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Moonlighting agricultural practices of Ugandan rural teachers and teacher retention

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Abstract

This paper explores a little understood aspect of education labour markets, the tendency for teachers to simultaneously engage in both white-collar side-hustle and blue-collar or land-based entrepreneurial activities. The papers argues that teacher's engagement in multiple activities such as moonlighting and agriculture in rural community enhances their income and this helps to compensate for wage differentials with their urban counterparts. This practice is also associated with teacher retention and community integration of teachers which is a common challenge relating to rural school staffing. We suggest that the phenomenon of non-education related teacher side-hustles, which are typically understood to be problematic, is a more complex issue and a practice which may have potential benefits for hard-to-staff schools.

Keywords: moonlighting, agricultural production, sidehustle, male teachers, rural teachers, Uganda

Introduction

While there are national and sub-national spatial variations in the standards of qualification for public and private school educators, the field of teaching has, in most contemporary jurisdictions been significantly professionalized, standardized and bureaucratized (Tyack, 1974). The history of education is typically understood to be a steady progression from teaching as a marginal and temporary occupation, to a lifelong increasingly professionalized and regulated vocation requiring protracted preservice education, induction, and ongoing professional learning (Perry & Boylan, 2018; Tyack, 1974). This remains the case despite the well-publicised evidence about teacher burnout (Saloviita & Pakarinen, 2021) widespread privatization and quasi-privatization of education (Ball, 2021; Brass & Holloway, 2021), alternative schooling (Illich, 1971; Teitelbaum, 2020) and contemporary critiques of teacher education (Labaree, 2006) and backlash movements such as Teach for America and its offshoots notwithstanding (Blumenreich & Gupta, 2015).

As a result, teaching has come to widely be perceived as a sole form of employment. Professional teachers agree to devote their full time during the expected school days and hours, to give their best efforts to the activities of the school and agree not engage in any manner, directly or indirectly, in any employment, and commit not to accept any other employment whatsoever from any other person, firm, corporation or entity. This conception of professionalization assumes that teachers should avoid engagement in activity that interferes or conflicts with their duties and responsibilities. Images of professionalism tend to focus on virtues such as dedication, service, as well as a largely singular occupational focus therefore most theories of work lack the explanatory power necessary to understand modern work experiences of a growing number of individuals who work multiple jobs for multiple organisations. Scholars have used a handful of terms to refer to moonlighting (see Table 1), but these terms overlap to refer to individuals who work more than one job.

Table 1: Example definitions of moonlighting from the literature

Citation	Discipline	Term	Definition
Paxson and Sicherman (1996)	Economics	Dual jobholding	Holding a second job
Marucci-Wellman et al. (2014)	Health and medicine	Multiple jobholding	Working more than 1 job in a 1-week period
Caza et al. (2018)	Management	Plural careerists	People engaging in two or more jobs simultaneously for identity rather than financial reasons
Nelson (1999)	Sociology	Entrepreneurial moonlighting	Self-employment that occurs as side work taken on in addition to one's 'regular job'
Arcuri et al. (1987)	Psychology	Moonlighting	Holding a second job
Eggleston and Bir (2006)	Health and medicine	Dual practitioner	Physicians employed in government clinics and hospitals (who) also . . .have private practices
Burmeister-Lamp et al. (2012)	Management	Hybrid entrepreneur	Those who maintain a wage job while starting a new enterprise

Source: Campion et al. (2020, p. 169)

Drawing from a synthesis of these terms, we adopt the definition of moonlighting proposed by Campion et al. (2020): "the act of working more than one job simultaneously, including working for employers and self-employment, wherein all tasks, or sets of tasks, are performed in exchange for, or expectation of, compensation." (p. 170). Individuals work several jobs either because they are "pushed" to do so (e.g., financial reasons), or because they are "pulled" into it for professional reasons (e.g., career development) or personal (e.g., psychological fulfillment). Examples of these motivations are indicated in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Categories of motivations of moonlighting

Motivational category	Example motivations
Finances	• Hours constraint • Pay off debts • Meet regular expenses • Insure against job insecurity • Buy something special • Save for the future
Career development	• Heterogeneous job model • Opportunity to learn new skills • Learn about another industry • Work shifts of primary job (e.g., firefighters)
Psychological fulfillment	• Enjoy the work • Identity expression • Desire to mix with other people • Balance out negative primary job experiences • Work–life balance and flexibility

Source: Campion et al. (2020, p. 172)

Regardless of their dedication and responsibility, professional teachers in many if not most parts of the world are often underpaid compared to similarly educated workers (Garcia et al., 2009; Liu & Onwuegbuzie, 2012), and many turns to side-hustles to make ends meet (Arinaitwe, 2021). Educationally related side-hustles such as extramural tutoring or "sharing-economy" selling of teaching resources on online platforms such as Teachers Pay Teachers are well-known side-hustles. A small but growing body of research to the practice of side-hustling has caught the attention of cognate researchers in countries such as Kenya (Muthoni, 2017), Australia (Campbell, 2010), Canada (Breshears, 2019) caused by the precariousness of sole employment to provide the desired income. Bennell (2004)

observes that in Africa and South Asia, earning secondary income is a coping strategy adopted by teachers to meet minimum subsistence needs. Betts (2006) argued that multiple jobholding potentially changes employees' perceptions, decisions and behaviours and may impact their performance, absenteeism and turnover at their primary jobs. There is also emerging analysis in the economics of education that generally argues that teachers' multi-occupational activity correlates with lower student achievement (Elacqua & Marotta, 2020), and that it is a phenomenon associated with teaching in high-poverty schools (García & Weiss, 2019).

Our research has uncovered several different types of teaching-related side-hustle. One is a form of "moonlighting," where schools unofficially share teachers (Urwick & Kisa, 2011), but improves the living wages of teachers (Gyaviira, 2016). In most of the Western industrialised countries, moonlighting is a widespread phenomenon that has by and large gone unnoticed (Blair, 2018; Gilpin, 2020; Heineck, 2009). In some non-Western countries, studies show that holding multiple jobs is a common practice (Chaudhury et al., 2006; Gyaviira, 2016; Timothy & Nkwama, 2017). The second side-hustle is intrapreneurial, where teachers are paid for extra roles within the context of their primary job. Bennell (2004) mapped out intrapreneurial side-hustles of teachers typified by academic production units in secondary schools in Zambia where teachers conducted after-school extension classes in primary schools for additional pay supported by additional fees paid by those parents who could afford it. Another example from Vietnam saw teachers offering two to three hours of publicly funded lessons each day for which pupils pay. Benell also found that in Sierra Leone teachers sell summaries of textbooks as pamphlets in urban secondary schools.

A significant observation in the literature indicates inconsistent or discrepant findings across and within the disciplines regarding whether moonlighting is depleting or enriching for teachers. Research on financial and career outcomes shows moonlighting is generally enriching. In contrast to research on financial and career outcomes, how moonlighting affects performance remains contentious. Scholars are also mixed regarding whether moonlighting is personally (work–life interface, psychological well-being and physical well-being) depleting or enriching but generally supports the depletion logic. The generally mixed results are presented in the table 3.

Table 3: Outcomes of moonlighting in the literature

Category	Outcome	Citation
Financial	Increases earnings	Gruen et al. (2002); Schulz et al. (2017)
Career	Experience skill and task variety, job transitions, and skill acquisition	Brunet (2008)

	Can create meaning	Arora (2013)
	Enrich the overall experience of work due, in part, to taking breaks and recovering between jobs	Caza et al. (2018); Hennekam (2015)
	Liberating because workers had creative freedom and the power to add or drop clients	Fenwick (2006); Fraser and Gold (2001)
	The acquisition of new skills, which can support promotions in primary jobs or transitions into new jobs or occupations, such as self-employment.	Demetry (2017); Panos et al. (2014); Thorgren et al. (2016)
Performance	Less time and inefficiency at primary job	Goodwin and Mishra (2004); Hurka et al. (2018); Ologunde et al. (2013); Walsh (1986); Winters (2010)
	No difference in time spent and efficiency at primary job	Arcuri et al. (1987); Bell and Roach (1990); Bennett et al. (1994); Jamal et al. (1998); Socha and Bech (2011)
	More time on primary job and more effective. For example, stronger work ethic, are less likely to be absent and are more involved in voluntary organizations and attend more meetings	Bennett et al. (1994); Jamal (1981); Livanos and Zangelidis (2012)
	Poorer student outcomes as a result of teacher moonlighting	Elacqua & Marotta, 2020; Garcia & Weiss, 2019
Personal: work attitudes	Less job satisfaction and less organizational commitment	Baba and Jamal (1992); Grant (1977)
	No differences in attitudes between moonlighters and single job holders	among police officers (Arcuri et al., 1987), pharmacists (Guest et al., 2006), rank-and-file workers (Jamal, 1981), teachers (Jamal et al., 1998), and retail grocery employees (Martin & Sinclair, 2007; Socha & Bech, 2011)

	Higher satisfaction in their primary job /weaker turnover intentions	Kumar and Chaturvedi (2017); Martin and Sinclair (2007); Zickar et al. (2004)
Personal: work–life interface experiences	Working more hours than single job holders leaving less time for family and friends and higher levels of work–life conflict	Atherton et al. (2016); Bamberry (2012); Boyd et al. (2016); Marucci-Wellman et al. (2014); Osborne and Warren (2006); Webster et al. (2019)
	No difference	Guest et al. (2006); Kumar and Chaturvedi (2017)
	Enable positive work–family management: the flexibility of this type of arrangement gives individuals a greater sense of control over their work, thus allowing them to manage work, family, and friends more effectively	Clinton et al. (2006)
Personal: psychological well-being	Higher risk of depletion in physically demanding and risky jobs	Firefighting (Boyd et al., 2016), service work (Walsh, 1986) and portfolio Work (Fenwick, 2006)
	Struggle with identity and self-presentation	Caza et al. (2018); Hennekam (2015, 2017); Hennekam and Bennett (2016)
	More energetic, outgoing, and enthusiastic and had higher emotional stability than single job holders	Mott (1965)
	Moonlighters reported less stress than their non moonlighting counterparts	Jamal et al. (1998); Pearson et al. (1994)
	Another job can have a compensatory effect for those who have suboptimal experiences in their primary job	McKenzie (2017)
Personal: physical well-being.	Moonlighters report sleeping fewer hours per night than single job holders	Marucci-Wellman et al. (2014)
	At a higher risk of physical injury at work	Marucci-Wellman et al. (2014)
	Can result in compromised performance	Russo et al. (2018)

Work–life conflict can compound across jobs, leading to headaches, fatigue, insomnia, and less frequent exercise	Boyd et al. (2016)

Source: Campion et al. (2020, pp. 174-177)

Most analysis of this phenomenon suggest that more research is warranted to explore the hybrid nature of side-hustle in teaching in different contexts. This paper reports on how rural teachers in one particular African context combine teaching and non-teaching work. Here we explore how teachers in rural Uganda combine teaching and non-teaching related employment to supplement their incomes, but also how they combine academic skills and training (i.e., their teacher education) with other forms of technical and local knowledge to help us understand how hybrid occupational practices contributes to rural teacher retention. In this paper we focus principally on the question of rural teacher retention as it relates to social, cultural and familial connections as well as moonlighting strategies. How these practices effect teacher productivity and performance are important questions but fall beyond the scope of this analysis.

Methodology

An embedded single case study of two Ugandan districts (Kanungu and Kisoro) selected from 24 districts that the MoPS (2010) described as both hard-to-reach and hard-to-staff was chosen with ethics approval obtained from the relevant authorities. The two districts are adjacent to each other in the extreme southwestern corner of Uganda's international borders with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the west, and Rwanda to the south.

The study began with a reconnaissance and mapping exercise of all 22 rural public secondary schools in both districts; 12 in the Kanungu district and 10 in the Kisoro district. Following the reconnaissance and mapping exercise, a total of four schools, two from each district, were selected for an in-depth case study (Ridder, 2017; Yin, 2014) because they had relatively high teacher retention for their district. In this we followed the lead of Reid et al. (2011) Terra Nova Study seeking to understand the factors that retain teachers in rural and remote schools.

The headteachers of all four schools agreed to participate in the study and were requested to invite all teachers who were in school at the time of the researchers' visits for an information session. In these meetings, teachers could meet the researchers to build rapport and trust, review ethical considerations and complete consent forms. The researchers explicitly requested teachers' voluntary and anonymous participation in the study during the information session in the staff room. The headteacher could not find out which teachers had volunteered. Each headteacher was also asked the addresses of all members of the Parents & Teachers Association (PTA) executive committee, members of the Boards of Governors (BOG) and five key community leaders. In this way we could conduct interviews without disclosing to the headteacher the participants who eventually expressed interest to

participate in the study. A total of 31 participants were selected including four head teachers, three PTA chairpersons, two BOG chairpersons, two community leaders and 20 teachers.

Thus, a combination of opportunistic and purposeful sampling techniques (Ritchie et al., 2003; Robinson, 2014) was used to select all participants. These techniques allowed for on-the-spot sampling decisions that emerged during fieldwork (Suri, 2011). Data were gathered through document analysis and semi-structured interviews (Creswell & Poth, 2017). To establish rapport, there was a prolonged and intense exposure with participants within their context. An average of two weeks per study site was spent and eight months of the entire data collection process was spent engaging with participants. As a result, multiple perspectives were collected and understood and hence reduced potential for social desirability responses in interviews.

Using Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis, data were analysed deductively and inductively using an iterative process (Bazeley, 2013) to re-identify themes. First, a verbatim transcription was created for the audio recorded interviews for member checking (Birt et al., 2016) , coding and analysis. There was repeated reading of the transcripts, searching for meanings and patterns. All data was read at least twice before coding began and rereading continued throughout all steps of the analysis and writing.

As an initial step, a deductive, theory-driven analysis (Gibbs, 2007) was used, that is, a codebook was developed from literature reviewed, key summary points identified during data collection as well as personal hunches gained from the researchers 'years of experience in living and working in rural areas. However, further rereading led to clearer insights about the interview data (DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2011) and a shift from theory-driven codes to data-driven codes that closely suit the nuances of participants and context. Subsequently, the initial theory-driven codes were aligned with data-driven codes as a blueprint to generate trustworthy codes. The codes were collated into broader themes by looking at the list of codes and their associated extracts to find matching patterns. A tree map or hierarchy of codes was drawn using NVivo and codes were moved around to identify those that fit together to form themes.

Consistent with Braun and Clarke (2019) and Guest et al. (2011), some themes were collapsed into each other (those that had little data to support them), some themes were dropped (those that were not coherent with the developing pattern), and other themes were broken down into separate themes (those that had a large, diverse data set). This paper reports one of the themes, teacher side-hustles. The first author conducted all of the interviews and in reporting the findings, schools' and participants' names are anonymised to protect confidentiality.

Findings

In analysing the interview data, the theme side hustle emerged with three subthemes which are presented in this section. These subthemes were: land purchase and land rent from community, side hustle in agriculture production and agribusiness, side hustles in non-teaching roles at the primary job and moonlighting in other schools.

Purchase of land from the community

Nearly all interviewed teachers mentioned land possession as a key factor that influenced their decision to stay or leave their current workplace. Teachers' investments in immovable assets, such as land and houses, provided a sense of accomplishment and membership in community. Teachers regarded possessions as a part of self and assets which composed a totality that was considered when they chose where to live and whether to remain in the rural area. Due to their low salaries, teachers were only able to buy small pieces of land rather than large pieces of land in one purchase. Social interactions with potential sellers within the community enabled teachers to negotiate the terms of land purchase. In the words of one head teacher::

> I am here but I am a farmer. I have a farm and most of that money I have accumulated it through my working in rural areas. I got the land because I was working in rural areas. If I were working in town, I would not have got a chance to buy it because I have continued increasing the acreage. I was buying in pieces and adding on. When you are nearby the community, they run to you to buy small pieces of land and eventually you accumulate. I am telling you, as of now, even if you bring a billion (Uganda shillings), I will not accept it for my land. I have bought it for nearly 20 years to bring it to a farm level where animals can stay. The person who was born in rural but goes to work in urban areas is completely detached from his community and members will not turn to him when selling land. He enjoys the town life, which is a bit expensive, and therefore saving with little income may not be possible. If he saves, he will maybe buy a vehicle, construct a house and you think you are satisfied but that one in the village, when you calculate in terms of asset accumulation, he might be far ahead of you. (Jeremy, headteacher Cressy High School)

Jeremy illustrated a common practice for most rural teachers who were both teachers and farmers. Jeremy reported that through a gradual process and because he remained working for a long period in the same community, he accumulated land that he would not be able to purchase working in an urban school or far away from his family home. Similarly, Kevin described the process to acquire land:

> as you work, you can easily interact with the community. At times where you are talking, you find someone is selling a piece of land. And it becomes easier for you to buy before even that one (someone) in Kampala (very far away urban city) comes. When it is a small piece of land, someone from Kampala may not be notified by the seller and he may as well not be interested unless it is a big piece of land. But at the end of the day, you find you have accumulated a lot before he can even imagine (Kevin, teacher Riverside High School).

Kevin showed that access to crucial information was available mainly to those living in the community. Interaction of teachers with members of the community helped connect the seller and the teachers. He further reported that teachers were fortunate to negotiate terms of purchase affordable for their flow of income such as instalment purchase. Rural teachers perceive personal development in land investment more so than mutual funds, stocks and technology as was perceived to be the case in urban areas. In addition, newcomer teachers who bought land and used their land for farming in workplace districts were perceived as new members of community. This was observed by Terry who said:

> Incidentally, many of them who are coming here are buying land here. They are not going back. They are settlers now, like those from Kabale, the land from their place is much more expensive and even few are willing to sell their land in Kabale. So many of them who are coming here, they buy land and settle here. They are becoming citizens of the area (Terry, Community leader Riverside High School).

Terry's comments illustrate how land ownership is central to rural teacher retention. The ownership of land integrated a teacher in community as reported by Duncan:

> People may resist to be transferred because they have integrated into the community. The moment you become integrated, even if you are from Kabale or Kisoro (adjascent districts) when you reach here, like for example I have like three teachers who are from Kabale they have bought land here, they have built houses there. Those ones now they have made it their homes and they do not think like going away, because they some attachment in this area (Duncan, headteacher Riverside High School).

Duncan reported that teacher's personal investments tied them in the place. Norman, a teacher who did not grow up in the community where he was teaching, reported:

> I bought a small land which had a small house. So, I am in my own house, my own home. Because I stay in my home, I do not feel any problem. (Norman, teacher Riverside High School)

Norman was the most community integrated teacher of all newcomer teachers interviewed. The ownership of property in the community indicated both economic and psychological investment in the community which strongly influenced teachers such as Norman to stay.

Land rent from community and school

When a teacher enters a rural Ugandan community they will not typically own land locally. However, in rural areas, it is assumed that land is a crucial resource for sustenance. We found in this research that teachers were supported by the community to obtain land for farming. Members of the wider community rented (or sold) land to teachers. For example, James said, 'There are some people in villages who normally hire (rent) land. You hire [sic] for a year or six months. Those people do not have to be known to you. The community is open to hire out their land to anyone' (James, teacher Prospect High School). James reported that the community was willing to support teachers through the rent of farming land. This was mutually beneficial to both the members of the community who obtain land tenants and earn income from unused land, and for teachers who obtain land for farming to sustain their families. This mutuality influenced local community to support and retain teachers irrespective of their teaching role in schools. Teachers built a relationship with the landowners and employed members of the local community as farm workers as reported by Fletcher:

> I have somewhere I rent land, at least I have some crops there. At times I do not buy food. I may not even buy food for a whole month. So, I hire cheap labour from members of the local community and my wife supervises them to work in the land we hire (Fletcher, teacher Riverside High School).

In addition, rural schools also rented land to teachers and, therefore, schools proactively assisted teachers to engage in farming as a way of reducing food expenses. Silas put it this way:

> Here, the school has 15 acres of land and we have the land committee chaired by the Deputy headteacher. So those interested in doing agriculture activities, submit applications and they are given plots where to dig. Each teacher is provided a minimum of one acre. Some of them are looking after chicken (Silas, headteacher Lilydale High School).

Gad was one of the beneficiaries of the land which the school rented out to teachers. He said:

> I like to dig. So, around my small house where I reside (in the staff quarters), I have small garden activities, which can make me busy when I am out of the school and make supplementary food. I have a little banana plantation, I grow some beans and vegetables like spinach, tomatoes, and others. I use intensive agriculture (Gad, teacher Brooks High School).

We found that both the rural community members and the schools rented land for farming to teachers. This practice integrated teachers into the community and effectively installed some as small scale farmers and employers in the local economy.

Agriculture and agribusiness in community

Agriculture was typically reported as the backbone of teachers' livelihood and considered the prime source of economic security, social prestige, and self-identity. The cost of living for teachers in rural areas was reduced by their involvement in small to medium scale food production. Most participants agreed with Stanley who stated: "teachers' income is being subsidised by what they do from the gardens. So, in terms of income, there is that kind of job satisfaction" (Stanley, BOG Chairperson Prospect High School). This additional income activity was a practice supported by headteachers and other local school authorities. For example, Albert said, "We have been encouraging them to do other income generating activities like farming and I believe that thing has helped us and them to keep here" (Albert, headteacher Prospect High School). Albert reported that the teachers' farming activities helped the school retain teachers and the teachers stay because of meeting their financial needs. Similarly, Duncan reported:

> I am one of the headteachers in Kanungu District, who encourage teachers to work hard. For example, they go in those surrounding villages, they buy land, they plant trees, they plant coffee, they plant tea – those ones are motivated to stay because when they go away, their fields will not be managed well. They feel motivated in working here because they have made some investments in the place, including myself. I am a tea farmer, I am a banana farmer, I am a cattle keeper. Therefore, I feel like staying around because if I go away, my assets will not be managed well (Duncan, headteacher Riverside High School).

Albert and Duncan show that the school payments did not provide sufficient income for teachers and, therefore, the headteachers encouraged teachers to diversify and generate income producing activities. All teachers reported engagement in farming which lessened the dependence on a regular salary from the school. In short, the teachers stayed longer when able to do private farming. For example, Grant said:

> I also practise some little farming where I get food to sustain my family as I budget my little income I work for. I plant beans, maize, sorghum some little banana plantation. Part of it I sell and another part I consume (Grant, teacher Prospect High School).

Grant was engaged in farming to supplement income from his teaching job. Similarly, Leo reported:

> when you go home you feed on your own food which you have grown (from your garden). So, that is the thing which keeps us moving. In addition, I do not rent a house, I stay in my own, I eat what I have planted, so life becomes a bit easy (Leo, teacher Brooks High School).

In addition to subsistence or market gardening some teachers engaged in livestock farming and poultry keeping. They mostly had both perennial crop farming such as tea, coffee,

bananas and trees, and seasonal crop farming such as beans, onions, and potatoes. The ownership of immovable assets and perennial crops encouraged teachers to stay longer to continue to manage their farms.

In some cases and in addition to farming, teachers ran agribusinesses that sold their farm produce, as reported by Lewis:

> I grow coffee. I also buy coffee from other farmers. I do some business. I deal in coffee seeds. But basically, that work is handled by my wife. I leave her with money, she also has some money and she buy. The business is in my name, but we do the business together with my wife (Lewis, teacher Brooks High School).

Similarly, Kevin reported:

> I have a butchery in the nearby trading centre. If it is not a community buying from me, I would be out of business. We have other teachers who are having some small shops around. My boss has tea plantations, two fuso canter trucks (brand of vehicle) for carrying construction things and he employs very many members from the community… like 20 people. (Kevin, teacher Riverside High School)

Kevin, was an entrepreneur like other teachers who own diverse business interests. For instance, teacher ownership of grocery stores in rural towns is common because of the lack of supermarkets in rural areas. These small, independent enterprizes also provide industrial commodities purchased from urban areas. With these multiple activities near their workplace, teachers were able to generate reasonable income that improved their welfare and encouraged them to stay, running their income generating activities alongside teaching responsibilities. Because of such activities, teachers reported that the earnings from farming and other activities compensated for low salaries and wage differentials with their urban counterparts.

Side-hustles in non-teaching roles at primary job

Because of low salary, there is an expectation that the salary will be augmented by allowances. The amount of allowance a school pays to its teachers plays a significant role in the attraction and retention of better-qualified teachers. Typically, due to differences in incomes, rural teachers receive less allowance than urban counterparts. Since rural schools charge low fees per child per term, headteachers of these schools have little money at their disposal to pay teachers well. Teachers shun those non-teaching responsibilities unless there is a reasonable additional allowance attached. Each school determined extra activities and assigned them to teachers and these attracted an allowance. Therefore, similar extra duties attracted allowances in some schools yet did not attract allowance in some other schools. This also meant that school transfer was sought in order to maximise incomes. Teachers who

accepted these roles are paid extra allowances by the locally-generated revenue at the school. These roles are done alongside direct class teaching time.

Individual teachers were assigned extra responsibilities in certain schools which were categorised as "overtime teaching" and "non-teaching duty" which attracted allowances that improved their gross salary. Non-teaching duty meant any work outside the normal scope of the teacher's official duties assigned to a teacher by the school administration. This assignment involved temporary additional responsibilities and required the direct use of the teacher's special talent or professional skill or his or her active participation in the actual work. Most frequent non-teaching roles include administrative roles like Director of Studies, Head of Department, Class teacher, Food teacher, Senior woman teacher, Housemaster, Sports teacher, Staff PTA representative, Chairperson Electoral Commission, Chairperson Contracts Committee. Other common non-teaching allowances were for supervisory work such as: day duty, weekend duty, and night prep supervision. Gideon commented, 'With my hard work, I have been given a lot of responsibilities and financially they support me very well.' (Gideon, teacher Brooks High School). Gideon reported that engagement in non-teaching roles attracted allowances.

Overtime teaching roles meant any period of teaching, in the interest of the school, assigned to a teacher by the school administration on weekends, public holidays, before/after school official working hours or in excess of 16 hours in any single week, from Monday to Friday. In most schools, overtime was termed 'remedial teaching' as this category of activity allowed for the collection from parents of additional monies permitted by the Ministry of Education.

Overall, the perception of the participants was that these allowances were less than what their counterparts earned in either urban areas or other rural schools where parents were more affluent, but they were highly valued and important as a way to boost employment income.

Moonlighting at other schools

In this research we found that teachers preferred employment in rural schools near other schools rather than in more isolated rural schools because it allowed for additional employment in proximate schools. This 'additional employment' was described by teachers as their 'moonlighting' side hustle. Our data showed that most rural teachers taught in more than one school. A common report was, 'I have another school, which is still in the nearby town. The presence of nearby schools that present opportunity for part-timing also contributes much to my stay' (Brian, teacher Kings Meadows High School). When taking a position, teachers considered the 'availability of other nearby schools to moonlight in' (Arthur, headteacher Kings Meadows High School). Headteachers supported the practice of 'moonlighting in other schools' to retain teachers. For example, Duncan said, 'In my timetable, I accommodate that

because I know they teach in other schools and for us our timetable accommodates a teacher for three days. I encourage them to work to bring some income' (Duncan, headteacher Riverside High School). The practice of holding more than one job was perceived as a coping mechanism which helped compensate for the low salaries. Stanley explained: 'It is not appreciating it. I would talk of coping mechanisms. There is nobody who does part-timing and likes it. It is a coping mechanism so that maybe they can get a package to meet their needs' (Stanley, a BOG Chairperson for Prospect High School). The interapreneurial practice of moonlighting supported low salaries, as reported by Felix:

> The money I get from the other side (side hustle teaching job) has facilitated me to keep coming here (primary job). In case here we are not paid on time it facilitates and likewise, the other side is also facilitated by the money I get here (Felix, teacher Kings Meadows High School).

Whereas teachers were able to supplement their regular salaries with extra jobs, the practice of moonlighting in another school was reported to negatively impact effective teaching. For example, Francis said, 'we are forced to teach in other schools and sometimes it is bad because one may not deliver very well' (Francis, teacher Kings Meadows High School). Furthermore, moonlighting meant that the Ministry of Education policies re full-time teachers required to be at workplace for all the school session time, were negotiated with their headteachers to condense the working days to accommodate this practice. This employment pattern showed a policy gap that teachers and schools have worked around to give a reasonable income to their teachers. A common statement from teachers was, 'I also teach in another school though I don't know whether Government allows it, I don't have to hide it from you' (Gerald, teacher Kings Meadows High School). Teachers expressed that the policy was silent on the matter of 'part-timing' yet all school authorities encouraged the practice as a mechanism to ensure a sustainable income for their teachers. Consequently, teachers had apparent leeway to engage in multiple jobholding in preferred areas with neighbouring schools.

The data showed how rural teachers managed to piece together a lifestyle that was reasonable despite the initial low pay. While the salaries and incentives from both the Government and school were not enough individually but when packaged together with side-hustle activities, they provided a reasonable income to encourage teachers to stay. In short, teachers augmented their regular income by multiple job holding.

Discussion

The side hustles reported several ways in which Ugandan rural teachers were able to engage in as both teachers and farmers. As stated earlier, this paper reports the theme from the research question sought to understand why some teachers stay while others leave Ugandan rural public secondary schools. The paper has focused on the complexities of teachers' side hustle activities to teacher retention in Ugandan rural public secondary schools. These complexities are discussed below.

Land as a cultural and economic possession

The native teachers owned land both as a result of an inheritance from extended family and through gradual purchase from community at prices and terms suitable to their income. This results, over time, in expanded land ownership. This acquisition process of land expansion for farming and family property wealth was desired by most teachers interviewed. The newcomer teachers who reported they were tightly integrated into their school's community were landowners and had purchased property/land from the rural community which, in turn, strengthened their ties to the community. This participation in local lifeways and the acquisition of resources provides both economic resources to underpaid teachers but also integrates them into a rural sociocultural situation.

These teachers built their houses and carried out agriculture production on the land, a factor discussed below. Newcomer teachers who preferred to purchase land and engage in farming in their place of domicile – not in their current teaching area, intended to leave. This pattern is consistent with research in China (Xu et al., 2019) and Australia (Baldwin et al., 2017) - attachment to land ownership influences teachers to stay. In Australia, for example, rural land ownership has been viewed as an attractive lifestyle choice for urban dwellers (Gill et al., 2010). This present study found that land ownership in rural areas served both cultural reasons (illustrated by the cases such as that of teacher Leo) and economic reasons (illustrated by cases of land use in agricultural activities by numerous rural teachers interviewed) to enhance teacher retention.

There is considerable work in the field of rural education and in the history of education that has documented the tension between rural lifeways and the pedagogical and bureaucratic/administrative practices, policy and curriculum of modern education systems (Author 2, 2020; Theobald, 1997). What our research here illustrates is that in this context, rural teachers, administrators and community members operate beneath the bureaucratic and regulatory radar to develop hybrid practices that integrate state educational provision and the situational exigencies, affordances and opportunities available in rural communities. Reid et al. (2011) also found that in the rural Australian context, community integration is foundational for newcomer teacher retention.

Side-hustles in agricultural production and agribusiness in the local community

Consistent with some of the international literature from the Democratic Republic of Congo (Kisumano & Wa-Mbaleka, 2017), Indonesia (Suryani, 2017) and Sweden (Lindström & Mispelaere, 2017; Westberg, 2019), our data showed that rural Ugandan teachers were integrated in rural agricultural production as a way of life. Our data confirm these conclusions in the Ugandan context and also showed

that rural school administrators and members of the wider rural community rent (or sell) land to teachers for small-scale farming to supplement income from their Government or school salary. This is consistent with research elsewhere which found that successful rural teacher retention was linked to 'what one does in their environs' (Reid et al., 2010). Teachers engaged in farming as a way of life to fit in with what other rural residents do and as an important source of livelihood providing food security for their families as discussed in earlier sections. Teachers' farms were often sources of employment for members of the wider rural community.

Internationally, teachers who engage in the rural economy have been found to stay longer (Reid et al., 2011). The findings reported that teachers operated businesses that included grocery stores in rural towns, school canteens, money lending business, agribusiness and private schools to supplement their income. Teachers' businesses were run by their spouses and were more common in rural towns because of the lack of supermarkets in rural areas. Internationally, school canteens are owned by school councils to promote student nutrition such as in Australia, (Drummond & Sheppard, 2011) and India (Rathi, 2018) and there seems to be no literature from Western countries on teacher ownership of school canteens, rural grocery shops, agribusinesses or private schools. The study's findings showed that teachers engaged in businesses that were not necessarily aligned with their skills or teaching qualifications, but rather, ventures that fit the rural opportunities. Teachers were able to generate income from multiple activities near their workplace and improved their welfare and encouraged them to stay running their income=generating activities alongside teaching responsibilities.

Side hustle in non-teaching roles at the primary job

Involvement in non-teaching roles provided an opportunity to be involved in the school's decision making and also provided extra financial benefits. This built the teachers' psychological and professional bond with the school. The extra non-teaching roles were concurrently performed alongside official teaching duties. However, occupying teachers with non-teaching responsibilities meant a reduction on the amount of actual teaching they did. Internationally, the engagement of teachers in non-teaching roles has been seen as work overload that results in teacher exhaustion and attrition (Buchanan et al., 2013; Easthope & Easthope, 2000; Williamson & Myhill, 2008). This study established that teachers perceived extra school roles as forms of motivation and integration in decision making that enhanced their commitment to stay. It appears from this study that teachers negotiate with the school leadership to be assigned less classroom teaching to have more available time for other non-teaching roles that attracted financial benefits and social status in the school. This finding agrees with international research where teachers requested multiple in-school jobs as a way of increasing their livelihoods in rural areas (Sharplin, 2008).

Side hustle moonlighting in other schools

The data showed that teachers desire rural schools close to other schools where they engage in moonlighting as an extra job. The primary job of teaching was not able to fully meet the financial needs of teachers and, consequently, they coped by holding multiple jobs by engaging in activities that sustain their livelihood, namely, extra in-school duties, teaching in more than one school, farming and business, consistent with research in US (Ames et al., 2006; Chandler, 2009), Canada (Blair, 2018) and Sweden (Lindström & Mispelaere, 2017; Westberg, 2019). Consistent with earlier research, this pattern of moonlighting in multiple schools is clandestinely negotiated by the teacher and school administration (Urwick & Kisa, 2014). The findings agree with prior research in US where the practice results in low psychological contract fulfilment (Conway & Briner, 2002) and high employee mobility (Pouliakas, 2017). The respondents noted that multiple moonlighting jobs resulted in teacher exhaustion. The practice corrupts standards as it impacts on a teacher's ability to focus on their students (Blair, 2018).

Conclusion

We think the most intriguing and perhaps most important overall conclusion of this research is that teacher side-hustles in rural communities take a different shape in particular locales and are themselves quite diverse. It is common to frame "additional" work that teachers do in deficit terms, whether it be work that is related to education (such as tutoring, extra duties or selling lesson plans on the internet) or unrelated to education such as the agricultural activity we present in this paper.

Econometric analysis of this phenomenon is both new and emerging and incomplete in the sense that it only focusses on measured aspects of teacher "productivity" such as standardized test scores. We conclude that by engaging in occupational practices that are common in the community, that it is also possible that teacher retention is promoted by teacher side-hustles. These activities seem, in this research, to integrate teachers into rural communities causing them to be more invested in people and place. At the same time, these teachers may also be learning crucial sociocultural lessons about the lifeworlds of their students, potentially making them more sensitive, place-oriented and culturally responsive teachers. In many rural and remote contexts a key struggle for educational provision is simply keeping teachers in remote communities (Green & Reid, 2021) and the problem of rural teacher retention has led to the developpment of "home-grown" teacher programs (Gereluk et al., 2020). The centrality of land as a cultural and economic anchor in rural Uganda, for instance, appears to be integral to teacher retention, sustainable incomes and community integration. Finally, it might also be said that teacher participation in agricultural activity is not only self-sustinence and commercial activity, it also draws upon Indigenous practices that insure food security for a low income occupational group (i.e., Ugandan rural teachers).

It is clear to us that the relationship between the professionalization of teaching and the idea that teaching is a sole career, rather than something a person does in combination with other economic activities, is a more complex problem that should be understood situationally. It is equally clear that the conditions that support single-focus teachers simply do not exist everywhere. Yet established hybrid occupational practices such as the ones we analyze here might provide stable incomes and forms of community integration that have positive dimensions. Questions concerning the complexity of teachers' professional, economic and social lives in diverse global contexts merits further research, and partiularly forms of qualitiative analysis that seek to understand the meaning making and lived experience of rural teachers. Further research is needed in multiple geographic areas around the world. Additionally, how moonlighting impacts student outcomes is not well understood and apart from a small number of studies (e.g., Elacqua & Marotta, 2020; Garcia & Weiss, 2919) this aspect of multioccupational practies of teachers requires further research and analysis. While we conclude that teacher side-hustles can support retention of teachers in rural areas, how this retention then translates (or does not translate) into better or worse outcomes remains largely unexplored.

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