

**THE EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY ON
DECENTRALISED SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL
PROVINCE, ZIMBABWE: A CASE STUDY**

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to analyse the effects of economic and political instability on decentralised secondary schools in Mashonaland Central Province, Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2017. Previous studies in Zimbabwe and elsewhere have shown that schools were negatively affected by economic and political instability. This study adds to this literature by using habitus as a conceptual framework. This was a qualitative study which made use of a multi-case research design. Data was collected using focus group discussions, interviews and document analysis. Eight research sites in the form of secondary schools in four districts were used. Data analysis was done using theoretical prepositions guided by research objectives and research questions. Data presentations was characterised by quotes of participants. Trustworthiness based on dependability, credibility, transferability and conformability formed the basis of quality assurance measures. The study revealed that economic and political instability had similar negative results in the field of secondary schools in the province. Economic instability negatively affected school activities which included teaching and learning, administration and development work. In addition economic instability affected individual secondary school actors psychologically. Economic instability affected relations among the secondary school actors by aggravating already existing contestations amongst actors. Similarly, political instability affected secondary school activities such as teaching and learning, school administration, development, donations and social benefits. Secondary school actors were individually affected psychologically and through physical abuse and the way they responded to political instability. The study has shown that decentralised secondary schools found it difficult to solve the problems introduced by economic and political instability especially when the instabilities occurred within the difficulties of the broader Zimbabwean context. It is therefore recommended that decentralised secondary schools should be assisted financially and with resources to withstand economic challenges. There is a need to protect secondary schools from political activities and activists as these have devastating effects on education if allowed to have a free reign. Further similar research is recommended for other provinces in the country.

Key words: political instability, economic instability, effects, habitus, social capital, field, decentralised secondary schools.

DEDICATION

The thesis is dedicated to my late mother, Eneresi Mushayi Katsinde and late father Kaundi Mushayi Katsinde, who sacrificed the little they had to provide education for me when they could hardly afford it. To my late sister Loveness James Katsinde I thought you should have lived to see me graduate as you always wished. To my late brother Shepherd James Katsinde I needed your support but God had other plans. To all of you thank you for the life we had together.

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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AfDB	African Development Bank
BEAM	BASIC EDUCATION ASSISTNCE MODULE
CCJP	Catholic Church for Justice and Peace
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EFA	Education for All
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDA	School Development Association
SDC	School Development Committee
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's' Fund

USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Personal experiences and motivation

The motive for carrying out research on the effects of political and economic instability in secondary schools has been influenced and stimulated by experiences which date back to my school days before Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980. As a professional worker after independence the episodes of instability which occurred in the country especially during elections helped to shape the motive in carrying out this research in secondary schools.

I remember in 1974, as a Form 1 pupil, the school where I was learning was closed after the boarding master and priest were killed by the freedom fighters at night. When we woke up in the morning the secondary school was awash with and surrounded by the Rhodesian security forces. Before noon an announcement was made that the school was closed and we were told to immediately vacate the school. It almost signaled the end of my school career as it was difficult to get a place at another school because of inadequate schools in the country so most schools were already full. But my parents were determined to have me continue with my education so made efforts to find a place for me in the capital city where my father worked. For some pupils this episode signaled an end to their school careers as they failed to be absorbed by other secondary schools.

In 1985, five years after our celebrated independence, I was now a teacher at one of the secondary schools in Mashonaland Central. I recall an incident which disturbed relationships at the school and community. One of the teachers, a ruling party political activist, led a group of youths to a mine nearby and harassed opposition members before and after the elections. He told us (teachers) what had happened. We were shocked that a teacher could act like that. Most members of staff criticized what he had done. The mine was one of our pupil catchment areas and we were worried about how the act was to affect relationships between that community and the school. We wondered how pupils, whose parents had been affected, perceived what had happened and how the trust they had with the school and teachers was affected.

The formation of a new opposition party in 1999 ushered in a new political era in Zimbabwe. The elections which followed were characterized by a tense political atmosphere throughout the country. One of the major issues that arose during the 2000 Referendum, 2000 General Elections and 2000 Presidential Elections was the blame put on teachers about their involvement in politics. Teachers were accused of supporting the main opposition party and influencing the electorate. Teachers in rural schools and small towns became targets of harassment and forced evictions. I remember an incident in 2000 when I was teaching at an urban school in Bindura (provincial capital). One of the teachers was alleged to be an opposition political activist and selling party cards in the community. The ruling party supporters threatened to demonstrate against him at the school if education officials did not remove or punish him. The Provincial Office requested that the teacher be brought to their office. The headmaster refused to accompany him as he did not want to be seen in the company of this teacher as he believed this would result in him being associated with the opposition party. It was alleged that the headmaster was a ruling party supporter. As Deputy Head of the school, I was asked to accompany the teacher to the provincial office where he was warned and told not to be involved in politics. He was not removed from the school but later in the year he left after continuous harassment. At one time he was beaten by a politician at a bus stop. Relations at the school were strained as it was now clear that some teachers supported the opposition while others supported the ruling party. Members of staff became suspicious of each other. Parents were suspicious of teachers while teachers felt threatened by the whole political scenario. Teachers had to be careful about what they said to each other and in the classroom. History teachers, who had to teach concepts such as democracy and dictatorship, had to be careful because pupils would talk about this in the community which would then interpret it as an attempt to influence the electorate.

In 2001 I was transferred on promotion to another school, a mission boarding secondary school, which was situated in a rural area near the northern border with Mozambique. It was an area that had witnessed a lot of violence during the 2000 General Elections. The people were suspicious of outsiders or new people as dates for Presidential Elections in 2002

approached. Though I originally hailed from that area, I could feel that people did not trust me. This was worsened by the headmaster who appeared to dislike me as he felt I was a threat to his position. Many allegations soon followed: that I was an opposition political activist, that an opposition political leader had visited me and that I read independent newspapers. In order to prove their allegations a rally was organised and held at the school so that I could explain my position with regard to the allegations. I refuted the allegations and told them I had come to the school on promotion and told them I hailed from that area. While I explained myself, a security guard at the school was being beaten secretly by the youths of the ruling party so that he could witness that a political leader had visited me. The security denied the allegations despite the thorough beating. Later I was told the guard was my savior as they wanted to publicly beat me during the rally if he had said that I was visited. I was shocked by this incident and never felt safe at the school. Relations at the school were strained. The community suspected that the school was involved in politics. I asked for a transfer barely a year after joining the school. Meanwhile the local political leaders of the ruling party continued to push for my removal. The provincial education office agreed to transfer me to another school in another district.

The school I transferred to was a rural government school situated at a growth point. I was the head of the school. There was less political interference in school activities by the community compared to the previous school. But there were simmering differences about who governed the school and how it was governed through the School Development Association (SDA). This was evident in 2003 during the time to elect new members of SDA. Parents were divided according to political affiliation. Members were being chosen according to political affiliation but I was unaware of this as I was still new and could not have known the politics of each parent. Executive meetings that followed were tense and influenced by politics. This had the effect of delaying decision making and development work. As head of the school I was worried as it affected relationships with parents. Sometimes parents would gossip to me about the other side. I had to be careful about how I responded to these talks as there was the danger of being used or involved in the political conflicts. Even among the teachers there appeared to be tension based on politics but most played it safe by keeping away from politics. I did not stay to see

how this would develop during elections as I resigned at the end of 2003 to join a university as a lecturer.

1.2 Background to the study

Zimbabwe achieved independence in 1980 after fifteen years of guerrilla warfare and the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979. General elections held in March 1980 were won by Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by Robert Mugabe. He formed a coalition government made up of all the major political parties including those of the whites (Laasko, 2003). This was in the “spirit of policy of reconciliation” as enunciated by the new Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe (Murisa, 2010:4). The new government put in motion policies and programs to change the discriminatory nature of the previous governments and society. One of the priority areas targeted by the state was the education sector.

The government embarked on a major expansion program in education by building more schools, expanding existing ones, reconstructing those destroyed, training more teachers and providing the necessary teaching and learning resources. As a result primary and secondary schools increased from “3358 in 1980 to 6042 in 1990” (Mazingi & Kamidza (2011:333). This stimulated a corresponding increase in enrolment from 1.3 million pupils in 1980 to 3.2 million pupils in 1990 (ibid). Most schools resorted to double shifts (ibid), known as ‘hot-sitting’, to cater for increased enrolment. Even the budget reflected the emphasis the government put on education as 30% of the budget allocation between 1980 and 1990 went to education (Pswarayi & Reeler, 2012). Thus before 2000 the education system in Zimbabwe was regarded as one of the best in Africa, based on a strong stable state (ibid). All this was possible on the background of an economic policy followed between 1980 and 1990, known as “Growth with Equity” (Mazingi & Kamidza, 2011:328). There was post-conflict reconstruction and development of the country in which the citizens actively participated (ibid). During this period a high growth rate of between 10-11% was recorded (ibid).

While most provinces enjoyed relative peace between 1980 and 1990, some provinces did not, Matebeleland North, Matebeleland South and some parts of the Midlands Province experienced

conflict and violence as a result of the dissident issue caused by some former freedom fighters belonging to ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo. This began with the expulsion of Joshua Nkomo and his members from the cabinet in 1983 after the government alleged that it had found some arms hidden by their political party on their properties (CCJP, 1997). The dissident problem went on for almost four years during which time it is alleged that more than 20 000 people were killed (Ngwenya, 2014). The problem came to an end with the signing of the Unity Agreement on 22 December 1987.

Beside the conflict described above, Zimbabwe also experienced conflict during elections especially during campaigning and after elections against those perceived to have voted for the opposition (Makumbe & Compagnon cited in Research and Advocacy Unit, 2016). For example, in the 1985 General Elections the conflict was mainly between ZANU (PF) and ZAPU. So when the Unity Agreement was signed in 1987 there was no longer such conflict as the two parties merged into one. Then in the 1990 elections there was conflict mainly with the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) led by Edgar Tekere, a former leading member of the ruling party who had been expelled. So conflict has been a feature of Zimbabwean general elections but from 2000 after a new party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), was formed, conflict during elections intensified and was widespread especially in provinces which had previously been controlled by the ruling party. Unlike previous conflicts, during elections schools became embroiled as teachers were now being accused of supporting opposition parties (Pswarayi & Reeler, 2012). This meant schools became targets of campaign and political contentions. Thus Pswarayi and Reeler (2012:7) argue that politically motivated violence and intimidation after 2000 caused a lot of disruption in schools and a loss of school time. This was a cause for concern as education has been one of the priority areas of the government since independence. Hence the motivation of this study, to find out how secondary schools were affected by the changes in political activities.

The economy of Zimbabwe recorded a positive growth between 1980 and 1990 as pointed out by Mazingi and Kambidzi (2011:328) who said that the “first decade of independence witnessed an average growth rate of about 11%.” But as the first decade was coming to an end the country began to experience some economic problems which resulted in the government resorting to the

Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) as prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) (Ncube, 2000, Murisa, 2010). The results of ESAP were generally negative especially for provision of social services like education and health as citizens were now required to pay for these in full without the state subsidizing as before (Murisa, 2010). The economic situation was worsened by worker retrenchments in both the public sector and private sector as a result of ESAP (Ncube, 2000, Murisa, 2010). The second decade of independence also experienced other problems which exacerbated the whole economic situation: droughts, the land reform program, the involvement of the Zimbabwe army in the civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and gratuities for the war veterans which had not been budgeted for (AfDB/OECD 2003, Murisa, 2010).

The Zimbabwean government in the 1990s introduced measures based on structural adjustment programmes as advised by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The measures led to far reaching consequences on how government institutions were run. One such measure introduced in education was decentralisation. The Zimbabwean government embraced structural adjustment programmes as advised by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) in order to improve the economy which was experiencing a downturn. One measure taken by the government was to cut costs in the provision of social services such as education. The government moved from a highly centralized school system (Reynolds cited in Chikoko, 2006) to a decentralized education system epitomized by giving power to School Development Committees (SDC) in non-government schools and to School Development Associations (SDA) in government schools. Thus by a legal instrument, Statutory Instrument 87 of 1992, each primary and secondary school ran its own financial and other governance issues. The main government roles in schools that remained were the payment of teachers' salaries and standards control. Besides following the advice of the IMF and the WB, the Zimbabwean government hoped that a decentralized school system would also reduce costs, improve pass rates, help develop schools and improve the quality of education.

This research sought to analyse the effects of political and economic instability on decentralized secondary schools in Zimbabwe using Mashonaland Central Province as a case study. The province was chosen because it is one of the provinces most affected by political instability since

2000 when the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) began to contest in the elections. I worked as a teacher in this province between 1985 and 2004. The university where I am now working is located in this province. The province also characterizes the Zimbabwean situation in terms of schools: urban, rural, boarding, government, government-aided, and church schools.

Firstly, economic instability has an influence on schools because schools depend on parents for their needs such as stationery, textbooks, water, food and building materials. Schools also depend on the government for teachers' salaries. Economic instability has an influence on parents, pupils, teachers and government. Hence what happened in secondary schools during the economic crisis is important as it has a bearing on the development of education. Secondly, the country went through a political crisis with severe polarization between the two main political parties, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (ZANU-PF). The polarization between the two parties affected the general populace, parents, teachers, heads of schools and pupils. For example, Gwenhamo et al (2012: 599) argue that the "government's loss in the referendum and desire to win in the 2000 parliamentary elections led to a violent crackdown on civil society and opposition political parties." Thus belonging to different political parties created enmity and hostility in communities. There was little political tolerance.

1.2.1 Social capital

Such a scenario has an impact on the social capital as argued by Ssenyonga (2012:191) who says "violence is inimical to social capital." The works of Hanifan (1916), Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988) and R Putman (2000) on social capital usefully contextualize how instability in the country affects secondary schools. Hanifan (1916:138) argued that in order for a "school to be successful, social capital is necessary." Hanifan (1916:130) defined social capital as "those tangible substances that count for most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit." Social capital enables people to work together in social institutions. The concept was further developed by Bourdieu.

Bourdieu (1986: 251) defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to a possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships

of mutual acquaintance or recognition.” He went on to identify two aspects of social capital as relationships and the resources that these relationships offer. The core of Bourdieu’s analysis is that social capital is based on relationships and how these relationships build capital which is useful for the people involved. For example, relationships in schools between teachers, parents and learners accumulate capital which assists in the running of schools. Coleman further elaborated on the ideas of social capital.

For Coleman (1988:98) social capital is “a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspects of social structures and they facilitate certain action of actors - whether persons or corporate actors.” He identifies forms of social capital as obligations and expectations, information potential, norms and effective sanctions, authority relations, appropriate social organisation and intentional organisations. Coleman’s analysis emphasizes the importance of social institutions which act as social structures which assist people involved to act as expected. His work is more detailed as it shows what individuals are expected to do or gain as a result of social capital: duties, information, guidelines, and sanctions.

Putman (cited in Aghajanian 2012:5) defines social capital as “connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.” He also identifies two forms of social capital as bridging and bending. Putman goes on to say that “the core idea of social capital is that social networks have value.” He also says that social contacts affect productivity of individuals and groups (Aghajanian, 2012:5). This study uses the ideas of connections, social networks, norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness in explaining the impact of political and economic instability on decentralised education in secondary schools (Putnam, 2001).

1.2.2 Decentralisation

Decentralisation in education is a common practice in many countries but is still complex and contested. Proponents of decentralisation in education believe it increases citizens’ participation in running schools, improves standards and lowers the cost of education. Opponents believe it disadvantages lower classes as they do not have capacity to run their own schools. Questions remain about how implementers understand, experience and respond to innovation of decentralization (Chikoko, 2006). Bray & Mukundan (2003) have asserted that decentralisation cannot be measured on a single template. They go on to cite Gershberg (cited in Bray and

Mukundan, 2003) who believes that the concept of decentralization is slippery. Geojaja (2006:137) enters the debate by arguing that “there is no consensus on the exact meaning and theorization of decentralization.” He adds that decentralisation is complex and without a concise definition. In relation to education, Lauglo (1995:6) believes that “decentralization is a highly imprecise notion, and even more imprecise when used in national education systems.” Thus he argues that decentralization is far more problematic than centralised authority. Given these disturbing negative views about decentralization, it is important to find out how decentralized secondary schools were affected by political and economic instability.

Literature available on school decentralization is mainly based on stable political and economic conditions. In third world countries like Zimbabwe, instability, especially during elections, is common but very little research has been carried out on how economic and political instability affects decentralized secondary schools. A study by Chikoko (2006:16) in Zimbabwe reveals that one of the problems experienced by decentralized school governance is “lack of support from central government in terms of resources and finance.” A similar study on decentralization in Zimbabwe by Conyers (2003:123) indicates that “political tension and economic decline tend to outweigh or override potential benefits of decentralization.” The study by Chikoko did not take instability into account. However, this study explored decentralization within a context of political and economic instability. The study considered how decentralized school governance dealt with the issues of resources and finance. The study by Conyers was not specific to educational decentralization but decentralization in general. This study was specific to education and contemplates Conyers’ position about political tension and economic decline outweighing the potential benefits of decentralization.

Writing about crises in the Nigerian Education System, Nwagwu (1997) advises that military regimes are not capable of providing necessary leadership in education. Thus he notes that the Nigerian education system has been affected by various crises such as long periods of military rule which have created unstable political, economic and social conditions. This was not a study on decentralized education but on education in general. Zimbabwe has not been ruled by military regimes but by elected governments whose elections’ fairness and freeness have been a bone of contention, especially since 2000. For example Kangwanya (2005:5) says that the 2005 election

“has been judged to be unacceptable to the parties contesting” especially by opposition parties who argue that the election processes are uneven. In addition Moss and Patrick (2006:23) wrote about an “upsurge of political violence since 2000...” Gwenhamo et al (2012:599) argue that “government’s loss in the referendum and desire to win in the 2000 parliamentary elections led to a violent crackdown on the civil society coalition and opposition political parties.” This created an unstable political scenario in the country.

In South Africa decentralisation in education has a long history dating back to the pre-majority rule era. Before 1994 the education system was not integrated but separated according to “racial, ethnic and regional lines” (Naidoo 2005:22). Naidoo goes on to say that South Africa had three types of schools namely state, state-aided and independent. The new government enacted the South African Schools Act to create a “new school governance landscape” (Naidoo 2005: 13). Sayed (1999:150) adds that “the new system was based on the idea of decentralisation which indicates government’s commitment to enhance parental participation in schools.” Thus Bush and Heystek (2003:127) believe that “governing bodies provide a good prospect of enhancing local democracy and improving the quality of education for all learners” but the system is riddled with problems. In Naidoo’s (2005:21) opinion some of the problems “relate to poverty versus riches, and inequality correlated with race.” The South African scenario since 1994 is similar to the Zimbabwean situation but South Africa has not experienced political and economic instability similar to that in Zimbabwe.

Geojaja (2006:146) believes that ‘the state must not disappear with decentralization.’ Slegers and Wesselimgh (1993:53) similarly argue that decentralization does not mean exclusion of government regulation, suggesting that ‘the national government steps back but does not step out.’ But Zajda (2006:1) thinks that the role of the state in education is a “paradoxical one: as nation-state centralisation is important for certain functions and yet decentralisation is also important in schools in order to promote equity, participation and diversity.”

Decentralisation in education aims to increase participation of the community in the education of children. Thus decentralisation assists in building social capital and then taps the social capital of communities and schools in running schools. Social capital in the form of networks, goodwill and cohesion helps schools to function. Political and economic instability have a tendency to disturb

characteristics of social capital. For example, political instability may undermine collective action and cooperation leading to hostility in a community hence disturbs social capital. Similarly economic instability may also disturb the trust and cooperation as members of the community fail to pay fees.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The importance of social capital in the operation and organisation of schools is acknowledged by many authors (Colletta & Cullen, 2000; Tamim, 2014 & Hanifan, 1916). Social capital is also important for development (Grootaert, 2002; Young, 2014; Tamim, 2014). The relationship between decentralisation and social capital is well documented (Sayed, 1999; Pryor, 2005; Hanifan, 1916; Groostaet, 1998, Bush and Heystak, 2003; Colletta and Cullen, 2000). Decentralisation enhances social capital through increased participation of various stakeholders. Social capital is based on relationships and trust derived from social relations (Coleman, 1988; Putman, 1995; Conrad, 2007; Hanifan, 1916; Colletta and Cullen, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995). For relationships in schools to be effective there need to be peaceful and stable environments (Smith and Vaux, 2003, Colletta and Cullen, 2000; Newton, 2004; Fukuyama, 1995). But since 2000 the Zimbabwean situation has been characterized by unstable economic and political conditions (Gwenhamo et al, 2012; Chavhunduka & Bromley, 2010; Moss & Patrick, 2006; Kangwanya, 2005) which have put social capital and activities in secondary schools in crisis. This prevented decentralised secondary schools from functioning as expected as norms were disrupted by economic and political instability.

1.4 Statement of purpose

Zimbabwe is signatory to global conventions and declarations like Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education For All (EFA), which encourage nations to provide education to its citizens (UNESCO, 2005). Since independence Zimbabwe had prioritized education (Shizha and Kariwo, 2011:5). As a consequence the literacy rate in Zimbabwe is one of the highest in Africa (Shizha and Kariwo, 2011:7, United Nations, 2012:8). In respect of primary education, Zimbabwe pursued a policy of education for all as one of its commitments to the MDGS by 2015 (Marist International Solidarity Foundation, 2011). Secondary education has also been given a priority by the government which has made it available and accessible (UNESCO, 2005).

In Zimbabwe the participation of locals in the education of their children has been recognized by the implementation of the policy of decentralizing education (Chikoko, 2006). This means the state is not alone in the provision of education. Many stakeholders at the local level play a pivotal role in how schools are governed. Hence relations and social capital built from these relationships are critical in the governance of schools.

The importance of a conducive environment for the provision of education is well known (Hussein, 2011, Smith, 2003). But even in conflict situations governments have been urged to protect schools and ensure that learning continues (Smith, 2003). Teaching and learning thrive better in situations of stability. For example, Nir and Bhojray (2013:1) argue that political stability plays a major role in quality education. The same authors believe that economic stability helps to create 'essential infrastructure' but this depends on the conditions of politics. Although Zimbabwe enjoyed relative peace and economic development after independence, sporadic political conflicts during elections and Gukurahundi (conflict in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands) are well documented (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, 1997, Ngwenya, 2014). Economic problems began to be experienced after 1990 (Murisa, 2010) but the problems became acute after 2000 (AfDB and OECD, 2003). After 2000, political conflicts and economic problems became major issues which affected citizens and institutions (Gwenhamo, et al 2012; Chavhunduka and Bromley, 2010; Moss and Patrick, 2006).

As an academic I have realized that up to now not much research has been carried out on how decentralised secondary schools have been affected by economic and political instability in Zimbabwe and other countries. This study hopes to add on to the existing knowledge by explaining the effects using the theory of habitus. The purpose of this study is to provide an analysis of the effects of economic and political instability using the lens of habitus.

1.5 Rationale and significance of the study

While literature in Zimbabwe and elsewhere has shown that secondary schools are affected by political and economic instabilities (Conyers 2003; Mendoza-Botelho, 2013), there is a necessity for a study which analyses how they were affected by subtle instability which the government sometimes refused to acknowledge. For example, School Development Committees are based on relations among stakeholders such as parents, teachers and local authorities who should trust each

other in order to run the schools. So this study analyses how secondary schools were affected by economic and political instability in the country using the concepts of social capital and habitus.

The study adds a new dimension to the field of sociology of education by revealing the dynamics of what goes on in secondary schools when they are confronted with situations that are hostile and unstable in Zimbabwe. Findings from the study will help to fill gaps in literature using habitus and social capital as tools of analysis. Usually the discourse of the sociology of education which student teachers are exposed to is that of stable environments or normal relations among stakeholders responsible for running schools. The new literature to emerge from this study will assist in understanding secondary schools in situations of economic and political instability which are common, especially in developing countries like Zimbabwe.

Secondary education is critical in the development of individuals and countries (Eubanks and Eubanks, 2002; Cohen, 2006; Baumann & Winzar, 2016). It is like a bridge for if one fails to cross it then one does not enjoy the fruits of education. It is important to note that secondary schools are populated by students who are in the stage of adolescence. Adolescents in society are easily influenced and follow what others do. Thus unstable conditions can easily change their habits or how they relate to one another. Therefore this study which investigated the effects of unstable conditions in secondary schools is critical for societies as they try to prevent or reduce disturbances to schools by showing the negativity of instability and making necessary recommendations.

The role of teachers in the social capital matrix is central to the relationships which exist in schools and surrounding communities (Healey, 2011). Teachers work with pupils, heads of schools and parents in the execution of their duties. Without teachers, learning becomes difficult as they facilitate what goes on in the classroom. A disturbing feature of the political instability in Zimbabwe is how teachers were blamed and implicated in the political activities. More so teachers were affected by the economic problems experienced in the country. This means that teachers had to battle with many issues as they did their work. It is therefore important to study how teachers were affected by the political and economic instabilities since their habitus and social capital is central in the teaching and learning process.

Parents play an important role in the education of their children. Besides just being there for their own children, parents in a decentralised education system are expected to participate in the running of their schools. They contribute to the social capital in school communities as they relate to teachers individually to discuss the progress of their children, and collectively to develop schools through school development committees or associations. Thus Cruz (2009:1) argues that parents' participation in school activities is an "essential form of social capital." In addition, Boix and Posner (1998) are of the opinion that cooperation builds social capital, which in turn helps to sustain social capital. It is therefore essential that one of the objectives of the study is to assess how parents with children in secondary schools were affected by economic and political instabilities.

1.6 Research context/ Delimitation of the study

Mashonaland Central Province is a one of the smallest provinces in the country but it is a microcosm of the whole country in terms of characteristics. The characteristics include those of having rural area, urban and farming regions as seen in other parts of the country. Even in terms of education the province has urban schools, boarding schools and rural schools. In terms of ownership there are government schools, local council schools, church schools and private schools. In carrying out this study it is important to take cognisance of these characteristics as each may be affected differently by political and economic instabilities. This study focuses on secondary schools because the instabilities appear to affect this sector most of all. Pupils in secondary schools are targets of political agitation or campaigns, sometimes playing the role of the youth for political parties. The teachers in secondary schools were also affected more because at this stage of education, teaching begins to be analytical especially to issues affecting daily lives of citizens. Furthermore secondary education is critical as it opens the doors to further education like vocational training, university education or teacher education so effects are likely to have a spillover to other sectors in the country.

In view of the above the study included participants from urban schools and rural schools. Then schools in terms of ownership it included government, church school and local authority. No private schools were included in the study as these were not found in the area under study. Heads of schools, teachers, parents and pupils were participants for the study.

1.7 The aim of the research

Economic stability increases the ability of parents to pay for their children's education. Funds paid help to develop schools. The state is also able to pay teachers' salaries and ensure that standards are maintained. Political stability is an important factor that guarantees social development such as in education. Political instability in Zimbabwe was not limited to central corridors of power. Political instability was felt in communities and by individuals as political parties use rallies, the youth and schools to influence potential voters to vote for them. The state has battled with a lot of issues during the economic and political crisis. Hence the importance of this research is to find out the impact of instability in education using the following aim: To analyse the effects of economic instability and political instability on decentralized secondary schools in Mashonaland Central Province.

1.8 Objectives of the study

- a) To analyse how stakeholders in decentralised secondary schools were affected by economic instability.
- b) To analyse how stakeholders in decentralised secondary schools were affected by political instability.

1.9 Research questions

The main research question is: How were secondary school actors in decentralised secondary schools affected by political and economic instability? The sub-questions were:

- a. What were the effects of economic instability on stakeholders in decentralised secondary schools?
- b. What were the effects of political instability on stakeholders in decentralised secondary schools?

1.10 Limitations

The research was carried out in one province so the results may not be generalized to other provinces because political and economic instability may affect people differently depending on culture or the leaders of the area. For example, political instability affected schools in different ways as some were used for rallies while others were not. Even for economic instability schools were affected differently as some were better resourced to cushion themselves than others. But

despite these limitations the study made use of different categories of schools to find out how each of them was affected.

Studies about political instability are characterized by fear and suspicion. People directly affected by political violence did not want to open up for fear of possible harassment. For example, in this study some parents were reluctant to talk about political challenges as they feared repercussions. Some respondents did not want to open up old wounds. Participants were assured by the fact that their names were not be revealed in the study and that the researcher was given permission to carry out the study.

Studies about economic instability may also be affected by participants' reluctance to open up about their own economic weaknesses. Participants did not want to reveal how they were negatively affected by economic problems, viewing this as an embarrassment. For example, teachers were reluctant to reveal how they were involved in manual labour in order to survive the economic challenges. Triangulation of research instruments and methods, focus group discussion, interviews, instruments and observation of sites was used to mitigate this problem.

The non-availability of some key informants either through work commitments or had transferred to other areas when the study was carried out. Or in the case of students who directly experienced the instability had completed school so were not available as participants.

1.11 Key concepts

The study is guided by concepts which relate to social capital, decentralisation and instability as they are situated in the field of sociology of education.

1.11.1 Social capital concepts

1.11.1.1 Trust

Trust is a key component of social capital (Colletta and Cullen, 2000, Rahn, 1997). Although people usually talk about trust as something normal in their relations, Brewer (2003) argues that trust is “complex and multidimensional construct that has many meanings.” Trust is ‘the belief that somebody or something is good, sincere, honest ... and will not try to harm or deceive you’ (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary). Newton (2001) says that trust is the belief that a person or group of people possess certain characteristics such as honesty and reliability and that they are

not a threat. Giddens (1990:34) views trust “as the confidence in the reliability of a person or system, regarding a given set of outcomes as events, where that confidence expresses a faith in the probity or love of another, or in the correctness of abstract principles technical knowledge.” Giddens goes on to say trust is a form of faith while Simmel (cited in Giddens, 1990) is of the opinion that trust “exists when we believe in someone or some principle.” From the definitions, characteristics of trust can be deduced as belief that someone or something is reliable, honest, sincere, poses no harm, has faith, is not selfish or has love or not prone to deceiving. These attributes are important in how organisations such as schools are administered.

Trust is found in different forms: trust specific, generalized trust, trust deep and unflinching, cautious and measured (Young, 2014:39). These various types of trusts have different effects in various situations (ibid). According to Colletta and Cullen (2000), trust assists in the efficiency of institutions. Conrad (2007) adds that trust facilitates coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit as people do useful things for each other. Fukuyama (1995) sees trust in society as something which may lead to prosperity, competition and democracy while Brewer (2003) believes that trust has a link with a stable democracy and economic progress. People who trust others are themselves trustworthy and unlikely to cheat or steal and likely to cooperate (Rahn, 1997).

Trust is affected in a variety of ways by different situations. It is affected negatively by internal conflict while external conflict increases trust (Newton, 2004, Colletta and Cullen, 2000). Trust may also be decreased by bribes (Rothstein and Eek, 2006).

1.11.1.1 Norms

Norms are the rules and behavioural expectations present in a social network (Young, 2014:39). Kim et al (2015:91) add that norms are the rules that a group uses for appropriate and inappropriate values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Sherif (cited in MacDonald and Fielding 2013:213) claim that norms “are the accepted or implied rules about how people should, and do, behave.” According to Young (2007:1) social norms are “customary rules of behavior that coordinate our interactions with others.” From these definitions it is clear that norms are guidelines or rules or procedures about how we should act or behave in a particular situation or interaction.

Norms guide people on what they should do in a particular situation or interaction. A person does not have to think about a new way of acting but falls on the norms.

1.11.1.3 Networks

Newman (2003:174) defines a social network as “a set of people or groups of people with some pattern of contacts or interactions between them”. Katz et al (2004:308) define a social network as consisting of “a set of actors and the relations between these actors.” Networks are found in family ties, friends, informal associations and formal group membership (Young, 2014). Schools as organisations are also characterized by social networks.

Tamim (2014) identifies three networks as bonding links, bridging links and linking. Bonding links are strong linkages between similar people who ensure stability but tend to lead to inertia and closure (ibid). Bridging links are weak links which often lead to valuable new opportunities. Linking networks is intermediate category that consists of links between people from different social categories and favours stability and openness.

Young (2014:39) says that networks form the “structural backbone of social capital” and are necessary for the generation of other forms of social capital such as trust, reciprocity and collective action. Putman (1995) adds that networks develop reciprocity while Rothstein and Eek (2006) are of the opinion that they increase trust.

Networks are important as they facilitate coordination and cooperation, collective action, emotional support, communication, increased contacts and social mobility (Tamim, 2014; Gosine and Islam, 2014; Putman, 1993; Brewer, 2003, Rothstein and Eek, 2006; Colletta and Cullen, 2000). The other benefits of networks include empowering people (Gosine and Islam, 2014), mutual assistance and use of resources (Colletta and Cullen, 2000), sympathy and solidarity (Farr, 2004). Networks also have the positive effect of discouraging bad behaviour such as self-interest (Brewer, 2003) or corruption (Rothstein, 2013).

Networks have their own bad side. For example networks may restrict the number of people one is involved with hence limiting sources of information or they can act as a screen and a hoard of information in order to disadvantage others (Schuller and Field, 1998: 233). Haynes (2009) adds that networks hinder decision making (as a person has to think about the networks) and may also

create barriers to meritocracy or hamper opportunities of members by placing obligations and restrictions.

1.11.1.4 Reciprocity

Reciprocity, according to Gouldner (cited in Mazelis, 2015:112), is a “mutually gratifying pattern of exchanging goods and services” which is based on “trust, obligation and mutuality” (Hansen cited in Mazelis 2015:112). Molm (2010) adds that reciprocity is “the giving of benefits to another in return for benefits received.”

There are two types of reciprocity, direct and indirect (Mazelis, 2015). Direct reciprocity, also known as specific reciprocity, is when two actors give benefits to one another in an even exchange while indirect reciprocity, also referred to as generalized, is when an actor gives assistance with the expectation that they will receive benefit from elsewhere. The idea of reciprocity is premised on the principle of giving and receiving. Each actor has rights and duties which mean that if a person wants help he/she must also help. The classical idea by John Rawls known as Theory of Justice (Janjuha-Jivraj and Spence, 2009) says everyone would prefer to be treated fairly by others so people should treat others fairly as well.

Other forms of social capital, such as networks and social capital as a whole, depend on reciprocity (Brown, Forsyth and Berthelot, 2014; Furstenberg, 2005). Reciprocity changes support into social capital (Mazelis, 2015). Reciprocity is also able to bring about successful outcomes in education, socio-economic status and unemployment (Brown, Forsyth and Berthelot, 2014).

Reciprocity is an important aspect of social capital. It is at the centre of human existence and relations (Janjuha-Jivraj and Spence,2009), it binds larger social groups into a moral community (ibid), promotes bonds of trust, effective regard and solidarity (Molm,2010), has expressive value in addition to the instrumental value (ibid) and is crucial for survival (Mazelis, 2015).

1.11.2 Decentralisation

Decentralisation is the opposite of centralization. It has been defined in a variety of ways. For example Aikara (2011:166) defines decentralisation “as a process of dispersing power so that the closer the power goes down to where a programme of action takes place, the more efficient would be the functioning of the programme.” Chao (2012: 32) says “decentralisation is the transfer of power from central to local government.” De Guzman (2007) refers to decentralisation as “the

dispersal of power and authority from the centre to lower level institution for greater access to government institution.” Kemmerer (cited by Cuellar- Marchelli, 2001) defines decentralisation as “the transfer of decision making authority, responsibility and tasks from the central to sub-national agency.” From these definitions a number of characteristics of decentralisation emerge: dispersal of power, transfer of power, transfer of decision making authority, responsibility and tasks, power goes down to where a programme of action takes place from central to local government and for greater access to government institution.

In relation to education it can therefore be deduced that decentralisation is the transfer of power from the government to the school so that there is more access and efficiency in the provision of education. The definitions seem to leave the idea of participation by the local community where the lower level is located. Thus Aikara (2011:169) adds that decentralisation also involves community participation which is “the involvement of people or local group in undertaking an educational process or educational institution...” and that power is shared between the community and the school.

Decentralisation takes different forms depending on the degree or extent and on what is to be decentralised. For example, Chao (2012: 32) says decentralisation has three dimensions namely fiscal, administration and political. Chao goes on to say fiscal decentralisation is the capacity to generate own revenues and deliver basic public services; administrative decentralisation is about the power to make own policies, authority and the control of personnel; political decentralisation is the degree of representation of the locals and their requirements. Many authors (for example Aikara, 2011, Cuellar-Marchelli, 2001; Parry, 1997) regard decentralisation in terms of the degree of decentralisation when they categorize it as de-concentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation.

De-concentration is when the power of the central authority is distributed to various areas. Delegation is when power is transferred from the centre to the lower level that remains accountable to the central authority. Devolution is when power is transferred and located at the lower level that takes decisions in the specified spheres (Aikara, 2011: 167; Cuellar-Marchelli, 2001:146). Privatisation is when there is total transfer of all responsibilities and resources from the public to private sector (Cuellar-Marchelli, 2001: 146; de Guzman, 2007:617).

There is extensive literature which shows the benefits of decentralisation in education (see for example Hope 2012; Lyon, 2013; Cuellar-Marchelli, 2001). Hope (2012, 90) cites a British Minister of Education as saying decentralisation in education frees leaders from bureaucracy, allows for innovation, excellence, inspiration for others, diversity and professional freedom. Lyon (2013:493) adds that decentralisation enables people to have control over their own affairs, to have a sense of security, to protect cultural identity, to participate in preferences and design and to achieve political realism. Cuellar-Marchelli (2001:146) also believes that decentralisation assists in redistribution of power, reduction of financial burden and in fostering greater efficiency in the use of resources. Decentralisation is a popular strategy for achieving greater responsiveness to citizens, improving decision making and improving service delivery (Parry, 1997: 211).

However, others are skeptical about the success of educational decentralisation. For example Prawda (1993) says that decentralisation did not improve quality of service delivery in Latin America. Geo-Jaja (2006) asserts that decentralisation on its own cannot improve education service delivery. The success of decentralisation is debatable, argues Cuellar-Marchelli (2001:148), because it may lead to more inequalities and disparities in the quality of services. Zajda (2006) denounces decentralisation as a system which may negatively affect poor families as it increases the gap between poor and rich schools. There is also the danger of decentralizing despotism as there is the possibility that the system will be controlled by local strongmen (Heller, 2001). This may also lead to the scourge of corruption at local level (Hallak and Poisson, 2001).

Despite the problems of decentralisation there is still optimism that educational decentralisation will achieve desired results provided certain conditions or actions are met. For example, Geo-Jaja (2006) suggests that increased public spending, macro-economic stabilization and greater tax revenues may improve decentralisation in education. Conyers (2003) also believes that decentralisation should be supported by adequate financial resources. The state should continue to be available to assist (Sleegers and Wesselingh, 1993). There is need for the state to have a high degree of central state capacity and an involvement of a well-developed civil society for educational decentralisation to be successful (Heller, 2001). The local actors and top officials should be prepared to change the status quo and accept the transformation brought about by new dispensation of decentralisation (Bjork, 2006, Chikoko 2009).

1.11.3 Political instability

Breuning and Ishiyama (2011: 1008) define political instability as the “incidence of civil war or intrastate conflict”. According to Breuning and Ishiyama (2011) the indicators of political instability include conflict incidences, anti-government demonstrations, riots and crime. Urdal (2006) adds that political instability encompasses such forms of social unrest like protests, riots and terrorism. The manifestations of political instability are politically-motivated violence, mass civil protests, instability within the political regime and instability of the political regime (Jong cited in Poveda, 2011:2). Aurore (2012) defines political instability as a “sum of political events including assassinations, strikes, guerrillas, government crisis, purges, riots, anti-government demonstrations and revolutions.”

On the causes of political instability, Aurore (2012) identifies political and economic factors. Under political factors he identifies the type of regime. For example he says political instability, such as violent change, is prevalent in autocracies while democracies have less instability. Key (cited in Fagbadebo 2007:32) adds that “failure of a political class to sufficiently adhere to the basic tenets of democracy and constitutionalism” is a factor for political instability. In addition, awareness of rights through education may lead to an increase in social protest (Aurore 2012). Under economic factors many issues were summarized by Aurore (2012) as being responsible for political instability: trade openness, inflation, strength of economy, poverty, economic development, income inequality, economic inequality or the presence of middle class. For example an economy with high inflation is a fertile ground for political instability while a weak economy may also lead to political instability.

Campos and Gassehner (2013) identify two forms of political instability as milder political instability and severe political instability. Milder political instability is characterized by anti-government demonstrations and strikes, while severe political instability is indicated by violent acts such as guerrilla warfare, civil wars and riots. In Zimbabwe political instability since 2000 has been characterized by government crisis, demonstrations, strikes, social unrests which can be termed mild political instability.

1.11.4 Economic instability

Elliot et al (2013:461) refer to economic instability as income shocks, asset shocks, home loss and asset poverty. Economic instability is characterized with severe macro-economic instability,

reform that is slow, weak institutions, domestic and international burdens, dominant informal sector and crime (Dimitrov, 1999). This is worsened by absence of rule of law, absence of checks and balances and competition, and of a social safety net (ibid). The end results of all these aspects of economic instability are loss of value for assets, low life expectancy, tension in society, insecurity and loss of will to reform (ibid).

Okpala and Jonsson (2011:88-91) identify corruption, crime, misuse of official power, urbanization and literacy rates as some of the causes of economic instability. Possible consequences of economic instability on families include “risk of marital dissolution, family disorganization, physical abuse, child neglect, family breakdowns, frustration, anger, general demoralisation and health problems” (Conger et al, 1992:526). Elliot (2013:469) discovered that “early economic hardships in a child’s life, especially before eleven years, can have a negative effect on a child’s academic achievement.”

The economic history of countries is characterized by economic instability indicated by depressions and booms, unemployment, major depressions and minor slumps and inflation (Claessens and Kose, 2013). The history of the countries in the world is characterized by “crises and collapse” (Grinin, 2012:126). Grinin goes to add that instability in countries is inevitable and is a result of systems and evolution. Zimbabwe had its share of economic challenges since independence but the challenges from about 2000 have been acute and long standing leading to the country having the highest inflation in the world in 2008. Another disturbing feature of the economic problems in the country is the unwillingness of the outside world to assist because of a number of reasons such as governance issues, issues to do with the land reform or failure to service loans. Hence the economic instability has dragged on for a long period which had an impact on social institutions such as education.

1.12 Summary

The first chapter has presented the introduction to the study. This included personal experiences and motivation, the background, statement of the problem, statement of purpose, rationale and significance, delimitation, limitations, the goals, objectives, research questions, assumptions and key concepts. The next chapter deals with the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER TWO THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

According to Cochrane (2005:3) a theory “is there to help understand the empirical work.” Love (2002:411) argues that theoretical perspectives are essential aspects “for research planning, research and thesis writing.” He adds that theories help to guide research consciously or unconsciously in the development of research and a thesis. Thus Phillips and Pugh (1992) point out that exposition of theories is important as it enables readers and peer reviewers to understand and reach similar conclusion as the researcher. A theoretical framework should be clear about assumptions and theories underpinning the approach, identifies core concepts and positioning of the thesis in the field (Tilse, undated).

In this study which is about the effects of political and economic instability in decentralised secondary schools, Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical approach, and in particular his concept of habitus,

was selected as a relevant theoretical perspective. The concept assisted in understanding how the behaviour of stakeholders and relations among them in decentralised secondary schools were affected. Decentralised secondary schools' relationships are based on local people who are stakeholders, including teachers, parents and pupils, working together for the benefit of educating pupils. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and social capital help in analysing how trust, reciprocity, norms, networks and obligations were affected by economic and political instability. This chapter explicates the habitus concept and its relevance for the analysis of the questions of this study.

2.2 Selecting the theoretical framework

The main question that this study intends to answer is how economic and political instability affected decentralised secondary schools in Zimbabwe. In carrying out this study it was known that the government of Zimbabwe has policy guidelines on decentralisation of the education system (Chikoko, 2006). Studies have shown that there is a link between social capital and decentralisation. For example, Seligson (2004) shows that decentralisation helps to build social capital. This is done through encouraging participation and accountability. Salman and Igbal (2009) argued that decentralisation is instrumental in strengthening social capital. In addition Werner (2001) believed that school based administration systems help to promote community level social capital. Writing about educational decentralisation, de Mello (2000) argued that decentralisation can boost social capital. Collectively these studies show that when states decide to decentralize, they are in actual fact helping local communities or institutions to build social capital. This can be linked to what Seligson (2004) called the typology of progress-prone and progress resistant which shows that social behaviour involves cooperation, affiliation and participation rather than individualism and anomie. Thus central to this typology is the role of social capital in development as popularized by Putnam (1993), Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986). Social capital is important in education as it drives the whole system to function. The concept of social capital is derived from the theory of habitus. In the following sections the theory of habitus and how it links to social capital is outlined, discussed, analysed and evaluated.

2.3 The concept of habitus

Habitus originates from the Latin word "habere" which means to have or to hold (Swartz 2002: 61S). Lizardo (2012) traces the idea of habitus from the works of ancient thinkers like Aristotle

and Aquinas up to the contemporary work of Bourdieu's work on social theory. Aristotle used it as a Greek word "hexis" which means having or acquired or trained disposition to do certain activities when one encounters particular objects or situations (ibid). Aquinas related the idea of habitus to efforts made by society to train a person to act in a moral manner (ibid). Later theorists like Durkheim referred to habitus in terms of social relations based on distinct groups (ibid). More recently Bourdieu uses the word to explain how human action is regulated to follow a certain pattern without necessarily being influenced by authority or external force (Swartz, 2002:61S). Habitus is the process whereby individuals have acquired particular dispositions which influence how they behave or act in particular encounters (Reay et al 2009:1105). In this study the encounters involve economic and political instabilities.

Bourdieu (1990:53) defines habitus as "a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures...." Taking a cue from Bourdieu's definition, Maton (2008:2) defines habitus as the "property of actors that comprises a structured and a structuring structure." For Nicolaescu and Contemir (2010:14) habitus is "a system of dispositions that generate practice and perceptions, a normal or typical state of appearance of the body." These rather complex definitions have been simplified by other authors. Walther (2014:13) says habitus is a "tendency to always act the same way in similar situations." From these definitions it can be deduced that habitus is what an individual does in the same way in similar situations and then changes when the situation requires one to do so. This is critical for this study which sought to uncover how secondary schools were affected by situations which were unstable. The actors had particular habitus but were confronted with abnormal situations which affected them. This is in line with the way Bourdieu uses habitus to explain human action (Swartz, 2002:62S). Thus the idea of habitus is embedded in the theory of action (ibid). Action of human beings is strategic and practical to them, not just subjective or objective (Bourdieu cited in Swartz, (2002:62S). How human beings act is based on "past experiences and opportunities and constraints offered by present situations" (Ngarachu, 2014:59). So Swartz (2002:63S) argues that habitus leads to "practices of a particular manner of style." For example, habitus influences a person to refuse or attempt to avoid those situations that he/she is not familiar with to suit prevailing circumstances.

Many authors agree that habitus is a product of past experiences which begins at family level through a process of socialisation (Ngarachu, 2014; Di Maggio cited in Reay et al, 2009; Pickel, 2009; Lizardo, 2012). For example, Ngarachu (2014:59) says habitus is “based on experience.” Pickel (2005:20) believes habitus is “related to the power a person has.” Tabb (2011) argues that habitus coincides with our class position. It is therefore the result of socialisation which starts in the family and goes on at school level. This has been termed primary habitus and secondary habitus by Walther (2014:13). Secondary habitus builds on primary habitus. This shows that habitus has a tendency to adapt to situations a person meets in various institutions, which Bourdieu (1990) refers to as fields.

A field is a social space that is relatively autonomous from its environment (Buchholz 2016; Warde, 2004). Habitus is formed in a field which can be “social, political or economic” (Gennrich, 2015:5). For Pickel (2005:16), habitus is found in “concrete social systems like a family, firm, school or organisation.” Education is an example of a social field which means a school is a form of field. A field is a “dynamic social arena” (Gennrich, 2015:5) which may bring about changes to the actors within. For example, Warde (2004:12) argues that a field is “an arena of constant struggle for stakes.” Indeed, Ngarachu (2014:11) see fields as “power arenas” and regard the field of education as such an arena where there is a “constant power struggle among actors striving to maintain the positions they have.” Education within a particular country is a field which has sub-fields in different provincial education departments and further sub-fields at individual schools. As such, schools are sites or fields of struggle between heads, teachers, pupils, parents and other stakeholders. These are “agents who negotiate their activities and positions according to how they perceive their roles in the objective reality of the school as a field” (Gennrich, 2015:5). As noted by Warde (2004:12) the way the agents negotiate their activities depends on the capital which they possess: a “field has structured positions whose occupants typically have different resources and dispositions.” The resources and dispositions constitute the capital which people possess. For Bourdieu, there are three main types of capital, namely economic, cultural, social (Bourdieu, 1986; Nicolaescu and Contemir, 2010).

Economic capital relates to material and financial resources, cultural capital is about symbolic goods, skills and titles and social capital refers to affiliation to a group (Bourdieu, 1986; Nicolaescu

and Contemir, 2010). Capital embodies the resources (possessions) that an individual has at her/his disposal that are valued in the game (Gaddis, 2012). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) use the word 'game' in a colloquial way to try to explain what happens in a social field characterised by different players. For Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:62), a "feel for the game" enables some players who possess similar capital in the field to become effective and succeed. This is further elaborated by Martina (2006) who says a feel for the game means knowing the rules of the game which implies an understanding of how a game is played. This knowledge is then used to benefit one's own trajectories or life using relationships with those with similar status. If one is a part of a field it would mean one has a liking for the game (Larson, et al, no date) or if a person is disadvantaged he/she may not a liking of the game. When one has a "liking for the game it will lead to the acquisition of routines" (McKinnon, 2016:535). The importance of feel for the game which has become routinized is summarized by Darmody (2012:533): it enables members to act without laboring much on what to do; it helps members to develop new behaviours, skills and tastes when an individual confronts uncomfortable situations; and be able to overcome discomfort by retreating to one's comfort zone. In terms of this research stakeholders in secondary schools knew what was expected of them so they had a feel for the game. Teachers knew what was expected of them in the game. Students knew what was expected of them. Parents knew what was expected of them and so did heads of schools. But since 2000 stakeholders in secondary schools have been confronted with uncomfortable situations which did not allow them to play the game as usual. The uncomfortable situations were the political and economic instabilities experienced in the country since 2000. How did the instabilities change the feel for the game? How were the routines affected?

Habitus expresses an individual's disposition that stems from her/his position in the game or her/his feel for the game (Gaddis, 2012). For example, in the education field students are one set of actors whose goal is to meet the standards in order to move to the next level of the game (ibid). Teachers are another set of actors whose goal in the game is to ensure that students meet the standards of the game by assisting them to learn. Parents are another set of actors whose goal in the game is to provide the necessary resources/economic capital to help students succeed in the game. It then follows that students' success in the school relies on "capital from their families, community and previous experiences" (Gaddis, 2012:4). Proper use of capital results in success, and positive feedback from teachers builds students' confidence which in turn changes their

habitus (ibid). This study uses the lens of habitus and social capital to analyse how secondary schools were affected by economic and political fluctuations and instabilities in the country.

2.4 Habitus and education

There have been many studies which show the importance and usefulness of habitus in education. Thus Czerniewicz and Brown (2014:4) remarked, “Habitus has been widely used in education.” For example, studies indicate how habitus is a factor on how students perform in schools (Bourdieu, 1986; Sullivan. 2002; d’ Almeida 2016). It has also been the lens for many studies which want to find out how disadvantaged children mediate their educational experiences (Lehmann, 2013; Dumais 2002; Martina, 2006). Many studies on education refer to the work of Bourdieu and his ideas on habitus and cultural reproduction in schools. The studies also use his ideas of the social field relating to education as a field with various actors who are competing.

This study is not focusing on the performance of students in secondary schools. Instead the study intends to use the concept of habitus as a lens to study how secondary schools as social fields are affected by economic instability and political instability. The habitus lens has been found to be useful because of characteristics which it possesses: First habitus influences/disposes actors to do certain things (Mills, 2008). This is what Bourdieu says of habitus as ‘structuring.’ Secondly habitus is not fixed or permanent but “changes as a result of unexpected situations” (Maggioli, 2014:190). This is similar to what Schaeider and Lang (2014) refer to as habitus transformation. Third is that the habitus of different actors in a field is different. This means the habitus of teachers, students, parents and teachers is not the same. As observed by Darmondy (2012:533), “habitus refers to the essence of being a person.” Thus Darmondy (2012:533) explains that each of the stakeholders in the school has own “opinions and outlooks.” For example, McKinnon (2016:536) identifies some students’ habitus as “listening, memorizing, learning for compliance and attending and responding to the demands of teachers.” Furthermore the same author (page 538) identifies the habitus of teachers in the school as “helping children to learn and change, to mark and grade the work of students, exercising authority and dominant habitus.” Fourth is that habitus is a strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations (Mills, 2008). And last is that habitus has capacity for improvisation (Czerniewicz and Brown, 2014). This means habitus has capacity to be innovative.

2.5 The concept of social capital

Allison Smith et al (2002) traced the idea of social capital historically, from the work of Durkheim on group life to Marx's work on class-in-itself and capital. They go on to trace the idea to the work of Halifan, described as a political reformer, who defined social capital as it related to community centres. The work of Royal Commission of Canada's Economic Prospects (1957) showed how social capital is linked to physical infrastructure. Then there is the work of Jacobs in 1961 who wrote about social capital and neighbourhoods. In the 1970s Loury and Light (Smith et al, 2002) applied the concept of social capital to problems of inner-city development. In the 1980s and 1990s the concept was popularized by Bourdieu (1984), Coleman (1987) and Putnam (1995) who linked the concept to the social sciences with special reference to education.

Since the 1990s the academic field has widely used the concept of social capital. Smith et al (2002:4) say the idea of social capital is "complex and escapes easy definition." Nan Lin (2005:3) points out that social capital "has captured the imagination and attention of wide range of scholars and professionals in diverse disciplines and practical arenas." Lin (2003) also outlines the development of the concept of social capital using the work of various authors. Lin divides the idea of capital into two stages: the classical theory which is attributed to the work of Karl Marx; and neo-capitalist theories with three strands, namely human capital attributed to the work of Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker; cultural capital attributed to the work of Bourdieu; and social capital attributed to the work of Lin, Burt, Marsclen, Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam. The works of these theorists indicate that all forms of social capital are characterized by investment from which members later get returns or benefits. For example, for human capital there is investment in skills, for cultural capital there is investment in culture and for social capital there is investment in relations with others. Thus as an arena of social relations schools are characterized by social capital. The aim of the study is to explain the effects of political and economic instability using the concept of social capital as it relates to the theory of habitus.

2.6 Description of the concept of social capital

Since the inception of the idea of social capital, social scientists have proffered a variety of definitions. Prominent among the many definitions are definitions by classical theorists: Putnam (1993); Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988). Coleman (1988:598) defined social capital as something defined by its function:

It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of actors- whether persons or corporate actors- within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible. ... Social capital is not completely fungible but may be specific to certain activities. A given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful for others. ... Social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors.

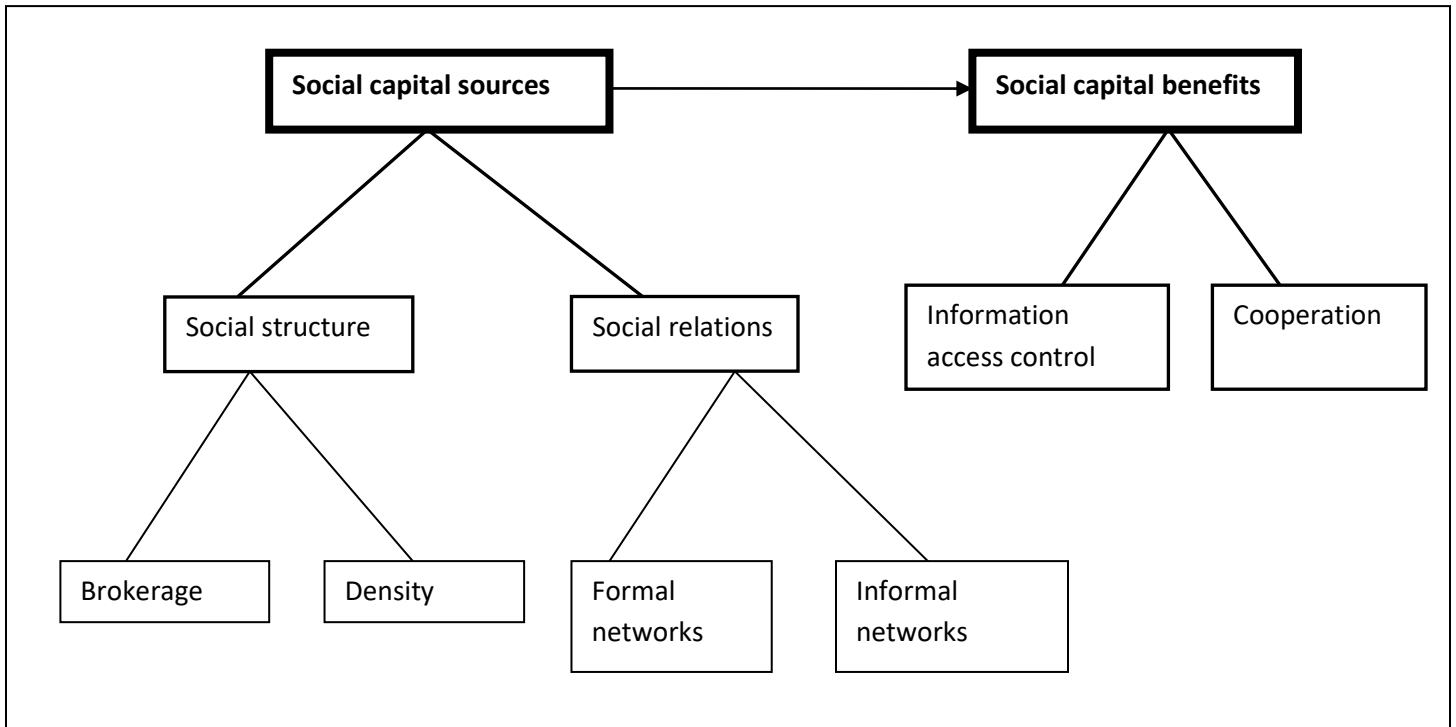
Bourdieu (1986:249) defined social capital “as the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition”. Putnam (1993:167) defined social capital as “features of social organisation such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”. Most of the authors on social capital use the above definitions to inform their own work on social capital. Others also refer to a century-old-definition by Halifan (1916:130) who defined social capital as:

... those tangible substances (that) count for most in the daily lives of a people, namely goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse, among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit, the rural community whose logical center is the school.

These various definitions show that social capital emanates from relationships. The secondary school is a field where relationships matter. There is relationship between the teacher and pupils, parents and teachers, teachers and head of the school and the school and various other stakeholders. Thus Bjornkov and Sonderskov (2012:1228) pointed out that “numerous conceptualizations have emerged from the original concepts.” The definitions indicate that social capital is found in relationships between two or more people. Thus Bjornkov and Sonderskov (2012:1225) declare that “human relations are important ... otherwise there would be no society to talk about.” Another characteristic deduced from the definitions is that social capital has value or benefits for members who belong to a group. Most of the definitions show the elements which enable the running of schools. The elements which matter include trust, norms, reciprocity and obligations. The development of schools is based on social capital. Hence this study aims to use the concept of

social capital to explain how economic and political instability affected social capital in decentralised secondary schools.

2.7 Model of Social Capital



Adapted from Gabriel R Gonzalez (2014: 77-94)

The model above is based on definitions put forward by various authors as analysed by Burt (2000). For example Coleman (1990 and 1998) defines social capital as a function of social structure producing advantages. Bourdieu (1986) says social capital comprises resources that result from social structure. Putnam's (1993) definition also echoes the importance of social structure as a source of social capital when he says, "social structure here refers to features of social organisation such as trust, norms and network..." Thus social capital has advantages in people's lives. Hence people who are better connected enjoy higher returns (Burt 2000). Burt (2000) argues that both formal and informal social relations provide communication channels and protection from unfair deals.

The model also shows that social relations are a source of social capital. Tan et al (2015) used the work of Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), Burt (1992, 2000) and Loury (1977) to show that social capital is a set of resources embedded in relationships. Social capital is seen as a potential advantage, such as resources, information or knowledge, which comes from the social structure

which helps to improve the efficiency of individuals or the society by facilitating coordination (Putnam, et al 1993:167). Burt (2000) goes on to show that the structure of the network, whether in individuals or organisations, affects flow of information and how it is used by members. Collective social capital is available to all members in a network. Hongseok Oh et al (cited by Tan, 2015) defined group social capital as group members' social relationships within the social structure of the group itself, as well as in the broader structure of the organisation (for example the school and its stakeholders like the community, council and state). Thus the model indicates the sources and benefits of social capital. The benefits may accrue to individuals or to the collective. In the case of secondary schools as organisations with both formal and informal relationships social capital helps in the functioning of the school system. The aim of the study is to find out how the political and economic instability affected relations in secondary schools. In particular the study sought to find out how trust, reciprocity, the norms and networks were affected.

2.8 Benefits of social capital

Social capital has benefits which can be divided into social, economic and political benefits. A number of social benefits have been identified. Lin (2003) indicated that social capital, like belonging to a group, helps in emotional support. Wright and Fitzpatrick (2006) showed that adolescents and parents are assisted to improve their quality of life and their physical and mental health by social capital. Social capital also helps to reduce depression (Conrad, 2007). This means that social relations help to reduce stress or challenges experienced. Conrad added that bonding social capital helps "to get by in everyday life." When social capital is converted into cultural capital it assists members to get information, educational benefits and status (Barker, 2012; Schuller and Field, 1998, Son and Lin, 2008). Social capital, through influence, is important for the wellbeing and safety network of members (Wills-Herrera et al, 2011). Blair and Carrol (2008) argued that social capital is like a social economy as it assists the poor by enhancing their household incomes through working with others and getting information.

Social capital also facilitates economic benefits. For example social capital enhances the chances of employment through contacts (Conrad, 2007; Barker 2012; Wills-Herrera et al, 2011; Lin 2003). Important resources, like productive projects and loans, can be accessed through social capital (Barker, 2012; Wills-Herrera, et al 2011). Blair and Carrol (2008) identified three ways in which social capital is useful: it reduces the costs of negotiating and monitoring as this is taken care of

by trust; it replaces money exchange as this is taken care of by favours and for local development through sharing ideas and innovation. Thus social capital enables individuals to get micro-credit and business start-ups which are important for community development (ibid).

Social capital has political benefits. Wills-Herrera et al (2011) said that social capital provides a sense of security and support, especially when there is a crisis. Since social capital is about relations and knowing each other, it plays an important role in resolving conflicts (Blair and Carrol, 2008). Son and Lin (2008) pointed out that social capital is important for achieving collective goals such as participatory democracy. Democratic politics have more social capital than autocratic politics (Young, 2014:59).

2.9 Detriments of social capital

Social capital has its detriments. It is blamed for promoting closure, fostering inequality, limiting liberty of members and posing harm if based on gangsters.

Social capital is based on members belonging to a group. Thus Ogilvie (2004) and Krivokapic-Shoko (2007) argued that it promotes closure for those who do not belong to particular groups. In this way it leads to the exclusion of outsiders who are then denied access to information (Burt 2000, Denord et al, 2011) and other resources (Morrow, 2011). As Blair and Carrol (2008) have noted, “Excessive social capital locks out newcomers.” Tamim (2014:5) argued that social capital is mainly “class based and exclusive” and has a role to play in the reproduction of inequalities (Kwon and Alder, 2014:416). Indeed, Putnam (1995) argues that social inequalities may be embedded in social capital. This means that social relationships may be a source of class divisions as those who relate to each other may exclude others (also see Denord et al, 2011 and Bowles and Gintis, 2002).

Liberty may be reduced by social capital. Ogilvie (2004) believed that members of groups are monitored and those who violate rules and regulations are punished (also see Krivokapic-Shoko, 2007 and Burt, 2000).

Social capital can be harmful to members or communities. For example, social capital that is dysfunctional may lead to employing “less competent workers or having free riders” (Blair and Carrol, 2008:48). Social capital may be misused to undermine social cohesion and divide society

for individuals or a group to gain or exclude others which may result in conflict as what happened in Rwanda (Colletta and Cullen, 2000).

2.10 Social capital and education

The concept of social capital has been widely used in educational research. Most studies have shown that social capital has positive effect on academic achievement (Leeves, 2014). Other studies have shown that social capital is useful for students from disadvantaged background as they learn from others (Liou and Chang, 2008). Social capital assists students to have access to resources which others possess (ibid). Bourdieu (cited by Gudmundsson and Mikiewiwz (2012) adds that social capital is a resource which assists the individual to have quality relationships with others. The parent-teacher relationship is a form of social capital which is useful for schools to develop (Gudmundsson and Mikiewiwz, 2012). Schools benefit from such relationships by getting financial support, interdependence, democratic practices, responsibility and mutual support. From such relations members involved gain skills in civic affairs, social and professional support, or volunteering.

The teacher-pupil relationship is another important form of social capital in the field of education. This is an example of school-based social capital which Gudmundsson and Mikiewiwz (2012) assert has a positive effect on academic achievement. Horvat (cited by Gudmundsson and Mikiewiwz, 2012) pointed out that schools are middle-class institutions that reward middle-class behaviour. This means that students with middle-class backgrounds are more likely to benefit from schools than those from working-class backgrounds. This is because individuals with higher socio-economic status have higher social capital as a result of more networks they have (Leeves, 2014). This means that individuals with lower socio-economic status have lower social capital as a result of access to fewer networks. Or even if networks are many they may not be as rewarding as those of higher socio-economic status. This is particularly so in African rural areas which are characterised by lower socio-economic status as a result of lower stages of development. It means that rural secondary schools also suffer from the effects of lower socio-economic status.

2.11 Chapter summary

This chapter has introduced and discussed the concepts of habitus and social capital which guide this research. It has been shown that habitus and social capital are useful concepts as they apply to

the field of education and schools. The concept of habitus is useful because its characteristics as given by Bourdieu explains a field as constituted by actors who are dominate while others are dominated. The actors work together (with some) and struggle (against others) for resources. The concept of social capital is important as it explains relationships which are features of organisations like schools. The next chapter analyses previous studies on habitus and social capital in secondary schools which have been affected by political and economic instabilities. This enables the identification of knowledge gaps and methods which were used to carry out the studies.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents related literature on the effects of political and economic instability on decentralised secondary schools in Zimbabwe. The literature review uses the topical approach which involves breaking the topic under study into a number of sub-topics and discussing them one by one (Hart, 1998). In searching for literature a systemic approach was used making use of electronic bases in which key words were used. The chapter is organized as follows: brief background of education in Zimbabwe, decentralisation of the education system in Zimbabwe, sociology of education and social capital, secondary schools and social capital, the importance of social capital in schools, political instability and economic instability.

3.2 Brief background of Education system in Zimbabwe

The occupation of Zimbabwe by the British in 1890 brought with it a new system of education different from the informal education system that existed before colonization. The new system was characterized by use of classrooms and teachers to impart knowledge as opposed to learning at home from parents and relatives. The colonial system of education was characterized by racial discrimination and by separate systems of education for blacks and whites (Kanyongo, 2005; Swainson et al, 1998.) Ownership of schools during the colonial era was either private, government, council or missionary (Kanyongo, 2005).

During the war of liberation between 1966 and 1980 there was a disruption of schools, especially those in rural areas where the war was mainly fought. Some schools in rural areas were closed or forced to relocate to urban centres or protected areas. As a result of the war many pupils in rural schools failed to continue with their education. Only a few managed to be enrolled in urban schools to continue with their education. Some ended up joining the liberation war while others ended up as refugees in neighbouring countries (Kanyongo 2005; Shizha and Kariwo, 2011).

When the country achieved independence in 1980, the new government made education one of its top priorities (Kanyongo, 2005; Shizha and Kariwo, 2011). More primary and secondary schools were built. Schools destroyed during the war were rebuilt. Expansion at primary and secondary

levels led to expansion in the tertiary sector. The number of technical colleges, teachers' colleges and universities increased rapidly. For example, at independence there was only one university, but by 2010 the country had 13 universities. Expansion in education meant a dramatic rise in the literacy rate with the country being rated one of the top two on the African continent, competing with Tunisia.

The Zimbabwean Education System has three structures namely primary, secondary and tertiary (Kanyongo, 2005). Primary education lasts for seven years from Grade One to Grade Seven and is important for providing the basic skills such as reading, writing and numerical skills. In order to proceed to secondary education pupils should sit for examinations at Grade Seven. This is followed by secondary education which is divided into two: Ordinary Level from Form One to Form Four and Advanced Level from Form Five to Form Six. In order to proceed to Advanced Level a student should pass at least five subjects including English Language at Ordinary level. Advanced Level results are used as entry requirements for university education. Tertiary Education is made up of education provided by universities, teachers' colleges, polytechnics, agricultural colleges or any technical colleges or commercial colleges. This study is limited to secondary education for two main reasons: it has been the most affected by political instability and economic instability, and because of their age the students are vulnerable to political activities, with some taking part. The teachers at this level were perceived to be aligned with the opposition as a result of curriculum they taught and their alignment to their teachers' association which had links with the trade unions which had formed the main opposition party.

3.3 Decentralisation of the Education System in Zimbabwe

Decentralization in education is now common practice the world over (Aikara, 2011; Naidoo, 2005; Chikoko, 2006; Bjork, 2006; Bray & Mukundan 2003; Geojaja, 2006). Zimbabwe's education system is no exception. Although the education system in Zimbabwe enjoyed both aspects of being centralized and decentralised since 1890, the government of Zimbabwe decided to decentralise education in 1992 (Chikoko, 2006).

The first act to affect changes in the education system after independence was passed in 1987 which repealed the Education Act of 1979 (Ngwenya and Pretorius, 2013). The Education Act of 1987 abolished all forms of discrimination in education (ibid). The Education Act of 1987 was

amended by Statutory Instrument 87 of 1992 which gave powers to School Development Committees (SDC) (for non-government schools) and School Development Associations (SDA) (for government schools) in both primary and secondary schools to run affairs in their schools (Chikoko, 2006.). Since the Statutory Instrument 87 of 1992 which decentralised the education system in the country, revisions and improvements has been made to the act. The Education Act of 1996 revised the 1992 Act with main emphasis on how the finances of schools were to be handled by SDC. It made specific reference to the composition of Finance Committees in schools. The Finance Committee was composed of Head of School, Chairperson of the SDC, Vice Chairperson, the Deputy Head and responsible authority representative, The Education Act of 1996 was revised by the Education Act of 2006 which led to the formation of School Parent Assembly made up of all parents at a particular school who were responsible for electing School Development Committee to run the affairs of schools. The SDC was to be made up of parents, teachers and responsible authority. Responsible authority in relation to a school means "...a person, body or organisation responsible for the establishment and management of the school." (Education Act, Chapter 25:04, 2002:2). For example a school established by the Roman Catholic Church, the church becomes the responsible authority. The main objective of School Parent Assembly and SDC was to provide and assist in the operation and development of schools. This enabled parents to participate in "school development and boost mobilization of local resources" (Zvobgo cited in Ngwenya and Pretorius, 2013:136)

The main factors for decentralization hinged on the need to increase participation of citizens in running schools and to cut costs for the central government (Samkange, 2013). In Zimbabwe the 1992 decentralization of education was mainly driven by economic consideration as it came at the time the government was implementing the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (Swainson, et al, 1998). But from a sociological point of view it can also be argued that decentralization of the education system helps to increase interaction between the various stakeholders responsible for running schools. Decentralization is a way of building social capital which is crucial to how schools are governed. Decentralization also means that there is less state control in the activities of schools and more control and participation by those at local level.

Stakeholders at the local level responsible for running schools include heads of schools, teachers, pupils/students, parents, local authorities, education officials at district and provincial offices. The

types of social capital which are critical to how these stakeholders relate to one another are trust, reciprocity, norms, obligations and networks. There is wealth of literature which confirms the importance of various shades of social capital to education (see for example Liou and Chang, 2008; Cemalcilar & Goksen, 2014). In addition there is literature which shows how political instability and economic instability affect secondary schools but it is not adequate for Zimbabwe (Mapolisa and Tshabalala, 2013; Gwenhamo et al, 2012; Pswarayi and Reeler, 2012). Worse still the literature tends to generalize how secondary schools are affected without being specific about how trust, reciprocity or norms are affected. Yet issues to do with either political instability or economic instability are a common reality not only in Zimbabwe but throughout the world. Political and economic instability affect how various stakeholders relate to one another. They affect the trust, reciprocity, networks, norms and obligations but it is not known how exactly they are affected in secondary schools which are decentralised. This is the gap this study hoped to fill using the lens of habitus as the tool for explanation.

3.4 Sociology of Education and social capital

The study of the sociology of education is attributed to the pioneering works of Emile Durkheim who is considered to be the originator of the idea of sociology of education (Dworkin et al, 2013: 1; Sever, 2012:652). Many other theorists have added to the study of sociology of education such as Karl Marx with his conflict theory, Marx Weber with his ideas of social structure, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and Basil Bernstein's theory of language codes.(ibid,1). If we go back to the origin of the word 'sociology': socius (Latin) which means companion and logos (Greek) which means study of, it means sociology refers to the study of companionship or social relations (ibid). Extending this to sociology of education it means the study is concerned with relations of people involved in education. Thus sociology of education is defined by Saha (2011: 300) as "a study of educational structures, processes, and practices from a sociological perspective."

Trainee teachers in Zimbabwe and other countries the world over study the sociology of education as one of the foundation courses for education (Funnel, no date 1). Other similar courses are Psychology of Education and Philosophy of Education. The three courses help student teachers to understand the dynamics of what goes on in the classroom and the school. Teachers do not work in isolation but work with others which is the basis of social capital. This is why Saha (2011:299)

asserts that the “sociology of education is a core field within the discipline of sociology” It helps teachers to understand the schools they work in, the pupils they assist to learn and the communities where the schools are situated. In justifying the inclusion of the sociology of education in the curriculum of trainee teachers Daramola (2004) argues that the course assists them to learn about learners’ social behavior, activities at school, social life and how these are influenced by various groups, the environment at the school and home background. Thus the role of the school will be to ensure that every pupil is provided with ‘equal’ education which helps to bring about peace and development (ibid). Now in a country beset with political and economic instability, how does habitus and social capital assist to explain the effects? Although there is some literature which shows that instability affects what goes in schools (Pherali, 2011; Pswarayi & Reeler, 2012; Mapolisa and Tshabalala, 2013) there is dearth of literature of how habitus as a concept assist to explain the effects.

3.5 The importance of social capital in schools

There is a wealth of literature which indicates that social capital is crucial in the education system (Liou and Chang, 2008; Ceglie & Settlege, 2014; Cemalcilar & Goksen, 2014; Young, 2014; Allan & Catts, 2014; Tamim, 2014). In a review of literature on social capital and its relevance to education, Liou and Chang (2009:99) found that students from disadvantaged backgrounds benefit from caring relationships provided by school staff in terms of emotional and resource support. A study by Croniger and Lee cited by Liou and Chang (2008) show that students who have a high level of trust in their teachers are unlikely to drop out of school. In a survey study by Cemalcilar and Goksen (2014) it is shown that positive relationships between teachers, pupils and the community decreases the chances of pupil drop-out from school. In addition Muller (2001) found that teachers’ encouragement of students’ work has a positive influence on performance in Mathematics and in general helps to develop keenness to learn (Liou and Chang, 2008). The four crucial senses that are important for success in education as identified by Maenoff (1999) are a sense of connectedness, a sense of wellbeing, a sense of academic initiative and a sense of knowing (Liou and Chang, 2008).

Ozmete (n.d) emphasizes the importance of the school as one of the socializing agents which assists students to build social capital. Ozmete argues that students who have not been socialized properly in the family and hence feel insecure about relationships may not benefit from relations

at school because of skepticism based on earlier relations. This concurs with Fuller's (2014) argument about the importance of relationships in promoting objectives that are shared, bring about cohesion in communities and assist in building trust.

Schools are an arena of the three types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking (Catts and Ozga 2005; Conrad, 2007). There is bonding capital which is social capital of group members who are close, such as children and their parents. There is also bridging social capital whereby members of the school build relations with people outside the school or family, for example between students and employers, teachers and the community. The school is also characterized with linking capital in which there are connections between people of different social classes or status, for example between teachers and pupils, teachers and parents. Each of the three plays key roles in how schools are run. Conrad (2007) says bonding social capital is necessary as it assists in our everyday lives. For example, bonding capital helps to ensure that parents provide the necessary support for their children whilst at school. Bridging capital is important for relations between the school and other stakeholders and is essential to changing a person's situation/status (Conrad, 2007). Importantly, linking capital helps to relate people who are from different backgrounds.

The school is an institution that is characterized by "repeated cooperation" which helps to build social capital (Boix and Posner, 1998). When schools are open the pupils spend most of their time in the school interacting with other pupils, teachers and other members of staff and this helps to build social capital. The stock of social capital in turn assists in reciprocal relationships. There is also repeated cooperation among members of staff during meetings, in staff rooms and during the course of their work. There is also repeated cooperation by parents when they attend School Development Committee (SDC)/School Development Association (SDA) meetings or visit schools for consultation with teachers about their children's progress. The interaction among the various stakeholders helps to generate trusting relationships (Fu, 2004) which in turn generate social capital. The question is how all these are affected by political and economic instability.

3.6 Political instability

There is extensive literature on political instability in the world (Maclean, 2002; Pal, 2011; Breuning and Ishiyama, 2011; Campas and Gassebner, 2013; Gebremadhin and Mavisakalyan, 2013; Poveda, 2011; Alzaroo and Hunt, 2003; Lehmijoki and Palkangas, 2006; Alisina and

Roubini, 1992; Fagbadebo, 2007; Aurore 2013; Ejiogu, 2004; Ingram et al, 2013; Akhilu, 2010). These studies show that political instability is a problem in different countries the world over. They also indicate how political instability affects various activities in a state. For example Pal (2011) wrote on how political instability affected economic growth; Gebremedhin and Mavisakalyan's (2013) study was on political instability and immigrants; Alzaroo and Hunt's (2003) study was on education and conflict instability; Pswarayi and Reeler's (2012) research was on violence and education in Zimbabwe; Ostby and Urdal's (2010) study was on education and civil conflict. Given these varied issues of political instability Aurore (2013) pointed out that political instability is of concern especially in developing countries. Writing on political instability in Africa, Ong'aya (2008) argues that political instability in the form of violence results in the suffering of ordinary people who lose life and property. In addition political instability in Africa results in a "brain drain" which has negative effects on development (ibid). For example, in Zimbabwe it is estimated that many teachers left the country as a result of political and economic instability (Pswarayi and Reeler, 2012), with a subsequent negative impact on education. It is important that research establishes exactly why teachers left instead of just saying they left because of political and economic instability without the intricate details of how relationships were affected.

Political instability has been defined in various ways. Many definitions of political instability focus on what its characteristics are. For example Urdal cited by Ishiyama and Breuning (2011) refers to political instability as social unrest which features protests, riots and terrorism. Ishiyama and Breuning (2011) talk of political instability in terms of what its indicators are: conflict incidence, anti-government demonstrations, riots and crime rates. Campos and Gassebner (2013) take a slightly different dimension about political instability when they split it into two; namely milder forms of political instability and severe forms political instability. Milder forms of political instability are usually internal disputes such as demonstrations and strikes, while severe political instability are violent in nature with features such as guerrilla warfare, civil wars or riots. Poveda (2011:2) looks at political instability in terms of how it manifests itself: politically motivated violence, mass civil unrest, instability within the political regime and instability of the political regime. The above authors have attempted to define political instability using its characteristics but William cited in Ingram et al (2013: 94) took a different approach by providing a specific definition, "...a situation in which conditions and mechanism of governance and rule are

challenged as to their political legitimacy by elements operating from outside the normal operations of the political system.” The two ways of defining political instability, although they appear different, they are in fact complementary. The definitions which define political instability using its characteristics show the challenges the government in power faces when there is political instability while the specific definition reveals possible reasons for instability.

Based on these definitions, Zimbabwe’s political instability is best described by Poveda (2011) as being characterized by political violence, mass civil unrest and instability of both the opposition and party in power. But using Campos and Gassebner’s (2013) classification, political instability in Zimbabwe can also be described as both being mild and severe depending on the period. From around 1983 to 1987 some parts of the country, Matebeleland and Midlands experienced severe political instability as the government security forces had to deal with the “dissident problem” while provinces bordering Mozambique, Mashonaland Central and East, and Manicaland had to deal with cross border raids by insurgents fighting against the Frelimo government between 1980 and 1994. During general election time in 1985, 1990, 1995 and 1996, the political instability can best be described as being mild. But when the land reform programme was initiated from around 1997 the political instability became more than mild as civilians, with the ‘hidden support’ of soldiers, invaded farms and forced most of the white farmers off the land. The situation became worse when a referendum for a new constitution in March 2000 was held, parliamentary elections in June 2000 and presidential elections in June 2002 were held. The situation was further compounded when the electorate rejected the new constitution which meant a ‘no’ to the political party in power which wanted voters to accept it. So the campaign for the parliamentary elections was tense and sometimes brutal with the ruling party jittery that it may lose. The 2000 elections nearly toppled the ruling party from its majority in parliament when the opposition won nearly all urban seats. Thus from then on election time was a time of bitter contestations especially in rural areas where the ruling party still had a lot of support so did not tolerate any inroads by the opposition parties. Any individual or group who showed any opposition to the ruling party became an enemy of the ruling party. This is where schools became targets of the fight between the political parties. Teachers were perceived to be sympathetic to the opposition parties and hence became targets of the political activists who accused them of supporting the opposition and spreading propaganda during their teaching. The crisis in the conflict came in 2008 when the country had

harmonized elections, in other words, when elections for members of parliament, for the president and for local government were held simultaneously. Although the ruling party lost the presidential vote by a margin of 4 % it refused to surrender power arguing that the opposition did not get the 51% as required by law (Vollan, 2008). Thus the two presidential candidates had to go for a rerun. This was alleged to have resulted in the death of around 200 opposition members before the elections were held in June 2008. The level of violence was so severe that the opposition leader was forced to withdraw his candidature but the elections still went on resulting in the unopposed election of incumbent president. These details indicate that Zimbabwe experienced and still does experience some form of political instability which affects schools, hence this study's motive to find out how secondary schools were affected by political instability.

Political instability has been attributed to political and economic factors. Fagbadebo (2007:32) argues that political instability is a consequence of governments failing to stick to the basics of democracy and their constitutions. This then results in the abuse of power, corruption, failure to follow the rule of law, intolerance of opposition parties, abuse of electoral processes and weak institutions. In addition Ibrahim and Cheri (2013) and Ong'ayo (2008) blame leadership in Africa for political instability. They buttress their argument by analyzing how some liberation war heroes have turned out to be absolute rulers who use resources for their own benefit, are intolerant to opposition parties and use the same oppressive structures as previous colonial regimes.

Economic factors have also been blamed for political instability. Ghura and Marcreau (2004:14) argue that "poor economic performance is a factor in civil conflict." They give examples of external shocks in trade, low tax revenue, inadequate resources and corruption as indicators of economic problems. Kjaer (2011) points out that financial crisis may trigger socio-political instability. Financial crisis are indicated by low exports, high imports, inflation or problems with the banking sector. Kijkul (2013) says lack of economic growth could start political instability. Referring to them as risk indicators of political instability, Berthelemy and Kauffmann (2002:2) identify issues of economy which lead to political instability as unemployment among the youth, poverty, high migration rates and the wide gap between the rich and poor.

3.6.1 Political instability in Zimbabwe

The issue of political instability in Zimbabwe has a long history. Like any other country in the world, Zimbabwe has witnessed a history of vicissitudes. This can be traced back to the pre-colonial period when the country was in its formative stage as leaders fought each other for control and resources (Moyana, 2012, Beach, 1999). Then came the colonial period when the colonizer used force to subdue the local inhabitants. The colonial period was characterized by the colonized fighting for their independence (Fisher, 2010). After independence the country is still experiencing cases of instability as shown by political parties fighting each other especially during elections, disturbances in Matebeleland and Midlands provinces, the violent nature of the land reform programme which began around 2000, and the problematic elections between 2000 and 2008 as the ruling party faced its greatest political challenge since independence. This study is restricted to the period between 2000 and 2017 because the effect on the education system was intense and systematic as schools and teachers became targets of attack and humiliation (Pswarayi and Reeler, 2012). Thus Pswarayi and Reeler (2012) assert that the education system became politicized and militarized as some schools were occupied by militia, with some teachers being beaten for allegedly supporting the opposition parties and thus exposing pupils to violence.

There is a lot of literature which demonstrates the existence of political instability and its increase in Zimbabwe since 2000. Gwenhamo et al (2012:599) argue that the government's loss in the referendum of 2000 and its desire to win the 2000 parliamentary elections led to a violent crackdown on civil society and opposition political parties. In addition Chavhunduka and Bromley (2010:364- 365) point out that after 2000 land conflict reached its peak with the government reluctant to enforce the rule of law preferring to call the land invasions a form of demonstration with which the police were not allowed to interfere. Writing about instability in urban areas, Ranger (2007) identified Murambatsvina (Restore Order) of 2005, the dismissal of mayors chosen on opposition tickets and the use of police to stop demonstrations as akin to methods used during the colonial era for control and oppression. Then on elections in Zimbabwe, Matyszak (2011) says the main problem is that they are characterized by political violence with abductions of individuals being used as a way to intimidate, control and punish perceived enemies. Given such a scenario, RAU (2016:6) asserts that Zimbabwe is the most conflict-ridden country in SADC region. What is most disturbing is that some of the perpetrators of violence were government forces from the

army, police and secret agencies (RAU, 2016). This means that victims had nowhere to report to as the perpetrators were part of the state machinery. Many examples had been reported of victims who were arrested after reporting as victims. The results of the studies cited above show that political instability in Zimbabwe existed and was real. But the problem was that the government did not want to admit what was happening in the country (Pswarayi & Reeler, 2012). Failure to admit issues of political instability meant that nothing much was done to mitigate the problem. In such a state of political instability in the country the study hoped to find the effects this had on secondary school actors. There is literature available on effects of political instability on education, as analyzed below, but most of the literature is not from a sociological point of view. This study added to existing literature by using the lens of habitus.

3.6.2 The effects of political instability

Political instability literature indicates that it has adverse effects on various activities in a country. Fosi (2002) posits that political instability associated with coups impede economic activities. Overland (2005) asserts that political instability implies that there is risk and this limits investment and therefore slows economic growth. Stremlau and Price (2009) argue that post-election violence is problematic to political transitions, nation building and democratic principles and values. Salman (2013) said that political instability increases unemployment, inflation and security risk. In addition he says it reduces trust for creating wealth and economic planning. Aurore (2013) points out that high political conflict discourage investment. Business and leisure travel are negatively affected by political instability (Ingram et al, 2013). Colletta and Cullen (2000) state that violent conflict within a country weakens its social fabric, divides the population by undermining interpersonal and communal trust, destroying the norms and values that underlie cooperation and collective action for the common good and increasing the likelihood of communal life. This study focused on how secondary schools in Mashonaland Central Province were affected by political instability. The literature review is organised as follows: literature which relates to other parts of the world and then that which is about Zimbabwe.

In a study carried out in Iraq, de Santisaban (2005) found that sanctions and war caused a lot of problems for secondary education: drop-out rates increased, decline in literacy rates, inadequate resources such as buildings and materials, negative impact on teachers who were forced to have other jobs with some abandoning teaching whilst others provided extra lessons to survive. The

author concluded that in general the war had a negative impact on the lives of teachers and students. For Caddel (2009), educational rights are not fully enforced in politically unstable environments such as Nepal. The World Bank (2007) reported that political instability hinders educational development by creating uncertainties. Kafle (2013) goes on to add other effects of political instability: budgetary allocations and distribution, appointment of teachers, innovation and the teaching and learning environment. Other authors like Chawdhury (2016) found similar results which show that political conflicts had disastrous impact on school development in Bangladesh. In Lebanon, Save the Children (Sweden) (2008) found out that children were negatively affected due to exposure to violence, violent political groups and discrimination. Pherali's (2016) study in Nepal indicated that social intimacy between the school and community deteriorated as a result of conflict. In addition in Nepal, Pherali et al (2011) showed that teachers transferred because of war. A study by Wessel & Hirtum (2013) also in Nepal revealed that some students stayed away from school as a result of conflict between government forces and rebel Maoist forces. Dharel et al (2013) discovered that in Nepal parents preferred to send their children to study abroad as a result of political interference in their schools. A study by Pherali (2016) in Nepal revealed that teachers were forced to either support the Maoist fighters or government forces for their own safety. Studies carried out in conflict-affected countries have clearly revealed the negative effects of political instability on education with most of them not being specific to secondary schools. Most of them were written from various theoretical perspectives. For example, Pherali (2016) wrote his work from a view point of political economy while Smith (2014) wrote from a citizenship perspective. The present study adds to literature from a sociological perspective using the concept of habitus.

Political instability caused stress among the people in Africa making it difficult for them to concentrate on education. Ibrahim & Cheri (2013:63) asserted that political instability in Africa has “undermined the peoples’ traditional capacity to cope, leaving many of them at different stages of confusion, withdrawal or silent revolt,” resulting in many leaving their countries as refugees. Bousquette et al (2014) show that children in South Sudan lived in fear and distress as a result of conflict they witnessed. Smith (2014:14) argues that “rape and sexual violence are still used as weapons of war.” Thus Ong’ayo (2008) pointed out that political instability in Africa adversely affects education and infrastructure. The studies identified here provide generalisations on how people were affected by political instability without being specific to secondary schools and how

the stakeholders were affected. This study is specific to decentralised secondary schools and how teachers, parents and students were affected by using their experiences.

Studies in Zimbabwe show a similar trend like those in other parts of the world. Pswarayi and Reeler's (2012) study in Zimbabwe showed that political instability in Zimbabwe had many effects on education especially in rural areas where violence was rife: recruitment of qualified teachers became difficult, closure of schools, school attendance decreased especially for the girls as they became victims of sexual abuse and students were socialized into cultures of violence. A study by Reeler (2013) revealed that forced attendance at ruling party rallies disrupted lessons for some schools in Zimbabwe. Political instability affects teachers as teachers are affiliated to teachers unions which in turn are affiliated to political parties (Reeler, 2013). Human Rights Watch (2008) found that in other areas, such as Midlands Province in Zimbabwe, teachers were targeted by ruling party supporters, youth militia and war veterans because they perceived them to be opposition party supporters. The Research and Advocacy Unit (2019) reported that some schools were used as bases for youths of the ruling party which disturbed lessons. In an investigative report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (2017), it was revealed that school property such as buses and trucks were abused by being used to carry party supporters at ruling party political rallies. O'Malley (2011) said attacks on teachers and students induced fear which caused schools to close or teachers to stay at home in conflict affected countries such as Zimbabwe. As a result of these problems Pswarayi & Reeler (2012) partly attribute the high failure rate in some rural schools in Zimbabwe to militarization of the education system. In some cases schools recorded a zero-percent pass rate (ibid). The research identified by various studies covered the different schools in Zimbabwe but were not specific to secondary schools in a particular province as sought by the present study. In addition the respondents in the studies were not the stakeholders in secondary schools.

A disturbing feature of political instability in Zimbabwe was that some prominent political figures like parliamentarians were also involved in violence. For example, a report by Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002) showed that a Member of Parliament together with other ZANU (PF) activists beat an opposition political activist in Bindura. The same MP was reported by Guma (2006) of being implicated in the burning of four houses belonging to MDC supporters. These examples show that societies lived in constant fear making it difficult for them to be fully

committed in school activities. These are reports made by reporters in the province showing particular political incidents in the province and this study intends to establish whether such occurrences affected secondary schools.

Political instability affected students. For example Reeler (2013:4) revealed that students in Zimbabwe were sometimes “forced to attend rallies in order to indoctrinate them with ideology of the ruling party.” The use of drugs when there is political instability was noted by Mude (2014) who said some youths in Zimbabwe were given beer, drugs or money by political leaders as incentives for them to intimidate, beat or kill people opposed to their political views. The Constitution of Zimbabwe, Clause 81(h) (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013) forbids the coercion of students to be involved in political activities but literature here indicates that they were forced to participate. What is of concern is how some students ended up being involved in the use of alcohol and drugs or being involved in violent activities which had negative effect on their education. The present study would want to add on to the literature by finding out from the students themselves how they were affected by political instability.

The work of NGOs and social assistance programmes was affected by political instability. A study by Mago et al. (2015:67) in Zimbabwe confirmed that tense political environment forced NGOs to withdraw their assistance. In addition UNICEF (2009) says NGOs in Zimbabwe were banned by government to conduct field activities in 2008 as the government believed they were supporting opposition parties. A study by Mutambara (2016) revealed that agricultural inputs provided by the state were distributed along political party lines with opposition party supporters being denied access. Such assistance from NGOs or government helps to improve the livelihoods of people which in turn is important for educating their children. These previous studies on how social assistance was affected by political instability are general for various communities but this study is specific to how secondary schools were affected.

Teachers responded to political instability in a variety of ways which affected the smooth running of schools. Pswarayi & Reeler (2012:10) said that many teachers in rural areas in Zimbabwe “fled because of political persecution.” In addition, de Villiers & Weda (2017) indicated that many teachers in Zimbabwe migrated to South Africa as a result of many factors including political instability. This shows that political instability led to loss of qualified and experienced teachers in

rural areas. It became difficult for such schools affected to attract new teachers due to fear and so would go for a long time without any replacements. The responses of teachers in the present study were explained through the lens of Bourdieu's concept of habitus.

3.7 Economic instability

The problem of economic instability is a well-known phenomenon the world over. Fukuda-Parr (2013) suggests that the economic history of nations is characterized by depressions and booms. There is an abundance of literature on economic instability as researched by economists (see for example Sameti et al, 2013; Willianson, 2010; Wolf et al; 2014; Fakudu-Parr et al, 2013; Elliot et al, 2013; Grinin, 2012). While literature on economic instability is available it has been difficult to find literature that relates to the impact of economic instability in schools or in particular to secondary schools. Literature that has a relation to this study is the work of Willianson (2010) who researched the impact of economic problems on schools. Then there is also research by Holladay & Lockette (2009) whose study was on teaching in downtown schools, with a particular focus on the effects of economic crisis on children and families. The study by Elliot et al (2013) was on the effects of economic instability on children's educational outcomes. In Zimbabwe studies on the impact of economic instability on schools are available, but did not use habitus as a tool of analysis. There is literature which indicates that there is economic instability in Zimbabwe. For example, Mzumara's (2012) study on the overview of Zimbabwe's economic environment shows the magnitude of the economic crisis. The study by Kramarenko et al (2010) shows challenges and policy options after the hyperinflation. The study by Chitiyo & Kibble (2014) on Zimbabwe's international re-engagement also gives details of economic crisis Zimbabwe has gone through. The study by Chavhunduka & Bromley (2010) indicates how the land issue also contributed to the economic instability in the country. These studies collectively show that Zimbabwe has been in a state of economic instability since 2000, with some (Nkomazana & Tambudzai, 2009; Mzumara 2012) suggesting that the economic crisis was triggered in 1997 when the government decided to compensate the liberation war heroes using unbudgeted funds and Zimbabwe's participation in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The definition of economic instability is rather elusive, a point also alluded to by Azam (2000:1) when he says "...the concept is almost never really defined..." Most of the literature on economic instability accessed has hardly defined it but has identified its characteristics. For example, Elliot

et al (2013:461) says economic instability is shown by income shocks, asset shocks, home loss or asset poverty. Pettiger (2009) says economic instability can take various forms: high inflation, asset bubbles, labour unrest, unstable banking system, unemployment, a high degree of corruption, poor transport and communication system, poor electricity supply or less agricultural output. Sameti et al (2012:38) describe macro-economic instability as being measured by five variables namely high and unstable inflation; high and long run interest rates; high proportion of national debts to gross domestic product; high annual budget deficit and unstable exchange rate. Azam (2000:18) adds that the rate of inflation is an important determinant of macroeconomic instability in Madagascar.

3.7.1 Economic instability in Zimbabwe

The economic instability in Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2017 was characterized by high inflation, high unemployment rates, poor agricultural produce, labour unrest, income shocks, unstable banking system, high corrupt activities, poor electricity supply, high levels of poverty and poor road network, inadequate provision of social services like education and health. For example, in 2008 the country experienced the highest inflation rate in the world of over of 500 million %. The unemployment rate was hovering over 80% as companies continue to close and relocate. The country was forced to import maize because of poor agricultural produce. The banking sector experienced a tumultuous period with some banks forced to close and long queues of clients was a common feature due to shortage of cash. Electricity supply was inadequate as shown by load shedding and the country relying on imported electricity. Poverty levels were very high with many people surviving on less than a dollar a day and not able to afford three meals a day. The health sector was characterized by shortage of medicines, inadequate health personnel and unmotivated workers as a result of poor remuneration. Schools continued to lose many qualified teachers. Many pupils dropped out of school as they could not afford to pay school fees. Many schools were not adequately resourced. Many roads in urban centres were full of pot holes and in rural areas some areas are now inaccessible because road maintenance is no longer being done regularly. Corruption was endemic and affecting every facet of life (Kairiza, 2012; Pswarayi & Reeler, 2012; Adebayo & Paterson, 2011).

For this study what was important was to find out how secondary schools were affected by economic instability as indicated by such variables as poverty, corruption, inadequate resources,

loss of qualified teachers, failure to pay fees, transport and communication issues, load shedding of electricity, shortage of cash and inflation.

3.7.2 Factors of economic instability

Economic instability is a result of many factors. Writing on economic instability in Africa, Okpala & Jonsson (88-91) identify corruption, misuse of official power, crime, urbanization and literacy rates as some of the factors behind economic instability. Pettiger (2009) believes that economic instability is a result of such factors as changes in house prices, fluctuation in stock markets, global credit markets, changes in interest rates, global factors and government debt crisis. In Zimbabwe, Kairiza (2012) identifies a string of factors which has led to the collapse of the economy starting from 1997. Kairiza's analysis shows that Zimbabwe's economic problems stemmed from "populist decisions" by the government such as paying 60 000 war veterans as a way of appeasing them (each received 50 000 Zim\$, equivalent to 3000 USD in 1997); compulsory acquisition of white owned farms; and the sending of troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo which proved to be a costly venture. Kairiza (2012) goes on to show that these actions were followed by other factors which worsened the already volatile situation: imposition of sanctions by western countries for human rights abuses; the freezing of financial support by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) for failure to service loans; and price controls which led to shortages of basic goods.

3.7.3 Effects of economic instability on schools/education

Like political instability, economic instability has large-scale effects on society. Studies indicate that economic instability affects various activities. For example, Stovrupoulou and Jones (2013) found that girls and young women were negatively affected by poverty, cuts in health and school problems at primary school level. In addition Long's (2013:1) study revealed that financial crisis negatively affected college enrolment. Furthermore Ali & Rahman (2015:307) show that economic instability has "a negative and significant impact on Gross Domestic Product" (GDP). Economic crisis "negatively affects human development and economic growth" (Kim & Conceicao, 2010:29-30). Education International (2010:2-4) found that in Africa economic crisis slows progress in education as it induced teacher shortage and less expenditure on education. Economic hard times can have severe consequences for families (Conger et al, 1992:526). The effects of economic instability are many and varied but this study is limited to how economic instability affected

secondary schools. The literature review starts with what happened in other countries and then what happened in Africa and Zimbabwe.

In Western Europe some countries reduced budget for education as a result of the economic crisis around 2008 (Koning, 2010). In Asia Shafiq (2009:8) revealed that economic crisis resulted in educational outcomes dropping. In addition Shafiq (2009:10) revealed that economic crisis made it difficult for parents to afford direct costs of education such as tuition fees. Economic crisis “deterred parents from sending their children to school” (World Bank cited in Bhalotra et al., 2014:1). These studies indicate that school budgets were affected by economic crisis as parents had problems in paying tuition fees. The present study differs from the studies above in two different ways. First this study uses a different theoretical framework. None of these use habitus as their guiding theory. Secondly the studies mainly use secondary data from other empirical studies while this study collected primary data. Hence it has something different to offer to existing literature as it tries to explain effects from a sociological perspective.

The World Health Organisation (2011:7) said that “economic crisis negatively affected mental health.” Botou et al (2017) also add that economic crisis worsens the stress of teachers as indicated by feeling insecure, frustration, resentful and anger and negative mood. Wahlbeck & Awolin (2009:1) found out that economic instability caused “psychological stress leading to depression, anxiety disorders and sometimes suicides as parents struggled to take care of families.” Botou et al., 2017:137 also conclude that economic crises “intensify problems of mental disorders within families.” These studies indicate that economic crisis “negatively affect mental health of people at family level which had ripple effect on parents’ ability to take care of their families.” The study by WHO is from a public health point of view which uses previous literature for its presentation and analysis so it is not a primary source. The study by Botou et al (2017) is a quantitative study which used questionnaires to collect data in a survey design. They used resilience as the guiding theory from a psychology perspective. Wahlbeck and Awolin’s (2009) study is based on a literature search from a mental health paradigm. The present study is a qualitative study which used a case study design and collected data using interviews, focus group discussion and documents.

Botou et al. (2017:136) revealed that economic crisis changes the lifestyle of teachers as the value of their low salaries is reduced. In addition, Wahlbeck & Awolin (2009:1) said that in Europe the economic crisis led to unemployment levels to rise leading to changes in standards of living. Shafiq (2009) found that economic crisis has a negative effect on parents' financial contributions for their children in schools. The studies indicate that economic challenges had a negative effect on the standard of living for teachers and parents.

Evans et al. (2009) noted that students without uniforms in Kenya felt stigmatized and were reprimanded by teachers. Their findings also revealed that putting on uniforms reduces absenteeism. Similarly Synott & Symes (1995) found that uniforms had a positive effect on students' behaviour. For example, Ruby (cited in Bunyawanich et al, 2018) said that uniforms created passive characteristics and obedience to authority. For students food insecurity is a cause of concern as it causes much damage such as "lowering enrolment and attendance, limit capacity to concentrate and perform in school" (De Muro & Burchi, 2007:3). The studies revealed the importance of resources such as uniforms and food in the education of students. The results imply that if students do not have such resources their education is negatively affected. The study by Evans et al (2009) used a quantitative approach which collected data using questionnaires. The study was based on the concepts of cost of schooling and school attendance and was not specific to any theory. Then a study by De Muro & Burchi (2007) used the phenomenological approach which is an aspect of qualitative approach. They used interviews to collect data. Their study was guided by the theory of habitus but not specific to how economic instability affected secondary schools.

In a literature review Wahlbeck & Awolin (2009:2) argue that economic crisis increases the social exclusion of vulnerable groups, poor and people living under the poverty datum line. They go on to cite studies in Japan which indicate that recession causes social inequalities to widen. Botou et al. (2017:137) point out that economic crisis worsens "rivalry and conflict" as people interact with each other in families and workplaces. Hornby & Lafaele (2011) argue that differences in social class determine the degree to which parents are involved with schools. They go on to explain that differences emanate from the differences in cultural capital possessed by rich and poor families. These studies seem to suggest that economic challenges have an effect on classes and conflict.

Bua & Adzongo (2013:1) said that the management of schools is affected by the environment in which it operates as the materials and human resources come from the community. In Europe the economic crisis led to deterioration of buildings as some schools in some countries lacked funds for renovations (European Commission, 2013:13). Hillman & Jenkner (2004) cited a study by the World Bank covering many countries which revealed that parents sometimes paid fees in kind using labour or using goods required by schools. In Haiti Luzincourt & Gulbrandson (2010:2) found out that high dropouts rates and low enrolment rates are a result of economic hardships. These studies revealed that the management of schools is negatively affected by economic challenges but the analysis is not from the discipline of sociology of education. For example the study by Bua & Adzongo is a public policy and administration research paper which used no sociological concepts for analysis.

Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit (2011:37) said that “Collection and administration of levies in some cases strained teacher-parent relationships.” Research by Kneale, et al. (2014:5) indicated that in times of economic crisis, relationships with others is affected. For example their study revealed that within the context of the recent recession in Europe, arguments over money affected relationships. In addition, Kneale et al.(2014) pointed that financial problems and unemployment reduces the quality of relationships by increasing conflict among the different social classes. The studies show that relations in schools are negatively affected by economic instability. The study by Kneale et al (2014) is from a relational perspective which differs from this present study using habitus as a tool of analysis.

Studies in Africa on economic instability and effects showed a similar trend as shown in other parts of the world. In Kenya, Morogo et al. (2018) found out that failure by parents to pay fees had a negative impact on secondary schools development. Nwagwu (1997) also found out that shortages of finance affect the organisation and administration of education at all levels. Economic problems affected how examinations were run in schools. For example, Chene (2015:4) pointed out that economic problems experienced by schools in Zimbabwe caused “examination standards to drop.” Mapolisa (2013:2764) adds that in Zimbabwe the management of public examinations has become “chaotic and disastrous” as a result of economic problems. The studies indicate that economic challenges had an effect on how schools were managed.

Further studies show that economic problems affected teachers' and students' attendance at schools. A study by Chene (2015) in Zimbabwe showed that there was a budget cut to education which resulted in shortages in schools that affected students' capacity to do school work. The author goes on to say there was a lot of absenteeism by teachers which also resulted in reduced school work for students. Manguvo et al (2011) found out that there was a breakdown of discipline in Zimbabwean secondary schools, such as skipping lessons, drug abuse or vandalism due to economic problems that had a negative effect on school work.

A study carried out in Zimbabwe by Mufanechiya & Mufanechiya (2011:96) revealed that motivating students in secondary schools has become a "major challenge" for teachers and parents because of few employment opportunities. Motivation is an important element in the education of students and one of the factors which motivate them is future prospects of employment.

Studies also reveal that economic challenges have affected the way of life of people. For example, a study carried out in Zimbabwe by Chagonda (2012:11) revealed that teachers had become the "laughing stock of society" because of their low salaries. In addition, Chagonda (2010:4) found out that "hyperinflation led to an increase in poverty among the general populace." Such changes in the way people lived affected the education of students.

Schools were affected as they struggled to get resources as indicated by Chene (2016:4) who found out that economic instability that affected Zimbabwe since early 2000s has led to "shortages of textbooks and the deterioration of physical infrastructure" in secondary schools as some parents failed to pay tuition fees. In addition, McGregor (2006:5) argues that rampant inflation in Zimbabwe reduced the "buying power of the money received in schools which made it difficult to purchase essential resources for schools." Indeed, schools had problems in encouraging parents to pay fees. Ngwenya (2016) said fees payment had to be encouraged during parents' meetings or by sending reminders using letters or messages on phones. Ngwenya (2016) goes on to say that when some parents failed to pay fees they were asked to provide labour as payment.

When people are in an economic crisis they find other means to survive (Wahlbeck & Awolin, 2009, Chagonda, 2012, Villiers et al., 2017, Filippa et al, 2013). This is also aptly pointed out by Beats and Willekens (2009:10) when they say that "...periods of economic crisis offer opportunities for innovation and productivity..." In reference to migration as a coping mechanism

to economic problems, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon said "... human mobility can be a tool to help lift us out of this economic crisis" (ibid). Chagonda (2012:1) says that hyperinflation which "eroded teachers' salaries forced teachers to go into the diaspora." In addition, McGregor (2006:4) asserts that the economic crisis in Zimbabwe which has unfolded since 2000 resulted in a "new migration order for professional workers to ensure basic survival." Chagonda (2012) pointed that economic challenges caused teachers to be involved in the informal economy. Similarly a study by Chingombe (2013) in Masvingo Province revealed that teachers were involved in other activities after work or in the afternoon to supplement their income. Thus Chene (2015) argues that economic hardships caused poorly paid teachers to develop coping strategies to survive to the detriment of their professional integrity. Other studies (Dreschler, 2001; Arthur et al 2016) have indicated that countries suffering from economic problems caused professionals, such as teachers, to be involved in gold panning or selling gold to supplement their incomes.

When faced with economic challenges some teachers became involved in cross-border trading to supplement their incomes. Masinjila (2009) in the East Africa Community found that teachers were among some professionals involved in cross-border trading. A similar study in Mozambique and South Africa by Chikanda & Tawodzera (2017) revealed that teachers became involved in cross-border trade as a result of economic problems in what they termed "necessity –driven survival strategy to generate income." In Zimbabwe, Tichagwa (2012) points out that teachers with passports resorted to cross-border trading and spent a lot of time on buses and in the streets at the expense of the students. Teaching is a full time job which requires teachers to be with students so if some had to be away it affected their work and their ability to assist students.

Students who were affected by economic instability responded in a variety of ways. Mawere (2012) found that some secondary school students dropped out of school due to reasons of economic instability. The Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit (2011) revealed that some parents transferred their children from urban to rural schools where costs were lower. Mawere (2012) revealed that some girls when confronted with economic problems which affected their school work resorted to early marriages. Erlwanger (2013:33) pointed out that "deviant acts became acute as teachers who are supposed to curb and control such behaviour were so demotivated that they did not have time or energy to control or discipline students." In addition, a

study by Manguvo et al (2011:159) revealed that socio-economic collapse in the country influenced the development and the occurrence of student misbehaviour in public schools as teachers' capacity to curb indiscipline was negatively affected by economic problems. It is therefore not surprising that some parents paid for "extra lessons" (Mawere, 2012:120) or enrolled them in "expensive independent colleges" (Tichagwa ,2012:40) as most secondary school environments had become less conducive to learning.

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature on the effects of political and economic instabilities on secondary schools in Zimbabwe. The elements of social capital reviewed were trust, norms, reciprocity and networks. The literature review showed that social capital in the form of trust, norms, reciprocity and networks in organisations or institutions like schools is important. There is literature which shows that education is negatively affected by political and economic instability but most is not limited to secondary schools as in the present study. But literature which indicates how secondary schools were affected is not adequate especially that which uses habitus for analysis. This study hopes to fill this knowledge gap by using habitus as a tool of analysis. The next chapter describes the research methodology and design of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to determine and analyse the impact of political and economic instability on decentralised secondary schools in Zimbabwe using a case of Mashonaland Central Province. This chapter describes the following aspects which constitute research methodology: the research ontology and epistemology; research paradigm; research methodology; research setting; population and sample; data collection methods; data presentation and analysis; quality and trustworthiness of the study; and a summary of the chapter.

4.2 Ontology and epistemology

In choosing the research methodology and relevant methods this study takes cognizance of the influence of one's ontology and epistemology. Ontology is the nature of reality (Creswell, 2013; Gray, 2009; Browne, et al 2009). Raddon (n.d) says that ontology is conceptualized into two, namely objective and subjective realities. This means that the nature of reality is either "a single objective regardless of the researcher's perspective or the reality is multiple (many) and relative and is open to influences and interpretations" (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988:509). In simple terms this means objective ontology means 'a fact is a fact' irrespective of any situation or time while subjective ontology means facts are a result of experience and interpretation which is influenced by context and time (people are people) (Raddon (n.d). This study is informed by the subjective ontology as it seeks to uncover the experiences of stakeholders in schools in order to discern how secondary schools were affected.

In tandem with the idea of ontology is the concept of epistemology. Epistemology is defined as "the theory of knowledge" (Gray, 2009:18), or "the relationship between the researcher and reality" (Carson, et al, in Edirisingha, 2012:1) or "what it means to know" (Gray, 2009:18). The main two epistemological foundations derived from the objective and subjective ontologies are "positivism and interpretivism" respectively (Gray, 2009:18). Positivist epistemology means that knowledge exists externally to the researcher. It means knowledge is based on empirical evidence and deals with facts, not the values of the researcher. This is in line with objective ontology. On the other hand there is interpretivism epistemology which is based on culture and history; hence facts are informed by interpretations using classifications and schemes of the mind (Williams and May, 1996). This is in line with subjective ontology which believes that knowledge is constructed, hence constructivist epistemology or simply constructivism. The cornerstone of interpretivism is that human behaviour cannot be predicted, as in the study of natural sciences, so when researching it is necessary to "discover and interpret the meanings given to situations by people involved" (Browne, et al, 2009:369). Hence the idea that "knowledge is constructed as people come up with their own meanings" (Gray, 2009:18). In this study on the impact of political and economic instability, it is appropriate to find out the experiences of people, the realities constructed and the meanings attached to them. To this end this study made use of constructivism which then led to the theoretical perspective of interpretivism.

The ontology and epistemology of a researcher influence how a researcher goes about designing the methods to use in research. The two main methodological positions which have emerged are quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative methods are aligned with positivism while the qualitative methods are aligned with interpretivism. Quantitative methods used by positivists lead to numbers which are analyzed for results which may not be challenged but may be replicated and generalized. Qualitative methods used by interpretivists are interested in an in-depth understanding and meanings of a phenomenon so it results in words, thoughts or images (Thomas, 2009; Gray 2009, Yin, 2011, Marvasti 2004).

4.3 Qualitative research

This study is qualitative. The aim of this study was to explore the impact of political and economic instability in secondary schools, so it has to be “grounded in people’s experiences of that social reality” (Gray, 2009:22). In this research the concern was to find the human experience with the unit of analysis being individuals (ibid). Hence this study is best suited to use qualitative methods in order to have a deeper understanding of how relationships and school activities were affected by political and economic instability.

Gray (2009:166) quotes Miles and Huberman to identify some of the characteristics of qualitative research:

- i. It is conducted through intense contact within a field or real life setting.
- ii. The researcher’s role is to gain a ‘holistic’ or integrated overview of the study, including perceptions of participants.
- iii. Themes that emerge from the data are often reviewed with informants for verification.
- iv. The main focus of research is to understand the ways in which people act and account for their actions.

For this study the above features were fulfilled by visiting secondary schools to have contact with participants, interviews with various stakeholders in the schools so that I had a holistic overview of what happened, and verified themes that emerged with the participants.

Gray (2009) and Suter (2006) identify some research designs which are common under qualitative research: case study, ethnography, ethnomethodology, phenomenology, grounded theory, action

research, narrative analysis, cultural studies and gender studies. These strategies may be used individually or in combination with each other. But for this study a case study strategy was used.

4.4 Case study

The case study as a design in qualitative research has variety but similar definitions and conceptualisations. Starman (2013:31) defines a case study as “a comprehensive description of an individual case and its analysis.” Bromley cited in Zucker (2009:2) defines a case study as “a systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomena of interest.” Then there is the widely quoted definition of Yin (2009:18) of the case study as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and it relies on multiple sources of evidence.” From these definitions a case study is characterized by the following features: an individual, systematic study, real-life, comprehensive description, phenomenon, event, multiple sources of evidence. Thus a case study is a systematic and comprehensive study of an individual phenomenon or event(s) in a real-life context which usually uses multiple sources of evidence. The case for this study is the secondary school as an educational institution. Political and economic instability have affected many institutions in Zimbabwe but the concern for this study is education with particular reference to secondary schools.

Zainal (2007:4) identifies a number of advantages of a case study: its ability to provide a holistic and in-depth explanation of social and behavioural problems, its applicability to many areas and disciplines, the way it explores and investigates real-life phenomena in a context, the manner in which it obtains data at a micro-level and its unique way of studying a particular event. But Darke et al (1998:274) warn about the problems associated with case study research: time consuming, accumulation of large amount of data, willingness of participants to be involved, issues of reporting and rigor. Despite these shortcomings, a case study is still recommended by Rowley (2002:17), who says it is suitable for “contemporary events” and Yin (2009:2) who says it is suitable for answering “how and why questions.”

Yin, cited by Gray (2009:256), proposes four types of case study design: single-case holistic, single-case embedded, multiple-case holistic and multiple-case embedded. In a single case holistic, only one case is studied as a whole without considering individual elements while single case

embedded is a single case but uses different units of analysis. In a multiple case holistic the study uses many cases using a holistic unit of analysis, whereas a multiple-case embedded uses multiple units of analysis. But Zainal (2007:2) identifies just two case designs: single-case and multiple-case designs. The single-case design uses one case while a multiple-case uses many cases to study a particular case. Zainal (2007:2) goes on to suggest that a single-case is suitable where there are no other cases available but thinks it is better to use multiple-case design where many cases are available as it allows for replication of cases hence raises the “level of confidence in the robustness of the method.” Gray (2009:258) supports the use of multiple-case design as it helps in reaching “data saturation.” This study used multiple-case design in order to study more than one secondary school.

4.4.1 Multiple-case study

The use of multi-case design has been supported by many for various reasons. Baxter and Jack (2008) say that multi-case design allows for the exploration of differences within and between cases. They go on to say that the goal of multi-case design is to help in the replication of findings across cases. Darke et al (1998:278) argue that “multi-case designs assist to strengthen research findings in the same way multiple experiments strengthen experimental research findings.” “The greater the number of case studies that show replication,” argues Rowley (2002:20), the greater the rigour with which a theory has been established. The use of many cases in education is good as it provides a “very detailed picture which gives a complete picture” as possible for the study (Nath, 2005:398).

The problem of multi-case design is “one of selecting the cases” (Baxter and Jack, 2008:545). The cases should be chosen carefully so that the researcher can “predict similar results across cases” (Baxter and Jack, 2008:545-546). In this study the cases were selected based on the criteria of being either urban government secondary school, rural government secondary school or missionary secondary school, rural council secondary school which are the main categories of schools in Zimbabwe. In terms of how the schools are governed by the Education Acts, it means having School Development Association schools which are government secondary schools and School Development Committee schools run by council or private organisations like missions.

4.5 Sample and sampling

The case study design is characterized by use of a small sample which is problematic especially when faced with many cases from which to select. Gerring (2007:86) calls it a “formidable problem” for the researcher. Gerring (2007:86) goes on to discourage the use of random sampling as “inappropriate in case study research because of the problem of precision in the case chosen.” In order to solve this dilemma, Gerring suggests that case selection should be done using purposive selection procedures which is non-random. Purposive sampling helps to yield cases that are “information rich” (Patton in Palinkas et al, 2013:534).

4.5.1 Selection of districts

Mashonaland Central has nine administrative districts and the problem is which ones to select for cases of secondary schools to study. Four districts were selected based on their “accessibility” (Creswell, 2013:100) to the researcher. The districts were named using letters to protect their identity:

- i. District A is the central district.
- ii. District B neighbouring district to the east of A.
- iii. District C neighbouring district to the west of A.
- iv. District D to the north of district B.

4.5.2 Selection of secondary schools/study sites

As mentioned above (4.4.1), the sample of secondary schools consisted of urban and rural schools ensuring that the sample included government and non-government secondary schools. Particular schools for the study were selected using purposive sampling based on the types of a typical secondary school and on differences between the schools in Zimbabwe. A typical school in Zimbabwe is run by either SDC (non-government) or SDA (government), led by a Head, with a deputy Head, teachers and pupils and operating as either a day or boarding school. But with so many secondary schools in each district, the problem still remained as to which secondary schools to use as cases. Guetterman (2015:3) suggests selecting those cases that are adequate, appropriate and rich in the information which the researcher is looking for. The sites for the study were selected on the basis of discussions held by education officials who suggested possible schools which would provide the necessary data. From each of the four districts two secondary schools were selected as research sites. The actual number of secondary schools studied was eight. In district

A, a government urban secondary school and a rural council school were selected. In district B, a rural council secondary school and a boarding mission secondary school were selected. In district C a rural urban council secondary school and a rural government secondary school were selected. In district D a rural government secondary school and a rural council secondary were selected.

4.5.3 Recruitment of participants

The selection of the participants from the cases was done using active recruitment (Fleming et al, 2015:2) as the researcher identifies and contacts possible participants who have particular traits or interests in relation to the topic being studied. In recruiting teachers I looked for long serving members of staff, those who taught when politics and the economy were stable up to the period when instability started. The teacher participants also included those who started working during the period of instability. The teacher sample had seven male teachers and seven female teachers. The expected number of teachers from the eight secondary schools was sixteen (16) but at one of the rural council school no teacher was willing to be interviewed due to fear of possible reprisals by locals who they perceived to be hostile to teaching staff. In addition to the teachers at each school the head of the school or deputy also took part in the research. I interviewed seven heads of schools: two females and five males. There were supposed to be eight heads but at one of the secondary schools the head and deputy were absent on the day of visit.

From among pupils the selection was based on the information provided by the head of the school using the criteria of their ability to “articulate issues and being open minded” (Palinkas et al, 2015:534). The pupils were those in the upper classes, which is from Form 4 to Form 6. The number of pupil participants for each secondary school needed to be enough to form a Focus Group as suggested by Giddens and Sutton (2013:48) who said one can have “between four and ten,” so for this study at each school the focus groups had eight participants made up of four male and four female pupils.

The study included parent participants. From each school a member of the SDC or SDA was selected, depending on their accessibility. Interviews were carried out with five parents instead of the expected eight because they were not all available when the study was carried out.

The study also included five key informants who were recruited by request. The key informants included two retired education officers and three teachers who were known to have been affected by instability.

4.6 Data collection instruments

In case study design a number of data collection instruments have been suggested such as interviews, documents, focus group discussions, observation or archival records (Gray, 2009, Creswell, 2013, Crowe et al, 2011). This study used interviews, focus group discussions and documents to collect data. The use of multiple sources of data assists to increase internal validity of the study (Crowe et al, 2011).

4.6.1 Interviews

The main instrument used in the collection of data was the interview. In this study which aims to find out the impact of political and economic instability on secondary schools, it was important to get the views and attitudes of the people affected and the meanings they attach to what happened (Gray, 2009:370). The topic had not been researched widely hence required exploratory research for which interviews were appropriate. Thus Arksey and Knight (cited in Gray 2009:370) argue that interviews are preferred because they make “implicit things explicit and help in the articulation of perceptions, feelings and understanding.” In addition, Cohen and Manion (cited in Gray 2009:370) argue that interviews are important as they enable researchers to obtain “information about a person’s knowledge, values, preferences and attitude.” Gray (2009:371) argues that interviews enable the researcher to “probe further, to get a high return and to get data from those who are not able to read and write.” Semi-structured interviews were used as they allow for the use of additional questions and the probing of “views and opinions, subjective meanings, exploration of subjective meanings for concepts or events or new pathways” (Gray, 2009:373).

4.6.2 Focus groups

Gray (2009:233) refers to the use of focus groups as “a form of group interviews, but they differ from group interviews in that they are characterized by interaction of members on issues being discussed” (Gibbs, 1997:2). The researcher acted as a “moderator but asked specific questions in order to direct the discussion” (Giddens and Sutton, 2013:48). For this research focus groups were used because of their inherent advantages such as being able “to provide a variety of views,

stimulate new perspectives, the non-response is reduced to zero and they are less costly” (Gray, 2009:233-239). Giddens and Sutton (2013) add that the interactive nature allows for clarification of ideas as a way of increasing validity of the study. Furthermore focus group discussion, argues Gibbs (1997:3), is advantageous because it allows a “multiplicity of ideas” to be explored.

Pupils formed groups for discussion. This was done to improve discussions as the topics for discussion might have been viewed as having a political inclination which pupils individually may have had problems in articulating. Thus Gray (2009: 233) believes that focus group discussions are appropriate for research themes likely to be viewed with “cynicism or hostility.” At each secondary school visited a group comprising four male and four female pupils was selected by school authorities based on their ability to articulate issues. The pupils were those in Advanced level classes except for one school where Ordinary level pupils were selected as Ordinary Level was its highest level.

4.6.3 Documents

Documents are regarded as an unobtrusive way of collecting data. This means documents are a non-reactive source of data and independent of the presence of the researcher (Gray, 2009:423). Ahmed (2010:2) defines documents as “any written material that was not prepared specifically in response to the researcher.” Their importance to a study is that they are “socially situated products” (Ahmed, 2010:2) of a particular period under study. They are a mirror of what was happening or is happening.

Documents include “documentary evidence, physical evidence and archival analysis” (Gray, 2009:423). Ahmed (2010:2) further clarifies them as “types as files, statistical records, records of official proceedings or images.” In secondary schools documents which may mirror the happenings of the situation are attendance registers, financial records, minute books and record books. Most of the schools were either reluctant to release these for scrutiny or they were not available at the time schools were visited. The documents which were easily accessible at each school were pass rate records. These are the documents I used to show how economic and political instability affected performance in secondary schools.

4.7 Data collection procedures

In order to collect data a series of procedures were followed. This involved the idea of “gatekeeping which is about getting permission from those in authority so that there is access to places where the research needs to be carried out” (Farber, 2008:369). Gatekeeping is important in order to establish an “honest and forthright relationship” for the study to start well (Farber, 2008:369). In order to get to the schools, there is a “hierarchy of gatekeeping” (Powell et al, 2012:2) which had to be followed before collecting data.

A letter from the research supervisor (Appendix A) was obtained which was attached to a letter (Appendix B) written to the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (Head Office) asking for permission to carry out the study in Mashonaland Central Province. In addition to the two letters other requirements attached were the research proposal, a list of districts to be visited and a list of the schools to be research sites. After obtaining approval, which was given after almost four months, from the head office (Appendix C), the next was to get permission from the Mashonaland Central provincial offices of the ministry (Appendix D). After the province, permission was obtained from district offices of the ministry. From the districts, permission was obtained from heads of schools (Appendix E). Heads of schools or their representatives then led and helped in the actual process of identifying participants for this research. Then permission was sought from the participants.

4.8 Data analysis and presentation

Data analysis has been defined in a variety of ways but in this study Marvasti’s definition was used. Marvasti (2004:82) defines data analysis as the “interpretative activity of making sense of human artifacts by conceptually connecting them with other meaningful information.” For qualitative data, analysis focuses on “quality and not quantity” (Suter, 2006:327). The main concern was to try to ascertain the meaning of what the respondents said. Interpretation should be informed by what the respondents said in interviews (Anderson, 2010:5).

In order to analyse data obtained in this qualitative case study, “theoretical propositions” (Yin in Gray, 2009:264) method were used. This means that data research questions and objectives guided how the analysis was done. A number of suggestions have been made by authors on how qualitative data may be analysed. Glaser and Strauss (cited in Suter 2006:330) suggest the constant

comparative method which is characterized by “continuous process of category identification and clarification.” The second method is the one suggested by Yin (2011:177-178) which he conceptualizes as a Five-phased cycle. The third method is the one suggested by Marvasti (2004: 89) made up of three steps. The methods suggested by the three authors are similar and this researcher benefitted from borrowing from these suggestions. Drawing from these suggestions an effective analysis had the following: thorough reading and understanding of the fieldwork, coding of the work, came up with themes, relate the themes to questions and objectives of the study and made conclusions.

In data presentation the use of quotes has been suggested by many authors of qualitative research. Clark et al (cited in Suter 2006: 327) argue that for the story to be told clearly “the words and voices of the people involved” should be included in the report of the study. Anderson (2010:5) is of the opinion that “illustrative quotes”, a form of raw data, should be compiled and analysed. Anderson goes on to advise that when using quotes a range of respondents who have contributed should be shown and avoid using just a few. Anderson goes on to caution on overusing quotes without analyzing or discussing them. On the choice of quotes Noguero and McCluskey (2017:105) advised that quotes should be selected according to “their clarity and relevance” to the aim of the study. In qualitative research, like this study, the voices of the respondents were important as they indicated their thoughts and feelings. The quotes helped to enrich the presentation of the study.

4.9 Quality assurance measures

Although validity and reliability are common quality measures, especially for quantitative research (Anderson 2010:2), for qualitative research there has been a lot of debate whether these are appropriate (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Golafshani, 2003; Noble and Smith, 2015). Since the 1980s many researchers, the most prominent being Guba and Lincoln (1985), have argued that validity and reliability are measures best suited for quantitative research and not for qualitative research.

Mason (cited in Gray 2009:515) refers to validity as “whether a researcher is observing, identifying or measuring what they claim they are measuring.” There are two kinds of validity, namely external and internal validity. External validity is the degree to which findings can be “generalised to other similar settings” (Gray, 2009:515), while internal validity refers to the “ability to show

that there is link between evidence and ideas they develop from it” (ibid). External validity is difficult to achieve for this study because of the small samples in use.

Guba and Lincoln (cited in Morse et al 2002:2) have suggested that reliability in qualitative research be replaced by the “concept of trustworthiness” which contains the four aspects of dependability, credibility, transferability and conformability. To reveal that there is a link between validity and reliability used for quantitative research and trustworthiness used for qualitative research, Shenton (2004:64), have shown how similar the concepts are: internal validity relates to credibility; external validity relates to transferability; reliability relates to dependability and objectivity relates to conformability. So instead of trying to ascertain the quality of this study using the concepts of validity and reliability this study used the idea of trustworthiness as depicted by dependability, credibility, transferability and conformability.

4.9.1 Trustworthiness

Curtin and Fossey (2007:1) defines trustworthiness as “the extent to which the findings are an authentic reflection of the personal or lived experiences of the phenomena under investigation.” Lincoln and Guba (cited in Elo et al 2014:2) point out that the aim of trustworthiness is to support the argument that the inquiry’s findings are “worth paying attention to.” Trustworthiness is supported by “reporting the process of content analysis accurately” (Elo et al, 2014:2). Content analysis involves three main parts namely “preparation, organisation and reporting of results” (Elo et al, 2014:1). In the preparation phase the features are the collection of data that is suitable, making sense of the data and the selection of unit of analysis. The organisation is characterized by coding of data, creation of categories and coming up with concepts. The reporting phase focuses on describing results using themes and categories based on a selected approach. The three phases were achieved by focusing on terms of trustworthiness developed by Lincoln and Guba (Elo, 2014:2) namely credibility, transferability, conformability and dependability.

4.9.1.1 Credibility

Morrow (2005:252) refers to credibility in research as “the idea of internal consistency” in which the important point is to ensure that proper research process is followed and that others are able to follow what has been done. Shenton (2004:64) adds that credibility deals with the question, “how congruent are the findings with reality?” Credibility is about the “truth value” of the research work (Baxter and Jack, 2008:555). Credibility therefore deals with how others can trust the work based

on what has been done to carry out the research work so that reality and the truth are exposed. Many authors have suggested ways to achieve credibility following the initial work of Guba and Lincoln (Gasson, 2004; Morrow, 2005; Shenton, 2004; Noble and Smith, 2015). In this study credibility was achieved by the following ways:

- i. Research design used is well known and established. A case study design is well documented and known for qualitative research.
- ii. Triangulation of methods and sites. Data was collected using interviews, focus group discussions and documents. Data was also be collected from different sources namely pupils, teachers, parents and key informants. The study made use of different sites in the form of eight different secondary schools in four districts.
- iii. Prolonged engagement- nearly six months was spent in the field collecting data.
- iv. Ensuring that participants were honest. This was done by allowing participants an opportunity to refuse to participate if not interested or to withdraw and for them to be frank.
- v. Iterative questioning was used as a way to further probe issues raised during interviews and focus group discussions. Iterative questioning meant that the same questions were used at eight different study sites with different respondents. Repetition was important in order to establish credibility of data obtained.
- vi. Negative case analysis was used. This involved considering and discussing elements of the data that appeared to oppose explanations that were emerging from data analysis. For example most of the themes which emerged from the data were negative but there were some positives of instability which emerged.
- vii. Researcher's reflective commentary. This involved the researcher indicating his experiences and evaluation as they relate to the findings of the study. For example in Chapter 1 the researcher gave details of how he experienced political and economic instability as a teacher.
- viii. Member checks on work presented was done on the spot, at the end of interviews and focus group discussions by reading transcripts for participants to check on the truth of what they have said. Member refers to a respondent who took part in the study. Towards

the end of interviews or focus group discussions the researcher went over what was said and recorded to ensure that respondents' views had been correctly captured.

- ix. Thick descriptions of the work were done with the assistance of quotes and episodes.
- x. Sufficiency of data was done in accordance with data saturation as a guide.
- xi. Comparing findings with related literature was done in the discussion as a way to show whether the study relates to what other authors had studied.

4.9.1.2 Transferability

Transferability is about the “extent to which the findings of a study can be applied to other situations” (Shenton, 2004:69). Morrow (2005:252) citing Gason refers to transferability as the extent to which a reader of the work is able to generalise the findings from his/her own context and how far the researcher is able to claim that there is a general application of findings to similar situations or contexts. So transferability is about whether findings of a study can be transferred to other similar situations or contexts and whether it is possible to apply the ideas or theories to other contexts. In this study transferability was achieved by the following ways as suggested by many authors such as Shenton (2004), Morrow (2005), Noble and Smith (2015) and Yin (2011).

- i. Providing sufficient background information about myself as the researcher who collected data. This has been provided in the introductory chapter.
- ii. Describing in detail the characteristics of the secondary schools where research was carried out.
- iii. Describing the participants who took part in the study.
- iv. Data collection methods were clearly articulated.
- v. The number of data collection sessions at each of the secondary schools was three: one interview for the head, one interview with a teacher and a focus group discussion with students. An interview was also done with a parent at each of the five schools.
- vi. Each session of interview and focus group discussion lasted about 1 hour.
- vii. Data was collected in 2017 from July to November.

4.9.1.3 Dependability

Dependability deals with the way the study is carried out ensuring that there is “consistency in the methods used and analysis methods” (Gason cited in Morrow, 2005:252). A similar definition is provided by Moon et al (2016:2) who say dependability refers to “the consistency and reliability

of the research findings and the degree to which research procedures are documented, allowing someone outside the research to follow audit and critique the research process.” The two definitions show that dependability is about how far research findings can be relied on based on the methods used and analysis methods employed. In order to achieve dependability this study used the following methods as suggested by Moon et al (2016), Morrow (2005) and Shenton (2004):

- i. A detailed description of research design and its implementation.
- ii. Details of data collection to be explicit by way of field notes, memos, researcher’s reflexivity.
- iii. Audit trail – keep a detailed chronology of research activities, processes and possible influences on the data collection and analysis.
- iv. Examination of audit trail by the supervisor and other colleagues in the field of the social sciences.

4.9.1.4 Conformability

In order to achieve conformability, findings should represent the situation being researched on, as far as possible, rather than the “beliefs, theories or biases of the researcher” (Gason cited by Morrow, 2005:252). This means the findings should be as true as possible so that subjective influences are minimized. In this research this was done by the following ways as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), Shenton (2004), Morrow (2005) and Moon et al (2016):

- i. The data, analytic processes and findings were linked as much as possible so that the reader is able to conform the adequacy of the findings.
- ii. Use audit trail.
- iii. The researcher to admit own predispositions like showing why I favour certain approaches and not others. This has been done by showing reasons for choosing certain methods.
- iv. Use reflective commentary.

4.10 Ethical Considerations

Ethics have been defined in a variety of ways. Stephens (2013:3) says ethics is a study of good conduct and the grounds for making judgments about what is good conduct. Hearne (2013:4) defines ethics in research as a “set of principles that guide conduct in a given situation and are

generally informed by codes of practice.” Research ethics are the “moral principles guiding research from its inception through to completion and publication of results and beyond” (Kenyon and Wood, 2009:6). Rich (2013:4) refers to “ethics as a branch of philosophy used to study ideal human behaviour and ideal ways of being.” From these definitions ethics may be regarded as doing something that is morally good and correct. In qualitative research ethics is even more important because studies usually involve human beings (Stephens, 2013) as the methods used to collect data are personal and tend to intrude into the lives of participants and the researcher.

Concern for ethics in research originated from the Nuremberg Code of 1947 (Kenyon and Wood 2009:1). The background was that experiments were being carried out on human beings without their consent or enough information. Famous examples of such research studies include those done in Nazi Concentration Camps in Germany, Tuskegee studies in United States of America, Blue Eyed/Brown Eyed Experiment on children and the Milgram study on obedience to authority (Stephens 2013; Kenyon and Wood, 2009). These have led to the agreed principles on how researchers should carry out studies with particular considerations on how they should treat participants. Kenyon and Wood (2009:18) and Hearne (2013:8) have identified important ethical principles in social sciences:

- i. Research staff and subjects should be informed adequately about the research.
- ii. Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken adequately for integrity and quality.
- iii. Do no harm to participants.
- iv. Participation in research should be done without any coercion.
- v. Confidentiality of information and anonymity of respondents to be respected.
- vi. Research should be based on justice, which takes care of social justice, interests of the disadvantaged groups like children, minority or marginalised people.
- vii. Purpose and methods should be communicated honestly and accurately.

Sanjari et al (2014:1) and Kenyon and Wood (2009:9) are of the opinion that important strategies regarding ethical conduct in qualitative research are informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and that no harm is caused to participants. In this study these were important as the primary data

was obtained from pupils, teachers and other stakeholders in secondary schools. It is therefore important to expand on these aspects of ethical concern.

4.10.1 Informed consent

Informed consent is crucial in research as argued by many researchers in various fields. For example Sanjari et al (2014:3) argue that informed consent is an “integral part” in research done in different fields. Hearne (2013:9) believes that informed consent is “one of the two most important strategies regarding ethical conduct when carrying out research.” It is therefore important that participants be informed about the research. Informed consent by participants means “agreeing to take part in a study after being given sufficient information about the study” (Johnson and Christensen, 2008:109). The information which was provided included the purpose of the research, how the research was carried out, the roles of the participants and researcher, the identity of the researcher, the objectives of the research, the possible benefits of the research, how the results would be published and used, how the data would be stored and destroyed, that participation was voluntary and that information provided would be treated with confidentiality (Johnson and Christensen, 2008:109; Hearne, 2013:9; Sanjari et al, 2014:3). Sanjari et al (2014:3) go on to advise that while informed consent is usually provided at the beginning of research, there is a need to have on going negotiation of the terms of agreement as the study progresses. It is also important that consent is freely given and that the participants, especially disadvantaged groups like children, be treated with respect, dignity and care (Pearson et al, 2015:3). All the participants were informed about the details of the study at the beginning of interviews and focus group discussions. In addition participants were reminded of the purpose of the study as the processes progressed. Due to the sensitive nature of the topics, consent was not written but was verbal.

4.10.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality means “not revealing the identity of the participant to anyone other than the researcher and his or her staff.” (Johnson and Christensen, 2008:119). Hearne (2013:9) says that confidentiality is whereby “data is not personally associated with anyone who has taken part in the study.” In this study confidentiality was necessary as political instability and economic instability are sensitive topics to talk about in the country. A number of strategies were used to ensure that participants were not be directly associated with the data obtained. The following strategies have

been suggested by many authors who have used them and found them to be useful (Johnson and Christensen, 2008; Hearne (2013); Creswell, 2013; Sanjari et al, 2014; Pearson et al, 2015):

- i. Anonymity which is keeping the identity of participants from everyone, including the researcher is one way to ensure confidentiality. This was done by not asking participants their names during time of collecting data. Participants were identified by pseudonyms or codes. The names of schools or where they are located were not identified in the report of the study. These measures ensured that there was respect for the privacy of research participants. This was sometimes difficult as the students would call each other by their names during the discussion but the names were not recorded so anonymity was observed.
- ii. Participants had a right to refuse to take part in the study even when sampled. In addition participants had the right to withdraw from the study even if they had initially agreed to take part. One of the female respondent expressed fear about talking about political issues as it was still a sensitive issue which had caused many to suffer. I said if she felt uncomfortable she was free not to talk about issues that she was not comfortable with. But as the interview progressed she was now at ease and believed that I was not going to divulge her identity.
- iii. Participants were assured of the confidentiality of the data they gave before interviews or focus group discussions.

4.10.3 No harm to participants

One of the ethical issues in research is that of ensuring that participants are not harmed. Macleod (cited in Hearne 2013:8) says that ‘do no harm’ is one of the five ethical principles of research. In this study the following strategies were used to ensure that no one was harmed as a result of the study:

- i. No participant was forced to deal with issues they were not comfortable dealing with. For example some parents during interviews were not comfortable to discuss political issues so were not coerced. One of the parents simply said there were not political problems. I realised that political instability was a sensitive issue which some were not keen to talk about.

- ii. Effort was made to ensure that participants were not embarrassed during interviews or focus group discussions. Participants were free to use their own language during interviews and discussions to allow for free expression of ideas. Teachers and students mainly used English but a few were comfortable to use local language, ChiShona.
- iii. Fatigue of participants was avoided by ensuring that the period of interviews or focus group discussions never exceeded one hour. There was only one exception of an FGD which lasted one and half hours as the group had a lot to share.
- iv. Interviews or focus group discussions did not disrupt lessons or other school activities. The only exception was at one school when the head of one of the secondary complained that my interview with a parent was delaying the school's scheduled meeting of the School Development Committee. I apologized for the inconvenience and wound off the interview which was almost through.
- v. Permission to carry out the study was obtained from various stakeholders responsible for secondary schools. This helped to ensure participants that the research had the approval of all those concerned with secondary education. Permission to carry out the study from the Ministry of Education headquarters took a long time as the Secretary of Education was reluctant to approve the topic which she felt was rather controversial especially the aspect of political instability.
- vi. Avoided physical or mental suffering of participants. No participant complained of any physical or mental suffering during interviews or discussions.

4.11 Chapter summary

The ontological and epistemological basis of this research was explained and justified. This led to the presentation of this study as a qualitative research. The choice of a case study as the design to guide in this research was explained. Purposive sampling was chosen as a way to come up with sample for this study. Data collection instruments namely interviews, focus group discussions and documents were explained and justified as suitable for the study. The step by step data collection procedures were described from the letter of the supervisor up to the step of asking for permission from the participants. Data analysis methods suitable for the study were outlined and analysed. The measures for quality assurance were described and analysed. Last the chapter gave details of

how ethical considerations were taken care of. The next chapter presents the results and analysis of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND ECONOMIC INSTABILITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how secondary schools in Mashonaland Central in Zimbabwe were affected by economic instability. This is based on the lived experiences and narratives of teachers, heads of schools, students and parents. The first decade of Zimbabwe's independence from 1980 to 1990 the economy showed a positive growth (Mazingi and Kamidza, 2011:238). From 1990 the economy began to experience some economic problems which necessitated the introduction of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme as prescribed by IMF and World Bank (Ncube, 2000, Murisa, 2010). ESAP did not produce the desired results especially in the provision of social services like education and health. The economic situation of the country became worse towards the end of the millennium as a result of a combination of factors: droughts, the land reform program, the involvement of the Zimbabwe National Army in the civil war of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the unbudgeted gratuities for war veterans in 1997 and political conflicts (AfDB/OECD, 2003; Murisa 2010). Despite efforts by the government to solve the economic problems since 2000 the economy continued on a decline trajectory with the climax in 2008 when

the country recorded the highest hyperinflation of up to 231 million percent. The problems were temporarily solved by the dollarization of the economy (Sikwila, 2013) when the government dumped the local currency and introduced multi-currency in the country. The USD and the South African Rand were the common currencies that were adopted and helped to stabilize the financial system that was negatively affected by hyperinflation.

Since 2000 Zimbabwe has been experiencing a host of economic challenges such as food shortages, fuel shortage, unemployment, fluctuating prices, cash shortages, poverty and low salaries. This study examines how economic instability which has gone for so long a period affected secondary schools using the lens of habitus and social capital.

The following themes were identified: teaching and learning effects; psychological effects; social status of teachers; weak parental support; social relationships, responses to economic instability and supervision and management.

5.2 Teaching and learning

Teaching and learning are core activities of any secondary school. Students' success at school depends on their ability to do work assigned to them by their teachers. Teachers, referred to as institutional agents, play an important role of guiding students to understand how the school system works (Martina, 2006). An important obligation for students is to do school work assigned to them by their teachers. Teachers' obligations are centred on attending lessons, assigning work and marking. This study has revealed that school work was negatively affected by weak economic capital caused by economic instability as indicated by the experiences given below.

The ability and opportunity of students to write work were affected by economic challenges. A head of rural secondary school (B) lamented: "Some students did not pay fees so did not come to school regularly. They failed to buy exercise books. As a result some did not write any work" (Head Interview 1/17). A student at a rural government secondary (H) added: "Many students could not afford to buy stationery like exercise books so did not do work assigned by teachers" (FGD 8/17). A female teacher at a rural council secondary school (B) was distraught, and almost in tears, as she narrated what happened in 2016:

Pupils were expected to buy their own stationery and this was problematic as those who could not afford to buy new exercise books did not write any work. For example last year I had 10 pupils who did not write any work because of this. This meant I did not realise the results of my effort (Teacher interview 3/17).

A parent at a rural government secondary school (H) testified what was happening in 2017: “I have five children and struggle to buy stationery for them. An exercise book just cost 25 cents but I sometimes fail to get it. Without exercise books my children do not write work” (Parent interview 2/17). Without the necessary stationery the students affected found it difficult to acquire skills and knowledge necessary for success at school. Bourdieu (1986) pointed out that objectified cultural capital in the form of books, pictures, dictionaries, instruments and machines are important for students to succeed in the school system. Economic instability made it difficult for students to have resources to use at schools.

Student absenteeism and late coming were a result of weak economic capital of their parents. A student at a rural secondary school (B) said: “Some pupils did not come to school regularly because they were tired of walking long distances as they could not afford transport fares daily” (FGD 2/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) added: “For some students who came from afar it was difficult to walk to school as they did not have money for transport. This resulted in them arriving late at school so they missed some lessons” (FGD 5/17). A teacher at an urban secondary school (G) explained: “Students from surrounding farms rarely came to school daily because of financial difficulties” (Teacher interview 13/17). A head of a rural secondary school (D) noted what occurred between 2006 and 2008: “During the hyperinflation period many students did not come to school because they had no food. Lesson attendance was very low as they helped parents by either vending or panning gold” (Head interview 5/17). Failure by students to attend lessons on time or regularly meant that they would find it difficult to acquire the embodied cultural capital, like skills in language and communication, which were necessary for them to interact with their teachers. Or to use the words of Bourdieu cited in d’Almeida (2016:11) they would find it difficult “move in their world as a fish in water” because they missed opportunities to learn from their teachers due to absenteeism and late coming.

Teacher absenteeism also became common mainly due to cash shortages especially from 2016 onward. A student at an urban council secondary school (G) was worried: “Teachers were spending a lot of time queuing for cash in banks. This meant they missed some of their lessons so failed to cover all the work” (FGD 7/17). The same sentiments were expressed by a student at a rural government secondary school (H): “Teachers were affected by cash shortage as they spent a lot of time queuing in banks to withdraw money. Sometimes they got nothing. A teacher did not teach between 4 to 6 days per month” (FGD 8/17). A teacher at a rural secondary school (D) acknowledged: “Due to shortage of cash, teachers spent a lot of time queuing for money. This meant we lost teaching and learning time. A teacher lost between five and six days trying to get cash” (Teacher interview 7/17). A head of an urban government secondary school (A) lamented: “I was always checking on teachers as they had developed a tendency to sneak out to try and get cash from banks” (Head interview 7/17). The presence of a teacher is important to facilitate teaching and learning which helps students to acquire cultural capital. This study has revealed that teachers were forced to be absent by cash shortage which meant that students were left alone with no one to guide them for many days a month. Teacher absenteeism negatively affected the acquisition of concepts by students. Teacher absenteeism disturbed continuity of teaching and learning which are crucial for developing confidence and self-image in individual students.

Objectified cultural capital, represented by resources such as textbooks, materials/equipment for practical subjects, was in short supply as a result of weak economic capital. For instance, a student at a rural government secondary school (H) noted: “We shared textbooks as they were not enough” (FGD 8/17). A head of rural secondary school (B) lamented: “It was difficult to teach without books and other resources. For example, 3 or 4 students shared one book when answering comprehension questions” (Head Interview 1/17).

Even a head of a boarding secondary school (C), which is supposed to be better equipped when compared to day schools complained about what was happening in 2017: “Lesson delivery was affected because we were failing to buy important resources especially for practical subjects” (Head Interview 2/17). A student of a rural secondary school (B) knew the figures of resources the school had for practical subjects: “Fashion and Fabrics did not have enough sewing machines- 7 machines for 55 pupils. For computers it was 6 for 63 pupils. For Building, less than 10 spirit levels for 54 pupils. Even for Agriculture there was no adequate water” (FGD2/17). The grasp of

concepts became problematic for most students in secondary schools as there were very few resources to use. If students failed to grasp concepts they were not able to develop the necessary embodied cultural capital, for example competences in practical subjects like Fashion and Fabrics, to enable them to play the game in the field of education. But a retired education officer pointed out the improvement brought about by Government of National Unity between 2009 and 2013: “Schools received many books for both primary and secondary schools from UNICEF.” (Retired education officer 1/17) This was supported by head of a rural government secondary school (E): “We received many books during the GNU which improved the resources we had but with new curriculum some of the books are no longer relevant.” (Head interview 4/17)

Extra-curriculum activities, like sports, are an important component of secondary school education. This study revealed that sporting activities were negatively affected by economic instability. A head of a rural secondary school (F) said: “Participation in sports was affected by lack of funds. We needed cash for transport but it was difficult to get” (Head interview 4/17). A student at a rural secondary (D) said: “Very few students were participating in sporting activities because the school could not afford sporting equipment required” (FGD 4/17). A parent at a rural government secondary school (H) noted: “Few students competed at district or provincial competitions because the school could not afford transporting many of them” (FGD 8/17). Students’ participation in sporting activities was negatively affected by weak economic capital of their parents. Failure by students to participate in sports resulted in them not being able to acquire the necessary skills in sport which enable them to develop embodied cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986:17) defines embodied cultural capital as “... long lasting dispositions of the mind and body.” These include skills, attitudes or perceptions a person acquires in the family or at school through socialisation. Examples of embodied cultural capital are skills in playing sports a person acquires at school or attitude towards school work. Lack of embodied cultural capital among the students meant they failed to play the game in the field of the school as expected.

Advanced level education in Zimbabwe is characterised by the students visiting fellow students in other schools to hold seminars as part and parcel of their learning. This requires transport and subsistence for the students. This has also been affected by economic instability as schools were finding it difficult to fund such educational trips. For example, a head of a rural secondary school

(F) pointed out a problem for the post 2013 period: “Seminars for Advanced level students were affected as the school could not afford or access the cash to use” (Head Interview 4/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) testified: “Recently our planned visit for a seminar was cancelled because the school failed to get cash from the bank to use” (FGD 7/17). This meant that students failed to acquire the skills as expected from the seminars where they were supposed to interact with other students of other institutions.

The acquisition of concepts was also affected by poor teaching as some schools relied on too many unqualified teachers. For example a head of a rural secondary school (D) pointed out what happened between 2000 and 2009: “Many schools were manned by untrained teachers with no experience or passion to teach” (Head Interview 5/17). He went on: “Form 6 graduates were not able to communicate in English because they were not properly taught in the lower grades as teachers were disgruntled and did not teach well.” A student at a rural secondary school (F) remembered: “Teachers changed frequently and some struggled to teach as they had no experience” (FGD 6/17). A parent at a rural government secondary school (E) added: “Qualified teachers were difficult to get as they preferred urban schools where conditions were better” (Parent interview 4/17). These citations indicate that schools were affected by being manned by institutionalized agents who were not trained. The untrained teachers did not have the capacity to impart skills as expected.

The ultimate result of all these issues caused by economic instability was poor performance in examinations. For example, the head of a rural secondary school (B) was disheartened: “The pass rate is not pleasing at all. For example at the peak of inflation in 2008 the school had the lowest pass rate. I was blamed as Head but there was nothing I could do as the resources were not enough for good work to be realized. This stressed me a lot” (Head Interview 1/17). This drop in results was also experienced by an urban secondary school (G) whose head simply said: “Pass rate at the school went down” (Head Interview 6/17). Performance in examinations was checked through examining pass rate documents analysed in schools. The lowest pass rate recorded for the eight schools was 3% at Ordinary Level. The only school which recorded a percentage pass rate which was more than 20% was a boarding missionary secondary school. But even this boarding school showed a decrease in the pass rate. The school used to record passes of over 80% but this had gone down to less than 70%. The other schools had pass rates below 20% at Ordinary level.

The citations above indicate that economic instability negatively affected students' school work. Findings from this study are similar to studies by others. For example, a study by Chene (2016:5) in Zimbabwe during the economic instability showed that there was a budget cut to education which resulted in shortages in schools which affected students' capacity to do school work. The author goes on to say there was a lot of absenteeism by teachers which also resulted in reduced school work for students. Manguvo et al (2011:155) found that there was a "breakdown of discipline" in Zimbabwean secondary schools, such as skipping lessons, drug abuse or vandalism due to economic problems, that has a negative effect on school work. In Western Europe some countries reduced budgets for education as a result of the economic crisis around 2008 (Koning, 2010). Similarly, Chene (2015:4) pointed out that economic problems experienced by schools in Zimbabwe has caused examination standards to go down. In Asia, Shafiq (2009:8) reveals that economic crisis results in educational outcomes going down. The ability of students to do work in the field of education is what enables them to acquire and assimilate embodied cultural capital which is necessary for them to "swim like fish in water." (Bourdieu cited in d'Almeida 2016:11). Economic problems made it difficult for students to do their work, for example reading, solving mathematical problems or practical in science subjects hence they did not benefit from the dominant actors, teachers, in secondary schools. Secondary schools, as fields of education characterised as places of production (Swartz, 2016), had difficulties to fulfill their responsibilities of teaching and learning due to economic challenges.

5.3 Psychological effects

Behaviour is a form of habitus (Pickel, 2005:6). This is derived from the idea that the habitus of a person is characterised by "patterns of thinking, feeling, wanting, doing and interacting" (ibid). These characteristics constitute the behaviour of a person. Patterns of thinking relate to the psychology of a person. This section analyses how secondary school agents were psychologically affected by economic instability.

5.3.1 Teachers and heads of schools

Teachers are important players in the field of education and to be more specific in the field of schools. As institutionalized agents, teachers are the core players of the school system so their stability in behaviour is crucial for the normal functions to take place. This study, as revealed

below, indicates that teachers were affected psychologically by economic problems they experienced.

A teacher at an urban government secondary school (A) recalled what happened during the hyperinflation period: “I lost weight as a result of stress and inadequate food” (Teacher Interview 1/17). While a female teacher at a boarding secondary school (C) reminisced: “It was really embarrassing that as a teacher I would beg to survive.” Then she added on the current problem (in 2017): “I had to queue for a long time to get cash which was tiresome and boring. This affected my concentration to teach. I was no longer motivated to teach” (Teacher Interview 5/17). Economic problems caused stress for the teachers because what they were experiencing was abnormal. The energy to teach was no longer there because of inadequate food. In the words of McKinnon (2016:537), it can be said that economic problems caused “discomfort or insecurity” which led to teachers to suffer from stress. The worst experiences of discomfort came at the height of hyperinflation in 2008 as detailed in the next paragraph.

A female teacher at a rural secondary school (E) noted how inflation affected her especially between 2006 and 2008: “I stopped caring about teaching during the hyperinflation period as I was getting no salary. I did not get my salary for almost five months as the pay was useless due to inflation” (Teacher Interview 7/17). A male teacher at an urban secondary school (G) explained: “The motivation to teach was low due to economic problems. For example, during the hyperinflation period, I lost weight which affected my passion to teach” (Teacher Interview 13/17). A teacher who had taught at many schools testified: “The stress I suffered in 2008 led to a mild stroke as you can see on my face” (Teacher interview 5/17).

The teachers’ views about how they were affected psychologically were supported by other respondents. For example, a student at an urban boarding government secondary (A) pointed out: “Teachers were stressed as sometimes they skipped lessons but would be in the staff room” (FGD 1/17). A student at a rural secondary school (F) said: “Teachers were demoralized so they no longer taught wholeheartedly. They easily got irritated with students and punished them for minor offences” (FGD 6/17). Even parents spoke about the stress teachers experienced and how it affected their work: “They were no longer motivated to work hard. Our teachers seemed to be affected by low salaries they got. Concentration on school work was reduced as they were involved

in other activities to survive” (Parent interview 2/17). A head of a rural secondary school (B) pointed out: “Teachers’ salaries were too low which had a negative effect on their motivation to teach. They no longer worked hard to help students to pass” (Head Interview 1/17).

The quotes from various respondents in the study show that teachers were psychologically affected by economic instability. The stress they experienced affected their work in schools as interaction with students became weak, so that they became what Coleman and Hoffer (cited in Martina, 2006:2) refer to as “functionally deficient.” This suggests that the transfer of embodied cultural capital from the teacher to students was weakened. Hence academic success for the students became difficult. These results are similar to what was found by other authors. For example, the World Health Organisation (2011:7) said that economic crisis negatively affects mental health. Botou, et al (2017) add that economic crisis worsens the stress of teachers as indicated by feeling insecure, frustration, resentful and anger and negative mood. Such psychological effects made it difficult for teachers to give sufficient attention to students but such a relationship is important in schools as it enables them to learn. This is supported by Schuchart (2013) who asserts that the teacher and student relationship is important for social capital in the form of emotional support and encouragement. The results seem to suggest that economic problems experienced by teachers made it difficult for them to have ‘a feel for the game’ as expected in the field of education due to stress.

5.3.2 Parents

Parents were affected psychologically by economic instability as they struggled to look after their families during the hyper-inflation period and after 2013. A parent at a rural government school (H) said: “I had five children at school and struggled to fund their education” (Parent interview 2/17). Another parent at a different rural secondary school (D) added: “Parents were stressed by their failure to pay fees as most of them regard education of their children as important. This caused a lot of blood pressure among the parents” (Parent interview 5/17). A parent at rural government secondary school (H) was appalled: “Parents were angry with the low pass rate” (Parent interview 2/17). Economic problems have added more social problems as alluded to by a parent at another rural government secondary school (E), “Some parents were affected by such vices as divorces, prostitution and violence which had negative effects on their wellbeing” (Parent interview 4/17).

The narratives above indicate that economic instability psychologically affected parents as they struggled to take care of their children in secondary schools. This suggests that parents had difficulties playing the game according to rules of the field of education due to weak economic capital. The findings of this study relate to what was found by Wahlbeck & Awolin (2009:1) when they said that times of economic instability caused psychological stress leading to “depression, anxiety disorders and sometimes suicides” as parents struggled to take care of families. This was also noted by Botou et al. (2017:137) who pointed out that economic crises intensify problems of “mental disorders within families.” Parents psychologically affected were not able to assist their children to achieve at school. This was because their school involvement was negatively affected by economic problems. But Ballantine (1995:192) asserts that parental involvement is “one of the most important ingredients in a child’s success in school....” In addition psychological problems affected social capital in the family, which is the relationship between parents and children that resulted in parents failing to give enough attention to their children. Family social capital is important for academic achievement of young people (Schuchart, 2013).

5.3.3 Students

Economic instability in the country has disturbed students’ focus on school work. Extrinsic motivation, together with intrinsic motivation, play an important role in the education of students (Amabile cited in Akhtar et al, 2018:21). Mitchell (cited in Akhtar et al., 2017:21) defined motivation as “psychological processes that cause the arousal, direction and persistence of behaviour.” Extrinsic motivation refers to the external forces which direct an individual to behave in a certain way while intrinsic motivation is about internal forces of an individual that drives an individual (Akhtar et al., 2018). Motivation forms part of human experience (ibid) so is linked directly to the dispositions of individuals. A person who is motivated is more committed to performing work than a person who is less motivated (ibid). This study, as revealed in the experiences below, indicates that the unstable economy of the country, specifically lack of employment opportunities which worsened from 2000, demotivated students in their learning endeavors.

A student at a boarding school (C) felt disillusioned: “There is reduced motivation for us to learn as most graduates were unemployed or were forced to look for work outside the country. It is boring as we have no prospects of a better future” (FGD, 3/17). Similarly, a student at a rural council secondary (D) was disheartened: “We have no hope of going to university because of financial problems” (FGD 4/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) was worried: “Lack of employment demotivates us. Why learn if future employment is not guaranteed?” (FGD 5/17). And a student at a rural council secondary school (F) blamed corruption: “Corruption produces citizens who are lazy and used to get what they want easily through crooked means. For students it then produces cadres who are lazy as they sometimes get things easily” (FGD 6/17). Students revealed that prospects of future employment acted as an extrinsic motivator for them. But their narratives were a clear indication that lack of employment demotivated them to commit themselves to school work. So it means that their ability to acquire embodied cultural capital, like skills in various subjects, to enable to know how the school system works is reduced. Some students were likely to fail final examinations and so were unlikely to use the school system as a vehicle for social mobility. In this way the school perpetuated inequalities in society as students from disadvantaged backgrounds like those from rural areas were affected more and most unlikely to pass.

The same sentiments were expressed by teachers. A teacher at an urban secondary school (G) said: “Unemployment affected students as they had no prospects to be employed. They were demotivated” (Teacher Interview 10/17). Another teacher at boarding secondary (C) echoed the same sentiments: “Unemployment levels were so high that there was no motivation to learn for formal employment. There was no motivation to do better in class as former students roam the streets with no work” (Teacher Interview 4/17). A head of a rural government secondary school (E) also indicated: “Unemployment affected students’ interest in education. They were no longer motivated to learn. Very few registered in 2008- 53/160 registered to write Ordinary Level Examinations” (Head interview 3/17). The institutional agents, teachers, who guide students to decode the cultural capital of the dominant class and to understand how the system works also, noted how students were demotivated. This means that teachers who were also demotivated were teaching students who had reduced interest to learn. Such a situation produced a negative

environment not conducive to teaching and learning. The chances of students passing when demotivated were so reduced that some of the students did not even bother to sit for examinations.

The parents who provided the necessary resources for students also lamented the issue of demotivation. A dejected parent of a rural council secondary school (B) said: “Unemployment affected the community as school graduates were just loitering” (Parent Interview 1/17). Another parent at rural government secondary school (H) also expressed similar sentiments: “Unemployment is a big problem for the school as students were not motivated to learn. There were no prospects for future employment and this dampened their spirit” (Parent Interview 2/17). If parents were aware of such demotivation among their children they were likely not to be motivated to pay tuition fees for them. This was worsened by economic instability.

The quotes above show that unemployment was a big problem which distracted students’ focus from their school work. So there was no extrinsic motivation for them to work hard to pass or to focus on school work which has less future tangible results. These results are similar to Wahlbeck & Awolin's (2009:3) assertion that economic crisis creates “feelings of helplessness among students which leads to a change of attitude towards school.” A study carried out in Zimbabwe by Mufanechiya & Mufanechiya (2011:96) revealed that motivating students in secondary schools has become a “major challenge” for teachers and parents because of few employment opportunities. Motivation is an important factor in the learning process of a child (Ballantine, 1995) and so if this was negatively affected it suggests that students in secondary schools were affected. Sullivan (2002:149) argues that “a major component of the dominant habitus is a positive attitude towards education” which she deduces from Bourdieu’s work in 1977 when he says “... the system of dispositions towards the school, understood as a propensity to consent to the investment in time, effort and money necessary to conserve and increase cultural capital.”(Sullivan, 2002:149). So if students were demotivated to learn it meant they no longer had a positive attitude towards spending time and effort on school work. Students found it difficult to play the game in the field of education as expected due to lack of motivation.

5.4 Social status of teachers

The teaching profession is still considered “relatively prestigious” (OECD cited in IBF 2013:212) especially in developing countries like Zimbabwe. Even in developed countries like Germany,

Greece or France, teaching is still popular (ibid) but in this study results suggest that economic instability negatively affected the social status of teachers.

At an urban boarding secondary school (A) a teacher bemoaned what happened in the hyperinflation period before 2009: “We became beggars as we sometimes survived on groceries given to us by parents” (Teacher interview 1/17). At a rural secondary school (B) a teacher pointed out: “I struggled to get bus fare to go to town to get my salary. So I used to walk for fifteen kilometres to the bank” (Teacher interview 2/17). A teacher at rural secondary school (D) felt: “Teachers were regarded as inferior in society as our salaries were among the lowest” (Teacher interview 6/17).

In normal situations it is rare for teachers to be involved in manual work for survival. But at the height of economic problems around 2006 to 2008 some teachers were forced to do manual duties in order to get food. A teacher at a rural government secondary school (E) revealed: “I worked at the irrigation scheme in order to get food in 2008” (Teacher interview 6/17). A teacher at a rural government school (H): “We totally lost our dignity as teachers’ salaries became a mockery of society (Teacher interview 12/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) added: “Teachers lost their social status due to low wages they earned. They become a laughing stock of society” (FGD 7/17). A retired education officer explained the despicable situation of teachers:

Economic problems have affected the morale of teachers due to the erosion of their status in society. They have become the laughing stock of communities. For example, during the inflation period they were mocked by such statements by vendors or bus conductors, ‘I did not make much today but at least it is more than what teachers earn (Retired education officer interview 2/17).

A teacher lamented: “Teachers were no longer presentable as they could no longer afford to buy clothes. Some ended up picking cotton, fishing or gold panning.” (Teacher interview 1/17). Being poorly dressed and involved in manual work not normally done by teachers, worsened teachers’ social status as testified by a head of a rural secondary school (B): “The dignity of teachers was eroded due to low salaries” (Head interview 1/17). Another head of a rural government secondary (F) added: “Teachers’ salaries have become a mockery as society joked about how bad the salaries were. We lost respect in society” (Head Interview 3/17). A parent at a rural government secondary

school (H) complained: “Our teachers became vendors in order to supplement their low salaries. This resulted in less concentration on school work” (Parent interview 2/17).

Respondents noted that the social status of teachers improved during the GNU period between 2009 and 2013. A retired education officer said: “Teachers’ standard of living improved when they were earning USD. Most teachers had decent way of life with some affording to buy cars and build houses for themselves” (A retired officer interview 1/17). This was supported by a teacher who taught at many schools: “I managed to build a better house after 2009 because of the money we earned in USD. This was also the time when we received incentives from SDC.” (Teacher interview 5/17).

Economic instability negatively affected the social status of teachers in Zimbabwean society. The results concur with the findings of other authors, for example Botou et al. (2017:136), who said that economic crisis “changes the lifestyle of teachers” as the value of their low salaries is reduced. In a study carried out in Zimbabwe by Chagonda (2012:11) he found out that teachers had become the “laughing stock of society” because of their low salaries. Secondary school teachers, as institutional agents, are supposed to assist students to decode the cultural capital of the dominant class (Bourdieu cited in Martina, 2006) but with such a battering of their social class it became difficult to do so as students had less respect for them as dominant agents in the field. Teachers’ symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) was negatively affected by economic problems which made it difficult to be effective teachers. The teacher’ reduced social status made it difficult for them to operate within the field of secondary schools to help students as their authority as teachers was negatively affected by economic problems.

5.5 Weak parental support

Parents play an important role in the education of their children by providing the necessary support required. This is because “families are aware of the benefits of increased education as a vehicle for economic and occupational mobility” (Calloids, 2010:2). In addition secondary education is for adolescents, “a very crucial age where important knowledge, skills, attitudes and values are acquired” to be used for the rest of their lives (ibid, 3). This study, as indicated in this section, revealed that economic instability since 2000 weakened parental support for their children in

secondary schools. The effects were felt in terms of tuition fees, uniforms, pocket money and food provisions and other school resources, parental guidance and income.

5.5.1 Tuition fees

The payment of tuition fees is necessary ‘for supporting the fiscal sustainability of infrastructure and quality in the education sector’ (Bhalotra et al 2014:1). Tuition fees provide the economic capital needed by secondary schools to operate. As a result of the economic situation in Zimbabwe parents had difficulties in the payment of tuition fees.

Parents’ inability to pay tuition fees negatively affected students in secondary schools. A student at a boarding school (C) said of the hyper-inflation period: “The school was failing to buy adequate resources like textbooks because some parents did not pay fees” (FGD 3/17). A student at a rural secondary school (F) echoed the same sentiments: “Some parents were not paying fees because of poverty” (FGD 6/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) also noted: “Parents’ failure to pay fees meant the school did not have adequate funds to purchase resources for the school such as books, computers, and desks” (FGD 7/17). And a teacher at a rural government secondary school (E) described with a tinge of emotion the period after 2013:

Payment of fees was very erratic as parents did not have cash. The school did not have swipe machine, neither was it using eco cash so what is left is the option of transferring money. But how many of our people here in rural areas had the capacity to transfer money? It means they had to go towns to do the transfer. It was just too much for them (Teacher interview 9/17).

A teacher at an urban secondary school (G) added: “Most parents were not able to pay fees. Children sometimes missed lessons as they were sent home in a bid to force parents to pay” (Teacher interview 10/17). A head of a rural secondary school (B) said: “Increased poverty meant that many parents were not able to pay fees. Students unable to pay fees did not regularly come to school which meant that their work was affected” (Head Interview 1/17). Then a head of a boarding school (C) pointed out: “Payment of fees was affected. We used to have a payment rate of between 90 and 100 % but now it’s about 72%.” A head of an urban secondary school (G) noted: “Even some parents who were able to pay stopped to pay seeing that others were not paying. On average only about 30% of the students are fully paid up” (Head Interview 6/17). A parent, an executive member of the school development association at a rural government secondary school, testified

what was happening in 2017: “I am failing to pay fees for my children at school. For example, I am in arrears for two terms. As a committee member I was supposed to lead by example” (Parent interview 2/17). A parent at an urban secondary school (G) said: “Parents were not able to pay fees because most were poor. But some were deliberately not paying. It was now a problem of attitude” (Parent interview 3/17). A parent at a rural secondary school (B) blamed poverty for parents’ failure to pay: “Parents were no longer able to pay fees because of poverty. This affected the running of the school” (Parent Interview 1/17). A parent at a government secondary school (E) said: “We have about 31% of students paid up for fees. The others struggled to pay or they did not pay at all” (Parent interview 4/17). A parent at a rural secondary school (D) said: “The rate of fees payment stands at 30% for Ordinary level students and about 60% for Advanced level students” (Parent interview 5/17).

The experiences of the respondents clearly indicate that parents’ ability to pay tuition fees was weakened by economic instability. The results are similar to Shafiq's (2009:10) finding that economic crisis makes it “difficult for parents to afford direct costs of education such as tuition fees.” Indeed, economic crisis weakened the economic capital of parents which “deterred parents from sending their children to school” (World Bank cited in Bhalotra et al., 2014:1). Economic instability impoverished some parents which worsened their social class position and hence that of their children. Such a position made it difficult for students to benefit from the field of education in line with the assertion made by Sullivan (2002:145) that “lower-class pupils are seriously disadvantaged in the competition for educational credentials....” In this way schools end up “perpetuating the existing social patterns, as it provides an apparent justification for social inequalities...” (Bourdieu cited in Sullivan 2002: 145). This means that those who were poor failed due to lack of resources so remained in their poverty.

5.5.2 School uniforms

In order for students “to play the game” in the field of secondary schools, uniforms are required in Zimbabwe. The issue of uniforms is on-going debate which is not subject of this study. Be that as it may, Synott and Symes (cited in Adams, 2007:6) put a strong case for uniforms in schools by their argument that “uniforms governs and regulates both the outward and inward dispositions of the pupil.” They add that uniforms assist to “foster school affiliation, loyalty and pride.” (ibid, 7).

In Zimbabwe school uniforms are universal for both primary and secondary schools. But economic instability has resulted in some students having difficulties in fulfilling this requirement.

A student at a rural government secondary school (E) was worried: “Some parents were not able to purchase uniforms as required so the dressing of their children at school was sometimes scruffy and made them to feel inferior when they compared themselves to others with better uniforms” (FGD 5/17). This was supported by a student at a boarding school (C) who bemoaned: “Uniforms of some students were worn out and had difficulties to replace them due to financial problems” (FGD 3/17). A teacher at a boarding secondary school (C) expressed similar sentiments: “Some students’ uniforms were worn out” (Teacher interview 5/17). Furthermore a student at a government rural secondary school (H) pointed out: “Unemployment affected many pupils as their parents struggled to find money to buy uniforms” (FGD 8/17). A head of a boarding secondary school (C) gave an insight into a rule about school uniforms which was not adhered to: “Students were supposed to have three pairs of uniforms but some had one and that compromised on cleanliness” (Head interview 2/17). A teacher at a rural government school (E) lamented the problem of uniforms: “Poverty was affecting cleanliness of the students as some put on the same clothes for the whole week. Some ended up dropping from school as they felt embarrassed” (Teacher interview 8/17).

The experiences of respondents indicate that economic instability affected some parents’ capacity to provide uniforms for their children in secondary schools. Students who were affected felt out of place in the school system as uniforms are a school requirement. The results are similar to Evans et al (2009) research in which they found that students without uniforms in Kenya felt stigmatized and were reprimanded by teachers. Their findings also revealed that putting on uniforms reduces absenteeism. Similarly Synott and Symes (1995) found that uniforms had a positive effect on students’ behaviour in Australia. For example, Ruby (cited in Bunyawanich et al, 2018) said that uniforms created passive characteristics and obedience to authority. School attendance was affected which negatively impacted their ability to acquire the skills, attitude and values which enhance their chances of getting educational qualifications, important as institutional cultural capital (Czerniewicz and Brown, 2014). In addition wearing uniforms expected in schools helps to instill in students feelings of cultural belonging and self-confidence (Lovett, 2013) so failure by some students to wear the required uniform made them to feel out of place.

5.5.3 Food

“Food and nutrition are basic human rights of human beings” (Mohajan, 2013:2). For students food insecurity is a cause of concern as it has negative consequences such as “it can lower enrolment and attendance, and then it can limit capacity to concentrate and perform in school” (De Muro & Burchi, 2007:3). In the long term food insecurity is an “impediment to child mental development” (ibid). Zimbabwe has been characterised by food insecurity since 2000 due to a number of factors such as droughts, the land reform programme and scarce foreign currency (AfDB/OECD, 2003). The narratives below indicate that secondary school students were affected by shortages of food. A teacher at a boarding secondary school (C) described:

Our pupils here were affected differently with economic problems. Some were from poor background while others were from better off background. When we checked in their tucks which they brought we noticed the difference. Others brought virtually nothing while others had full tucks. This showed class differences and its humiliating for the students from poor background (Teacher interview 5/17).

A student at a rural day secondary school (B) noted: “For most pupils there was no proper lunch. They could not afford to buy or bring food from home for lunch. This affected their concentration during afternoon lessons” (FGD 2/17). Similarly a student at a rural secondary school (D) was worried: “We had nothing much to take as food for our lunch. Usually we have nothing and this affected concentration during afternoon lessons” (FGD 4/17). A student at a boarding school (C) also acknowledged: “Our tuck of food, which we brought at the beginning of each term was reduced.” (FGD 3/17). A student at a government secondary school (H) said: “Most of us did not get any pocket money from our parents as they could not afford to do so” (FGD 8/17).

A student at a rural government secondary school (E) gave a detailed description:

Some pupils had no pocket money to buy jigs/goodies during break time or lunch. Although they had something to eat from home they felt bad as they were unable to buy goodies like others. They felt inferior. A common saying at the school developed where students were either called nobles or have nots or peasants or the cursed. This leads to ‘social conflict’ among the students (FGD 5/17).

The experiences above indicate that some secondary school students were negatively affected by inadequate food provision which was caused by economic instability. Shortage of food affected students’ participation in school activities and concentration on school work. Other studies ((De

Muro & Burchi, 2007; Chinyoka, 2014) reveal that hunger and inadequate food provisions have a negative impact on academic performance, health and survival of learners.

5.5.4 School resources

Participants in the study complained of school resources which were in short supply as a result economic instability such as mathematical instruments, books, sportswear and equipment and classrooms. These are crucial as they enable students to do their work. They constitute what is termed objectified cultural capital which is necessary for students to learn (Bourdieu cited in d' Almeida, 2016:10). For example, textbooks are important for students in order to better grasp concepts. Mathematical instruments assist students to understand and practice geometrical concepts. The participants revealed how students were affected in the following citations.

A parent at a rural secondary school (D) said: “Most parents could not afford to buy mathematical sets important for the subject of mathematics. Mathematics’ teachers complained that they could not effectively teach some concepts if each student did not have own set” (Parent interview 5/17). A parent of another rural secondary school (B) pointed out: “Parents were not able to buy all books required” (Parent interview 1/17). Then he also added: “We have failed to build more classrooms. Two classes do not have classrooms to use” (Parent interview (1/17)). A parent of a rural government secondary school (H) added: “As parents we have failed to buy sports attire and other necessary equipment for sports for our children. Even furniture is not enough” (Parent interview 2/17). A parent at a rural government secondary school (E) bemoaned: “Other secondary schools have purchased school buses but we can’t as parents are failing to pay normal fees” (Parent interview 4/17).

The citations above indicate that economic instability led to weak parental support for students in secondary schools. This ultimately led to shortages of pedagogic materials, including books, which affects the quality of education (Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, 2011:40). Wahlbeck & Awolin (2009:2) noted that economic crisis “increases the social exclusion of vulnerable groups” such as the poor and people living under the poverty datum line. They go on to cite studies in Japan which indicate that recession leads social inequalities to widen. This is what has happened in Zimbabwe as a result of economic instability where some parents were able to comfortably survive while others struggled to get basics. Such a scenario had a negative impact on

most secondary schools studied as some students found it difficult to do any work since their parents failed to provide for them. This concurs with the findings by Chene (2016:4) who said economic crisis in Zimbabwe led to “shortage of textbooks and school supplies with the end result of examination standards going down.” Thus Tichagwa (2012:40) argues that the poor conditions in most secondary schools are what has led to the “mushrooming of independent colleges” in Zimbabwe as parents no longer had trust in public schools to deliver good results for their children. But not all parents could afford to enroll their children in independent colleges because they are expensive. Only parents who were better off could afford to pay tuition fees in independent schools so this exacerbated the situation of impoverished students and staff in state schools. This is similar to what was noted by Hill (1999), that private secondary schools (independent) were mainly a preserve of the upper and middle classes in Britain. Private schools are well funded and better resourced when compared to public schools (ibid) and hence are able to provide better education. This study has shown that economic instability worsened the funding situation in public secondary schools which helped to reproduce more inequalities among the schools and actors involved. Thus Bourdieu (cited in Olivier, 2017:2) argues that “...education favours those students with higher-class habitus, the education system functions in such a way that it reproduces and legitimizes class differences and inequalities.”

5.5.5 Parents’ loss of income

“The income levels of parents impacts on the academic achievements of the students” (Machebe et al. 2017:1619). Parents play an important role by providing moral, financial and material support for their children in school (ibid). This is an indication that economic capital is important in education. Levels of income of most parents were negatively affected by economic instability as many found themselves out of employment. Parents lost their sources of income as many companies folded up or relocated or down sized as revealed by participants’ experiences below.

A parent at an urban government secondary school (A) said: “Parents were retrenched” (Parent interview 7/17). This was also supported by a student at a boarding school (A) who said: “Parents were retrenched which negatively affected their children’s education. Some boarders were forced to transfer to less expensive schools” (FGD 1/17). A student at a boarding school (C) noted: “Most companies did not have capacity to pay retirement packages so those who retired become destitute

and found it difficult to look after their families (FGD 3/17). A student at a boarding secondary school (C) pointed out another problem: “Salaries were not being paid on time which also affected the payment of fees by our parents” (FGD 3/17).

The results indicate that economic instability caused many parents to lose their sources of income. These results concur with what was found by Wahlbeck & Awolin (2009:1) in Europe when the economic crisis led to “unemployment levels to rise leading to changes in their standards of living.” In Zimbabwe, Chagonda (2010:4) found that hyperinflation led to an “increase in poverty among the general populace.” In Asia it was found by Shafiq (2009:10) that economic crisis caused a “reduction in incomes of adults which made it difficult for parents to support their children in secondary schools.” Economic instability weakened the economic capital of some families which had a negative impact on how secondary school students acquired embodied cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital is regarded by Bourdieu (cited in Mahbub & Shoily, 2016:2) as “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” which are demonstrated through abilities to “read widely and appreciate high culture” such as painting or music. Although embodied cultural capital is common among the high-status students, those from low-status may also acquire tastes through education. But if they fail to attend school regularly because of parents’ inability to pay fees then their opportunities to acquire embodied cultural capital are reduced. This means that students from advantaged classes continued to have better embodied cultural capital than students from disadvantaged backgrounds.

5.6 Effects on school administration

Supervision and management in secondary schools are essential for success. Leithwood et al (2004:3) assert that “leadership is second only to classroom teaching among all school-related factors that contribute to what students learn at school.” In addition Pont et al. (2008:19) point out that “school leaders influence the motivations, capacities and working conditions of teachers who in turn shape classroom practice and student learning.” This indicates that for successful socialisation of students to take place heads of schools must do their duties effectively. They play a critical role in ensuring that students acquire cultural capital. This study has revealed that challenges faced in schools as a result economic instability distracted heads of secondary schools from doing their work as revealed in the quotations below.

A head of a rural secondary school (B) explained what was happening from 2016 onward: “Shortage of cash was causing a lot of inconveniences for me and the school. Too many errands to the bank affected my daily routine of running the school. Supervision programme was affected and hence the quality of work was also affected” (Head interview 1/17). A head of a rural government secondary school (E) lamented: “Cash shortages and the introduction of bond notes was causing a lot of problems for us as payment of fees has gone down” (Head Interview 3/17).

A head of a boarding secondary school (C) with the added responsibility of buying food for students in boarding commented: “Parents were now making payment plans instead of paying at once- payments were spread throughout the term. This affects our ability to buy food for students. As a boarding school we should purchase food in bulk but this was being affected because payment was coming in drips. Some even failed to adhere to their payment plans” (Head Interview 2/17). Then she went on: “Shortage of cash is affecting our ability to purchase perishables like vegetables, tomatoes as the providers don’t accept other forms of payment, other than cash”

All the heads of schools interviewed made special reference to the years of hyperinflation of 2007 and 2008 as difficult for schools. They noted that the hyperinflation caused a lot of havoc in how schools were managed in terms of school budgets, attending meetings, relief teachers/temporary teachers.

A head of a rural secondary school (D) bemoaned: “It became difficult to implement our yearly budgets. The time of inflation was a difficult one for the Head as we could not implement our budgets due to daily changes of prices” (Head Interview 5/17). He added: “It became increasingly difficult to attend meetings at the district education offices as the money charged in the morning would be different when returning - change of bus fares was a daily affair. We ended up using our own cash.” A head of an urban secondary school (G) complained: “Sometimes I was forced to use my own money for school business as the school failed to refund” (Head Interview 6/17). A head of a rural secondary school (D) said,

The last half of 2008 the school was deserted. I was alone with most teachers gone. It was difficult to get relief teachers as no one wanted to join the teaching profession as they said they would work for nothing. We advertised during funerals to get

relief teachers as the district office was not getting any applications. Many teachers had left or were doing something else or crossed the border. It was difficult to persuade school leavers to be relief teachers. The salaries were a mockery so they refused (Head interview 5/17).

The quotations reveal that supervision and management in secondary schools were negatively affected by economic instability. These results are in line with what was found by Bua (2013:1) who said that “management of schools is affected by environment in which it operates as the materials and human resources come from the community.” Nwagwu (1997:89) also found out that “shortages of finance affect the organisation and administration of education at all levels.” Then Mapolisa (2013:2764) also adds that in Zimbabwe “the management of public examinations has become chaotic and disastrous” as a result of economic problems. In Haiti Luzincourt & Gulbrandson (2010:2) found that “high dropouts rates and low enrolment rates” are a result of economic hardships. This is an indication that weak economic capital had a negative impact on how secondary schools were managed.

5.7 Social relationships

Relationships are important in schools as they “assist in forging commitment to others” (Field cited in Allan & Catts, 2014:218). In addition, Allan & Catts (2014:218) argue that social capital “enhances community and social solidarity.” Schools are characterised by three types of social capital namely bonding, bridging and linking (ibid). Bonding social capital is found in relationships between people with similar characteristics such as that evident in families, school classes or ethnic groups. Bridging social capital occurs when different groups come together such as different families, different school classes or different ethnic groups. Linking social capital refers to relationships between individuals who have different amounts or forms of power connect with each other such as teachers and students, teachers and parents. This study revealed that social relationships in secondary schools were affected by economic instability as revealed by the lived experiences of respondents in the following sub-sections.

5.7.1 Teachers and parents

“Parental involvement in the education of their children is regarded as crucial” (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011:37). Hornby and Lafaele go on to identify the involvement of parents as conceptualised in two ways: home-based and school-based. Home-based involves parents assisting children doing

their homework such as helping them to read and assisting them with writing assignments while school-based involves being at school attending meetings or other activities. Such parental involvement leads to teachers and parents building social relationships as they interact with each other. Such social relationships between teachers and parents build bridging social capital and linking social capital which help to facilitate academic achievement for students. Woolcock (cited in Knowles 2005:5) defines bridging social capital “as ties with workmates or other acquaintances who are not close, while linking social capital are ties with those outside one’s immediate group of contacts.” The relationships between teachers and parents may be categorized as mainly linking social capital but may also be bridging if the parents have close contact with the school through participation in school activities. This study has revealed that the economic instability affected teachers’ relationships with parents in two different ways: positively and negatively as shown in the citations below.

A teacher at an urban government secondary school testified how parents assisted during the hyper-inflation period: “I was given groceries by parents as they realized I had nothing to eat (Teacher interview 1/17). Similarly a retired education officer revealed: “I was asked to give goods like meal-mealie or rice to the school to provide food for the children and teachers. It was really tough time” (Retired education officer interview 2/17). When parents realised that the government was not doing something about teachers’ salaries which was affecting the teaching of their children they decided to assist as revealed by a teacher at a boarding secondary school (C): “Parents through the School Development Committee paid us incentives because salaries from the government were too low” (Teacher Interview 5/17). One of the experienced teachers said incentives helped from 2009 to 2015: “ Soon after the dollarization the salaries we got were very low and parents ended up topping up what we were getting through payment of incentives”(Teacher informant interview 5/17).

The government even sanctioned the payment of the incentives by parent bodies based on money each school received in fees. In order to control the practice the government then directed that teachers should “share 10% of the revenue received at a school” (Mawere 2012:112). Whilst this was meant to cushion teachers, the unforeseen problem arose with different schools paying different rates of incentives (ibid, 118). This then resulted in unforeseen consequence of teachers preferring to teach at secondary schools which paid better incentives. Thus Mawere (2012:118)

argues that incentives brought “division and demotivation among some teachers due to differences in incentives paid.” Better paying schools were boarding schools and those in urban areas who paid more. This means teachers in rural secondary school were paid less incentive because parents paid less fees and payment rate of fees was low. So there was an influx of teachers asking for transfers from rural schools. But since 2015 the government banned the payment of incentives. A parent at an urban secondary school was also surprised with the government’s ban of incentives:

The economic problems were affecting teachers as their salaries were rather too low. This was worsened by the minister who ordered schools to stop payment of incentives. As a school we had no problems in paying them incentives to encourage them to work hard (Parent interview 3/17).

Teacher-parent relationships were also negatively affected as the trust between them went down: parents were skeptical about teachers who were now dividing their attention to try to supplement their low income by either vending or offering extra lessons for payment; on the other hand teachers felt that some parents were not doing enough to try and pay fees. For instance a teacher at a rural government secondary school (H) noted that: “Teachers’ relationship with the community was negatively affected as teachers were blamed for sending students home for fees payment while teachers blamed parents for not paying fees” (Teacher Interview 11/17). A parent at a government secondary school (H) pointed out another problem:

Parents accuse teachers of putting too much of their time on extra lessons and neglecting normal lessons. Not all parents could afford to pay for extra lessons so students from poor background were disadvantaged. This caused friction between parents and teachers (Parent interview 2/17).

A parent at a government secondary school (E) explained:

Relations between parents and teachers were not good at the height of economic problems around 2008 when parents and community in general mocked teachers about the economic problems they were having. But now it’s better as teachers’ economic situation has improved (Parent interview 4/17).

A teacher at a boarding school (C) said: “Teachers became targets of delusions and mockery by the community” (Teacher interview 5/17). A teacher at a government secondary school (H) noted: “Relationships between the school and parents were affected as teachers were blamed for the

economic problems as sanctions were blamed on opposition parties which had been associated with teachers” (Teacher Interview 11/17).

The excerpts from various stakeholders in secondary schools indicate that economic instability resulted in both positive and negative relationships. The findings of this study relate to the Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit's (2011:37) declaration that “Collection and administration of levies in some cases strained teacher-parent relationships.” Research by Kneale, et al. (2014:5) indicates that in “times of economic crisis relationships with others is affected.” For example, their study revealed that during the recent recession in Europe arguments over money affected relationships. The results above indicate that social capital in secondary schools was negatively affected by economic instability. Trust, norms of cooperation, sense of belonging and networking with each other were now weak although parents were still willing to assist teachers so that they continued to provide their essential service in communities. These results concur with other studies cited by Botou et al. (2017:137) in his literature review on teachers’ resilience which show that economic crises affect people’s relationships with others. The studies reveal that interpersonal relationships were affected by economic problems as also shown in this study when teachers felt insecure, frustrated, and angry, stressed and negative, which had an adverse impact on how they related to parents. One of the features of a field is that actors are in constant struggle with each other (Mangez and Hilgers, 2012). The results of this study seem to suggest that economic instability intensifies the struggle between parents and teachers in secondary schools. Scarcity of resources seems to have worsened the struggles between teachers and parents in the field of secondary schools/education. Parents and teachers occupy different positions in the field of secondary schools and these are characterised by relations of opposition (Mangez and Hilgers, 2012). In addition Bourdieu (cited in Swartz, 2016) argues that a field is about stratification and domination. Swartz (2016) goes on to elaborate that positions within a field donate places of competition as actors try to monopolize resources for their own benefit. The relationships between teachers and parents were made worse as each side blamed the other side for not doing enough for the success of schools. Although it appears as if teachers and parents had positive relationships, this was enforced as parents wanted teachers to continue teaching their children despite the challenges they experienced.

5.7.2 Teachers and students

Education can be defined as the “transfer of survival skills and advancement of culture from one generation to another” (Fakoya, 2009:5). The teacher plays an important role in transferring cultural capital to the students as they interact at school in general and in the classroom in particular. Hence the definition of teaching by Farrell and Oliveira (cited in Fakoya 2009:5) which emphasizes the importance of interaction between teachers and students, “the logical and strategic acts denoting interaction between the teacher and the students as they operate on some kind of subject matter.” This study has revealed that the relationships between teachers and students were negatively affected by economic instability as shown in the experiences below.

A teacher at a rural secondary school (D) said of the period between 2000 and 2009: “It was difficult to discipline students who had no respect for us” (Teacher Interview 6/17). A teacher at a boarding secondary school (D) lamented: “I stopped caring for students as I had nothing to eat in 2008 (Teacher Interview 5/17). A student at a rural secondary school (B) was disheartened: “Pupils were neglected by teachers as teachers complained that they received nothing for their work. Due to frustration they would beat us for minor offences” (FGD 1/17). A student at rural government school (E) was also worried that: “The passion or zeal was no longer there for teachers as they were worried about bread and butter issues. Sometimes this caused them to easily get angry with students and punished them for minor offences” (FGD 5/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (H) observed: “Because of frustrations in not getting their money teachers were easily irritated and were usually too harsh with us” (FGD 8/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) said: “Learners were usually afraid of their teachers which did not augur well for understanding of concepts” (FGD 7/17). And a teacher at an urban secondary school (G) admitted that: “Sometimes teachers beat students due to frustrations as they were mocked” (Teacher interview 10/17). A teacher at a boarding secondary school (C) was worried: “There was lot of indiscipline in schools as both the learner and teacher were demoralized by the economic situation” (Teacher Interview 4/17).

The results above seem to indicate that students’ relations with teachers were negatively affected by economic instability. These results confirm Botou et al's. (2017:137) claim that economic crisis

worsens “rivalry and conflict” as people interact with each other in families and workplaces. In Zimbabwe a study by Manguvo et al. (2011:159) revealed that socio-economic collapse in the country influenced the development and the occurrence of student misbehaviour in public schools as teachers’ capacity to curb indiscipline was negatively affected by economic problems. The transfer of cultural capital from teachers to students was disturbed by the economic problems experienced by teachers and students. This was because economic instability created an environment which was not conducive to positive interactions between teachers and students. As pointed out before, fields are characterised by struggle and oppositions even without economic instability. The results of this study indicate that economic instability worsened the struggle and opposition between teachers and students.

5.7.3 Teachers and the government

Although schools in Zimbabwe are decentralised the government continues to play an important role in how schools operate, especially as the paymaster of teachers and in ensuring that standards in schools are maintained. This is in line with Slegers & Wesselingh (1993) contention that decentralisation does not mean government is excluded totally. The government “steps back but does not step out”(Slegers & Wesselingh, 1993:53). The relationship between teachers and government is still important in Zimbabwe as the government pays most of the teachers in public schools. This study has shown that economic instability affected the trust between teachers and the government as revealed in the quotations below.

A teacher at an urban government secondary school (D) noted: “The government, as our employer, did nothing to assist teachers to alleviate the economic problems we suffered” (Teacher Interview 1/17). A teacher at a rural secondary school (B) said: “I think the government did not like teachers because they stopped parents to pay us incentives yet it said they could not afford to increase our salaries” (Teacher interview 2/17). A parent at a government secondary school (H) said about what the government did in 2015:

Schools are no longer paying incentives and this has caused teachers to have a negative attitude towards the current minister of education and parents appealed to him to discontinue the practice of incentive payment (Parent interview 2/17).

A teacher at an urban government secondary school blamed government: “The classes we teach are too large because the government stopped recruitment of new teachers because of the struggling economy” (Teacher interview 1/17). A student at rural secondary school (B) also expressed this sentiment: “Classes are also too large with at least 50 pupils per class” (FGD 2/17). A teacher at a rural government school (B) added: “The governments stopped to support infrastructure development at schools so the buildings are not enough and some are dilapidated” (Teacher interview 1/17).

Teachers do not seem to trust the government, their paymaster, who did virtually nothing to cushion them from economic problems bedeviling the country. This was worsened by the government’s action of banning the payment of incentives to teachers in 2015. Trust in schools is important (Balyer, 2017) for the education system to succeed. The government plays an important role in paying teachers’ salaries which acts as an extrinsic motivation for them but without trust this does not work. The government expected teachers to work hard in schools which was difficult to do due to low remuneration. This seem to suggest that the relationship between the government and teachers had become characterised by negative reciprocity (Caliendo et al, 2010) as the two stakeholders were no longer cooperating. When teachers and the government fail to cooperate the students are negatively affected, and this results in them not benefitting from schools’ cultural capital. The relationship between teachers and government were made worse by economic instability.

5.7.4 Students with other students

Carter et al. (2008:9) assert that “peer relationships play an important role in adolescent development and can contribute to a full and rewarding life.” They go on to point out that the youth learn norms, values and social behaviours which assist them to overcome challenges of adolescence and later, adult life. This is an indication that peers at school play an important role in the socialisation process through which students develop their habitus. MacArthur et al. (2017) use Bourdieu’s ideas in explaining how the actors in a particular field have different amounts of capital which determines an actor’s place in the field with actors trying to benefit from their resources. The capital which the actors may possess can be cultural, economic, social or symbolic. The relationships among students are therefore based on the capital they possess. This study has

revealed that economic instability affected how students related to others in secondary schools as shown in citations below.

A teacher at a rural government school (E) noted: “Some students from rich background are looking down on other students” (Teacher Interview 8/17). A student at a rural secondary school (F) had observed: “Failure by parents to pay for their children’s education is leading to discrimination among the students” (FGD 5/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (H) added: “Some students were given pocket money while others had nothing and this made them to feel inferior” (FGD 8/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) lamented: “A common saying at the school had developed where students are either called nobles or have nots or peasants or the cursed. This leads to inferiority and superiority complex developing among students” (FGD 5/17).

A student at an urban secondary school (G) pointed out: “Some pupils were not able to purchase uniforms as required so their dressing was sometimes scruffy and this made them to feel inferior when they compared themselves with others with better uniforms”(FG D 8/17). A teacher at a boarding secondary (C) also noted the issue: “Uniforms of some students were worn out” (Teacher interview 5/17). The teacher added: “Some students had tucks full of food provisions while other brought almost nothing.” Although such inequalities are characteristic of capitalist societies such as Zimbabwe, these were exacerbated by economic crisis experienced in the country since 2000. Economic instability seems to have increased the gap between the rich and poor, which consequently affected students in schools.

The experiences of the participants revealed that economic instability negatively affected relationships among students. Economic instability appeared to have widened the gap between the rich and poor which had the “resultant effect of producing different levels of access to social capital” (Cemalcilar & Goksen 2014:97). Thus Lin (cited in Cemalcilar and Goksen, 2014:97) argues that there is a tendency for people to “associate with those similar to themselves.” This has been shown in this study as some students seemed to have negative and discriminatory attitudes towards those with less economic capital. In addition to other variables such as political allegiance, religious and cultural affiliation and personality types, peer relationships were now based on social classes which were accentuated by economic problems experienced in the country.

5.7.5 Parents with other parents

“Studies have shown that parents, regardless of their social background, are willing to participate in their children’s education at home and school setting” (Ho, 2009:102). Parents from different social backgrounds enroll their children at secondary schools in Zimbabwe, all of whom are keen to educate their children. This is because they all believe education has benefits. But Machebe et al. (2017:1614) argue that children who are “supported by their parents perform better at school.” Families play an important role in the education of their children (Tran, 2014). This is because of investments parents make on their children’s education.

As a result of economic instability some parents found it difficult to contribute towards the education of their children, which resulted in conflict with those who were paying. A student at a rural secondary school (D) said: “Sometimes I noticed tension between parents who pay fees and those who were unable to pay. There were signs of divisions among the parents as they accused each other of not doing much to pay school fees” (FGD 4/17). A student at an urban government secondary school (A) said: “Some parents believed that other parents did not care about payment of fees. They believed it’s not about being poor” (FGD 1/17). A parent at rural secondary school (D) pointed out: “Some parents deliberately did not pay fees so it frustrated those who paid which caused heated debate during meetings as parents accused each other” (Parent interview 5/17). A head of a rural secondary school (B) noted: “Sometimes there was division among parents based on those contributing to school development and those who seemed not to care” (Head interview 1/17).

The results above seem to suggest that economic instability increased division among parents in secondary schools. The division was mainly based on parents’ ability to pay fees. The results are consistent with previous studies. For example, Hornby & Lafaele (2011) argue that differences in social class determines the degree to which parents are involved with schools. In addition, Kneale et al.(2014) pointed that financial problems and unemployment reduces the quality of relationships by increasing conflict among the different social classes. Social class differences are an indication of differences in economic capital which were worsened by economic instability. Parents able to pay fees seemed to be at loggerheads with those unable to pay which caused some divisions. The results seem to suggest that in the field of education differences between poor parents and rich parents were worsened by economic instability due to scarcity of resources. This is an indication

that struggles intensified among parents of different backgrounds as the result of a shortage of resources. Indeed, Bourdieu (cited in Bearnès and Telford, 2013) observed that groups within fields struggle to improve their standing in relation to the capital that defines the field.

5.8 Responses to economic instability

In an environment characterised by economic instability, secondary school actors or agents namely teachers, heads, students and parents devised ways to survive. This is consistent with the characteristics of habitus as conceptualized by Bourdieu and other authors who refined his work. For Bourdieu (1990:53), habitus is “a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures...” Houston (2002:157) expands on this, suggesting that habitus “acts as a very loose set of guidelines permitting us to strategize, adopt, improvise or innovate in response to situations as they arise.” In addition, Barker (2016:4) asserts that habitus “responds to the discrepancies between the demands of new conditions of existence and customary habits through creative reinvention.” From these descriptions of habitus it can be inferred that habitus though permanent or difficult to change, has capacity to transform in “moments of discomfort or insecurity” (McKinnon 2016:537). The moments of discomfort or insecurity in this case were economic instabilities.

Secondary schools, teachers, heads of schools, parents and students responded to economic instability in a variety of ways as described in the following sections.

5.8.1 Responses of secondary schools to economic instability

The relationship between education and economy is well documented (Woessmann, 2014; Grant, 2017.). Woessmann (2014) asserts that education plays an important role for individual and societal prosperity. Grant (2017:2) adds that education is a “leading factor of economic growth, employment and earnings.” Hence human capital, which is fostered through the education system, is vital for a nation’s economic progress. This is why despite economic challenges a nation faces, people strive to ensure that education survives in one way or another by devising methods of survival. Secondary schools in Zimbabwe were not an exception to this. Secondary schools responded to economic instability by devising strategies such as embarking on fund raising

projects, motivating parents to pay, alternatives to tuition fees and donor assistance as revealed below.

5.8.1.1 Fund raising projects

The main source of funding for most schools in Zimbabwe is tuition fees paid by parents. But with economic problems which affected this country for many years numerous parents were unable to pay fees which encouraged schools to devise fund raising projects. Thus Ngwenya and Sibanda (2017:115) argue that reductions in state expenditure on schools have “forced schools to look for funds elsewhere through fundraising activities” in Zimbabwe. This study has revealed that secondary schools in both urban and rural areas initiated fundraising activities in response to economic instability as shown by the experiences of the respondents.

A head of an urban government secondary school (A) identified projects the school was involved in:

In order to cushion the school from the economic problems the school resorted to income generating projects such as keeping chickens. We keep about 1000 chickens and sell these at about 10 USD. We also keep chicken layers for eggs. We are also into cattle fattening (60) and we keep some for milk production. We have also purchased a mini bus. With these projects we have raised our income so we are not under pressure to increase fees (Head interview 7/17).

A head of a boarding secondary school (C) also talked of similar projects at their farm:

In order to alleviate some of our problems we have resorted to income generating projects like horticulture which also covers our vegetable requirements. We have also improved our crop production and animal rearing on farms that we have. We hope this will bring in some income so that we don't have to raise tuition fees which some parents cannot afford (Head interview 2/17).

A parent at a rural government secondary school (E) pointed out the school's progress: “The school has come up with some solutions to try and alleviate the problems we are facing. For example we have started projects of raising pigs, growing vegetables” (Parent interview 4/17). Another parent at another rural government secondary school (H) said: “The school has started a horticulture project by buying equipment for irrigation using solar power. We hope this will help us to avoid raising fees” (Parent interview 2/17).

The citations above show that secondary schools had come up with a variety and innovative fundraising activities. Other studies also show that schools use other means to raise funds for school activities. For example Ngwenya & Sibanda (2017) noted that Zimbabwean schools were encouraged to implement self-help projects to empower themselves especially during the economic crisis when parents were struggling to raise fees. Providing a specific example, Ngwenya (2016) pointed out that schools were involved in chicken rearing in Zimbabwe as a way of mitigating the problems of tuition fees payment. The self-help projects initiated by secondary schools were important in improving their economic capital. Economic capital is important for improving the way students acquire cultural capital and the school environment.

5.8.1.2 Motivating parents to pay

Parents were aware of their responsibility to pay tuition fees but many parents failed to pay due to economic challenges. Secondary schools found it necessary to devise ways to motivate parents to pay. When some parents face economic challenges, education for their children stops being a priority as revealed by Shafiq (2009) who found out that lack of unemployment discouraged them from supporting children in secondary schools in Indonesia. Hence the need for strategies adopted by schools to motivate parents to pay as narrated by school actors. A parent at a rural government secondary school (E) narrated what the school did:

We initiated ways to encourage payment of fees like writing letters to parents so that they made payments plans. We talked to traditional leaders about the problem of fees so that they might also help in encouraging parents to pay. We engaged councilors to encourage parents to pay fees (Parent interview 4/17).

A parent at a rural secondary school (D) noted: “We wrote reminders to parents about payment of tuition fees” (Parent Interview 5/17). A parent at a rural secondary school (B) said: “Although sending children home for fees is not allowed by government we sometimes send them to remind parents of their obligations to pay fees” (Parent interview 1/17). A head of a rural secondary school (F) revealed: “Students who had not paid fees were not allowed to sit for an end of term tests” (Head interview 4/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) added: “Students who had not paid fees do not get school reports at the end of a term” (FGD 5/17).

It follows from the above that secondary schools were forced to adopt various ways to motivate parents to fulfill their obligations of paying tuition fees. This is corroborated by Ngwenya (2016)

who found that fees payment had to be encouraged during parents' meetings or by sending reminders using letters or messages on phones in Zimbabwe. An additional method found in this study was the use of traditional leaders and councilors who would encourage their subjects to pay tuition fees. The methods adopted by secondary schools indicate the importance of social ties in fees payment. Members of various communities influenced each other to pay fees for the betterment of their schools. Thus Coleman's idea (cited in Bassani, 2006:382) that social capital has benefits which include "expectations and obligations, trust, and reciprocity" has been revealed by this study with schools using various social ties to encourage parents to pay tuition fees. The results indicate that secondary schools used the various ties in communities to encourage the payment of fees. For example, ties which existed between the community and traditional leaders. Traditional leaders are respected and revered in rural communities so when they were asked to assist it brought some improvement in the payment of fees. Councilors had ties with the communities and secondary schools so assisted in encouraging parents to fulfill their obligations. The trust between parents and traditional leaders, between councilors and parents were being exploited in order to benefit secondary schools. These acts of cooperation indicate indirect reciprocity which benefited secondary schools while the benefits of traditional leaders and councilors were to show their usefulness in society. Traditional leaders and councilors became useful in assisting schools to encourage parents to pay.

5.8.1.3 Donor assistance

Since independence in 1980 Zimbabwe has been a recipient of donor assistance in education to help in the recovery process and fulfill the requirements of achieving education for all. But since the onset of political problems and economic problems around 2000 donor assistance to Zimbabwe has been negatively affected. There was also reduction in government expenditure on schools as a result of economic instability (Ngwenya, 2017). Despite these issues, UNESCO (2017:7) asserts that, "International actors play an important role in shaping the focus of education service in Zimbabwe, since education is not only a local but also a global good." In addition Zafar (2015:1) argues "that international aid agencies have a stake in ensuring that developing countries take the necessary steps to provide education to their citizens." This study has revealed that as a result of economic instability, which caused many parents to struggle to fulfill their obligations of paying

fees, secondary school authorities intensified efforts to get assistance from donors in order to continue to provide quality education.

A head of a rural secondary school (D) described how the school got assistance: “With the assistance of some donors we started a project of growing tree seedlings for sale” (Head interview 5/17). A parent at a rural government secondary school (H) said: “The school got assistance to start a horticultural project from a donor” (Parent interview 2/17). A head of a boarding school (C) noted: “Donors are welcome to assist but rather difficult to get these days because of the political environment” (Head interview 2/17). A head of a rural secondary school (B) explained: “Donors are willing to assist the school but some are discouraged by the vetting done by government before they are approved” (Head interview 1/17). Another head of a rural secondary school (F) testified “Some of our students are getting tuition fees assistance from NGOs” (Head interview 4/17). A retired education officer noted the role of international organisations at the start of GNU in 2010: “Most schools had no books after the devastating hyperinflation period. The international community assisted with books which were given to all schools in the country” (Retired education officer interview 2/17).

The citations above reveal that secondary schools were making efforts to get assistance from donors as a result of economic instability affecting them. This is an indication that in times of need secondary schools were appealing to others for assistance, which is based on the ideas of social trust, reciprocity and civic participation which are characteristics of communities that expedite cooperation (UNDP, 2009). Giving or receiving something is based on trust (Wang & Graddy, 2008). The results of this study are consistent with findings made by Salama, et al (2014) which revealed that through the Education Transition Fund, Zimbabwean schools, both primary and secondary, received more than 24 million textbooks which reduced the ratio of sharing from 10:1 to 1:1. This is an indication that donors played an important role to resuscitate schools after the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe.

5.8.1.4 Alternatives to tuition fees

Economic instability in Zimbabwe has resulted in parents struggling to get cash to pay tuition fees and school authorities were aware of this predicament. But for schools to fulfill their normal

activities of teaching and learning funding is required. Hence the strained relationships between parents and school authorities which Ngwenya (2016:974) rather strongly terms as “school authorities being engaged in mini-wars with parents”, with schools trying to make parents, in dire financial problems, pay fees. This study has revealed that school authorities devised other ways to make parents fulfill their tuition fees obligations as shown below.

The head of a rural secondary school (F) described how the school involved students and parents: “We have tried to use the pupils to do some repairs. Parents have also assisted especially those who are qualified to build” (Head interview 4/17). A parent at a rural secondary school (D) said: “We asked parents unable to raise fees to bring bricks as a form of tuition fees payment” (Parent interview 5/17). Another parent at a rural government school (E) added “Parents unable to pay fees were asked to pay using their labour at the school” (Parent interview 4/17). A parent at a rural government school (H) said: “The school has identified a few students unable to pay fees to work at the school during school holidays to raise money for fees” (Parent interview 2/17).

The quotes above show that schools devised alternative means by which to raise income for schools instead of just relying on tuition fees which some parents were not paying. This shows that schools were innovative in order to survive in the harsh economic environment. The findings of this study are consistent with the findings made by Ngwenya (2016) in Zimbabwe which revealed that when parents fail to pay fees, schools sometimes asked them to provide labour as payment. Similarly Hillman & Jenkner (2004) cited a study by the World Bank in many countries which revealed that parents sometimes paid fees in kind using labour or using goods required by schools.

5.8.2 Teachers and heads of schools

Teachers and heads of schools are essential and play significant roles in the school system. Schools are directed by teachers and heads of schools. Without teachers no meaningful teaching and learning activities take place. This is why Fakoya (2009:6) declared that teaching as an occupation offers “definite and essential service to society.” Trained and experienced teachers and heads of schools are important in secondary schools as they are able to provide the necessary cultural capital for students. But economic instability challenges faced by teachers and heads caused them to

respond in a variety of ways which affected their normal duties as revealed in the experiences below.

5.8.2.1 Migrating to other countries

Some teachers and heads of schools left Zimbabwe to look for employment in other countries. For example, a teacher at an urban secondary school (A) said: “Many teachers left for South Africa. For example my husband went to South Africa but came back after the dollarization in 2009” (Teacher interview 1/17). This was also echoed by a rural government secondary teacher (E) who testified: “At this school more than five teachers left for the diaspora. Many did not come back” (Teacher Interview 8/17). A student at rural secondary school (B) also noted: “Many teachers left the country going into the diaspora. We were left with very few qualified teachers. Unqualified teachers were employed to take their place” (FGD 1/17). A head of a boarding secondary school (C) also testified what happened: “During the inflation period teachers had a hard time. Some absconded, some left the country” (Head Interview 2/17). A retired education officer elaborated:

Many teachers, especially for technical and science subjects, absconded and trekked to South Africa for employment. This became serious from around 2007 when the country experienced hyperinflation. Many teachers, including heads of schools, just left without proper resignation (Retired education officer interview 2/17).

The quotations reveal that many teachers left the country as a result of economic instability. The results are similar to studies by other authors. For example, Chagonda (2012:1) says that hyperinflation which had eroded teachers’ salaries forced teachers to go into the diaspora. In addition McGregor (2006:4) asserts that the economic crisis in Zimbabwe which unfolded since 2000 resulted in a new migration order for professional workers to ensure basic survival. Thus many secondary schools lost qualified and experienced teachers which negatively affected teaching and learning.

5.8.2.2 Vending

Some teachers who remained in schools began to supplement their salaries by selling various items. A teacher at a boarding secondary school(C) said: “Many teachers became vendors who sold goods at school or in the community” (Teacher Interview 4/17). A student at a rural secondary school (B) also noted: “Some teachers were involved in other economic activities like selling

drinks or chips. Usually they asked some trusted pupils to sell on their behalf during break time and lunch hour” (FGD 2/17). Other teachers sold petrol when it was in short supply. This ended badly: “One of the teachers was in the business of selling petrol. This resulted in a tragic end when the maid lit a candle to sell petrol. The whole house went on fire and the maid died” (Teacher Interview 12/17).

The citations above indicate that some teachers in secondary schools were involved in vending in order to supplement their low incomes. The findings of this study are consistent with Chagonda's (2012) finding that economic challenges caused teachers to be involved in the informal economy. This meant that teachers spent less time on teaching as they tried to make ends meet. Teachers' concentration on their core business of teaching was also negatively affected. The findings of this study are also similar to those made by Chingombe (2013) in Masvingo Province in Zimbabwe which revealed that teachers were involved in other activities after work or in the afternoon to supplement their income. For example, the teachers said they were involved in selling products like Aloe Vera or Angels. Vending affected teachers' normal activities such as marking which should be done when teachers were free but now were using this time to be involved in vending.

5.8.2.3 Gold mining and dealing

Mashonaland Central Province, where this study was carried out, is rich in gold and many people survive through illegal gold panning. In normal circumstances it was rare for teachers to be involved in such activities as they would be against the laws of the country. But economic instability resulted in some teachers being involved in gold mining and selling as a way of supplementing their low incomes as revealed below.

A teacher at a rural secondary school (D) exposed what he did: “I became involved in gold panning in order to survive (Teacher interview 6/17). A teacher interview (1) testified: “Teachers and pupils did not return for the Third term of 2008 because of the poor economy. Some teachers joined gold panners in order to survive. I was a gold buyer at one of the mines near our school” (Teacher interview 1/17). A retired education officer added: “As this district is rich in gold, many teachers were involved in gold mining which affected their teaching” (Retired education officer interview 2/17).

The experiences expressed above show that some secondary school teachers were prepared to take risks by getting involved in gold mining and selling without any licence. They risked losing their jobs if they were arrested but the economic challenges they faced forced them to be involved in abnormal work. Secondary teachers' involvement in illegal activities such as gold mining distracted them from their teaching activities which had negative effects on students' learning. Teachers were no longer the model teachers expected in schools due to the economic challenges they experienced. Chene (2015) argues that economic hardships caused poorly paid teachers to develop coping strategies to survive to the detriment of their professional integrity. Other studies (Dreschler, 2001; Arthur, et al 2016) have indicated that countries suffering from economic problems caused professionals, like teachers, to be involved in gold panning or selling gold to supplement their incomes.

5.8.2.4 Cross border trading

Cross border trading is usually for those not involved in formal employment but when economic challenges affected the country many Zimbabweans, including teachers, took part. A female teacher at a rural government secondary school (E) said: "I was involved in cross border trading in order to raise fees for my children during the hyperinflation period" (Teacher Interview 8/17). A teacher at an urban secondary school pointed out: "Many teachers were involved in cross-border trading to supplement their incomes" (Teacher interview 10/17). A parent at a rural government school (H) noted: "Some of the teachers were almost part-time as they spent part of the week involved in cross border trading" (Parent interview 2/17).

The results reveal that some teachers became involved in cross-border trading in order to supplement their incomes. This meant they spent less time teaching as they had to find time to go to neighbouring countries to buy goods to sell. It also affected their concentration on helping students to learn. Teaching is a fulltime job but when teachers became involved in cross border trading it meant a deviation from the norms of the profession. Erlwanger (2013:4) refers to this deviation from the teaching norms as "deprofessionalisation" which is a decrease in the occupation status due to a poor working environment. Teachers were no longer able to fulfill their obligations so it negatively affected students. Students no longer had enough time to interact with their teachers. The results echo studies by other authors. For example, a study by Masinjila (2009) in the East Africa Community found out that teachers were among some professionals involved in

cross-border trading. A similar study in Mozambique and South Africa by Chikanda & Tawodzera (2017) revealed that teachers became involved in cross-border trade as a result of economic problems in what they termed “necessity-driven survival strategy to generate income.” In Zimbabwe, Tichagwa (2012) points out that teachers with passports resorted to cross-border trading and spent a lot of time on buses and in the streets at the expense of the students.

5.8.2.5 Transferring children to cheaper schools

In a stable economy teachers could afford to send their children to boarding schools which had better facilities and produced better results when compared to most day schools in Zimbabwe. Bass (2013:1) found that boarding was able to “increase students’ exposure to social, cultural and education capital.” But with economic instability it became increasingly difficult for some teachers to afford tuition and boarding fees charged at boarding schools. In the citations below teachers revealed how the economic challenges forced them to transfer their children from boarding schools especially between 2000 and 2009.

A teacher at a rural government secondary school (E) said: “I transferred my child from a boarding school because I could not afford it” (Teacher interview 9/17). This was confirmed by a retired education officer: “Parents with children in boarding schools had a hard time to pay fees and provide food. Many parents withdrew their children and placed them in day schools” (Retired education officer interview 2/17).

Thus some teachers were forced to withdraw their children from boarding schools as they could no longer afford it. Such decisions were hard to make as it affected their children who were transferred. It affected their children’s morale and zeal to learn as it is more prestigious and advantageous to be educated at boarding schools than day schools. Teachers who were affected in this way may have felt disillusioned as it was a sign of failure to look after their own children as they expected. When a teacher is disillusioned teaching and learning may negatively be affected.

5.8.3 Students’ responses to economic instability

When students enter secondary schools they are expected to sit for their Ordinary Level examinations after four years unless affected by some adverse occurrence. But with economic instability it was no longer certain that some students would sit for Ordinary Level Examinations. The quotations below revealed that secondary school students responded to economic instability

in a variety of ways: dropping out of school; transferring to cheaper schools; early marriages; other deviant behaviour.

5.8.3.1 Dropping out of school

The rate of dropping out of school seems to have increased as a result of economic instability. A student at a rural day school believed that: “Some parents were not unable to pay for their children’s education which resulted in school dropouts.” (FGD 4/17). This was also noted by a teacher at a rural government school (E) who said: “Many parents were failing to pay fees for their children which caused many dropouts from school. For example we started with 1000 at the beginning of the year (2017) but the number dropped to about 800” (Teacher Interview 9/17). A parent at a rural secondary school (D) added: “Many parents failed to support their children in secondary schools so many students stopped going to school” (Parent interview 5/17).

These experiences are similar to findings by Mawere (2012) in Zimbabwe who found that some secondary school students dropped out of school due to reasons of economic instability. In addition, Shafiq (2010) pointed out that economic crisis has a negative impact on school attendance as some children work to supplement family income which ultimately forced them to drop out of school.

5.8.3.2 Early marriages

In normal circumstances when boys and girls complete their Ordinary Level studies, marriage can only take place after the age of sixteen (16) or more years. In Zimbabwe the age for consent for girls is 16 and the age regarded as age of majority or age when they are regarded as adults is eighteen (18). Economic instability seems to have changed this for some students in Zimbabwe as they have resorted to early marriages as an alternative to going to school. Some students who dropped out of school, especially girls, end up getting married early.

A student at a rural government secondary school (E) was worried: “Failure to get funds for fees resulted in early marriages as girls had nothing to do at home” (FGD 5/17). A student at a rural secondary school (E) added: “The economic problems are also a factor for early marriages as some parents were failing to fund for secondary education. Getting married was a way of running away from poverty” (FGD 5/17). A teacher at a rural government secondary school (H) also said: “Poverty was fueling early marriages as a way of escaping the problems associated with economic

problems” (Teacher Interview 8/17). Then a lady teacher at the same school gave a specific recent example: “Recently we had a case of a Form 2 who dropped from school due to pregnancy” (Teacher Interview 9/17).

The citations above revealed that economic instability exacerbated the problem of early marriages for students in secondary schools. This is similar to a study by Mawere (2012) which revealed that some girls when confronted with economic problems which affected their school work resorted to early marriages. Early marriages for girls means an end to their education career as most of them may not have the chance to resume studies. The potential of such students is lost as a result of economic problems which forced them to marry early. The chances to gain cultural capital from secondary schools were lost as a result of weak economic capital that caused the student into early marriages.

5.8.3.3 Other deviant behaviour

Students are socialized to be obedient and respectful at family level and this is continued at the school level. A student who is deviant at school is regarded as being out of place and is normally punished to correct such behaviour. In normal circumstances most students in secondary school avoid deviant behaviour as this tends to distract them from their school work. Deviant acts are a “result of interaction of different factors” (Nabiswa et al. 2016:19). Results from this study seem to suggest that economic instability contributed to an increase in student deviant behaviour as revealed below.

A student at a boarding secondary school (C) revealed: “During the holidays some pupils were involved in vending activities to raise money for school. This exposed them to various forms of vices like abuse by men or drug usage” (FGD 3/17). A teacher at a rural secondary school (F) also noted: “Some of our students appeared to be using drugs as they associated with many former students.” (Teacher Interview 9/17). A student at a rural secondary school (F) noticed: “High crime rates as some former students were resorting to unethical means to survive” (FGD 6/17). At one of the boarding secondary school (C) a student concurred: “Theft was also on the rise especially among the students” (FGD 3/17). The head of the same school (C) was disappointed with the development: “There were many cases of students stealing from each other because of economic problems. The school administration was spending a lot of time dealing with cases of

theft as they stole from each other in order to see them through the term” (Head Interview 2/17). A student at another rural secondary school (D) testified: “Some girls dated sugars daddies in order to get money for basic needs. This led to spread of diseases” (FGD 4/17). A student at a government secondary (H) school noted: “Economic problems influenced some pupils to be involved in bad behaviour such as gambling for boys while girls went out with sugar daddies” (FGD 8/17).

The findings in this study are similar to other studies on students’ deviant behaviour. A study by Nabiswa et al (2016) in Kenya revealed that students’ deviant behaviour included taking drugs, alcohol abuse, love affairs with rich people and theft. During economic instability Erlwanger (2013:33) argues that such “deviant acts became acute” as teachers who were supposed to curb and control such behaviour were so demotivated that they had less time or energy to control or discipline students. Such deviant behaviour distracted students’ focus on school work so they were not able to benefit much from the school system which has a bias towards well-behaved students (Losen, 2011). Deviant behaviour has a negative effect on students’ ability to benefit from the cultural capital in secondary schools.

5.8.3.4 Transferring to cheaper schools

In normal circumstances students’ reasons for transferring schools are usually based on relocation of parents to other areas on permanent basis. But economic challenges seem to have added another dimension of the reasons for students’ transfer as revealed below in participants’ conversations.

A student at a boarding school (C) said: “Some students have been forced to transfer after their parents have been retrenched so fail to pay boarding fees. They then transferred to day schools which were cheaper” (FGD 3/17). A teacher at an urban secondary school (A) said: “Some of our students transferred to nearby rural schools which were cheaper than urban secondary schools” (Teacher interview 1/17). A head of a rural secondary school (B) noted: “The school received an influx of students from urban schools whose parents could no longer afford tuition fees charged at urban secondary school” (Head interview 1/17).

The quotations above indicated that some students transferred to other schools because of financial difficulties experienced by parents due to economic instability. The results echo findings made by Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, (2011) which revealed that some parents

transferred their children from urban to rural schools where costs were lower. Transferring from one school to another disturbs the flow of learning for students as coverage of syllabus and content differs from one school to another. Furthermore, students need time to adjust to the new school environment and a new set of teachers. In Zimbabwe, urban schools are generally better resourced than rural schools in terms of books, facilities and human power so transferring to such schools was painful as it meant a loss of better learning opportunities. Thus such transfers induced by economic hardships disappointed students who were then demoralized, which negatively affected their learning and commitment to work.

5.8.4 Parents' responses to economic instability

Parents play an important role in secondary schools as they are the main source of school finance, support and guidance for their children. Research studies have shown that parental involvement in schools has a positive effect on student achievement (Durisic & Bunijevac, 2017). This study has revealed that parents were forced to adopt various measures due to economic instability.

A student at a rural secondary school (B) said: "Some parents would survive by borrowing." (FGD 1/17). A student at another rural secondary school (D) revealed: "Our parents were involved in a variety of jobs to make ends meet" (FGD 4/17). At a government secondary school (E) a student pointed out: "Parents struggled to raise money for school fees. For example, some toiled in the gardens growing vegetables to sell while others were involved in gold digging and selling" (FGD 5/17). A student at a rural secondary school (F) noted: "Economic hardships caused some parents to leave their children behind under the care of their relatives as they joined others in the diaspora" (FGD 6/17).

Economic problems, especially around 2007 and 2008, caused instability in the teaching staff in secondary schools. Parents resorted to paying for extra lessons to mitigate the shortage of qualified and experienced teachers in secondary schools as a result of economic crisis. A student at an urban government secondary school noted: "When many trained teachers left the country parents ended up paying for extra lessons to prepare their children for examinations" (FGD 1/17). It is important to note that not everyone could afford to pay for extra lessons especially those in rural schools because of poverty made worse by economic crisis. This means that when teachers left, some

students were deprived of reliable sources of knowledge and could not resort to extra lessons as they could not afford it. Students mainly affected this way were those from poor backgrounds whose parents had no reliable sources of income. As a result such students generally did not do well in the final examinations.

Economic instability led parents to devise new ways to survive. These findings are consistent with previous research which shows that when people are in a situation of economic crisis they find other means to survive (Wahlbeck & Awolin, 2009, Chagonda, 2012, Villiers et al., 2017, Filippa, 2013). Indeed, Beats and Willekens (2009:10) assert that "...periods of economic crisis offer opportunities for innovation and productivity..." In reference to migration as a coping mechanism to economic problems, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon said "... human mobility can be a tool to help lift us out of this economic crisis" (ibid). It is therefore not surprising that some "parents paid for extra lessons" (Mawere, 2012:120) or enrolled their children in "expensive independent colleges" (Tichagwa, 2012:40) as most secondary school environments had become less conducive to learning. But not everyone could afford independent colleges as these are usually more expensive than public schools, so many scholars continued at their schools which were not offering much in terms of teaching and learning. This means inequality was worsened by economic crisis.

5.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented, analysed and discussed the results of how secondary schools in a province were affected by economic instability. The results were presented, analysed and discussed according to themes which emerged about how teachers, students, parents and schools were affected. The results showed that the secondary school stakeholders were affected in a variety of ways by the economic crisis. The results show that although economic instability negatively affected secondary schools, teachers, parents, students and the schools were able to survive the crisis by being innovative and transformative as they come up new survival strategies. Some of the strategies are positive while some were negative to the roles which these are supposed to fulfill. The next chapter presents results of how secondary schools were affected by political instability in the province.

CHAPTER SIX

SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses how secondary schools in Mashonaland Central in Zimbabwe were affected by political instability between 2000 and 2017. This is based on the experiences and narratives of teachers, heads of schools, students and parents. Most provinces in Zimbabwe enjoyed relative peace between 1980 and 2000. The exceptions were Matabeleland provinces and parts of Midlands which suffered disturbances between 1980 and 1987. But the overall peace experienced changed from around 2000 due to a number factors and events. Major among the factors and events were the Land Reform Program and the rise of a new political party, Movement for Democratic Party (MDC) in 1999 which had close links with trade unions and electoral conflicts. The education system and schools in particular became entangled in politics as teachers were accused of supporting the new political party as their association leadership had actively participated in its

formation. Thus Pswarayi & Reeler (2012) argue that the education system became politicized and militarized as some schools were occupied by militia, with some teachers being beaten for allegedly supporting opposition parties. This exposed pupils to conflict and violence especially during time of elections between 2000 and 2009. Although there was a GNU from 2009 to 2013 political conflicts in various communities continued to simmer and affect citizens as parties were consulting for a new constitution and preparing for forthcoming elections. After the 2013 elections political conflict continued as the losing party complained about alleged rigging of elections. In addition, the country was affected by intra-party conflict within the ruling party which made conflicts worse in the country.

In order to review the effects of political instability this chapter uses the lens of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and social capital. The habitus of teachers, heads of schools, students and parents forms the collectivity of how secondary schools operate. The relationships among the stakeholders in secondary schools, their social capital, are an important ingredient in how secondary schools function. The chapter highlights how norms, obligations, trust, reciprocity and networks were affected by political instability.

The study revealed the following themes: teaching and learning disruptions, quality of teaching, psychological effects, physical abuse, relations, survival responses and strategies, loss of property and development and low pass rate.

6.2 Teaching and learning disruptions

At the centre of all secondary school activities is teaching and learning. Teaching and learning is important to achieve the main objectives of education in general and schools in particular. In order to be successful schools should provide education to students continually without unnecessary disruptions. Continuity in teaching and learning provide students and teachers with a sense of stability and security (Morpeth & Creed, 2010). But the political instability since 2000 has been a disturbing factor in ensuring continuity in secondary schools as revealed by this study. Secondary schools were disturbed by political rallies, accusations against teachers, their use as political bases for youths, problems of indiscipline and disrespect, misuse of school resources and loss of qualified teachers. These will be elaborated in the following sub-sections.

6.2.1 Political rallies

Teaching and learning were disrupted by political rallies, especially those organized by the ruling party as schools were expected to take part or were used as venues for some rallies. For example, a teacher at an urban government secondary school (A) said: “When big rallies occurred our students were expected to provide entertainment. School activities were disrupted as such rallies took place during the week” (Teacher interview 1/17). This was also confirmed by another teacher at rural government secondary school (H): “Two weeks of teaching and learning were lost as the school prepared for a star rally. The students provided the labour that cleaned up the place” (Teacher interview 12/17). A student at a government secondary school provided similar evidence (H): “Political rallies and meetings held at this school disrupted our lessons (FGD 8/17). A student at a rural secondary school (F) complained: “For us as students attending such rallies was stressful and disrupted our school attendance and concentration on our school work” (FGD 5/17).

The quotes above indicate that norms of secondary schools were affected by political rallies. According to McKinnon (2016:238) teachers’ dispositions are to attend lessons and help students learn. But this was affected as lessons were sometimes disturbed by some political rallies. The results are similar to assertions made in a World Bank Report (cited in Nir & Kafle, 2013:112) which indicated that political instability hinders educational development by creating uncertainties. In addition, Khan’s study (cited in Nir & Kafle, 2013:112) indicated that teaching and learning activities were disturbed by political instability. In Zimbabwe a study by Pswarayi & Reeler (2012) revealed that teaching and learning were disrupted when attacks on education started in 2000. Reeler (2013) said that forced attendance at ruling party rallies disrupted lessons for some schools in Zimbabwe. When lessons were disrupted by rallies it negatively affected coverage of content and quality of work as teachers were then forced to cover the work hurriedly in order to cover up for time lost. This meant that embodied cultural capital, for example skills in various disciplines, supposed to be acquired by students was affected which led to low academic achievement. In addition, disruptions due to rallies in the field of education indicated that the powerful political elites in local communities were now dominant surpassing the power of institutional agents. This concurs with Ngarachu (2014:11) assertion that educational fields are “power arenas” where there is a constant power struggle among actors striving to maintain the positions they have. This is further expanded by Mangez and Hilgers (2012:192) who argue that

fields respond to two kinds of forces, namely “internal forces and external forces.” Internal forces refer to opposition and struggles within a field. For example, in a field of decentralised secondary schools this refers to actors such as students, teachers and parents opposing and struggling against each other. External forces originate from outside the field. For example, in this case actors in the political field interfered with what was happening in secondary schools. Mangez and Hilgers (2012) further assert that when internal forces outweigh the external forces, the field is said to have relative autonomy but when external forces dominate the internal forces then independence is weakened. The loss of autonomy then makes it difficult for actors in the field to function according to its expected rules and principles. Such a situation is what was noted by Bourdieu (cited in Mangez and Hilgers, 2012) as fields of education being exposed to politicization in which two fields are engaged in symbolic struggles for the imposition of the legitimate principles of vision and division of the social world. As a result of political disruptions, institutional agents, teachers and heads of schools, became disoriented, due to attacks by people from the field of politics, which affected their work.

6.2.2 Accusations against teachers

One of the features of political instability in Zimbabwe was the accusations lodged against teachers for allegedly supporting opposition parties. Although the Zimbabwean constitution says that the country believes in democracy, practice in democracy is weak. This became apparent in 2000 after the formation of MDC which challenged the dominance of the ruling party by winning many seats in parliament unlike prior to that when the ruling party did not have any major challenge. Teachers were accused of influencing the electorate to vote against the ruling party as their union had openly supported the formation of the new party. Accusations against teachers resulted in their distraction from their core business of teaching. They were demeaned and humiliated for allegedly supporting other parties as revealed in the following narratives.

A teacher at a rural secondary school (B) pointed out: “Accusations against teachers affected us as teaching was disrupted. Our normal duties were affected” (Teacher interview 2/17). Even a student at a rural secondary school (F) testified: “There was high turnover of teachers when teachers were accused of supporting opposition parties” (FGD 6/17). A parent at a rural secondary school (D) also confirmed: “Teachers feared to do their work properly as a result of political accusations”

(Parent Interview 5/17). A parent at a rural government secondary school (H) said: “Teachers were accused of being opposition activists. They were threatened and intimidated which affected their work” (Parent interview 2/17). A teacher, who taught at many schools, also indicated the problems experienced by teachers: “Some teachers were accused of supporting the MDC which resulted in them being forced to leave their schools” (Teacher interview 5/17). A teacher, who was affected by political instability, gave a testimony: “I had a problem of being singled out as belonging to the opposition during the campaign of 2000 parliamentary election. I was afraid so I decided to leave after informing the head of the school about my fears. I was away from the school for seven days” (Teacher interview 1/17).

Accusations against teachers by members of society is not a normal practice, as teachers are valued but political instability resulted in teachers in secondary schools being accused of supporting opposition parties. This made it difficult for them to fulfill their obligation to help students to learn. The accusations had the effect of reducing their status in society. Such accusations were not conducive to teaching and learning as they disrupted normal activities in secondary schools. These findings are consistent with other studies (Human Rights Watch, 2008 and Pswarayi & Reeler, 2012) which found that in other areas, such as Midlands Province in Zimbabwe, teachers were targeted by ruling party supporters, youth militia and war veterans because they perceived them to be opposition party supporters. When communities surrounding secondary schools accused teachers of supporting opposition parties it meant they no longer trusted them to teach their children. Trust among stakeholders in secondary schools is important as it supports problem solving, efficiency in running schools, establishing reforms, advancing the interests of children, democracy and working together (Brewster & Railsback, 2003; Thornberg & Elvstrand, 2012; Tschannen-moran & Gareis, 2015). So when parents no longer trusted teachers it meant these ideals in schools were difficult to fulfill as stakeholders were divided. Yet one of the most important function of schools in particular and education in general, is social integration (Thomas, 1995). This was difficult to achieve as school agents did not trust each other. Indeed, Warde (2004:12) maintained that a field is “an arena of constant struggle for stakes.” Secondary schools as fields became arenas for competition between school-based actors and community political agents during political instability. Political actors used their power and support they had

from their leaders who were in power to have an upper hand in the way they accused and humiliated the teachers and heads of schools. This confirms Mangez and Hilgers' (2012) claim that other fields are usually subordinate to the larger fields of power and class relations. As discussed earlier (6.2.1), this is an example of how the fields of education and politics struggled against each other as a result of political instability. The field of politics interfered with the field of education so it was able to impose what it wanted in secondary schools. Such a scenario made it difficult for actors in secondary schools to do their duties as expected.

6.2.3 Schools as bases for political youths

In normal circumstances, schools are mainly used by students and teachers with community members coming in and out for various services but political instability resulted in some secondary schools being used as bases by political youths of the ruling party. The ruling party youths used some secondary schools as places where they would camp for their activities especially during elections period. This was confirmed by the Research and Advocacy Unit (2019) which reported that some schools were used as bases for youths of the ruling party. This was usually common in some rural secondary schools. Teaching and learning was disrupted at some rural secondary schools which were used as bases for youths. A teacher at a rural secondary school (B) provided insight into what happened at her former school far away from urban centres during the 2008 General Elections:

My former school was used as a base by youths of the ruling party. This disturbed programmes of the school. Youths took over the school. The head and teachers were no longer in charge. The youths harassed teachers and students. Anyone who moved when the flag was being raised would be beaten. They took over morning assembly using it to campaign and intimidate people. Lessons were disrupted. They usually woke up at night to run around the school. This also disturbed our sleep as they made a lot of noise. All this instilled fear and proper teaching and learning did not take place (Teacher interview 3/17).

A student at a rural secondary school (B) expressed similar sentiments of this teacher when he said: "Some schools were used as bases for youth camps which affected teaching and learning." (FGD 2/17). The results are consistent with what was found by Pswarayi & Reeler (2012) in a study in Zimbabwe that revealed that political groups set up bases in schools which affected lesson attendance. Pherali & John's (2011) study in Nepal also revealed that night vigils in schools were

common during political conflicts. The results suggest that there was competition between the school and political leaders in socializing students, with politics taking a dominant position. Secondary schools as fields became arenas of competition for groups vying for political power which negatively affected teaching and learning. The use of some secondary schools as bases for political activities induced fear among school actors which made it difficult for them to fulfill their obligations. Normal school activities were disrupted as relations in secondary schools appeared to be characterised by negative reciprocity. As noted by Warde (2004:12) the way the agents negotiate their activities depends on the cultural capital which they possess: a “field has structured positions whose occupants typically have different resources and dispositions.” Secondary schools as a field had actors with positions according to resources and dispositions they possessed which gave them status. For example, teachers and students occupied different positions as a result of the cultural capital they possessed. Although school-based actors had their own social power, in an environment of political instability, their power was undermined by those with political power. Such a situation made it difficult for school actors to do their work as expected.

6.2.4 Discipline and respect

Schools’ norms are premised on discipline and respect. Discipline among students is an important norm in schools. Respect for teachers is also an important norm among students. Schools are characterised by teachers being dominant (Sullivan, 2002). But this normalcy appeared to have diminished in secondary schools, especially between 2000 and 2009 due to political instability as alluded to in the following narratives.

A teacher at a rural secondary school (D) pointed out that: “Pupils ended up not respecting us. Disciplining students became a problem. It was safer not to discipline students than to try and control them” (Teacher interview 7/17). This experience was echoed by a teacher at an urban secondary school (G): “Students were affected by politics that sometimes it was difficult to discipline them” (Teacher interview 10/17). Another teacher said disciplining students became problematic: “As a teacher I had to be careful how I disciplined students as they would later turn against me because they also acted as political youths after school” (Teacher interview 1/17). Even students noted how it became increasingly difficult for teachers to discipline them: “Teachers were

hesitant to discipline students as they were afraid of what might be done to them by the politically volatile community” (FGD 7/17).

The habituated practices (McKinnon, 2016) of discipline and respect in secondary schools were no longer being observed as a result of political instability. Teachers were afraid to enforce their authority due to fear of hostile communities. This is contrary to a characteristic about social space, the field, which articulates that it contains people who “dominate and people who are dominated” (Addison, 2009:332). It would appear as if there was a shifting of power and control within the school as a social field. Teachers’ dominance was no longer visible as they declined to exercise their authority. When teachers failed to exercise authority in schools it meant discipline in schools deteriorated which had a negative impact on teaching and learning as “respect for authority” (Thomas 1995:350) is an important tenet of school organisation. But political instability affected the dominance of teachers. The effect is explained by the idea of feel for the game, Bourdieu (cited by Darmody (2012:533) that it helps “members to develop new behaviours, skills and tastes” when an individual confronts uncomfortable situations by retreating to one’s comfort zone. In order to be safe, teachers decided not to exercise their authority. Such a retreat by teachers was detrimental to teaching and learning.

6.2.5 Misuse of school resources

Secondary schools are characterised by stakeholders acquiring resources and building structures to make teaching and learning possible. These resources are important as part of the collective or group habitus (Barker, 2015) which exist in schools to benefit students and to make teachers’ work easy. Bourdieu (cited in Barker, 2015:4) regards “group habitus” as groups of people who share similar conditions of existence. In this study this refers to secondary school students who shared similar conditions where they learned. The ruling political party would use school resources which disturbed all the students at schools. Political instability sometimes disturbed the status quo in schools as political parties, especially the ruling party, demanded the use of school resources for their political meetings and activities. This was revealed by study participants during interviews. For example, a teacher at a rural government secondary school (H) said: “Sometimes furniture was taken from the school to be used at the hall which disturbed students’ sitting arrangements (Teacher interview 11/17). A parent corroborated: “The school has been used for political meetings by the ruling party. Some parents complained about the use of school premises

by political parties but the ruling party was dominant so it prevailed” (Parent interview 3/17). A head of an urban secondary school (G) complained: “The ruling party made use of our school bus without even paying for it. They promised to pay but did not” (Head interview 4/17).

The above quotations indicate that routines in schools were disturbed by political instability. School activities such as attending lessons were interrupted by players from outside the school doing as they pleased because of their political power. School authorities, with their social power, could not match the power of political leaders who were determined to use violent means as a means of repression. Misuse of school resources had long-term repercussions for schools due to damages and cost of repairs. This is similar to what found by O ’Malley (2011) that political instability had long-term damage to school infrastructure which reduced access to education for many students, for example in Sierra Leone. In an investigative report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (2017:12), it was revealed that “school property such as buses and trucks were being abused” at ruling party political rallies. The misuse of school property by the ruling party had a negative impact on the economic capital of secondary schools which affected the smooth operations and hence the development of schools. Access to education was then compromised by political instability experienced in secondary schools. School resources are a form of capital which assists students to learn in the field of education. Thus Gaddis (2012) argues that the proper use of capital results in success. Hence the misuse of resources by political actors negatively affected routines in secondary schools as this influenced the way students and teachers played the game.

6.2.6 Loss of qualified teachers

The teachers’ habitus, which encompasses their “values, attitudes, mannerisms, expectations and habits” (McKinnon, 2016:535) is partly a result of the training they receive. It takes three to four years to train a teacher in Zimbabwe so it is important that once they are in the system they are accorded the respect they deserve so that they are not lost. This study revealed that political instability led to loss of qualified teachers. A retired education officer lamented what happened between 2000 and 2009:

Teachers were caught in between political parties as they campaigned. Many teachers were labelled MDC supporters and this caused friction between parents and teachers. And this affected mostly secondary schools. Some teachers felt threatened and left. Many schools were left without qualified teachers (A retired education officer interview 2/17).

Similar sentiments were alluded to by another retired education officer (3) who said: “Teachers were intimidated and harassed. We lost qualified teachers as a result of politics. There was a lot of conflict especially in rural schools as the two main parties campaigned during elections” (Retired education officer interview 3/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) was also aware of the problem of losing teachers: “Some teachers were victims which resulted in some being physically abused beaten or forced to transfer. This disrupted our lessons as it would take time to replace such trained teachers” (FGD 5/17). This was corroborated by a student at another rural secondary school (F): “There was a high turnover of teachers due to political conflicts. This adversely affected our learning” (FGD 6/17).

Qualified teachers who left due to political instability were usually replaced by untrained teachers (Tichagwa, 2012), who lacked the necessary cultural capital of a teacher. This is why students, in the conversations above, complained about the new institutional agents, the untrained teachers, who experienced difficulties in teaching and hence could not affectively guide students to learn. The untrained teachers found it difficult to assist students. As O ’Malley (2011) argued, political instability negatively affected education by lowering the quality of teachers. When the quality of teachers drops the quality of teaching and learning is also negatively affected.

6.3 Quality of teaching and learning

Political instability affected the quality of teaching and learning negatively as teachers became reluctant and afraid to teach certain topics for fear of victimization. Normal teaching is characterised by teachers providing necessary examples to help students understand. But this was difficult because of political instability as revealed by a teacher at a rural secondary school (D): “We were afraid of students we taught as they reported what we said” (Teacher interview 7/17). A student also expressed what was happening: “Teachers sometimes did not talk about democracy

or dictatorship as they were afraid to be misquoted or misinterpreted” (FGD 5/17). Such a scenario is not in accordance with the assertion made by Begeny et al. (2008) that the role of the school is to expand knowledge and experience. This means teachers were forced to limit the knowledge they shared with students as shown in the testimony of a teacher: “I was scared to give real examples on Africa as pupils would talk about this in the community” (Teacher interview 1/17). An experienced history teacher (4) explained the reason for deviating from normal practice: “The ruling party and some parents believed that when we taught about democracy we were campaigning for the opposition parties” (History teacher interview 4/17).

The extracts show that the communities no longer trusted teachers as they perceived them to be biased towards opposition parties. So in order to be safe teachers conformed to the dominant political party. But the change in style of teaching disadvantaged students’ learning as it restricted their understanding of concepts. It became difficult for students to understand some concepts, especially in history, as teachers were afraid to give relevant examples. This ultimately affected the quality of teaching and learning which negatively affected students’ prospects of passing final examinations.

6.4 Secondary schools’ pass rates

“Success in schools depends on self-worthiness, self-confidence and entitlement when making educational choices or interacting with teachers” (Pavić & Đukić, 2016:604). The dispositions, of self-worthiness, self-confidence and entitlement, are important for students to pass. Similarly Nash (2002:27) identified “aspirations, academic self-concept and perception of schooling” as important elements of habitus for educational progress at school. But political instability in Zimbabwe since 2000 seems to have adversely affected the students’ ability to pass. For example, a head of a rural secondary school (1) lamented the low pass rate: “Political meetings were affecting attendance of lessons because parents were expected to attend so would leave their children at home for safety and security. This affected the pass rate of this school with the lowest being for 2008 Ordinary Level results when only 3% passed” (Head 1/17). Even boarding secondary schools which are well known for high pass rates in the country were also affected as revealed by a head (3): “Pass rate was affected by a combination of both political and economic factors. Our pass rate is usually

between 91 and 100 but for 2008 it was 60%” (Head interview 2/17). The pass rates mentioned above were confirmed by document analysis of school records indicating pass rates at the schools studied.

Failure to attend lessons regularly by students due to political disruptions meant that it became difficult for them to build characteristics such as self-worthiness and self-confidence to help them pass. This was confirmed by a student at a rural government secondary school (E) who revealed: “Political fights caused us not to be proud of our country. Lack of confidence affects our ability and achievement” (FGD, 5/17). To make matters worse, teachers who were supposed to build on students’ self-confidence and self-worthiness were also disturbed and distracted by political challenges. This is revealed by a head of a rural secondary school (D): “Many teachers left the school due to political problems” (Head 5/17).

Low pass rates experienced in some secondary demotivated students in the lower forms as they regarded this as indication that they would fail. Most students lost hope as the results of their colleagues were not inspiring. Their chances of improving themselves and families were diminished as many students failed to pass Ordinary Level which lays a foundation for further education or vocational training. The findings of this study affirm Pswarayi & Reeler's (2012) assertion that the high failure rate in some rural schools in Zimbabwe is partly attributed to militarization of the education system. Militarization and politicization of education are slightly different as the former used serving soldiers (in civilian clothes), retired soldiers or war veterans for political manipulation in schools while the latter refers to the use of civilians for political manipulation. In some cases schools recorded a zero-percent pass rate (ibid). The high failure rate was a clear indication that the students had failed to acquire the necessary cultural capital to enable them to pass. Without the necessary cultural capital students would find it difficult to be employed which diminishes their chances of improving their economic capital. Economic capital “is at root of all the other types of capital” (Bourdieu cited by Appelrouth and Edles (2011:452). Economic capital enables an individual to acquire other forms of capital such as cultural capital. So what it means for most of the students who failed as a result of political instability was that they were not able to use education for upward social mobility and hence remained poor. In this way the

secondary schools helped to reproduce inequalities as explained by the theory of social reproduction (ibid). This means that students who entered secondary schools as poor or disadvantaged might not have passed and so were unable to change their status. Fields of education/secondary schools are not entered with equal cultural capital, some students from such classes as middle class have the necessary capital to enable them to pass but some, such as those from the working class, do not have the necessary capital and so may fail (Mills, 2008). The situation in some rural secondary schools is worse as they experience more problems which accentuate the plight of disadvantaged students. Political instability worsened the problems of students who were disadvantaged as a result of their backgrounds.

6.5 Psychological effects

Peace of mind is important for success and development but the prolonged political instability in the country seem to have taken a toll on secondary school actors (teachers, students, heads and students' parents). This section analyses how school actors were psychologically affected by political instability in secondary schools.

6.5.1 Fear

Political instability induced fear in school actors as the following narratives indicate. A female teacher at a boarding secondary school (C) testified about what happened in 2008 at the peak of political challenges:

During elections teachers feared for their safety as they were threatened by politicians. There was a lot of tension as teachers were accused of supporting opposition parties. For example in 2008 we were forced to attend a rally organized by the governor of the province. We were taken in big lorries to the district offices where we were addressed by the governor. He accused us of being evil servants, bad people who had voted for the opposition. We were labelled with all sorts of bad names like donkeys. He used abusive language and belittled us. This was a humiliation for us (Teacher interview 5/17).

A male teacher at a rural secondary school (D) revealed: "Election time was a time of fear for teachers who were accused of negatively influencing society against the ruling party" (Teacher interview 6/17). A head of a rural secondary school (D) added: "The community around my former

school was against any opposition parties that anyone suspected of supporting was targeted and punished. Emotionally we were not stable as we lived in fear” (Head interview 5/17). A student at an urban government secondary school (A) lamented: “Parties fighting using stones had a psychological impact on us as we feared to be harmed” (FGD 1/17). A student at an urban government secondary school (A) said: “Parents were forced to attend rallies. If they failed to attend rallies they were labelled as opposition supporters. Our parents lived in fear” (FGD 1/17).

Fear is a sign of “discomfort and insecurity” (McKinnon, 2016:537) in which a person so affected does not behave normally. Hence teachers who were affected were not able to perform their duties as expected. They did not have peace of mind so their work was negatively affected. Similar findings were made by O ’Malley (2011) who said attacks on teachers and students induced fear which caused schools to close or teachers to stay at home in conflict affected countries such as Thailand, Somalia and Zimbabwe. If students and teachers stayed at home it meant that no learning took place and this had a negative impact on understanding concepts as continuity was disrupted. Parents who lived in fear found it difficult to take care of their children at school. The overall result of all this was a negative impact on academic performance of the students affected. Jackson (2015) points out that fear in schools has a host of negative effects such as reducing academic attainment, causing mental health, stress and anxiety, maintaining inequalities and hierarchies.

6.5.2 Humiliation

Nelson Mandela (cited in Torres & Bergner, 2010:195) says, “I learned that to humiliate another person is to make him/her suffer an unnecessarily cruel fate.” Sayler (2004:11) defines humiliation as the “perception of being derogated or demeaned which results in feelings of lowered self-worth or self-esteem.” One of the weapons used by politicians during political instability was using acts of humiliating their opponents. Teachers and heads of secondary schools suffered as a result of being humiliated. The following episodes showed that some teachers and heads in secondary schools were humiliated.

A female teacher at a rural secondary school (B) bemoaned what happened in 2008: “In the 2008 runoff elections teachers were told to pretend that they could not read and write so that they were assisted to vote. This was dehumanizing and I refused to take part in the elections (Teacher

interview 3/17). One of the worst experiences for heads of schools was when they were forced to pretend to be illiterate as narrated by the head (3) of a government secondary school (E):

The voting process of the June 2008 rerun elections was a traumatizing experience for teachers as we were forced to act as uneducated people who would require assistance to vote. This was to make sure we voted for the ruling party. We had no option but to comply as our lives were in danger. It was so demeaning for me and other teachers (Head interview 3/17).

Two of the most important characteristics of a teacher are the skills of reading and writing. But teachers were expected to pretend that they were not able to read and write as political leaders did not trust them to vote for the ruling party on their own. This forced practice by ruling party activists during elections was confirmed by the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (2017:3) who said that those suspected to be opposition members were told to pretend to be illiterate so that they could be assisted to vote. Baxter and Britton (cited in Lehmann, 2014:2) refers to such a scenario as a painful habitus dislocation. In this situation teachers suffered an inferiority complex as they were being forced to pretend to be illiterate. Such humiliation triggered a lot of embarrassment and loss of self-confidence and esteem among the teachers which in turn had a negative effect on teaching. For the students witnessing such a scenario of forced pretence caused a lot of confusion as teachers were being coerced to act abnormally.

Even former students turned against teachers as revealed by a male teacher at a government secondary school (E): “Humiliation of teachers was also done by former students. For example at one time we were called to a meeting at the council offices. On leaving they ordered us to sprint. It was so humiliating (Teacher interview 9/17). In the social field of education teachers are the ones with authority and have responsibility of ordering students to do something but in this case they were being forced by their former students. It was a humiliating and dehumanizing experience for the teachers being ordered by former students to sprint.

The head (5) of a rural secondary school (D) gave an example of how teachers were humiliated during a meeting:

Political leaders of the area would find ways to humiliate us during meetings. For example, a teacher was asked to give meanings of the colours of the flag. He gave correct answers but he was still called a dull person who should not be teaching their children and was ordered to sit down. It was so embarrassing for the teacher to be humiliated in front of students. But there was nothing we could do because they had the power (Head interview 5/17).

A teacher being called a dull person in the presence of his own students was a humiliating experience. Negatively labelling teachers was demeaning for teachers. Torres & Bergner (2010) identify many consequences of humiliation such as depression, anxiety, loss of status, inability to behave as expected, hopelessness, helplessness, powerless, reduced motivation and a sense of worthlessness. All these consequences had a negative impact on how teachers carried out their duties in schools. They did not feel secure to offer their services in communities where they were humiliated.

6.5.3 Harassment and threats

A common feature of the political activities, especially during elections, was the harassment and threats which occurred. Secondary schools' agents were not spared. Instead of wooing voters by telling them what was in their election manifesto, the ruling party activists used harassment and threats as campaigning strategies.

A teacher at a boarding secondary school (C) said: "Threats like 'we will deal with you if you don't vote for the party' were a common feature" (Teacher interview 4/17). Students at a rural secondary school (B) added: "Alleged opposition members were harassed and beaten. Some of them were our relatives and this psychologically affected us" (FGD 2/17). A male teacher at an urban secondary school (G) gave a hint of why he transferred from a rural secondary school: "Teachers were harassed and threatened especially during elections in rural areas. For example, we were called to meetings when we were supposed to be attending to our classes" (Teacher interview 13/17). Some communities did not like outside influence, for example from cities, as described by a student at a rural secondary school (D): "If we visited Harare, society around would be suspicious of us as they said it brought new ideas to the community. We ended up being harassed about the visits to Harare" (FGD 4/17).

The above quotes indicate that secondary school actors lived under constant harassment and threats which suggests that they lived in perpetual turmoil. The results are consistent with what O'Malley's (2010:41) claim that threats affect "teachers' concentration and frame of mind" for teaching. For example, in Thailand teachers were sometimes killed or beaten at their schools or on their way to school (ibid). In Nepal teachers and students were threatened and harassed by the warring parties (Pherali & John, 2011) which negatively affected their work. Harassment of teachers is not a normal practice in secondary schools and consequently affected their ability to fulfill their obligations to teach.

6.5.4 Less motivation to learn

Motivation, both intrinsic and extrinsic, play an important role in education (Akhtar et al, 2017; Chow & Yong, 2013). For students in secondary schools it is important to have a conducive environment in which to learn. It is important to motivate students. But political instability did not provide such an environment as revealed below.

A student at a government secondary school (D) explained: "Violence in the country results in reduced investment as investors fear to lose their investments. This leads to less employment creation. Most graduates are not employed which lead to less motivation for students as future is bleak as far as employment is concerned" (FGD 1/17). A student at a boarding secondary school (C) also bemoaned: "Violent activities are causing some students to believe that education is not important. The future looks uncertain with unstable political conditions" (FGD 4/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) spoke about rampant corruption: "Corrupt activities negatively influence students. They stop working hard as they now believe they can get things easily using such behaviour" (FGD 7/17). A student at rural secondary school (B) said: "Political conflicts demotivated students" (FGD 2/17).

Political instability resulted in some students being less motivated to learn. This was also found by O'Malley (2011) who said political instability demotivated and distracted students by fear or trauma which had a negative effect on their ability to learn. This suggests that students' ability to acquire cultural capital is reduced. Students' chances of passing final examinations were also reduced as students did not fulfill their obligations to do school work wholeheartedly.

6.5.5 Stress

Anisman & Merali (1999:241) declared that, “Exposure to stressful situations is among the most common human experience.” For Fink (2010:551), stress is a “a social disequilibrium.” Social disequilibrium or disturbances experienced in Zimbabwe include political instabilities. Political challenges became stressors for secondary school agents as revealed in the narratives below.

A head (1) of a rural secondary school (A) said: “If I tried to be too strict about fees payment I was blamed by political leaders. I was accused of all sorts of things which bordered on hatred which stressed me” (Head 1/17). A female teacher at a government secondary school (H) said: “Teachers were victims for alleged opposition politics which stressed us a lot” (Teacher interview 11/17). A head of a rural government secondary school (E) described a stressful incident: “At one of the meetings 21 teachers of this school were accused as belonging to the opposition. After the meeting the school was surrounded by the youths who were ready to deal with the accused teachers. You can imagine the stress the teachers went through before they were saved by the District Chairperson of the ruling party who dispersed the youths” (Head 3/17).

The narratives above indicate that secondary school agents were stressed by the unstable political situation. Teachers, heads of schools, students and parents were stressed by what happened in secondary schools. For example, teachers at the work place are ordinarily stressed by a heavy work load, time pressure or school management (Chan, et al., 2010). Students are stressed by assignments, time management or difficult school work (Olufunke, 2017). Parents are stressed by challenges such as “monitoring and support of their children” in secondary schools (Costa & Faria, 2017:33). The stressors identified by other authors are found in the normal activities of secondary schools but this study has established that political instability was an additional stressor for school actors. Such stress had a negative impact on work in secondary schools. Stress is not conducive to teaching and learning so this was affected negatively which made it difficult for secondary school actors to achieve their objectives. Wilkinson and Marmot (2003:10) argue that the longer people live in stressful situations, “the greater the physiological wear and tear they suffer.” Thus stress leads to poor health which has a negative impact on teaching and learning.

6.6 Physical abuse

Physical abuse in the context of the school is mainly associated with the abuse of children. Literature is also mainly on the abuse of children or those under the age of eighteen or adolescence. There is also literature which indicates physical abuse experienced by women in schools from male students and staff. It is difficult to find a definition of physical abuse which does not include a child. For example, UNICEF Malaysia (2010:1) defines physical abuse as “physical use of force against a child, resulting in harm and injury to the child.” Hornor (2005:5) defines physical abuse by its characteristics as the infliction “of physical injury as a result of punching, beating, kicking, biting, burning, shaking or otherwise harming a child.” From the two definitions it can then be deduced that physical abuse of any person involves the use of force to inflict pain that is harmful or endangers life. Physical abuse during the period of political instability in the area under study was done on adults and children. The study revealed that some teachers, heads of schools and students’ parents suffered physical assaults as a result of political instability in the province under study. For example, Marimudza (2012) reported that some teachers, mainly those in rural areas, suffered physical abuse by ZANU (PF) militants who accused them of supporting opposition parties. Although physical assaults on teachers were common in rural based secondary schools, there were some cases of physical assaults on teachers in urban schools. One of the known cases of urban assaults on teachers is that of a teacher who was publicly beaten by the then member of parliament of the area which shocked the whole community. A similar case was reported of this Member of Parliament when he beat an opposition political activist in Bindura in 2008 (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2002). The same MP was reported by Guma (2006) of being implicated in the burning of four houses belonging to MDC supporters. The following narratives by respondents are an indication of physical abuse experienced in secondary schools studied.

6.6.1 Teachers, heads and parents

A male teacher at a rural secondary school (B) gave testimony of how a fellow teacher was assaulted: “The teacher was accused of being an opposition supporter. He was beaten with a big stick at the school in front of other teachers and pupils” (Teacher interview 2/17). A teacher at a rural government secondary school (E) reflected: “A teacher was killed by brutal beatings at one of the schools in this district for alleged support of the opposition. He died a painful death- they would pour water on him after he fainted and beat him again” (Teacher interview 9/17). A student

at a government urban secondary school (A) gave a horrific description: “Some teachers were accused of supporting opposition parties by ruling party activists. I know of a teacher whose legs were broken while another was beaten to death” (FGD 1/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (H) showed how difficult the leisure lives of teachers were affected: “Some were beaten at beer halls for influencing students” (FGD 8/17). Heads of secondary schools confirmed the physical assaults suffered by teachers and other heads. For example, a head of government secondary school (E) in a rural area described how violence became a problem for schools: “There was a lot of violence during the campaign period as teachers were beaten publicly after being accused of supporting the opposition” (Head interview 3/17). A teacher (5), who taught at many schools, added: “Teachers who were suspected of belonging to the opposition were paraded and beaten” (Teacher interview 5/17). A history teacher gave a chilling account of a rare incident at an urban school in which: “A teacher who used to sell party cards for the opposition was thoroughly beaten by the local MP and was forced to leave the school” (Teacher interview 4/17). It is difficult to find newspaper articles with exactly the same stories like the ones referred to above as some were not reported. For example Shava (2013) reported that teachers in various areas in the country have fallen victims of political violence with some being killed or injured and forced to flee their schools.

The above quotations reveal that secondary school teachers suffered physical abuse which was not normal. Norms were being violated. It is not usual for teachers to be physically punished. The school as a social field is an arena for contestations or a field of struggles ((Lingard, et al., 2015:27) in which teachers are the dominant institutional agents (Martina, 2006:2) with social power to guide students to learn. But political instability seems to have distorted secondary schools’ trajectories. Some teachers who suffered physical abuse experienced a lot of humiliation and physical pain which negatively affected teaching and learning. Such actions also instilled fear among the teachers who were not abused which caused them to be stressed and to live in fear. Although most teachers were not physically abused, the fact that others were abused showed acts of cruelty which came about as a result of the political crisis in the country. They were made to feel inferior as the political elites dominated them. This is what is referred to by Bourdieu (cited in Mangez and Hilgers (2012) as the politicization of the fields of knowledge which is introduced in order to impose the wishes of those in power. By using physical force against teachers, political

agents hoped that actors in secondary schools and surrounding communities would not support opposition parties. Such acts caused despondency among teachers and other school actors, with a subsequent negative impact on teaching and learning.

Even heads of schools were not spared these assaults, as revealed by a teacher at one of the rural secondary school (D): “A former head of this secondary school was beaten and forced to transfer. He transferred to a school not far away from here but he shortly passed on due to injuries sustained” (Teacher interview 7/17). The assault was confirmed by the students of the secondary school: “A former headmaster at this school was beaten, forced to transfer and died a few months after the transfer” (FGD 4/17).

Students at a different rural secondary school (F) provided a similar account of how a former head of their school was publicly beaten: “A former head of this school was beaten; his property destroyed and forced to leave. Such actions caused disorder at the school as it instilled fear in all teachers.” (FGD 6/17). Then the head of the rural secondary school (F) confirmed: “The school is surrounded by a violent community. The former head of this school was removed violently. He was beaten in public. His property was thrown out and he was forced to leave the school as they accused him of supporting opposition parties” (Head interview 4/17).

Heads of schools are respected members of communities in which their schools are located but the above conversations indicate that during political instability some suffered physical abuse, a humiliating experience. In normal circumstances heads are responsible for discipline and ensuring that schools are administered according to rules and regulations but such institutional practices appear to have changed due to politics. Norms of reciprocity between secondary schools and community were rather strained as a result of political instability. Leadership, according to OECD (cited in Pont et al., 2008:18), “involves a process of influence.” It is rather difficult to imagine how heads as leaders continued to play an influential role when they were being physically abused. Heads of schools found it difficult to exercise their authority due to fear of what political elites in communities may do to them. The results indicate that when two fields interact, in this case educational field and political field, one is more powerful than the other. The political field appears to be more powerful than the educational field and this confirms what was observed by Mangez and Hilgers (2012) when they said fields are subordinate to the larger fields of power. The results

indicate that the educational field was interfered with and contaminated by the political field. Political agents dominated the actors in the educational field, making it difficult for work to be done properly as their interference changed the nature of the field and the context within it. For example, heads of schools found it difficult to do their work as leaders in secondary schools as they were under scrutiny by political actors.

Students at a rural secondary school (B) pointed to the abuse suffered by parents: “Alleged opposition members were harassed and beaten” (FGD 2/17). In addition, students at a rural government secondary (F) school pointed out that: “Some parents were also harassed, with some dying because of violence” (FGD 5/17). This was echoed by students at a rural government secondary school (H): “Some students lost their parents due to violence” (FGD 8/17).

A frightening experience was related by an affected teacher (1):

First, some opposition activists who had surrendered their cards and regalia were ordered to stand up and do some slogans showing their allegiance to the party and vow not to do it again. Then when these stood up they said they were some who were in the crowd who had not revealed that they belonged to the opposition party. Many were called up including a well-known local person, a disabled former senior civil servant. These were taken away from the crowd and forced go to a secluded place where they were thoroughly beaten using gum tree branches. We could hear men crying as they were being beaten by some of the youths (Teacher interview 1/17).

Parents play a pivotal role in the education of their children (Mortimer et al, 2014; Ahmad & Gates, 2016) but when some of them suffered physical abuse as revealed above, it became difficult to fulfill such a role. One of the most important obligations of parents of children in secondary schools is to provide the necessary resources but when some of the parents suffered physical abuse they could not play their role as usual. It is not normal for parents to suffer physical abuse. Parents lived in fear so it became increasingly difficult to fulfill their obligations at school as their interactions with teachers were viewed with suspicion and hate. Fear among parents made it difficult for them to fulfill their roles as parents for emotional support and encouragement. Family social capital like emotional support and encouragement are important for academic achievement (Schuchart, 2013). But when political agents interfered with family affairs by physically abusing some parents for allegedly supporting opposition parties it disturbed the ability of parents to

support their children. It again showed how the political field interfered with the educational field, dominating the actors which made it difficult for work to be done.

6.6.2 Abuse of students

In Zimbabwe any person below the age of eighteen is regarded as a minor and therefore is protected by laws of the country which relate to the rights of children. Even those who are over eighteen but are still in secondary schools enjoy the rights of children. The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act 2013 is specific about children's participation in politics, "not to be compelled to take part in any political activity..." (The Government of Zimbabwe, 2013:39). In terms of education it says every child has the right to education and that they should be protected from economic and sexual exploitation. This study has shown that during political instability students'/children's rights were negatively affected in some secondary schools in the province. Students were affected in a variety of ways: students as political youths, forced to attend rallies, forced to support political parties, forced to recite party slogans, students' rights trampled, drug abuse and abuse of girls.

6.6.2.1 Students' as political youths

A student at a rural secondary school (B) was at pains to describe: "As pupils we were regarded as youths by the community so we are expected to take part in ruling party youth activities like singing and demonstrations (toyi-toyi). This disturbed our school work" (FGD 2/17). In some secondary schools it was even made worse by the establishment of youth camps: "Some schools were used as bases for youth camps" (FGD 2/17). A student at a boarding secondary school (C) said: "If we failed to take part in youth activities during the holidays we were threatened" (FGD 3/17). These sentiments were also expressed by a student at a rural secondary school (D): "We were expected to take part in political youths' activities like attending rallies, demonstrations, campaigning" (FGD 4/17). Then he added: "If we failed to take part in youth activities we were labelled opposition party supporters and that was bad for us and our families" (FGD 4/17).

The citations above reveal that students were expected to be politically socialized in addition to the normal school socialization. Such a scenario confused students who were used to the educational socialization at schools. In addition to the normal socializing agents like the family, school or peers, political parties (ZANU PF in particular) were another powerful socializing agent,

which students found difficult to ignore. Students were forced to change their habits in order to be able to negotiate the way the game was played in the newly defined political-educational field. The sub-sections below indicate the forceful and violent nature of the political agents in the field of politics.

6.6.2.2 *Forced to attend rallies*

A political rally is an important tool used for election campaigns the world over (Oyesomi, et al., 2016, Ademilokun, 2015). The main aim of political rallies is to achieve a particular end which is usually political office (Ademilokun, 2015). The rallies are also used to verbally attack opponents and to expose their weaknesses (Ademilokun, 2015) in order to win votes. In the process of campaigning candidates usually use “emotional, sentimental and psychological messages to stimulate interest and acceptance” (Oyesomi, 2016:168). Secondary school students in the area under study revealed that they were forced to attend political rallies which were organized as a campaigning strategy by the ruling party.

A student at an urban government school (A) complained: “We were forced to attend rallies at night where alleged opposition party supporters were paraded and beaten” (FGD 1/17). This was also said by a student at an urban secondary school (G): “Political rallies were a must for us as we were expected to attend” (FGD 7/17).

Rallies are meant to change the attitudes and behaviours of people who attend them. This is normal in politics for adults but when it is done using force it is problematic, especially when it involves boys and girls still in secondary school. This is why the Constitution of Zimbabwe prohibited the involvement of children in political activities as they are regarded as immature to make political decisions. Other studies (see Reeler, 2013) also revealed that students in Zimbabwe were sometimes forced to attend rallies in order to indoctrinate them with ideology of the ruling party. The time spent by some students attending rallies affected their school work negatively as it reduced time spent on school work and also distracted them from their normal school activities. In addition, the experience of attending rallies induced anxiety among the students, which affected their general wellbeing and ability to focus on school work. It became increasingly difficult for students affected to acquire cultural capital to enable them to pass. This means that students’ acquisition of knowledge and skills expected of them in secondary schools was negatively

affected. The time spent attending rallies affected students' studying time. In order for students to understand concepts learnt at school they should have time to study and discuss with others so that they consolidate what they have learnt. For day scholars such time is usually during weekends and evenings but such time was now being used for political activities. Students as actors in the field of education had their activities interfered with by actors in the political field who used their political power to dominate activities in schools. Rallies became instruments that were used to dominate communities and the students.

6.6.2.3 Forced to support the ruling party

Students were expected to support the ruling party. For example a student from a rural government secondary school (E) explained: "As students we tried to be neutral about politics but it was not acceptable here. We were expected to support the ruling party in order to be safe. Neutrality was not acceptable" (FGD 5/17). This was confirmed by a student at an urban secondary school (G) who said: "Membership to the ruling party is compulsory. Students were expected to attend meetings where they were indoctrinated about the ruling party beliefs. We were expected to have membership cards, t-shirts, hats (regalia)" (FGD 7/17).

Students' basic understanding and practice of democracy was put to the test by being forced to support a particular party. They felt uncomfortable as the whole scenario was against the tenets of democracy especially the idea of holding elections when the choice was for only one party. Secondary habitus, which is "developed through the enculturation within educational experiences" (Reed-Donahay cited in Byrom and Lightfoot, 2012:127) was at variance with the expectations of the ruling political party which was forcing them to support it. There was no fit between school expectations and societal expectations. Enculturation at secondary school means the acquisition of norms, expectations and values of an ideal student. But the political atmosphere of instability distracted students from proper socialization so that they ended up being forced to learn the culture of politics as expected by the dominant party. Instead of just being exposed to the field of education, students were now exposed to a field of politics with its own struggles and contestations of the dominant and the dominated. The field of politics encroached into the field of education and dominated it. Such a scenario confused students who were negatively affected.

6.6.3.4 Forced to recite party slogans

Students were expected to know the slogans of the ruling party which were used during campaigning and political rallies. In order for students to be safe in communities students were expected to know the basic slogans of the ruling party. Failure to recite some slogans was regarded as an indication that one is a member of opposition parties. This was said by a student at an urban secondary school (A): “People were expected to know the slogans of the parties, like for the ruling party; their well-known slogan was ‘Down with enemies’ which meant we must do away with those who supported opposition parties” (FGD 1/17). A student at another urban secondary school also echoed the same sentiment (G): “We were expected to know party slogans like ‘those who do not know must be taught’ ” (FGD 7/17). Being taught usually meant teaching them by beating them. If an individual did not know a particular slogan and how to respond to it the individual was singled out as a non-supporter of the ruling party. Instead of spending time doing school work, students found themselves being forced to memorize political slogans which had no relevance to school requirements. White et al (2000:6) asserted that research in the United Kingdom has shown that for “most young people education is a more important issue than politics.” They go on to point out that some young people have low levels of political interest, knowledge and behaviour. In the Zimbabwean context, when some students were forced to recite party slogans it showed the determination of ruling party political agents in wanting to control and dominate secondary schools. They wanted to instill fear in students and discourage them from supporting any other party.

6.6.3.5 Students’ rights trampled

The rights of some children were negatively affected by political instability. For example a student at an urban secondary school (A) said: “Some parents were forced to go into the diaspora because of being targets. Children were left behind without parental guidance (FGD 1/17). A student was worried: “Freedom of movement is restricted by the so called curfew during elections. Anyone who moved after 6 pm was alleged to be an opposition supporter” (FGD 4/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) summed-up: “We know our rights but we are not able to enjoy them because of fear” (FGD 5/17).

Clearly students’ rights were not respected as a result of political instability. The experiences referred to here are similar to findings made elsewhere in countries affected by political instability

such as South Sudan, Lebanon and Pakistan. For example, Bousquette et al (2014) show that children in South Sudan lived in fear and distress as a result of conflict they witnessed. In Lebanon, Save the Children (Sweden) (2008) found that children were negatively affected due to exposure to violence, violent political groups and discrimination. If some students lived without their parents it denied them parental emotional support and encouragement which are important for academic achievement. In addition, restricting the movement of students resulted in them not being able to meet with other students for discussions and other school activities which are crucial for building social capital. Bourdieu (cited in Lee and Bowen, 2006:197) asserts that social capital is crucial as a way “to gain socially desirable ends.” In the field of education desirable ends refer to such attributes as passing examinations, being able to communicate with others or having access to resources and networking.

6.6.3.6 Exposure to violence and drugs

Participation of students in political activities has resulted in them being exposed to violence and drugs. For example, a student at a boarding school (C) was not happy with being exposed to violence: “Pupils exposed to violence became violent” (FGD 3/17). A student at a government secondary school (A) believed: “Some boys participated in violent activities which changed their personality” (FGD 1/17). A student at a rural government secondary school said: “Violent activities caused some students to believe that education was not important” (FGD 5/17). Drug abuse also became a problem as noted by a student at a rural secondary school (B): “Involvement of students in political activities exposed students to people who used drugs” (FGD 2/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (H) added: “Some of the students were initiated into the use of drugs so that they were brave in tasks they were asked to carry out like moving around forcing people to attend rallies” (FGD 8/17). Drugs are bad for students because they – amongst other things – negatively affect their academic performance (Chukwu et al, 2017).

Violence and drug abuse by students are not part of acceptable school culture. They are contrary to school ethos. The results suggest that students were exposed to violence and drugs which made it difficult for them to negotiate the game as expected in the field of education. Drugs have the effect of altering the behaviour of a person so it means it also changes the expected character of students. For example, instead of being an obedient student, students who abuse drugs end up being disobedient. Similarly exposing students to violence either as perpetrators or victims also

alters the behaviour of students from the expected listening students to disobedience. The use of drugs when there is political instability was also noted by Mude (2014), who said some youths in Zimbabwe were given beer, drugs or money by political leaders as incentives for them to intimidate, beat or kill people opposed to their political views. The use of drugs or alcohol by some secondary school students had a negative impact on students' participation at school. The exposure of students to violence and drugs is a problem for students as they cause a lot of disruptions and disobedience in the field of education making it difficult for them to play the game as expected.

6.6.3.7 Abuse of girls

Girls were also expected to take part in political activities, like demonstrations and going to political camps, which exposed them to abuse by either fellow youths or elders. This was revealed by a student at a government secondary school (A): "Girls were expected to go to camps where some were sexually abused. Some girls fell pregnant" (FGD 1/17). This was also alluded to by a student at a rural secondary school (F): "When students acted as youths for political parties they were exposed to bad things like rape or abuse of girls. Some girls become pregnant and dropped out of school" (FGD 6/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) showed how dangerous it was for girls: "Political conflicts usually led to abuse of girls and women. So to be safe some stayed indoors" (FGD 7/17). The use of rape as a weapon against those accused of supporting opposition parties as revealed by a teacher at a rural secondary school (B): "During the June 2008 run-off, one of our school girls and her mother were raped for allegedly supporting the opposition" (Teacher interview 2/17). A report quoted by Zhangazha (2010) revealed that the ruling party activists used rape and sexual abuse of women as weapons to subdue opposition party supporters. For example, the report indicated six women reported that they were raped which resulted in some contracting HIV and AIDS.

The abuse of girls during political instability, as shown above, is explained by the notion of "gendered habitus" (Arnot & Naveed, 2014:508) which is the imposition of masculine domination on the submissive female. As a result of primary socialisation the girl child is made to believe and accept her own inferiority and male domination thereby allowing abuse without much resistance. Bourdieu (cited in Thorpe, 2009:493) viewed women as "subjects who typically do not accumulate capital but are capital bearing objects." This means that women in society are not known as people who accumulate capital, for example economic capital (most remain poor) but through

reproduction they are responsible for producing people who accumulate capital. It also follows that women do not have power as they lack the capital to exercise power in social spaces. Women's and girls' lack of power makes it easy for them to be dominated by men or boys in the fields within which they interact. Hence when they were induced to interact with men in a political field girls were dominated for the sexual benefit of men. The results are similar to sentiments made by Smith (2014:14) that "rape and sexual violence are still used as weapons of war." The abuse of girls negatively affected their school work. Some of the girls dropped out of school which meant they did not adequately benefit from the education system due to political instability. The abuse experienced by girls caused many of them to lose their self-confidence which has a negative impact on academic achievement.

6.7 Loss of property

Appelrouth & Edles (2016:667) refer to economic capital as "material resources- wealth, land, money- that one controls or possesses." In Zimbabwe common properties owned by ordinary people include houses, household property or livestock which are forms of their economic capital. Studies (Considine & Zappala, 2002; Mupa & Chinooneka, 2015; Mazgon & Stefanc, 2012) have shown that material factors, economic capital, have a positive impact on educational attainment. This study revealed that one of the characteristics of political instability was the destruction of property or use of force to take property of alleged opposition party supporters as a way to force compliance. Some parents lost their property as a result of political conflicts as revealed in the following narratives.

A student at a rural secondary school (B) described how some parents lost their houses for political reasons: "We witnessed houses and property of opposition supporters being burnt" (FGD 2/17). A student at another rural secondary school (F) was appalled: "Their (parents) properties have been destroyed, animals killed for food at camps and this has left them even poor and humiliated" (FGD 6/17). A student at a rural secondary school (D) lamented: "We had cases of property of some families being destroyed and burnt which forced families to relocate" (FGD 4/17). This was also supported by what was said by a teacher affected who narrated what he witnessed: "Alleged opposition members' livestock were taken by force and killed to provide meat for the camps" (Teacher interview 1/17). This is collaborated in a report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2009) which said another weapon used by ZANU (PF) youths and war veterans was the

destruction of property belonging to alleged opposition members. The report goes on to say by using this method the ruling party activists destroyed, stole and killed livestock and burnt homes in many rural areas.

The horrific tales above indicate that some parents accused of supporting opposition parties lost their property due to political conflict. The significance of parents losing their property is how it made them poor and hence it became more difficult to support their children at school. The loss of livestock was a big blow to family subsistence and wealth in rural areas. It was part of their livelihood which was very difficult to recover from when destroyed which explains why some families moved away to start afresh in other places. The majority of people in rural areas are subsistence farmers who rely mainly on crop cultivation and rearing livestock. When their crops or livestock were destroyed or taken away they were impoverished. This means their sources of economic capital were reduced making it difficult for them to send their children to school. In line with the findings of this study, Ibrahim & Cheri (2013:63) have asserted that political instability in Africa has “undermined the peoples’ traditional capacity to cope, leaving many of them at different stages of confusion, withdrawal or silent revolt,” resulting in many leaving their countries as refugees. The loss of property by families had a negative impact on students’ welfare which affected them emotionally. It was disturbing for them to witness their livelihood being destroyed which affected their families’ ability to support them at home and school. Loss of property for some parents due to political differences had a psychological impact on parents and their children. It became increasingly difficult for parents to afford secondary education for their children.

6.8 Donations and social benefits

6.8.1 Donations for schools

Non-Governmental Organisations play an important role in “assisting the fight against poverty in developing countries” (Bassey cited in Mago et al, 2015:59). The Zimbabwean government had also embraced the “partnership of NGOS in fighting poverty since 1980” (Mago et al, 2015:59). One of the features of political instability in the country was that Non-Governmental organisations were “blamed for the problems experienced in the country” (Dorman, 2001:2). The organisations were associated with opposition parties and accused of influencing western countries to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe. So any donations from NGOs were viewed with suspicion and ridicule

by ruling party politicians. This scenario affected possible donations to schools as ruling party politicians believed they are meant to influence voters as revealed in the following conversations.

The head (1) of a rural secondary (B) gave a detailed description:

Donations to school have been negatively affected by politics. Donations are vetted. Donors do not want such scrutiny as they feel its education that is being politicized. So once you put them under such scrutiny donors stop donating. For example, someone wanted to drill a borehole for the school but withdrew because the process was too long (Head interview 1/17).

The same head added: “NGOs were no longer trusted in the country because of politics. Yet these organisations were helpful to schools. The suspicions were political in nature and we lose” (Head 1/17). A Head of a rural secondary school (D) bemoaned: “Donations to schools by NGOs stopped due to political interference” (Head interview 5/17). A parent at a rural government school (E) noted that: “NGOs were not trusted as we believed they wanted to use their donations to buy votes for the opposition parties” (Parent interview 4/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) revealed: “Donations to the school by some members of the community stopped as they were accused of opposition links. This deprived our school of important resources for learning, for example books and computers” (FGD 7/17).

NGOs in Zimbabwe have played a “significant role in development” (Riddell & Robinson, 1992:11) but the above citations seem to suggest that political interference derailed the cooperation which existed since independence. Trust which existed between communities in Zimbabwe and NGOs was affected by political differences. This is an indication that reciprocity between schools and NGOs was affected by political instability. A study by Mago et al. (2015:67) in Zimbabwe confirmed that the “tense political environment forced NGOs to withdraw their assistance.” In addition UNICEF (2009) says NGOs in Zimbabwe were banned by the government from conducting field activities in 2008 as the government believed they were supporting opposition parties. Some secondary schools were denied assistance from NGOs which could have helped in development. The results seem to suggest that the field of politics subdued the field of non-government organisations when they interacted in educational institutions.

6.8.2 Social assistance

Zimbabwe, like other countries, provides assistance to its disadvantaged citizens with the aim of helping them to meet their needs (Kaseke, 1988; Masuka, 2014). The Zimbabwean government has provided such assistance in various fields such as health, education or agriculture. Although these programmes were affected by economic crisis, the government continued to support them, especially in agriculture, as a way to ensure the success of the Land Reform Programme. In education social assistance through Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) also continued but the funds took a long time to be released by the government because of the economic crisis. Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) was providing “access to education for orphans and vulnerable children” (Masuka, 2014:34). In agriculture there is the Presidential Agricultural In-put Scheme which is for farmers in communal areas (Mutambara, 2016). Assistance in whatever form is important in building the economic capital of individuals which plays a role in education. The study revealed a worrisome trend about the distribution of social assistance that was compromised by political bickering as shown below.

A student at a rural government secondary school (H) believed that: “Donations were used as a political tool” (FGD 8/17). At a rural government secondary school (H) a student said that there was discrimination: “Social welfare was not benefitting the intended beneficiaries but the rich and powerful who were well connected politically” (FGD 8/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) noted: “Inputs were given according to political affiliation” (FGD 5/17). A teacher at a rural government school (E) said: “Inputs are distributed selectively here. You have to be on the right side in politics.”

The chronicles above indicate that parents who were accused of supporting opposition parties were denied access to social welfare benefits or donations from government or government agencies. The results are similar to findings made by others like Mutambara (2016) which indicated that agricultural inputs were distributed along political party lines with opposition party supporters being denied access. This meant that that economic capital of alleged opposition supporters remained depressed making it difficult for them to survive which had negative effect on providing the needed school resources for their children. “Capital refers to different forms of power held by social agents” (Thorpe, 2009:493), which enables them to accumulate various forms of capital which is related to their position in the social space. This means when some parents were denied

access to social benefits when others were receiving the benefits, they were deprived the opportunity to improve themselves. They remained disadvantaged so had difficulties in assisting their children to learn at school.

6.9 Social relationships

Social capital, a habitus characteristic, is an important feature of all communities as it is a “network of individuals which provides resources to family or community social organisations” (Flint, 2011:5). Hanifan (1916:138) argued that for a “school to be successful, social capital is necessary.” He identified goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among individuals as important for people to work together in social institutions like schools. Coleman (1988) also noted that forms of social capital which are important in organisations like schools include obligations, expectations, information potential, norms, effective sanctions and authority. The results of this study suggest that political instability affected relationships among school actors as shown in the following sub-sections.

6.9.1 Teachers and students

Teachers and students are key school actors in a secondary school. They play complementary roles which are important in achieving goals and objectives of schools. It is no wonder writers have written about an ideal teacher or effective teacher (Walker, 2008, Okoro & Chukwudi, 2011) or an ideal student in order to show how the two should relate to each other to achieve aims and objectives set in schools. The citations below suggest that political instability had a negative influence on teacher/student relationships.

A female teacher at a rural secondary school (B) said: “Students reported us to political leaders on what we taught” (Teacher interview 3/17). A student at a government secondary school (H) believed: “Sometimes students linked examples given by teachers to politics” (FGD 8/17). This shows that there was no goodwill between teachers and students. The teacher-student relationship was no longer normal as students seemed to view teachers as political agents rather than educational agents.

Respect and discipline which are hallmarks of how teachers and students relate to each other were disturbed by political instability. A female teacher at a government secondary school (E) noted: “Some students during elections would be based at youth camps so would come to school tired

with no orientation to learn. They had no respect for teachers” (Teacher interview 8/17). A female teacher at an urban secondary school (G) observed that: “Students were affected by politics so much that it became difficult to discipline them” (Teacher interview 10/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (H) said: “Teachers were hesitant to discipline students as they were afraid of what might be done to them by the politically volatile community” (FGD 8/17). A student at an urban secondary school (A) said: “Sometimes demonstrations against teachers were held at the school gate which led to some pupils to mock teachers and caused a lot of disciplinary problems” (FGD 1/17).

The trust between teachers and students appeared to have dissipated due to the politically charged environment. A student at a rural secondary school (F) revealed: “Political conflicts strained relations between pupils and teachers as they no longer trusted each other” (FGD 6/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) suspected teachers: “We suspected that among the teachers were some who worked for state security, Central Intelligent Organisation (CIO) to report what was happening at the school and community” (FGD 5/17).

The results above seem to suggest that relationships between teachers and students were no longer based on mutual trust due to political instability. Linking social capital, which is supposed to characterise the relations between teachers and students, seem to have been disrupted by ruling party activists who were hostile to alleged opposition supporters. Such a scenario was inimical to building positive social relationships in secondary schools, which Fuller (2014) says are important as they promote shared objectives, cohesion and trust. In addition, others argue that high schools that promote respect in relations between students and teachers lead to healthy norms of behaviour (Thapa et al. 2013; LaRusso et al. 2008). The findings of this study are similar to findings made by Colletta & Cullen (2000) which revealed that violent conflict in Rwanda and Cambodia undermined interpersonal and communal group trust that led to division of the population. If there is no trust between teachers and students it is difficult to have a conducive environment for teaching and learning. It became increasingly difficult for students to be socialized into accepted attitudes and values of secondary school culture due to lack of trust between teachers and students. In any social field, for example education, relations are characterised by contestation between actors (Swartz, 2016), the results of this study seem to suggest that political instability worsened the contestations between teachers and students.

6.9.2 Teachers, parents and the community

The relationship between teachers and parents or community in general is regarded as crucial in the operation of any school. Such relationships, built using bridging networks, are important for schools as they enable people to change their circumstances (Conrad, 2007). Hence the assertion by Palmieri & Palma (2017:50) that teachers perceive “parents as allies who support the work of the school.” This is especially the case with decentralised school systems when parents are expected to be part of school committees composed of heads, teachers and parents which run schools. But with the dominance of political elites in an unstable political environment the social capital between teachers and parents or the community was jeopardized.

A student at a government secondary school (H) believed: “Parents did not trust teachers because of what they allegedly taught about politics” (FGD 8/17). A student at a rural government secondary school (E) spoke of a two-way mistrust between teachers and parents: “Teachers did not trust parents who labeled them as opposition activists while parents did not trust teachers who they accused of having a political influence on their children” (FGD 5/17). A female teacher at a rural secondary school (D) pointed out: “The school became the playing ground of the community’s politics. For them teachers are in opposition parties. The community did not trust us” (Teacher interview 7/17). A teacher at a rural government school (H) explained: “The school was accused of meddling in politics because the Chairperson of Progressive Teachers Union Zimbabwe (PTUZ) at Provincial level was a teacher at this school. PTUZ was associated with opposition politics so the school was not trusted by some members of the community.”

The community felt that teachers were not accepting the dominance of the ruling party hence the dislike as alluded to in the following quotations. A student at a rural secondary school (B) explained parents’ dislike for teachers: “Some parents accused teachers of belonging to opposition parties” (FGD 2/17). A student at a government secondary school (E) explained parents’ dislike for teachers: “They feared that if they belonged to the opposition they would influence the community to dislike the ruling party” (FGD 5/17). A student at a government secondary school (H) noted: “A former Head of the school was accused of embezzling funds but auditors did not find anything wrong. Now people believe it was just jealous and hating him politically” (FGD 8/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) also explained why teachers were disliked:

“Teachers were expected to attend rallies of the ruling party. If they didn’t they were labelled opposition members” (FGD 7/17).

The community seemed not to value the contribution of teachers to society as their concern during the unstable political period was mainly political dominance of parties. A teacher at a rural government secondary school (E) said: “Communities no longer value the work of teachers. Politicians regarded teachers as a threat who had the influence to change the political views of society” (Teacher interview 9/17). So teachers were under scrutiny as explained by a student at a rural secondary school (D): “Teachers were alleged to be opposition party supporters by society so they were under a lot of surveillance by the community which made them to live in fear” (FGD 4/17).

The bad relationships between teachers and parents affected academic work as consultations and meetings meant to build school social capital were no longer being done following norms and expectations. For example, on the issue of meetings, a male teacher at a rural government secondary school (H) explained: “Debates during Annual General Meetings were affected by the political divisions. Ideas from the other side, no matter how good, were opposed by the other side because of political differences” (Teacher interview 11/17). In respect of consultation a teacher at a rural government secondary school (E) said: “Even when we called for consultation with parents very few attended because of animosity. For example during a recent consultation very few parents came” (Teacher interview 9/17). Similarly, a parent at a rural secondary school (D) said: “Very few parents wanted to be associated with teachers as they consulted on children’s progress as they feared accusations by politicians” (Parent interview 4/17).

Communities around schools decided to sanction the teachers for allegedly supporting opposition parties as revealed in these quotations. A teacher at a rural government school said: “When inputs were received for the community to share we were not even considered. They discriminated us” (Teacher interview 9/17). A teacher who had taught at many schools believed: “I did not benefit from the land reform programme because they suspected I was a member of the opposition” (Teacher informant interview 5/17). A male teacher at a rural secondary school (B) gave a testimony of his own situation: “At one time this constituency was won by opposition. I was afraid

to greet the MP as I feared to be associated with opposition which was a punishable offence” (Teacher interview 2/17).

The results above indicate that political instability negatively affected bridging social capital in secondary schools as teachers, parents and the community found it difficult to work together. It became difficult for school agents to work together as there was no longer goodwill among them. These findings are similar to Pherali's (2016) study in Nepal which indicated that social intimacy between the school and community deteriorated as a result of conflict. If teachers and parents do not trust each other then the education of students is compromised. Ornstein et al (2011:46) asserts that parent-teacher associations “work together in creating a positive learning environment in schools.” Bourdieu (cited in Lee and Bowen, 2006:197) views “social capital as a means to gain socially desirable ends.” This means that the relationship between teachers and parents is important for students’ success at school. Lareau (cited in Lee and Bowen, 2006) argues that Bourdieu’s concept of social capital involves networks which are important for the provision of resources and must be maintained. Relationships between teachers and parents are crucial for schools to access resources used in the field of education. But in this study the struggle or contestations between teachers and parents were worsened by political instability which disturbed norms of secondary schools.

6.9.3 Students and community

“Primary habitus of children is a product of the family socialisation” (Darmody. 2012:533) and hence the importance of parents, the dominant players, in this regard. Communities are important for secondary socialisation. Political instability resulted in the dislocation of some families and a lot of confusion in communities making it difficult for normal socialisation processes to take place as revealed below.

Students who were reluctant to take part in youth activities were met with mistrust in various communities as revealed by a student at a rural secondary school (D): “If we failed to take part in youth activities we were labelled opposition party supporters and that was bad for us and our families” (FGD 4/17). A head of a rural secondary school (D) noted: “A former student was severely punished for putting on a T-shirt belonging to an opposition party which he got when he

visited Harare” (Head interview 5/17). A teacher revealed: “Some students were forced to inflict pain on parents of fellow students when they acted as political youths” (Teacher informant interview 1/17).

The results above reveal that bonding social capital within communities was weakened due to political instability. This is consistent with Catts & Ozga's (2005) suggestion that bonding social capital may be affected by disruptive behaviour. The part played by communities and schools to socialize students was no longer normal as political differences dominated relationships. Some students and parents no longer worked well with each other because of the unstable political environment. Such a situation was not conducive to students' learning as communities were characterised by mistrust.

6.9.4 Relations between parents

Parents of students who belong to the same school are supposed to work together in harmony for the development and success of their school. Many studies (Durisic & Bunijevac, 2017; Okeke, 2014; Gaggio, 2004; Bempechat 1992) have shown that parental involvement is important in the education of students. Other studies have gone further to identify barriers to parental involvement in the education of their children (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Societal factors have been identified as “an impediment to parental involvement” by Hornby & Lafaele (2011:48) who earmark politics as one of the factors. This study has revealed that parents with different political beliefs had strained relationships which made it difficult for them to work together.

A student at a rural government secondary school (E) revealed: “If our parents visited Harare, other parents became suspicious and started to label them as opposition activists” (FGD 5/17). A parent at a rural government school (H) described:

This is a politically volatile area so the school has been caught in between. We used to have an MP from the opposition so the school did not benefit from him as some parents were against him. He did not even visit the school. Parents from the village where the MP came from were labelled and discriminated. So it's difficult for the parents to work together for the development of the school (Parent interview 2/17).

A student at a rural secondary school (H) lamented the division: “There is lot of discrimination based on political parties. Some parents support the ruling party while others support the opposition” (FGD 8/17). At an urban secondary school (G) a student noted: “The school authorities seemed to support the ruling party as the school was used for party activities. This has tended to divide the school as they were some parents who were not happy about this” (FGD 7/17). A student at another rural secondary school (F) blamed leaders for causing division among people:

Leaders encouraged people to hate each other due to political differences. This has affected the development of the school as there is no commitment by some sections of the communities who have been so labelled and humiliated (FGD 6/17).

The citations above indicate that bonding social capital among parents was negatively affected by political differences among parents. Bonding social capital, according to Conrad (2007) is important as it helps people to get along in their everyday lives. Parents who had different political beliefs in communities around secondary schools found it difficult to bond. Thus differences among parents negatively affected the smooth running of schools. Lack of trust in communities surrounding secondary schools negatively affected the development of the institutions. Parents who were labelled opposition supporters found it difficult to participate in school activities due to intimidation by ruling party supporters.

6.10 Responses to political instability by school actors

In an environment characterised by political instability, secondary school actors or agents namely teachers, heads, students and parents devised ways to survive. This is consistent with the characteristics of habitus as conceptualized by Bourdieu and other authors who refined his work. According to Bourdieu (1990:53), habitus is described as “a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures....” Houston (2002:157) elaborates, arguing that habitus “acts as a very loose set of guidelines permitting us to strategize, adopt, improvise or innovate in response to situations as they arise.” In addition Barker (2016:4) points out that habitus “responds to the discrepancies between the demands of new conditions of existence and customary habits through creative reinvention.” From these descriptions of habitus it can be inferred that habitus though permanent or difficult to change, has the capacity to transform when it experiences what McKinnon (2016:537) calls “moments of

discomfort or insecurity.” The moments of discomfort or insecurity in this case are political instabilities.

6.10.1 Teachers and heads of secondary schools

The study revealed that teachers and heads of secondary schools responded in a variety of ways to political instability. Survival techniques which emerged were transferring from schools, and quitting/absconding teaching, supporting the ruling party, migrating to other countries and selective teaching or teaching with care.

6.10.1.1 Forced transfers of teachers or heads

One strategy adopted by the teachers in order to survive the scourge of political instability was to transfer to another school when one felt threatened. Usually this was from rural schools to urban schools or other areas where the teacher was unknown.

A male teacher at a rural secondary school (B) explained: “I was accused of supporting opposition party in 2000. This treatment forced me to transfer from the school and province coming to this school far away from my previous province and school” (Teacher Interview 2/17). A male teacher at a boarding secondary school stated (C): “I know many teachers who transferred to urban secondary schools because of threats” (Teacher interview 4/17). Even heads of schools were also forced to transfer as pointed out by a female teacher at a rural secondary school (D): “A previous head of this school was beaten and forced to transfer” (Teacher interview 7/17).

A student at another rural secondary school (F) said: “Some teachers were victims of political violence which resulted in some being transferred” (FGD 6/17). A parent (4) at a rural government secondary school (E) said: “Some teachers transferred because of the threatening political atmosphere” (Parent interview 4/17). A head at a government secondary school (E) who gave an example of 2008 scenario of teachers’ transfers: “In 2008 many teachers left the school as they feared for their safety during the rerun. Some surrounding schools closed because of intimidation and threats” (Head interview 3/17). A head of a rural secondary school (D) spoke with a tinge of despair: “There was no personal security for teachers. Many teachers transferred for their own safety. As head I failed to stop them because it was a matter of life and death” (Head interview 5/17). A retired education officer summarised the whole problem of teachers transferring: “Some

teachers felt threatened with the political situation in the district. Many teachers opted to transfer to urban schools where there was less political victimization” (Retired education officer 2/17).

The above findings indicate that when teachers experienced challenges as a result of political instability they transferred to safer places. Other studies have revealed a similar trend. For example in Nepal, Pherali & John (2011) showed that teachers transferred because of war. It is normal for teachers to transfer from one school to another but if it is a forced transfer it is problematic as it affects staffing of schools with qualified teachers. Qualified teachers were reluctant to be deployed to schools with records of violence and so such schools would be without sufficient teachers for long periods of time. This negatively affected students learning programme as qualified human capital was forced to transfer. Teachers were responding to political instability which was uncomfortable for them by leaving their schools as a safety measure. They were being innovative and adapting to what was happening.

6.10.1.2 Teachers absconding

Some teachers who experienced political harassment responded by abandoning teaching completely without following resignation procedures. A male teacher at a rural secondary school (D) said: “The former head of this school just left this school without resigning after being accused of spreading information about the ruling party on WhatsApp social media” (Teacher interview 6/17). A student at a rural secondary school (F) pointed out the frequent changes of teachers: “There has been a high turnover of teachers due to political conflicts” (FGD 6/17). A head of a rural secondary school (B) said teachers left schools for safety reasons: “Teachers were threatened by political leaders who boasted that they wanted to beat teachers. It instilled fear in teachers who left for safety” (Head interview 1/17). Another head of a rural secondary alluded to how the education ministry officials helped teachers who were under threat to leave: “Most teachers left the school after they reported to the district offices where they were advised to take leave days so that they would return when the situation had settled” (Head interview 5/17). A former district education officer (2), who was well acquainted with staffing in one of the districts under study pointed out: “Some teachers who felt threatened with the political situation in the district, just absconded or deserted” (Retired education officer interview 2/17). Likewise, a teacher (3) who

had taught at many schools in the province noted: “Teachers were intimidated and harassed which forced teachers to leave without even resigning” (Teacher informant interview 3/17).

The normal practice for teachers if they want to leave the profession is through resignation. The procedure involves giving three months’ notice in order to allow for a process which does not disturb the smooth running of schools. But this study revealed that some teachers left without even resigning because of fear. This is consistent with what was found by Pswarayi & Reeler (2012:10) who said that many teachers in rural areas in Zimbabwe “fled because of political persecution.” If a teacher left without following proper procedures it meant students had no one to teach them for a long time before a replacement was found. Failure to follow procedures also had negative implications for teachers who might not receive a good reference when applying for another job. It also meant the teachers were likely to be unemployed for a period. Students whose teachers left without following the right procedures, were unlikely to complete the syllabus so were ill prepared for examinations. Although what teachers did disadvantaged their students, they were responding to the unfavourable conditions of political instability which threatened their wellbeing. Hence they had to change in order to find other means to survive.

6.10.1.3 Migrating to other countries

The migration of people from one country to another is not a new phenomenon (Villiers et al. 2017) but the high numbers of teachers who left Zimbabwe for other countries seemed to have coincided with the period of political instability. This seems to suggest that political instability contributed to the increased number of teachers leaving the country as revealed in the following citations:

Some teachers responded to the unstable political situation in the country by migrating to other countries, with most going to South Africa, where their skills were required. For example, a teacher at a rural secondary school (D) said: “The former head of this school went straight to South Africa” (Teacher interview 6/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) explained: “Teachers were labeled and harassed which forced them to leave. We are not sure where but we understand many went to South Africa” (FGD 7/17). This was also said by a student at a rural secondary school (F): “Some teachers who left went to countries like South Africa or Botswana” (FGD 6/17). A student at a rural secondary school (E) pointed the subjects which were affected most: “Many teachers

especially for the science subjects left the country for neighbouring countries as their lives were in danger” (FGD 4/17). In addition to the science subjects’ teachers, a retired education officer (2) also said: “Technical subjects were in demand in South Africa as they were required to work in preparation for the World Cup in 2010” (Retired education officer 2/17).

Other authors also found similar results. For example, Villiers et al. (2017) indicated that many teachers in Zimbabwe migrated to South Africa as a result of many factors including political instability. The loss of qualified and experienced teachers negatively affected secondary schools as replacement teachers were usually untrained and lacked the necessary skills to help students learn. They lacked the necessary skills of trained teachers important in teaching and learning. Secondary school teachers were targets of political activists so found it difficult to do their work which forced them to find other means to survive outside the country which was a sign of creative reinvention.

6.10.1.4 Supporting the ruling party

Before 1999, when the Movement for Democratic Change was formed, Zimbabwe was dominated by the ruling party. The country was a de facto one party state before 1999 as the other parties were insignificant and hardly won any seats. But when the MDC came to the scene the political situation changed. There was real opposition in the country which had its base in trade unionism. Teachers were linked to the Zimbabwe Teachers Association (ZIMTA) whose leading members had played an important role in the formation of MDC. At grass roots level teachers appear to have welcomed the formation of the new party without any qualms as they believed the country was a democracy. Some of the teachers unwittingly mentioned the new party as they taught and this became known to local ruling party leaders who then labelled them as opposition activists.

Key informants in this study revealed that some teachers, especially in secondary schools who were generally young and university graduates, showed support for the new party. For example, a retired education officer argued that: “The ruling party felt threatened when some teachers supported the new political party, MDC” (Retired education officer 2/17). Another retired education officer (3) weighed in explaining why teachers supported the new party: “When MDC was formed many teachers began to support it hoping that it would bring change” (Retired education officer 3/17). An experienced history teacher said: “It was true that some teachers

supported the new opposition party as they believed it was their right to support a party of their choice. Little did they know that the ruling party was against such an idea” (Teacher interview 4/17).

The situation for teachers became worse when citizens of Zimbabwe rejected a new constitution in the 2000 referendum. They were accused of having influenced the electorate, especially the rural electorate, which the ruling party strongly believed supported them. Given this background, teachers became targets of the ruling party especially for those who taught in rural schools far away from the influence of civil society and newspapers. Teachers were accused of supporting opposition parties. Earlier on in this thesis evidence which indicates how teachers were accused for supporting opposition parties was presented (6.2.2). Given this overwhelming evidence that some teachers supported the new opposition party and that it created mistrust and hatred between teachers and communities, what was the way forward? A retired education officer said: “When teachers realized that it was not acceptable to the communities to support opposition they decided to be neutral” (Retired education officer interview 2/17). But this was not acceptable to the ruling party supporters, according to retired education officer (2), who continued: “Neutrality was not accepted by ruling party supporters who demanded active participation for the ruling party. Teachers had to be party card holders and attend rallies.” A teacher who was affected emphasised: “For a teacher to be safe, a ZANU (PF) party card was a must” (Teacher interview 1/17).

But just supporting the ruling party was not enough for communities ravaged with unemployment and poverty; teachers had to show their appreciation for the ‘protection’ they were getting. A rural secondary school (B) teacher, who had been accused of supporting the opposition, lamented: “Now and then I was expected to buy beer, drinks for ruling party youths. I sometimes gave them cash” (Teacher interview 2/17). This was also mentioned by a teacher (1) who used to work in rural schools and was affected: “Sometimes the youth would ask me to buy beer for them if I met them at a Local Township, and this became a form of protection” (Teacher interview 1/17).

Some teachers who had been accused of supporting the opposition would go through a process known as ‘clearing their names’ with the local leadership of the ruling party. A teacher (1) who went through this process said: “When I went back to the school a friend accompanied me to see

a local leader of the ruling party to clear myself. I was assured by the local politician that I would be safe if I participated in ruling party activities” (Teacher interview 1/17).

Some studies have shown that the majority of teachers are not interested in politics in Ethiopia (Siyum & Gebremedhin, 2015) but this study have shown that for teachers to be on the safe side they were expected to support the ruling party. The results of this study are similar to findings made by Pherali (2016) in Nepal which revealed that teachers were forced to either support the Maoist fighters or government forces for their own safety. Participation of teachers in politics affected their normal teaching activities. Teachers’ obligation to mark students’ work was affected as time and attention was now divided between school and politics. Such a situation negatively affected students’ learning activities and hence their ability to acquire skills was affected. The results were a clear indication that when the fields of education and politics interact the actors of the political dominate the actors of the educational field.

6.10.1.5 Selective and careful teaching

Teachers realised that some of the political problems they were facing were a result of what they taught. It would appear as if the students shared content taught with the local community who then used it to accuse teachers of not supporting the ruling party and showing their support for opposition parties. Then teachers began to be careful and selective with the material or examples they gave lest they were accused. Selective and careful in teaching are inimical to the ideals of critical thinking and academic freedom (Fessel 2006, Osman 2013). Osman (2013:142) asserts that the obligation of a teacher is to “tell the truth.” Truthfulness is the “basis of critical thinking” (Fessel, 2006:51). Stancato (cited in Fessel, 2006:51) defines academic freedom as “the freedom of teachers to study and teach content-related ideas that may lead to controversy without fear of threats or sanctions.” The narratives below suggest that teachers were afraid to give relevant examples when teaching.

A teacher at rural secondary school (B) believed: “Even our students would report us to political leaders when they thought what was taught disparaged the government” (Teacher interview 3/17). A teacher at a boarding secondary school (C), pointed out: “Teaching particular topics in history for example those to do with dictatorship became risky as students would imply a teacher was referring to the government” (Teacher interview 4/17). A teacher at a rural secondary school (D)

explained: “Teachers’ freedom of speech was gagged as they were not expected to speak or comment about the ruling party. We had to be careful about the use of words. Teachers were afraid to give examples which would be construed to be anti-government” (Teacher interview 6/17).

A student at a rural government school (H) testified: “Teachers were accused of influencing the students as they taught various subjects especially History” (FGD 8/17). A student at an urban secondary school (G) explained: “Teachers were accused of influencing students as they taught any subject so teachers became reluctant to give relevant examples which might be interpreted as speaking against the government” (FGD 7/17). A student at a rural government school (E) gave examples of sensitive topics: “Teachers were afraid to teach about democracy or dictatorship” (FGD 5/17).

A student at another rural secondary school (D) gave examples of subjects that became difficult to teach: “There is no freedom of speech in politics. Subjects that were affected were History, Economics, Commerce or any subject in which teachers may talk about weaknesses of the economy or political systems” (FGD 4/17). A head at an urban government secondary school (A) pointed out: “Political fights among political parties caused fear among teachers which affected how they delivered lessons especially topics which analysed the situation in the country” (Head interview 7/18). A head of a rural secondary school (F) pointed out: “Time of election was risky for us. We had to be careful when teaching subjects like History or Economics as students or parents interpreted the content politically” (Head interview 4/17). The head of a rural secondary school (B) explained teachers’ fears: “Teachers were reluctant to teach about democracy as this was associated with opposition parties. This was despite the fact that it is part of the syllabus” (Head interview 1/17). A teacher who had taught at many schools explained: “For teachers elections time was tough. We had to be careful about what we said in terms of politics or the economy. So we had to be selective when teaching” (Teacher informant 5/17). A history teacher (4), who had the experience of teaching history, described the difficulties he had as a history teacher: “I had to be careful with the examples I gave. Topics on democracy, dictatorship or human rights became difficult to teach. The ruling party and some parents believed that when we taught we were campaigning for the opposition parties. It became a problem to teach on Mussolini or Hitler as some pupils would then make a comparison with our own situation” (Teacher interview 4/17).

The quotations above reveal that teachers were forced to tone down their teaching, especially in relation to examples about democracy, dictatorship, economy or good governance. This disadvantaged students as they learn better by real life examples which teachers were reluctant to give for fear of being victimized as alleged supporters of opposition parties. Teaching without providing necessary examples is not normal and may be regarded as deviating from the expected curriculum. According to Bourdieu (cited in Brown and Czerniewicz, 2014) one of the functions of education is to help students acquire embodied cultural capital such as skills, various competences, knowledge and confidence but when students were not given opportunity to do so it compromised the whole system of education. Failure to follow the curriculum disadvantaged students as their answers when answering examination questions were negatively affected as they would lack important details or examples. In a nutshell it meant teachers and students in secondary did not enjoy academic freedom which is important to expose reality in a variety of views. This suggests that political instability affected the quality of cultural capital in the form of skills acquired in some secondary schools.

6.10.2 Parents' responses to political instability

In a stable political environment parents are expected to be involved in their children's education in order to enhance academic achievement. Literature has shown that parental involvement in children's education is important for academic success (Ahmad, 2016). But this study has revealed that the responses of parents to political instability resulted in reduced chances of parental involvement in their children's education as shown in narratives below.

In most cases parents survived by showing allegiance and support for the ruling party: "Parents who were accused of supporting opposition parties were asked to publicly declare their allegiance to the ruling party and vow never to do it again" (Teacher interview 1/17). A student at a rural secondary school (D) added: "Parents were expected to support the ruling party in order to be safe" (FGD 4/18). A parent at a rural government school (H) said: "Most parents support the ruling party but we have a few who support opposition parties. This has tended to divide the school" (Parent interview 2/17).

In some cases parents were forced to leave their villages. A student at a rural secondary school (F) noted: “Such parents were forced to leave their homes” (FGD 6/17). A student at another rural secondary school added: “I know of a family that left after their houses and other properties were burnt” (FGD 2/17). A teacher at a government secondary school (5) said: “Many children left the school as their parents were forced to relocate after being accused of involvement in opposition politics” (Teacher interview 9/17).

Some parents left the country when they felt threatened with the political environment. A student at a boarding secondary school (C) noted: “I know of two parents who left the country as a result of being accused of belonging to opposition parties” (FGD 3/17). A teacher at an urban secondary school testified: “At one time I had two students who were living with their mothers only because fathers went to South Africa after being accused of supporting opposition parties” (Teacher interview 13/17). A parent at a rural government secondary school (F) pointed out: “Some children in our community were staying with relatives or alone because their parents migrated to other countries when they were accused of supporting opposition parties” (Parent interview 4/17).

Parents responded to the volatile political environment in a variety of ways as revealed above. The unstable political environment created an abnormal situation for some parents which resulted in the separation of parents and their children in secondary schools. Some responses to political instability by parents made it difficult for their involvement in school activities in support of their children’s education. Yet many studies (Durisic & Bunijevac, 2017; Costa & Faria, 2017) show that when parents are involved in the education of their children by interacting with schools there are increased chances of academic achievement.

6.10.3 Students’ responses to political instability

Students in secondary schools are expected to concentrate on school activities. Society expects students to spend most of their time at school as argued by Ngwokabuenui (2015:65) that “the public presumes that schools are the preferred environment to transform productive and useful citizens of any nation.” But Smith (2014:113) observed that “civilians, schools and teachers are increasingly targets of attack as international norms on warfare are disregarded.” The following narratives indicate that students responded to political instability in ways which disrupted their school work and activities.

6.10.3.1 Students' support of the ruling party

Students responded to political instability by supporting the ruling party. A student at a government secondary school (A) said: "Students had to support the ruling party in order to be safe" (FGD 1/17). Similar sentiments were expressed by a student at a rural secondary school (B): "Students were expected to take part in ruling party youth activities like singing and running around (toyi-toyi)" (FGD 2/17). A student at an urban secondary school (7) emphasised the importance of rallies: "Political rallies were a must for us as we were expected to attend as part of the youths. If we failed to attend we were in trouble" (FGD 7/17). Other requirements for active participation were revealed by a student at a rural government school (E): "We were expected to have membership cards, t-shirts, hats (regalia)" (FGD 5/17).

Some students responded to political instability by participating in abnormal activities practiced by political parties. A student at a government secondary school (A) revealed that: "Boys and girls were expected to be in camps. Girls were expected to prepare food while boys took part in intimidating and committing acts of violence" (FGD 1/17). Away from parental guidance and control, students ended up being exposed to: "Drugs and alcohol which made students behave abnormally without fear or restrain" (FGD 6/17). For girls, a student at a rural secondary school said: "Being sexual abused was a way to gain favours from those in charge and receive better treatment" (FGD 4/17).

The above narratives suggest that students' responses to political instability disturbed their school work negatively. Instead of concentrating on school work students ended up being involved in political activities which reduced their chances of acquiring adequate cultural capital to enable them to pass examinations. Most of the students in schools where the research was carried out are from working class or rural backgrounds already burdened with many disadvantages, so being involved in politics at the expense of school activities worsened their situation. A study by Wessel & Hirtum (2013) in Nepal revealed similar results as some students stayed away from school as a result of conflicts between government forces and rebel Maoist forces. Students' participation in political activities negatively affected their school work like doing homework or studying which affected their chances of benefitting from the field of education.

6.10.3.2 Students' transfer to urban areas

Some students in secondary schools left their communities to avoid the political challenges: A student at a rural government school (H) said: "Some of my classmates transferred to Harare or other urban centres to stay with relatives when political challenges intensified" (FGD 8/17). This was also echoed by a teacher at a rural secondary school (D): "Many pupils transferred to urban schools to avoid being used as political youths" (Teacher interview 7/17). A parent at a rural government school (E) added: "Parents transferred their children to urban centres for safety and better education as rural schools here were open to abuse by political leaders" (Parent interview 4/17).

The responses above indicate that some students reacted to political instability by transferring to other schools in urban schools where they lived with relatives. The results are similar to findings made by Dharel et al (2013) in Nepal where parents preferred to send their children to study abroad as a result of political interference in their schools. This meant a change of environment where they lived without their parents. Such a scenario is not the best for children's education as they had to get used to staying with other people who were not significant others. Secondly, transferring of students also affects a student's coverage of the syllabus as schools do not have the same pace or follow the same format in how they cover content. This then suggests that some students who transferred as a result of political problems were negatively affected.

6.11 Conclusion

The chapter analysed the effects of political instability on secondary schools in Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe. The findings of the study suggest that secondary schools were negatively affected by political instability. The themes which emerged from the results were on teaching and learning, pass rates, psychological effects, physical abuse, loss of property, school development, donations and social benefits, social relationships and responses to political instability. Heads of schools and teachers who were supposed to assist students to acquire cultural capital lost authority, status and motivation because political elites in communities no longer trusted them as they perceived them to be agents of opposition parties. Many qualified teachers who had the necessary cultural capital left due to political challenges. Students' motivation to learn and acquire cultural capital was distracted as they were expected to take part in political activities. Parents who were supposed to provide three forms of capital, namely economic, cultural and social

were affected negatively as many lost their sources of livelihood as a result political conflicts. Secondary schools' development was affected as their resources were depleted due to abuse by some political parties, failure to pay fees by parents and failure to get assistance from donors who were barred. The next chapter summarizes the whole research, concludes and recommends.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented, analysed and discussed research findings on how secondary schools in Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe were affected by political instability between 2000 and 2017. This chapter summarises the thesis and major research findings of the study in relation to the research questions. In addition the chapter provides conclusions, recommendations and areas for further research.

7.2 Summary of emerging themes

7.2.1 Effects of economic instability on secondary schools

The first theme revealed that teaching and learning were negatively affected by economic instability. Economic instability resulted in a number of challenges such as teacher and student absenteeism, late coming by students and inadequate materials for school activities which negatively affected the ability of teachers and students to do work as expected in the field of education. Teachers' ability to influence students to learn was affected by their reduced symbolic power caused by their loss of economic capital. Students were not able to benefit from teachers whose dominance as institutional agents had been battered by economic instability. This is explained by Bourdieu's idea (cited in Bearnese and Telford, 2013) that the greater the amount of capital possessed, the more a person is able to influence what is considered to be of value. In this case the capital being referred to was economic capital as teachers' salaries had been eroded by economic challenges. In addition, teachers' symbolic capital in the form of prestige and recognition was affected due to reduced social status. The results of this study suggest that economic instability reduced the economic capital of teachers so they had problems trying to influence activities in secondary schools.

The second theme indicated that economic instability had psychological effects on secondary school actors namely the teachers, parents and students which negatively affected teaching and learning. Teachers and heads of schools experienced stress, demotivation to do work and lack of care for students as a result of economic challenges. Parents struggled to take care of their children in secondary schools which caused psychological stress. Students' motivation to learn was disturbed mainly because there were very limited prospects for employment as the country's unemployment rate was high. Sullivan (2002) argues that a major proponent of the dominant habitus is a positive attitude towards education. The results of this study seem to suggest that economic instability induced a negative attitude towards education due to stress and other psychological effects. This concurs with Bourdieu's argument that "... the system of dispositions towards the school, understood as a propensity to consent to the investment in time, effort and money necessary to conserve and increase cultural capital" (Sullivan, 2002:149). Due to economic stressful situations, teachers, parents and students found it difficult to find the right mental space to do well at school. Furthermore, psychological problems affected social capital at home and

school, resulting in students failing to receive emotional support and encouragement from parents and teachers.

The third theme showed that the social status of teachers was negatively affected by economic instability. The study revealed that in order to survive, some teachers relied on parents for food while others became involved in manual work to supplement their incomes. Teachers' salaries were so low that some people in the community mocked them. Some teachers resorted to dressing in an unpresentable manner as they were unable to afford decent clothing. Such a scenario meant that teachers found it difficult to assume their position as dominant agents in the field of the school/education. Fields are hierarchical in nature (Swartz, 2016), occupied by actors who dominate and are dominated so this meant secondary schools' characteristic of a field was disturbed. This is also explained by Bourdieu's idea (cited in Swartz, 2016) of the field as being characterised by stratification and domination. With teachers' social status lowered their ability to assist students as institutional agents was negatively affected. Their authority within the educational field was under threat.

The fourth theme is that economic instability resulted in weak parental support for their children in secondary schools. This was evidenced in the difficulties they faced in paying school fees and buying uniforms and other school resources. Some parents lost their employment when they were retrenched. In a nutshell some parents struggled to provide for their children in secondary schools as their livelihood were affected by economic instability. Some parents became poor so failed to adequately provide for their children's education in secondary schools. This may be explained by the concept of social reproduction where secondary schools perpetuated the existing social patterns, as they provided justification for social inequalities (Bourdieu cited in Sullivan, 2002). Secondary schools affected by economic instability made it difficult for some students to survive in the school system while those who were better off had no problems so continued to do well. In addition students who had no adequate resources failed while those were better off passed which created inequalities.

The fifth theme is that economic instability negatively affected the administration of secondary schools. Supervision and management of secondary schools were affected mainly because of the weak financial position of schools which had an impact on the provision of resources for use by

teachers and pupils. This concurs with the assertion by Bua (2013:1) that management of schools is affected by the environment in which they operate as the materials and human resources come from the community. This is in line with one of the characteristic of a field: that it is fluid and dynamic as it is changed by internal practices and politics (Webb, 2002).

The sixth theme is that economic instability affected social relationships among actors in secondary schools. The relationship between teachers and parents was affected in positive and negative ways. The positive was when parents realised that teachers were demotivated to teach due to economic challenges, so they assisted them by paying incentives to improve their income. On the negative side, their relations were adversely affected as communities accused teachers of not teaching wholeheartedly and of putting more effort into other activities to supplement their income like teaching extra lessons for extra payments. Teachers accused parents of not paying fees and mocking them due to their low salaries. Teachers' relations with students were mainly affected negatively by economic instability. Students felt that teachers neglected them due to economic challenges which seemed to make teachers irritated and harsh. Teachers felt students no longer respected them due to their bad economic situation. Such an environment in secondary schools led to increased indiscipline. The relationship between teachers and government was affected negatively as teachers accused government of not doing anything to improve their salaries and conditions of service when the economy deteriorated. The government accused teachers of having divided attention as they spent more of their time supplementing their income either by teaching extra lessons or being involved in other economic activities. Relations among students were also affected as economic instability appeared to have widened the gap between students from rich families and those from poor families. Economic instability caused division among parents based on the ability of the parents to pay fees. The relationships which were shown to have been strained due to economic instability exposed a feature of fields as spaces of opposition. Or to put it the words of Bourdieu (cited by Mangez and Hilgers, 2012) "actors are involved in a struggle for the definition of the legitimate symbolic structures". The results seem to suggest that economic instability worsened the relations which were already antagonistic in the field of education.

The seventh theme is how actors in secondary schools responded to economic instability. The actors responded in a variety of ways. Teachers and heads of schools responded to economic instability by strategizing as follows: migrating to other countries, becoming vendors, involving themselves in gold mining, becoming cross-border traders, transferring their children from boarding schools to cheaper day schools, quitting teaching as their profession and starting other careers. Students responded to economic instability in different ways: dropping out of school, transferring to cheaper schools, early marriages, or involvement in deviant activities. Parents' responses included borrowing, doing piece jobs, paying for extra-lessons or migrating to other countries. The responses of actors in secondary schools are in line with Bourdieu's (1990:53) stance that habitus is "a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures..." This is further explained by Houston (2002:157) who says that habitus "acts as a very loose set of guidelines permitting us to strategize, adopt, improvise or innovate in response to situations as they arise."

7.2.2 Effects of political instability on secondary schools

The first theme revealed that political instability disrupted teaching and learning in secondary schools in Mashonaland Central. This was caused by political rallies, accusations levelled against teachers for allegedly supporting opposition parties, use of some secondary schools as bases for ruling party activists especially the youths, increased disciplinary problems among students, misuse of school resources and loss of qualified teachers. Such a situation is indicative of Warde's (2004:12) assertion that a field is "an arena of constant struggle for stakes." This idea by Warde is influenced by Bourdieu's conceptualization of the field as being concerned with stratification and domination (Swartz, 2016). It has been revealed in this study that when the field of education/secondary schools interacts with the political field it is subordinate. This concurs with the idea that fields are hierarchical and that other fields are subordinate to the fields of power and class relations (Mangez and Hilgers, 2012). The political field infiltrated the educational field with dire effects on secondary schools.

The second theme revealed that the quality of teaching and learning was affected by political instability in Mashonaland Central. Teachers were afraid and reluctant to give relevant examples for fear of being accused of indirectly condemning the government and the ruling party. For

example, when teaching topics such as dictatorship and democracy, teachers were afraid that students would infer that they would be referring to the government. So teachers would simply avoid teaching such topics or when they taught them avoid any reference which would be likely to incriminate them. Such new practices as result of political challenges experienced in secondary schools can be equated to Barker's (2016:4) assertion that "habitus responds to the discrepancies between the demands of new conditions of existence and customary habits through creative reinvention." Teachers' normal practice was to teach using examples and giving in depth analysis of various topics but they were forced to change this in order to be safe in a political environment which was unstable. In doing so they compromised the quality of teaching and learning.

The third theme indicated that political instability had psychological effects on teachers, heads of schools, parents and students. The experiences of the secondary school actors as a result of political instability was characterised by fear, humiliation, harassment and threats, stress and reduced motivation to teach or learn. The psychological effects can be equated to what has been termed as habitus dislocation which is an experience defined as a painful dislocation between old and new habitus (Baxter and Britton cited in Lehmann, 2013). This means that the process of adjusting from an environment which was politically stable to an unstable political environment created a change that was painful for the school actors. This caused psychological stress for the school actors which negatively affected teaching and learning.

The fourth theme revealed that teachers, heads of schools, parents and students experienced physical abuse as a result of political instability. Teachers, heads of schools and parents in some secondary schools were physically abused as a form of intimidation to dissuade them from supporting opposition parties. Students were abused when they were forced to participate as political youths, attending rallies or reciting slogans. Students were exposed to violence and drugs when they participated in political activities. Some girls suffered sexual abuse. Physical abuse experienced by school actors as a result of political instability was a clear manifestation of struggles which exist in a field as result of other fields which were more powerful (Lingard et al, 2015).

The fifth theme showed that secondary school development was negatively affected due to political instability. This was mainly because some parents deliberately stopped paying fees as schools were

powerless to enforce rules for fees payment in the face of interventions from local politicians. Heads of schools and parents who were in SDA/SDC were intimidated if they tried to enforce the payment of fees. Economic capital is important for the development of schools as they enhance their capacities to help students to learn.

The sixth theme indicated that political instability resulted in loss of property by some parents which reduced their capacity to care for their children in secondary schools. Participants in the study related how some parents lost their livestock or had houses burnt down when they were accused of supporting opposition parties. The parents so affected became poorer and it became increasingly difficult for them to send their children to secondary schools as they could not afford it.

The seventh theme is that political instability affected donations and social benefits which were supposed to be received by secondary schools. The government of Zimbabwe and ruling party politicians no longer trusted donors and NGOs who they believed supported opposition parties. They made it difficult for such organisations to give assistance to secondary schools. Parents who were alleged to be supporters of opposition parties were denied social assistance. Sheilagh Ogilvie (2004) and Krivokapic-Shoko (2007) argued that social capital promotes closure for those who do not belong to particular groups. In this way it leads to the exclusion of outsiders who are then denied access to information (Burt 2000, Denord et al, 2011) and other resources (Morrow, 2011). As Blair and Carrol (2008) have also noted, “Excessive social capital locks out newcomers.” The close ties of the government and ruling party politicians led to the exclusion of possible donors and NGOs who may have wanted to assist secondary schools.

The eighth theme indicated that social relationships in secondary schools were negatively affected by political instability. For example, teacher and student relations were affected as students were allegedly reporting teachers who taught topics they thought had political connotations. Some students were ruling party activists who believed teachers supported opposition parties so had no respect for them. There was mistrust between teachers and parents in various communities surrounding secondary schools due to the alleged teachers’ support for opposition parties. Relations among parents of secondary schools were affected by political instability as parents who supported different political parties became enemies or did not trust each other. What occurred to

social relationships in secondary schools may be explained by two related concepts. As above, this was a case of social capital in the negative as pointed out by Tamim (2014:5) who argued that social capital is mainly “class based and exclusive.” Secondly this was a case of struggles within a social field as conceptualised by Bourdieu when he said fields are concerned with stratification and domination (Swartz, 2016). This indicates that political instability intensified class division among the actors in secondary schools with those who have political power dominating the field.

The ninth theme revealed that secondary school actors adopted various survival strategies in the face of political instability. Teachers and heads of secondary schools responded by transferring to other schools, absconding from schools, migrating to other countries, supporting the ruling party or adopting careful methods of teaching or avoiding certain topics when teaching. Parents responded by supporting the ruling party, leaving their villages/homes or migrating to other countries. Students responded by supporting the ruling party or transferring to urban secondary schools. The responses of the secondary school actors are indicative of how habitus may be generative as result of political instability in the field of education. Thus Czerniewicz and Brown (2014:4) assert that habitus “enables people to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations.” The strategies adopted by various individuals were based on their habitus as “those with more transformative habitus recognize opportunities for improvisation and act in ways to transform situations (ibid).”

7.3 Conclusions

The first research question was concerned with how decentralised secondary schools in Mashonaland Central Province were affected by economic instability between 2000 and 2017. The study revealed effects which were put into seven themes as indicated above (7.2.2.1). The seven themes may further be categorized into three aspects/issues showing what was affected namely: processes or school activities which encompasses teaching and learning, administration and development; individual level which encompasses psychological effects, social status, weak parental support and actors’ responses; relational effects indicating how relations between the various actors were affected. These effects suggests that the field of secondary schools’ norms and rules were affected making it difficult to function as expected.

The negative effects of economic instability have implications for secondary school education. Education for all will be difficult to achieve due to the effects of a weak economy on school attendance by students and teachers. The quality of education deteriorated due to loss of qualified and experienced teachers and unavailability of resources. The inability of some parents to fund their children's education meant that some students did not have a chance for decent employment which is possible with an attainment of secondary school qualification. Decentralised secondary schools had difficulties in solving problems brought about by economic instability. Although SDA/SDC tried to mitigate the financial problems of teachers by paying incentives, the payments brought other problems like differences in the amount of incentives according to schools. The state intervened by stopping payment of incentives without doing much to improve teachers' conditions of service.

The findings of the study paint a bad scenario of the impact of economic instability on secondary schools in Mashonaland Central Province. The results suggest that the situation was allowed to deteriorate into a hopeless situation with very little assistance from the state that paid low salaries which were affected by hyperinflation. Economic instability has shown that progress made in education can easily be eroded.

The study revealed that economic instability caused secondary school actors to react in the form of various survival strategies. The survival strategies adopted had both positive and negative connotations for the secondary school actors and education in general. For example, teachers found ways to supplement their incomes which improved their standard of living and hence restored their status as respected members of society. But as they were involved in other activities it compromised their commitment to teaching so they did not devote adequate time and effort to assisting students. Some parents went into the diaspora as a way to solve the economic situation they found themselves in but they left their children behind in the custody of other people. Their financial situation may have improved but it compromised the day to day involvement of parents in their children's education. But for students the responses were mainly negative as they distracted them from school and some even dropped out from school.

The second research question was about how secondary schools in Mashonaland Central Province were affected by political instability between 2000 and 2017. The study revealed effects which

were put into nine themes as summarised in section 7.2.2.2. The themes may further be categorized into three aspects of impact namely school processes/school activities (teaching and learning, quality of teaching, school development and donations/welfare), individual level (psychological, physical abuse and loss of property, actors' responses) and social relations (teachers and parents, teachers and students, among students and among parents).

Political instability was detrimental to the proper functioning of secondary schools as the activities in the field of education were negatively affected. Teaching and learning were disrupted by political activities such as rallies and use of school premises by political activists. Such disruptions had a negative impact on the quality of education received by students in secondary schools. This means that secondary schools in the province studied found it difficult to achieve Sustainable Development Goal number 4 which has to do with the quality of education. Failure to achieve quality education for many students had the subsequent effect on students of making it difficult for them to achieve Sustainable Goal Number 8 which has to do with their chances of getting decent work and economic growth for the region.

Political instability was harmful to the well-being of secondary school actors. Teachers, students and parents found it difficult to perform their various roles in schools as the political actors imposed their wishes on school actors as a way to control them so that they would not support other political parties. The results suggest that political instability was not conducive to the work of teachers, parents and students as they were affected psychologically. Some of the school actors suffered as a result of physical abuse. Some lost their sources of livelihood as their property was either destroyed or taken away by force which worsened their economic well-being.

Political instability negatively affected social relations in secondary schools. This implies that secondary schools were now characterised by reduced social capital as a result of lack of trust. Success in education depends on working together of school actors. But when school actors had problems working together due to political instability, the functioning of schools was placed in jeopardy as the actors discredited each other in the course of doing their work. Divisions based on political beliefs affected the smooth running of secondary schools. For example, when some students discredited teachers for allegedly supporting opposition parties it created disharmony in the school which was not conducive to teaching and learning. When parents did not trust teachers

it meant they could not wholeheartedly participate in school activities as required by the dictates of decentralised system.

Political instability led to secondary school actors adopting a variety of survival strategies. The way teachers responded had negative effects on secondary schools as qualified and experienced teachers left, which disrupted teaching and learning. Some responded by migrating to other countries which may have transformed their lives for the better but the schools and students left behind were affected. Other teachers responded by supporting the ruling party willingly or unwillingly which effected their work as they were required to participate in political activities thereby compromising their commitment to work. Parents responded mainly by supporting the ruling party and taking part in political activities which left them with less time to be involved in school activities. Parents who responded by going into the diaspora were no longer involved in the activities of their children as they were far away. Many students responded by supporting the ruling party and taking part in youth political activities which had an adverse effect on school work.

The study has also revealed that the effects of economic instability and political instability are intricately related. This has been shown in that some themes which emerged for economic instability and political instability were the same. For example, both forms of instability affected teaching and learning. In addition, both led to a migration of teachers from Zimbabwe into the diaspora. School actors were psychologically affected by both economic and political instability. The study was not able to establish what exactly caused particular teachers to migrate as political instability and economic instability occurred concurrently. It is also important to note that political instability and economic instability in Zimbabwe began almost at the same time, around 2000, which makes it difficult to distinguish the effects of political instability from those of economic instability. This seems to suggest that there is a link between economic instability and political instability. In Zimbabwe the problem of political instability has been blamed as one of the causes of economic instability.

7.4 Limitations of the study

The study was carried out in one province making it difficult to completely generalise the results to other provinces. But the effects may resonate with how other provinces were affected by economic and political instability. This is because literature review for this study has also shown

that economic instability had negative effects on schools and education in general. The government and other stakeholders involved with education should therefore take note of the results and use them to inform policy on what should be done to mitigate the effects of economic and political instability on secondary schools.

7.5 Contribution of the study

7.5.1 Importance of the study to sociology of education

Literature reviewed and results of this study have shown that economic and political instability has devastating effects on secondary schools. Economic and political instability are occurrences that are worldwide and take place at different times so teachers as main actors should be aware of them. In order to achieve this, issues of economic and political instability should be included in what is taught under the sociology of education as they relate to the concept of habitus. Economic instability affects the normal socialisation in schools so the habitus of the school actors and school as a social institution is affected. Similarly, political instability also affects the enculturation in secondary schools so affects habitus of the actors and school. This will assist educational professionals to deal with problems of economic and political instability when they arise.

7.5.2 Generation of new knowledge

Studies in Zimbabwe, other countries in Africa and other continents have revealed that economic and political instability has negative effects on schools and education in general. Most of the studies used surveys and documents analysis. There was hardly any study which collected primary data from all three actors in decentralised secondary schools on how they were affected by economic and political instabilities.

The struggle among actors in the field of education exists even without economic and political instability but this study has clearly shown that instabilities tend to intensify the contestations in secondary schools. The contestations become open as the actors struggle to survive in an unstable environment. Secondary schools are social institutions dominated by teachers but this study suggests that in economic and political instability the dominance is challenged which makes it difficult for them to fulfill their normal duties and responsibilities. For example, the study revealed that political actors dominated school actors which made it difficult for secondary schools to function.

7.6 Recommendations

- i. The study revealed that teaching and learning in secondary schools was negatively affected by economic and political instability in the province studied. It is recommended that the government and the international community should assist schools to alleviate economic challenges which are experienced instead of leaving decentralised schools to find their own ways to overcome the problems. For example, teachers require special assistance so that they continue their work without too many disruptions due to the poor economy. The government and political parties should ensure that schools are out of bounds for political activities. The police department should be actively involved in protecting schools from the activities of different political parties so that teaching and learning is not disrupted especially during time of elections when campaigning is intense.
- ii. The results of the study indicated that secondary school actors were psychologically affected by economic and political instability. It is recommended that counselling sessions be provided in order to reduce the negative effects on teachers, parents and students. This may be done at school level, district and provincial levels by personnel specially trained to deal with stress related problems. This may enable school actors to cope with psychological problems experienced.
- iii. Political and economic instability caused divisions in secondary schools to widen and intensify. It is recommended that schools actors should be assisted to understand that when a country experiences economic and political problems such divisions are bound to occur but should not lead to conflict which affects the smooth running of schools. This may be done through awareness programmes organized by the government with the support of non-governmental organisations.
- iv. Economic instability affected parents' ability to fund their children's education in secondary schools. This in turn affected the schools' capacity to acquire necessary resources such as books and other teaching materials. It is recommended that UNO agencies such a UNICEF be requested to provide such resources so that meaningful teaching and learning continue to take place despite economic hardships experienced by parents.
- v. Economic and political instability contributed to some teachers migrating to other countries. This affected secondary schools as they lost qualified and experienced teachers.

This may be difficult to deal with as this is a major and worldwide problem which occurs even in times of stability as skilled labour always look for better remuneration and conditions in other countries. It is suggested that to reduce the tide of teachers migrating the government should improve conditions of service for teachers during times of economic stability and instability alike. Teachers' salaries should not be allowed to be low as was the case in Zimbabwe. Low salaries are unable to withstand the challenges of economic instability. The tenets of democracy should be observed and practised by everyone and for everyone, including teachers, so that no one has the power to accuse and punish anyone for belonging to any political party or for their political beliefs. The police and justice departments should play an active role in ensuring that teachers are protected during times of political instability to ensure their safety and hence reduce the rates of migration.

7.7 Areas for further research

- i. The study was carried out in one province, it will be important to find out if similar results may be obtained in other provinces and especially secondary schools in urban areas.
- ii. The effects of political and economic instability on primary schools in Zimbabwe: A case study of Mashonaland Central.
- iii. The effects of economic instability on universities in Zimbabwe between 2015 and 2020.

7.6 Final conclusion

Economic and political instabilities in Mashonaland Central have both negatively affected decentralised secondary schools between 2000 and 2017. The results of the study suggest that economic instability and political instability had similar negative results on secondary school actors and on secondary schools as institutions. Individual school actors were affected by economic instability and political instability which made it difficult for them to fulfill their duties. Secondary schools as institutions found it difficult to operate as conditions became unbearable. In Bourdieu's thinking, secondary schools actors no longer had a feel for the game because of challenges caused by economic and political instability. The study revealed that

economic and political instability worsened relations among secondary school actors. In a normal environment social fields are characterised by struggle and contestations but with economic and political instabilities relations were made worse and differences were widened. Efforts by decentralised schools to try and solve the problems experienced failed to produce desired results. As a result secondary school actors responded in a variety of ways which further affected them and the schools which required their services and participation.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Supervisor's letter of support



RHODES UNIVERSITY
Grahamstown • 6140 • South Africa

SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT ● Tel: (046) 603 8361 ● Fax: (046) 603 7549

15 March 2017

To whom it may concern,

Letter of support for T J Katsinde

This letter serves to confirm that Tapfuiwa J Katsinde is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities at Rhodes University, South Africa. His student number is g15k9432.

The topic of his study is “The impact of political and economic instability on decentralised secondary schools in Zimbabwe: A case of Mashonaland Central Province.”

In order to generate data for this research he wishes to visit some schools in Mashonaland Central Province. The main instrument for data collection will be interviews.

Your assistance will greatly be appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and assistance.

Yours sincerely,


Professor Michael Drewett

Appendix B- Letter to Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (Head Office)

1247 Shashi View

Bindura

15 March 2017

The Director

Policy, Planning and Research

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Harare

Ref: Letter Requesting Permission to Conduct Research in Secondary Schools

I am a registered PhD student in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities at Rhodes University in South Africa. My supervisor is Professor Michael Drewett. His email address is m.drewett@ru.ac.za.

I am a lecturer at Bindura University of Science Education in the Department of Peace and Governance, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities.

The proposed topic of my research is “The impact of political and economic instability on decentralised secondary schools in Zimbabwe: A case of Mashonaland Central.”

The major objectives of the study are

- a) To determine and analyse the effects of political instability in secondary schools in Zimbabwe.
- b) To determine and analyse the effects of economic instability in secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

I am hereby requesting your consent to approach a number of secondary schools in Mashonaland Central. I have attached my registration letter and research proposal. Upon completion of the study I promise to provide you with a bound copy of the dissertation.

Your permission to conduct this study will be appreciated.

Yours faithfully



Tapfuiwa J Katsinde +263772773742, tkatsinde@gmail.com

Appendix C- Permission Letter from Ministry

All communications should be addressed to
"The Secretary for Primary and Secondary
Education
Telephone: 734814
Telegraphic address: "EDUCATION"
Fax: 794505



Reference: C/426/3 Mash Central
Ministry of Primary and
Secondary Education
P.O Box CY 121
Causeway
HARARE

20 June 2017

Katsinde Tapfuirwa J.
1247 Shashi View
P.O Box 1020
Bindura

**Re: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL
PROVINCE: BINDURA, SHAMVA, MAZOWE AND MOUNT DARWIN
DISTRICT: DOTITO, BRADLEY, RUJEKO, MADZIWA, CHIPINDURA,
WAYERERA AND KAHONDO HIGH SCHOOLS.**

Reference is made to your application to carry out research at attached schools in
Mashonaland Central Province on the research title:

**"THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS ON SECONDARY
SCHOOLS: A CASE OF MASHONALAND CENTRAL PROVINCE"**

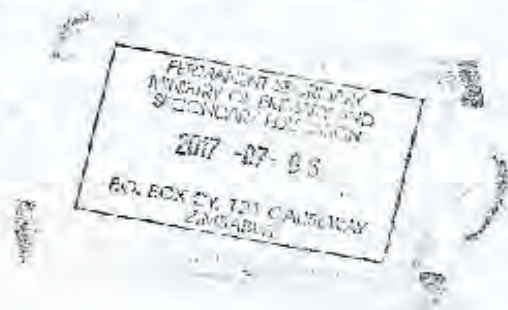
Permission is hereby granted. However, you are required to liaise with the Provincial
Education Director, Mashonaland Central Province, who is responsible for the school
which you want to involve in your research. You should ensure that your research work
does not disrupt the normal operations of the school. You are required to seek consent
of the parents /guardians of all the learners who will be involved in the research.

You are also required to provide a copy of your final report to the Secretary for Primary
and Secondary Education.

Dr. SJ Utete-Masango

SECRETARY FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

cc: PED – Mashonaland Central Province



Appendix D: Permission Letter from Ministry

All communications should be addressed to
The Secretary for Primary and Secondary
Education
Telephonic: ZIMBIA
Telegraphic address: "EDUCATION"
Fax: 794505



Reference: C/426/3 Mash Central
Ministry of Primary and
Secondary Education
P.O. Box CY 121
Causeway
HARARE

20 June 2017

Katsinde Tapfuirwa J.
12/17 Shashi View
P.O. Box 1020
Bindura

**Re: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL
PROVINCE: BINDURA, SHAMVA, MAZOWE AND MOUNT DARWIN
DISTRICT: DOTITO, BRADLEY, RUJEKO, MADZIWA, CHIPINDURA,
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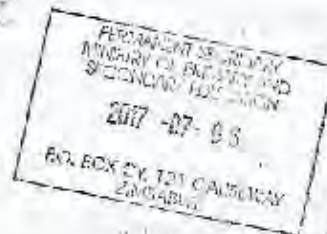
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and Secondary Education.


Dr. S.J. Utete-Masango
SECRETARY FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
cc: PED – Mashonaland Central Province



Appendix E: Letter to Heads of Schools

1247 Shashi View

Bindura

July 25, 2017

The Head

Ref: Letter Requesting Permission to Conduct Research

I am a registered PhD student in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities at Rhodes University in South Africa. My supervisor is Professor Michael Drewett. I am a lecturer at Bindura University of Science Education.

The proposed topic of my research is “The effects of economic and political instability in decentralised secondary schools in Zimbabwe: A case of Mashonaland Central.”

The major objectives of the study are

- a) To determine and analyse the effects political instability in secondary schools in Zimbabwe.
- b) To determine and analyse the effects of economic instability in secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

I am hereby requesting your consent to approach pupils, teachers and parents to carry out the study. I have attached a copy of Provincial Education Director’s letter permitting me to approach the district and your school to carry out this study.

Your permission to conduct this study will be appreciated.

Yours faithfully

Tapfuiwa J Katsinde

+263772773742

tkatsinde@gmail.com

Appendix F: Interview Guide for teachers, heads and parents of Schools

The researcher introduces himself and purpose of his research. The interviewee is shown a letter of permission.

Economic instability

- 1) What shows that the country is affected by economic instability?
- 2) What problems have you experienced as a result of economic problems?
- 3) Effects on the school
- 4) Effects on students
- 5) Effects on parents
- 6) What have you done to solve the problems as a teacher
- 7) Effects on the school
- 8) Hyperinflation effects

Political instability

- 1) Indicators of political instability
- 2) Problems being experienced /or were faced by others
- 3) Effects on parents
- 4) Effects on students
- 5) Effects on the schools
- 6) Episodes which directly affected the school
- 7) Survival strategies by various members at the school

Appendix G: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Introductions

Economic instability

- Indicators of economic instability
- Effects on their personal lives
- Effects on their activities at the school
- Effects on teachers.
- Effects on parents
- Effects on their school work

Political instability

- Indicators of political instability
- Effects on personal lives
- Activities which affect them and the school
- Effects on teachers
- Effects on parents
- What have you done to survive the problems?