conditions, whereas the other dimension, the *motivation factors*\(^\text{22}\), are needs of higher order which are related to the work itself (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:149-150). Unsatisfied hygiene factors cause a feeling of discomfort, but once fulfilled, they do not induce any further motivation. The motivation factors are not superior to the hygiene factors but exist parallel within the two-factor theory. Once fulfilled, the motivation factors lead to a willing to get more of the same, which means further motivation instead of satisfaction (similar to Maslow’s description of the "needs of higher order"). However, unfulfilled motivation factors will not cause discomfort (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:151).

According to Herzberg, economic rewards only bring about short-term motivation, hence an increased pay would not lead to any long-term motivation. However, long-term

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\(^\text{21}\) *Hygiene factors*: a) Politics and administration of the organization b) The leader - if he/she is professionally skilled, fair, etc. c) The working conditions - physical/environmental conditions as well as the work load d) Relationship between colleagues as well as between leader and employees e) Economic compensation/reward - salary and other economic rewards f) Status - not primarily formal status, but status symbols g) Safety at work - objective signs of safety, like working hours, security h) Private life - comfort at work is influenced by the current situation in your private life (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:149-150)

\(^\text{22}\) *Motivation factors*: a) Performance/achievement - satisfaction from work performance, solving problems, see the results of one’s work b) Acknowledgement c) The work itself - interesting, diverse, creative, etc. d) Responsibility - control over your work situation, responsibility over others work performance e) Promotion - when you get a higher formal status within the organization f) Growth - learning new skills with more possibilities of promotion and possibilities of further growth (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:149-150)
motivation is rather triggered by the motivation factors (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:151-152). Herzberg’s Theory suggests that the more satisfied, or dissatisfied, you are with a certain factor at work, the more important do you consider this factor (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:149-150). The two-factor Theory has been criticized since some people consider the hygiene factors as their main motivation factors (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:153).

3.3 The Equity Theory

The Equity Theory suggests that people compare their rewards, such as salary or acknowledgement, as well as their contributions, such as efforts or knowledge, with the rewards and contributions of others. If a feeling of inequity occurs, the person might want to seek equity, either through a higher reward or through a decreased effort. However, the Equity Theory itself does not take individual differences such as personal values or needs into consideration (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:153-154).

3.4 Professionalization

Professionalization is a term linked to the status of an occupational group and can be described as measuring the social strength and the authority of this particular group (Frelin 2013:15). It is generally agreed that occupations that have attained ‘professional status’ are highly respected within the society. In order to reach this level of professional status, the professionals require a high level of education, an enforced professional code of conduct, regulations concerning entrance and performance while in the profession, as well as a high level of individual autonomy when performing within the profession (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:10; Frelin 2013:15; Shizha & Kariwo 2011:63). It is also stated that the average levels of remuneration for an occupational group decide the status of the profession (Svensson & Ulfsdotter Eriksson 2009:11).

Professions such as doctors, engineers and lawyers have reached professional status in most countries while teachers are stuck at a level of being ’semi-professionals’. This is mainly because the education level within the teaching profession is relatively low and
because the large number of teachers makes it difficult to create an environment with exclusively trained teachers (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:10).

Jessop and Penny have conducted research in South Africa and The Gambia with focus on the conceptual frames for how teachers think of themselves and their work (1998:394). They conclude that there are two types of teachers; the Instrumental and the Relational teachers. Instrumental teachers consider knowledge to be absorbed as the teacher is lecturing, in order to later perform results on a test (Jessop & Penny 1998:397). When asked about their motivation to teach, the Instrumental teachers considered external rewards such as Remuneration, holidays and status to be important factors (Jessop & Penny 1998:397-398). The Relational teachers, on the other hand, regarded teaching as a moral action consisting of processes of social interactions contributing to individuals as well as to the wider community. According to the Relational teachers, knowledge cannot be reduced to something technical and precise (Jessop & Penny 1998:398).

In-between the Instrumental and the Relational teachers, Jessop and Penny find what they call a ‘missing frame’. This frame consists of issues that the teachers do not talk about. For example they do not reflect on their relationship and responsibilities towards curriculum, teaching methods or the learning material they are opt to use (Jessop & Penny 1998:399). The consequence of not reflecting or questioning neither methods, texts nor curriculum is, according to Jessop and Penny, “…that these authoritative texts were accepted as recipes for classroom practice” (1998:399). Furthermore, Jessop and Penny conclude that this, in the long run, means that teachers who act this way have resigned from the responsibility of being aware of what they are teaching, to whom, how and why they do it (1998:399).
4. Previous Research on Teacher Motivation

In 2002, the organization Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) performed a research on the issue of teacher motivation in Malawi, Zambia and Papua New Guinea (2002). The report concludes that general teacher motivation in these countries is “…fragile and declining” (VSO 2002:42) and that the lack of teacher motivation strongly affects teacher performance, with the direct consequence of poor quality of the education (VSO 2002:42-43). A study on teacher motivation from 2007, conducted in eight Sub-Saharan countries and in four South Asian countries, also states that there are severe problems with low teacher morale and motivation in all the researched countries (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:25).

4.1 Factors Influencing Teacher Motivation

Within the studied research, the most significant factor influencing teacher motivation is the level of remuneration. Therefore, we will start this chapter by going into factors that are related to remuneration. We will proceed by bringing up factors linked to the de-professionalization of the teaching profession.

Increased remuneration is not seen as a major motivating factor for teachers in developed countries (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:14-15). However, Bennell and Akyeampong indicate that the fact that the teachers in the twelve case study countries are seriously underpaid is the single most important factor determining their motivation (2007:32). Not only are teachers paid poorly but their salaries are often delayed as well (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:38). This makes many teachers look for an additional income such as extra tuition classes, taxi driving, vending or farming. As might be

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23 Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, and Zambia (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:vi).
24 Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Pakistan (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:vi).
expected, teachers’ job performance is influenced by these supplementary jobs or by worries about how to make the remuneration last (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:36).

A study on teacher motivation in Rwanda from 2008 corresponds with Bennell and Akyeampong’s research as it concludes that low teacher remunerations and poor living conditions are major problems for many teachers. Although Rwanda is a small country, there are significant differences between working in rural or in urban areas (Bennell & Ntagaramba 2008:vii-viii).

Lunga’s research in Harare, Zimbabwe, investigates how teachers’ trade unions affect teacher motivation (2009). The study concludes that salaries and incentives are key factors to teacher motivation and that teachers need material and resources in order to perform their job effectively. The majority of the respondents, members of teachers’ trade unions as well as non-members, are not satisfied with their job (Lunga 2009:104).

The VSO report states that poor remuneration is a main demotivating factor for many teachers indeed, but that there are further factors that are as important to work on alongside raising teacher salaries (2002). Such factors could be to rationalize assignments for teachers in order to enable for them to focus on teaching as their core task, or to create opportunities for professional development so that teachers can feel confident in their role as teachers and in the subjects that they are meant to teach (VSO 2002:43).

In Malawi, anthropologist Selemani-Meke has performed research on teacher motivation related to Continuing Professional Development programmes (CPD) for teachers (2013). Such programmes aim to improve teachers’ classroom practice and effectiveness in order to improve the learning outcomes of the pupils (Selemani-Meke 2013:107). Yet, Selemani-Meke found that teachers who attended CPD programmes were de-motivated both during the training as well as afterwards, due to factors such as low salary levels during training and scanty improvements in working conditions after finishing the programme. When unmotivated, teachers will not adequately implement what they have learnt at the CPD training (Selemani-Meke 2013:114). Therefore Selemani-Meke suggests that CPD programmes should take teacher motivation into consideration in order to be successful as the lack of motivation among teachers is a big barrier for the intentions of improving the supply of primary education (2013:114).

It is widely known that the status of the teaching profession has decreased in many Sub-Saharan countries over the last decades (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:10). Shizha and Kariwo state that Zimbabwe has experienced the devaluation of the teaching profession for a long time (2011:63). The status of a certain profession is determined by
the public valuing as well as by rumors and reputation (Shizha & Kariwo 2011:63; Svensson & Ulfsdotter Eriksson 2009:15). Like most people, teachers compare their performances and rewards at work with people of similar academic skills and professional experience. Such comparisons tend to increase the perception of the status of the own profession, in industrialized countries as well as in developing ones (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:5).

In Zimbabwe, the decreased professional status for teachers can be explained by diverse components. Foremost, what decides the status of teachers within the society are factors that affect the job performance of teachers. The job performance of teachers in Zimbabwe is, for instance and as mentioned above, influenced by remunerations. Another essential factor is the increased workload for teachers. The worldwide education goal of Universal Primary Education (UPE) has had a major impact on teacher motivation since the number of pupils in schools has increased over the past years. This has led up to an increased workload due to large classes at the same time as there is a shortage of (trained) teachers (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:32). Bennell & Ntagaramba’s study on teacher motivation in Rwanda concludes that the increased number of children going to school the past years has increased the work load for teachers, even when measured in African standards (2008:viii). Teacher motivation is furthermore influenced by factors such as a lack of learning material at schools and troubles finding decent housing or affordable transports to and from work (Bennell & Akyeampong 2007: 41).
5. Research Approach

In order to study teachers’ understanding of their situation, we have used a qualitative approach. This, since the qualitative approach aims to investigate the essence of a phenomenon, whereas quantitative research simply assumes to explain something (Fejes & Thornberg 2009:18-19). In qualitative research, the researcher cannot neglect the influence of their own person in the research (Bryman 2012:405). There are several fields within qualitative research and we have decided to use a phenomenographic approach (Fejes & Thornberg 2009:19). The phenomenographic approach is used when developing an understanding on people’s views and experiences on a certain phenomenon, thus it is well suited for our study (Dahlgren & Johansson 2009:122). The phenomenography differs from phenomenology, since the phenomenological researcher aims to find the essence of a phenomenon whereas the phenomenographic researcher is interested in people’s perception of a certain phenomenon (Dahlgren & Johansson 2009:122; Szklarski 2009:106). Phenomenography has its starting point in people’s different understandings of a certain phenomenon, but that there still is a limited number of possible understandings (Dahlgren & Johansson 2009:122).

5.1 Implementation

Within phenomenographic research, the interviews are semi-structured and with a small number of questions that are divided into the different topics that are to be investigated (Dahlgren & Johansson 2009:126). In order to implement this, we constructed an interview guide. The interview guide consists of a number of questions as well as potential follow-up and probing questions that aimed to enable a fluent and open conversation. According to Bryman, an interview guide shall include different types of questions, such as introducing questions, follow-up questions and direct questions (2012:476-477). The most important thing is not how the questions are formulated, but that the researcher asks the respondent about their perception on the key topics (Dahlgren

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25 Attachment 1: Interview Guide
& Johansson 2009:125). We highlighted some questions that we wanted to be sure we asked in every interview.

We performed two pilot interviews in order to try out the interview guide and get comfortable in the role as interviewers. After the pilot interviews, we revised the order of questions in our interview guide as well as added and deleted questions. As we got more insight to the education system in Zimbabwe, we added further questions to the interviews. The duration of the interviews varied from 25 minutes up to about an hour. All of the interviews were conducted in the presence of only the respondent and the two of us. The setting was always in a separate room and with only few interruptions in some cases. The interviews were recorded and later on transcribed by us. Before each interview, we decided that one of us would have the main responsibility for asking questions and that one would be responsible for taking notes and pay attention to the time limit.

The sample consists of eight teachers who are all members of ZIMTA. The respondents were selected by ZIMTA, but on our request, which makes it a convenience sample. Since this study aims to get hold of qualitative narratives, and not to generalize, a non-probability sample, such as the convenience sample, was suitable (Bryman 2004:100). The interviewed teachers work at six schools, which are located in different provinces throughout Zimbabwe and situated in high density areas as well as in low density areas. However, all but one teacher work in schools situated in rural areas. All teachers that we have interviewed are working in government schools. Out of the interviewed teachers, five were female and three were male. The age range was from 36 to 50 years and five teachers worked at primary schools while three teachers were employed at secondary schools.

5.2 Ethical Considerations and Validity

The interview guide contained a reminder to make sure that the respondent was informed about our study and ask for their consent and their approval on recording the interview. All respondents were informed that they would remain anonymous and that we would handle all information confidentially. The transcripts were anonymized as well. This is in

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26 this does not always correspond to urban vs rural areas
line with the recommendations on ethical considerations in research from the Swedish Research Council, *Vetenskapsrådet* (2002).

Motivation is a difficult subject to study since it is highly individual how one defines the term, and it is likely that the interpretation differs amongst people. Due to the questions that we used in our interviews and the limited time to our disposal, extrinsic factors might have a greater part in the analysis than if in-depth interviews had been conducted (see Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:24). The wide research question has enabled for us to identify different categories. When presenting the findings (Chapter 6), we have anonymized the quoted interviews by giving them numbers. Hence, the quotes are labeled ”Int. 1”, ”Int. 2”, etc.

5.3 Data Analysis

We have applied a phenomenographic approach when analyzing the findings. The phenomenography suggests that there is a limited number of possible understandings of a phenomenon (Dahlgren & Johansson 2009:122). When investigating teachers’ conditions, the different perceptions were put into categories in order to identify key factors. The theoretical framework has been present in the course of analyze, as it contextualizes the findings and enables a progress in the analysis. We have worked with printed transcripts, as it made the categorization easier.
6. What Influences Teachers’ Conditions?

This chapter summarizes our findings, which consist of factors that influence teacher motivation in different ways. We will put our findings into context through the motivation theories presented in chapter three. Out of eight interviewed teachers, all but two would choose to go into teaching if they were given a second chance to choose profession. One of the respondents was unsure whether they would choose to enter the teaching profession if given a second chance and one respondent answered no on the same question.

6.1 "I love the teaching part"

The first factor influencing teacher motivation deals with the devotion towards the profession. This factor consists of two levels of arguments of which at least one is recognizable within each interview. The first level contains interview passages about the love of the teaching procedure and the engagement in the pupils' progression at school. The second level extends beyond the classroom and contains narratives linked to the teachers' contributions to the community and to the nation as a whole.

When asked about their motivation for the teacher job, all teachers indicate that they enjoy working with children and to see them succeed at school. One respondent says: "so, I'm motivated by the movement of those children, of the progress of the children" (Int. 4:9). Another respondent says, when asked about what they enjoy the most about being a teacher: "the feeling it gets when pupils show me good results... yes" (Int. 7:1). Five of the teachers also express the luck of the job itself, such as: "I love teaching so much" (Int. 7:9) or: "I just have the passion to do that thing, I love it." (Int. 5:2). Some teachers are also motivated by the long term influence that they have in their pupils' lives. Respondent eight puts it this way:

it is not only the money that, you know, comes in a human beings' life, it's what you achieve, to teaching him or her towards, you know, guiding them to their future (Int. 8:13)

27 Int. 8:1
Many teachers are also motivated by the fact that their work is not only a contribution to the kids they teach but also to the communities and to the nation of Zimbabwe. Respondent number six says:

... regardless of the situation you look at these innocent pupils, right, they’re supposed to be elsewhere tomorrow... they’re supposed to be the teachers of tomorrow, the doctors of tomorrow, the leaders of tomorrow. (Int. 6:15-16)

Another respondent says that: ”I produced a lot of people that are helping the nation” (Int. 2:12) and respondent five believes that everything starts with a teacher: ”if you look at the whole nation whatever they have to do, it all have to come through their teacher” (Int. 5:8).

6.2 Remuneration and Status

The second factor influencing teacher motivation identified in our material concerns remuneration along with the status of the teaching profession. All eight teachers narrate that the remuneration levels affect their private lives as well as their performance at work. All teachers also give examples of how the status of teachers has declined since they entered the profession and that they sometimes even hide their identities in order to escape public laughters.

When asked about what it is like to be a teacher in Zimbabwe today, some respondents give two answers in one. One teacher says: ”I think it’s good, it’s only the remunerations, they are poor” (Int.1:7), and another teacher says: ”...although the remunerations is not all that good, but I enjoy teaching kids” (Int. 3:1). A third teacher gives an answer with two sides to it:

/…/today it’s like a joke (laughing) no books, no money... we are in the job for the money guys, so of course, it can be for fun to work as a teacher, it’s more like… almost like a calling (Int.7:2)

Many teachers narrate that they do not afford things that they used to afford before the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe. One teacher explains: ”I could buy a bed. Right now, with the salary that you get, you can't buy a bed. You have to save for three, four months”
Another teacher says that it is hard to buy necessary things for the household:

yes, a wheelbarrow. I can't even afford to buy that one. Even to buy a bike, just a small bike for my kid, I can't do that with one month salary. (Int. 1:21)

Many teachers also explain that they cannot realize their dreams in life due to the low remuneration levels, for example according to respondent number two: ”we are not really (silence) in line… to achieving our… all our dreams…” (Int. 2:8) and respondent number four: ”… the remuneration doesn’t enable me to really do what I wish to do in life” (Int. 4:7).

Two respondents say that the poor remuneration they get as employees in government schools and their private economic hardships have a direct effect on their work performance. One of them tell us about when their own kids where sent away from school due to unpaid school fees and how that affected their work:

… there are other things that will affect my mind, especially when I think of… my children have been sent to… sent away for fees. you know, and such things, it becomes very difficult /…/ so such things have got a negative.. impact.. (int. 6:13-14)

Another teacher explains how problems at home influences the quality of the education negatively:

seriously, because, you know sometimes you don’t work well if you’re not happy, you know you’d be thinking `oh my god, I have to pay…’ whatever… and if you are teaching, you won’t teach very well, because you are thinking of the problems that you have from home… (int 8:3)

Four of the interviewed teachers have an additional income in order to get some extra money every month. The additional income comes from fields where they plant crops that they sell (or which can be used for the own household) or from vending such as selling second hand clothes. One teacher explains how the additional work has an impact on the teacher job:

I'll have much time for do my researches, for example, I have told you that I am now farming, which means, during the weekend, instead of marking the books and researching for my kids, I will go to the farm (Int. 3:7)
All interviewed teachers talk about the low status of the teaching profession in Zimbabwe and the possible causes. Some teachers have experience of being regarded as a person with very low status: "...we are regarded as someone who is useless" (Int. 5:3), "things started to get hard for us. That was 2002, 2003, 2004, then we were losing that respect that we used to have" (Int. 1:21) and: "...because we were not getting much, and a lot of people were looking down upon us. Even the house maids" (Int. 2:9). Some teachers compare the status of their own profession with the status of others, as in interview six:

if you are to... compare, say compare to... people in other fields /.../ you feel, your dignity as a teacher.. is gone.. because of the little remuneration that you get (Int. 6:14)

One teacher told us a story about what it can be like to go by public transport and hear people talk about teachers:

...’cause you find yourself in a kombi maybe you are only one teacher, the others in there they are salesmen, they are what, they start talking about teachers, teachers are suffering shit, they say you went for college for three years, for three years, but what is it that they get you know, so they talk badly about, at times you hide your identity, you don't tell people... 28 (Int. 7:13)

6.3 Working Conditions

Our findings display a consensus that a heavy workload, long working hours and a lack of (good) facilities and learning recourses at schools hinder the teachers to perform their job accurately. The pupil-teacher ratio in the visited schools range from 35 pupils per teacher up to 50 pupils per teacher. Some teachers complain about this:

...because teacher pupil ratio is just too large, it’s too big. Because you will find, in the end, you want to be able to attend to the children individually (Int. 4:7)

28 Kombis are minibuses used for public transport in Zimbabwe.
Another teacher states that:

yes, it’s tiresome. But you get used to it. But at the end of the day, the mind will be tired. And you can’t avoid it. You like it but the mind is saturated (Int. 1:13)

With such big classes, some teachers find it hard to see and address all kids and their individual needs: “…it will be difficult to …to to to attend to each and every child…” (Int. 2:6).

The large classes lead to an increased workload for teachers and marking books becomes a never ending duty. Two teachers say that the heavy workload is the factor that affects their job performance the most. One of them says: "basically I may say the load itself... yes. The teaching load, I think it’s too much” (Int. 6:13). Another teacher agrees and says that: "the challenge is when the classes are big, then you have to work extra hard” (Int. 8:22). One teacher explains that the work day should end at four but that this seldom is the case:

…but I knock off at four, from sports I take my books I go in to the room I start marking I start recording I start evaluating, it's too much (Int. 7:5)

Six out of eight teachers also bring up the issue of poor learning resources, such as outdated textbooks or a lack of any learning materials at all, as something that affects their motivation at work and even their job performance. One teacher explains that they need to use very old textbooks: "Some of the informations phased out, you see. But you still stick to them because you don’t have resources” (Int. 1:12). Another teacher tells us that there are not enough textbooks provided by the school so that the teachers must go and look for textbooks themselves: "mostly, you know, as a teacher we now have to go out.. and, and look for textbooks” (Int. 8:6). One teacher is clear with the fact that there needs to be enough material in the classes in order for the teacher to perform well:

…it if I do not get my materials that I’m supposed to be using, I won’t be able to perform my duties well. (Int. 3:14)

Many teachers do not only bring up the issue about the lack of textbooks for tuition but also that they would need to use computers at work. They want to research in order to
provide their students with updated information and they would like their students to be computer literate. One teacher tell us how they try to research:

I teach A-levels, and mostly I’d use my own money and, you know, research on the Internet, to bring back to the kids that are here, so that they are, you know, up to date and ready for the, for the.. examinations (Int. 8:6)

Another teacher says that the pupils at the school are not used to computers:

You know, we are from poor backgrounds. For instance, at our school a pupil cannot operate a computer (Int. 1:11)

Some teachers also bring up the issue of classrooms being too small or in bad condition. One teacher explains that they take turns in classrooms because there are not as many rooms as needed. Some classes would be inside in the mornings while some have sports and after lunch they swap. But during the rainy season, they cannot always be outside with the children:

you have to come and pack inside that classroom /…/ they accommodate 40 to 45 children. And you'll be doubled in that same class. And some peoples we need to sit down [on the floor] (Int. 1:13)

Another teacher confides to us that:

there are some class I didn't take you to, because they are very old and, you know, ... I feel pity for the kids that are inside /…/ but... you know, they've made their home there, because they are used to it, but as you know, as an adult, you realize that this is not good for them. (Int. 8:23)

6.4 Professional Advancement

All interviewed teachers have dreams for their future careers. A majority say that they want to study more in order to get a degree in a specific subject. One teacher states that:
we have always said... the teaching profession is the mother of all professions, meaning that it can open avenues.. for us to... maybe to advance academically... I find it... a very, very good profession (Int. 6: 12)

All teachers but one say that they either want to do a degree at university sometime in the future or that they already study part time. However, a majority of the teachers say that they cannot realize such professional advancement due to economic hardships. The only teacher who does not talk about getting a degree has a dream of starting their own school.
7. Analysis

Out of the factors affecting teacher motivation as presented above, we have identified demotivating as well as motivating factors. We have divided the findings into two groups; Remuneration factors and Non-remuneration factors. Within the Remuneration factors, we include remuneration and status (as presented above), whereas the Non-Remuneration factors include the devotion towards the profession, advancement within the profession as well as working conditions.

7.1 Remuneration Factors

Remuneration is known as a factor with strong influence on teacher motivation in LIDCs. Our findings confirm remuneration as a factor of high influence, as each one of the respondents bring up many aspects related to remuneration. A low remuneration is closely linked to a low professional status as well as to hardships in managing one’s private life. This, in turn, affects the job performance of the teachers.

It is generally known that increased remunerations is no useful tool for strengthening teacher motivation (at least in developed countries) (see Bennell & Akyeampong 2007:6). Herzberg’s Theory implies that increased salaries is not efficient in order to improve long-term motivation. This could mean that the remuneration factor is of great importance to the interviewed teachers, but not necessary that it could increase their motivation. However, all our respondents talk about low remuneration levels as a de-motivating factor and half of our respondents have a supplementary income on top of domestic chores and their main job as teachers. This implies that they often have more focus on their private lives than on their main work and that this has a negative impact on their job performance.

Selemani-Meke’s research in Malawi where teachers where attending Continuing Professional Development Programmes, a training programme set to improve motivational factors such as Herzberg’s growth factor, can be applied on the motivation of the teachers in our study.Selemani-Meke’s found that the teachers did not apply their new teaching skills after attending the programme, but instead continued to work as before. This because the remuneration levels were still very low. The increased level of
professional knowledge was not enough to improve the general motivation for the teachers.

Another argument for considering remuneration being a key factor to teacher de-motivation is the fact that Herzberg’s Theory suggests that one tends to consider a factor more important when being very dissatisfied with it (Abrahamsson & Andersen 2006:149-150). Low teacher remunerations can be linked to the general de-professionalization of the teaching profession. When talking about the status of teachers, many respondents describe that the teaching profession used to be regarded as a noble profession in Zimbabwe not long ago, but that teachers are regarded as less than ordinary today. This is much because of the low remunerations. Our data can tell us that issues concerning remuneration, professional status and decreased level of autonomy within the profession are factors that may have led to the decreased status of the teaching profession in Zimbabwe over the last years. We learn that poor payment has great influence on the public valuing of the profession, and the respondents hear people telling stories about teachers being useless or they are offered to pay the same price as children when going with public transport, since it is commonly known that they do not have any money. The fact that some teachers also are seen occupied with something else than teaching can have a negative impact on people’s general view on the teaching force. The increased workload, which hinders teachers from performing well at work, may also be a factor influencing the general view on the teaching profession.

Several teachers compare themselves to people in other professions (or in schools with different conditions for the teachers). The Equity Theory suggests that if you regard your rewards inferior to someone with equivalent contributions, you would either aim to increase your reward or adjust your contributions to a lower level. In Zimbabwe, teachers do not have any possibilities to improve their salaries, since there is a tariff pay for government employees. Neither have we, however, seen any indications that the respondents are lowering their efforts due to low remunerations. One respondent (Int. 6) describes the low remuneration for teachers compared to those of other professions as causing the loss of dignity. With this perception, one could refer to the Equity Theory and assume that the respondent is likely to make less effort. However, this respondent did not make any such indications.
7.2 Non-remuneration Factors

The non-remuneration factors that all our respondents mention are the luck of working with children and to see them progress during their years in school, the workload that is too heavy, the lack of resources and the possibilities of advancement within the profession. Several teachers also consider that they contribute to the community and to the nation when educating the kids so that they, in turn, one day will be resourceful to the nation in their future professions.

As presented above, all our respondents believe that teacher remunerations today are too low. At the same time, they also say that they are working in a good profession. Low remunerations hinders teachers to perform well at work, which can be linked to Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs, which assumes that basic needs, such as enough money to cover household costs, must be fulfilled before considering the needs of higher order, for example self-actualization needs. In opposition to this assumption, the interviewed teachers seem to be motivated by a kind of self-actualization need at the same time as having a hard time fulfilling basic needs. If we then apply Herzberg’s Theory we can see that the basic needs, in this case represented by the hardships that comes with low remuneration, and higher needs, here represented by the luck of the teacher job, can exist parallel.

The fact that teachers like their job and enjoy the progress of their pupils, can be analyzed from Herzberg’s motivation factors which trigger achievement, to see actual results of one’s work, as well as a the fact that teachers have responsibility over others and their achievements. This can also be linked to the fact that several teachers argue that they contribute greatly to the nation when educating children towards better life situations and hopefully professions where they, in turn, can contribute to the society. This factor is, according to Bennell and Akyeampong, the one most important motivating factor for teachers in OECD countries (2007:6). The fact that all of our respondents indicate this motivator as well is interesting considering that we have performed our interviews in a non-OECD country.

At the same time as teachers talk about the luck of their job, many teachers talk about the large groups of children that they are responsible for and the heavy workload that hinders them from performing their job accurately. This can be applied to the Herzberg hygiene factor about working conditions. If this need is not satisfied, it will be a source
of dissatisfaction as long as the situation does not improve. No other factor, neither a hygiene factor nor a motivation factor, can trump a dissatisfied hygiene factor. The issue of lacking learning materials and too poor school buildings can also be seen as something causing dissatisfaction as long as nothing is done to better the situation.

The aspect of autonomy when performing one’s profession is one of the factors that define occupations with professional status. An increased workload and a lack of enough resources hinders one to perform their job in a proper way, which means that the autonomy within one’s profession is being reduced. Hence, this may imply part of a de-professionalization of the teaching profession in Zimbabwe alongside with the low remuneration levels and the low status mentioned previously.

Mostly we have presented what teachers have told us about what it is like to be a teacher in Zimbabwe today, but we also find it interesting to look at what the respondents have left out. If we apply the theory of Instrumental and Relational teachers that Jessop and Penny have constructed, we can see that our respondents’ stories fit into these frames. Some talk much like the so-called Relational teacher, as they love working with children, and some talk more like an Instrumental teacher, for example when speaking about their situation as having a low status within the society and what comes with that. What is interesting is that, similar to the results of Jessop and Penny, none of our respondents talk about pedagogical methods, about their obligations towards curriculum or other issues related to the core task of being a professional teacher who is conscious about what, whom, how and why one teaches. The fact that our respondents do not talk about this type of issues might be because it is irrelevant to think of them when you are, like Maslow suggests, not getting enough monetary resources to cover basic needs for yourself and your family. Another argument to why teachers does not talk about pedagogy, curricula and similar issues when asked about their situation, could be because of the low education level among teachers in LIDCs.

All interviewed teachers are motivated by a desire to advance professionally. Some of them tell us that they have started to study towards a degree at university or that they want to start, but the main obstacle for it is the high costs. The motivational factor triggered by personal growth within Hertzberg’s Theory can be applied on what the teachers tell us about their dreams of continuous studies. According to Hertzberg, such a dream can appear from the fact that people who have realized a motivational goal get further motivation from the fact that they can reach higher within the same field.
8. Conclusion and Discussion

The analysis is divided into factors linked to Remuneration as well as Non-remuneration Factors that are linked to other things than status and remuneration. What we have seen is that, although there are many factors that influence the teachers’ conditions, the remuneration will always cast a shadow on their motivation. The reason for this is that the remuneration is at such a low level that the teachers have a hard time fulfilling their most fundamental needs. Thus, Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs is applicable on the findings. At the same time, the respondents are somehow motivated by needs such as self-actualization needs, which is why Herzberg’s Two-factor Theory is interesting to apply as well. Our findings correlate to the global trend of a de-professionalization of the teaching profession as well as a decreased status for teachers. The findings indicate that teachers will need a higher remuneration in order to improve their living conditions, which would enable an increased motivation to perform well within their profession.

8.1 Strengths and Weaknesses

There are some things that must be taken into consideration when interpreting the result of this study. One such thing is the fact that we discovered the great advantage of transcribing. Since English is not our mother tongue, there were pieces that would have been left out if we not had transcribed the interviews. All the same, the language barrier might to some extent have caused misinterpretation, since neither we nor the respondents have English as their first language.

The sample consists of teachers who are members of the same trade union, who were mostly selected by either the head of the school or by leaders from the trade union. This might imply that we have met teachers who are more motivated than the average and with a brighter perception of their situation than the average. Even the schools were selected by the trade union, a fact that also has implications for the result and for our understanding. The schools were situated in different provinces and covered both rural/urban areas as well as low/high density areas. However, the sample does not cover schools situated in the most remote rural areas without supply of electricity and neither
farm schools nor private schools or former A-Schools were included. Despite this, our findings are very similar to findings of other research performed on the issue of teacher motivation in Zimbabwe as well as in other parts of the world. However, we are aware that there is another picture of the teaching profession that we have not seen, which is more sinister. Such conditions could only be accessed and investigated under other premises.
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