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The role of teachers in improving learning in Burundi, Malawi, Senegal and Uganda: great expectations, little support

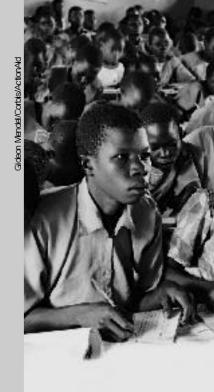
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The Improving Learning Outcomes in Primary Schools (ILOPS) Project | Research report on teacher quality

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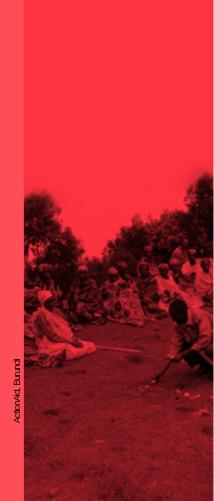


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Acronyms

ADEA Association for the Development of Education in Africa

CCTS Coordinating Centre Tutors, Uganda

CESCR Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

CONFEMEN Conference of Ministers of Education of the Francophonie

(Conférence des Ministres de l'Education des pays ayant le français

en partage)

COPE Complementary Opportunity for Primary Education, Uganda

CRC Covenant on the Rights of the Child

CSO Civil Society Organisation

EFA GMR Education for All Global Monitoring Report

El Education International

EFA-FTI Education for All – Fast Track Initiative

ESF Exogenous Shock Facility

GCE Global Campaign for Education

GDP Gross Domestic Product

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ILO International Labour Organization

ILOPS Improving Learning Outcomes in Primary Schools Project

IMF International Monetary Fund

INSETIn Service Education and Training, MalawiIoEInstitute of Education, University of London

JCE Junior Certificate of Education

MIITEP Malawi Integrated In-Service Teachers Education Programme

MSCE Malawi School Certificate of Education

NSTED National Strategy for Teacher Education and Development, Malawi

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PASEC Programme for Analysing Education Systems

(Programme d'Analyse des Systèmes Educatifs)

PRGF Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility

PSI Policy Support Instrument
PTA Parent Teacher Association

PTR Pupil-Teacher Ratio

PTTR Pupil Trained Teacher Ratio

SACMEQ Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring

Educational Quality

SMC School Management Committee

SSA Sub-Saharan Africa

TDMS Teacher Development Management System, Uganda

TT Teacher Training

TTSS Teacher Training Support System, Senegal

TU Teachers' Unions

Executive summary

Understanding what is happening with teachers' availability, training and quality is one of the most pressing issues facing education in Africa today.

Over the past decade many African countries have been reducing their investments in teacher training and recruiting non-professional teachers both as a cost-cutting measure and as a quick-fix solution to the teacher shortage. The full impact of this trend is only now being felt as the teaching profession fragments and learning outcomes deteriorate.

In 2008, ActionAid, the Institute of Education, University of London, and partners in Burundi, Senegal, Uganda and Malawi compiled evidence on issues impacting on the teaching profession, including recent trends in the recruitment of teachers, their pay levels and training. They also tabulated how teachers and parents interacted both within school governance structures and through various other activities to support children's learning. The Improving Learning Outcomes in Primary Schools (ILOPS) Project was supported by a grant from the Quality Education in Developing Countries Initiative of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation in partnership with the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. The ILOPS Project was jointly designed and implemented by a group of key stakeholders teachers, teachers' unions (TUs), parents, pupils, education coalitions, research institutes and the Ministry of Education – over an 18-month period. Participants engaged in a revolutionary collaborative research process that involved interviewing 6,850 stakeholders, reviewing national policy documents and programmes and conducting an international literature scan. This research brief shares the outcomes of the teacher-related research. Similar reports are also available on parental participation (Marphatia et al., 2010) and the methodology (Edge et al., 2010) used in the ILOPS participatory research process.

During the year-and-a-half long ILOPS Project, participants researched the levels of qualification, training, contract and remuneration of teachers in 240 schools across the four countries. These efforts were particularly challenging because of the absence of

centrally collated data on teachers' academic achievement and training. The multiplicity of organisations and structures that recruit and employ teachers added to the complexity. Our findings show that while the number of untrained teachers in the four countries is decreasing, the number of under-trained teachers and those employed under time-defined contractual terms by communities and government is increasing. Understanding what the influence is of these different types of qualifications and contracts on learning outcomes is particularly difficult due to the absence of a regulated and monitored system of tracking the training levels as well as a lack of reliable student outcome data.

The growing trend of recruiting teachers with nonstandard training and credentials, often in an unplanned way, is particularly alarming because of the lack of conclusive evidence on how the different training and academic qualification levels influence teaching practice and, ultimately, student outcomes. This changing landscape has made it both increasingly difficult to monitor the impact of these teachers on student achievement and to identify the key inputs required to strengthen the education system. For example, while recruiting local people into teaching may mean there is a familiarity of context and a certain level of commitment, this is not a sufficient substitute for training and expertise in pedagogy, skills and knowledge. Little documentation exists on the options for balancing pre-service and in-service training so teachers can both maintain their professionalism and support student achievement. More information is

needed on how best to reform traditional training programmes before truncating them or expanding local volunteer/community teacher schemes.

The ILOPS findings highlight the need for an urgent reform to the teacher training/management system. Based on the data from all ILOPS stakeholders, increasing training and enhancing ongoing professional development support for all teachers must be at the centre of such efforts. The 2009 Bamako plus Five Conference on Non Professional Teachers has already embarked on these discussions, but it is not enough. In the interest of protecting and preserving the teaching profession, it is imperative that clear plans and matching resources are gathered, through open debates involving teachers, unions, parents, coalitions, researchers, Ministry of Education and Finance officials and donor agencies.

Context

A good quality teacher can guide the learning process of children, making learning relevant and stimulating. S/he can impart knowledge and skills that will help children to secure their educational rights, improve their health and self-esteem, and gain fair employment. A teacher can also be a role model by embracing the principles of social justice and treating all students equally without discrimination, while encouraging each student's unique strengths. Indeed, a dedicated and well-trained teacher can provide children with the essential skills to critically analyse, challenge and improve the discriminatory attitudes or behaviour that may be present in their homes, schools and communities.

While it is generally agreed that that teachers can shape learning and young lives, there remains considerable debate as to the national and local-level policies and programmes that best support teachers. Topics of debate include the level of schooling teachers should have themselves, what length of training they need and what professional development and support they should be able to draw on in order to fulfil these ambitious roles. Each strand of the policy and practice spectrum is complicated, interdependent and determined by contextual factors. In many African countries constrained education budgets coupled with the inconsistent and uncoordinated involvement of various actors in supporting teachers further complicate appropriate policy responses.

Rising enrolment, growing teacher shortages and scarce resources further complicate efforts to improve teacher management systems. According to the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) Institute of Statistics (UIS) projections in 2007, 1.3 million teachers worldwide will need to be hired each year between now and 2015, amounting to a total of 10.3 million over the next eight-year period in order to ensure all children receive a quality education. Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole will need an additional 2.4 million teachers, close to the

actual number of teachers currently in service. Female teachers are particularly needed to encourage more girls to attend and remain in school. Currently less than half of all teachers in Sub-Saharan Africa are female. The urgency to increase teacher numbers continues to grow as 40 million more children attend school today compared to a decade ago. This number is more than likely to rise with renewed efforts to reach the other 72 million children still out of school.

In the struggle to balance budgets and maintain appropriate teacher-student ratios, governments are actively pursuing different options for employing teachers, including hiring a new cadre of teachers with lower initial academic qualifications; providing less training; and hiring teachers on less secure types of contracts. However, it is not only governments that pursue these perceived 'cost-effective' solutions in an effort to contain recurrent spending. Communities also have been encouraged to (or left with little option but to) directly hire 'volunteers' and offer them short-term contracts. This creates a varied landscape of experience and quality that, in turn, creates both national and local challenges related to the employment, training and management of the teacher workforce. Indeed in a number of countries, it is difficult to know how many of these different categories of teachers exist at any given time as not all are included in the official database/central registry of teachers as they are hired locally or directly by communities.

Another alarming trend concerns the low levels of student achievement. Though there is little existing research that directly correlates students' achievement outcomes with teachers' training, qualification and contract variations, the fact that teachers are the main staff responsible for supporting pupils' learning makes a connection between these two factors highly likely. The Education for All Global Monitoring Report (EFA GMR) finds that, 'what students achieve in school is heavily influenced by classroom practices and teacher' skills...One of the most important requirements for



sustained progress towards better quality in education is an improved learning environment, encompassing the physical school infrastructure, the learning process and the interaction between children and teachers' (UNESCO GMR, 2010: 114–15). Similarly the Covenant on the Rights of the Child (CRC) considers teachers to have an important role in achieving an education of good quality, 'Every child has the right to receive an education of good quality which in turn requires a focus on the quality of the learning environment, of teaching and learning processes and materials, and of learning outputs' (CRC, General Comment 1, para 22).

It is these trends and concerns about the overall quality of the educational experience of students and corresponding lack of appropriate support for teachers that led ActionAid, the Institute of Education, University of London (IoE) and partners in Burundi, Malawi, Senegal and Uganda to conduct research on the role of teachers and parents in improving learning outcomes. The Improving Learning Outcomes in Primary Schools (ILOPS) Project was supported by a grant from the Quality Education in Developing Countries Initiative of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation in partnership with the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. The ILOPS Project brought together teachers, parents, pupils, TUs, education coalitions, research institutes and, in some cases, government officials to jointly research the status of teachers and government commitments to the profession. An international light-touch literature and resource review on teacher quality was conducted at the same time by the lead research partner at the IoE (Edge et al., 2009a). This informed the framework of the research and, upon completion of the data collection and analysis, enabled the country-based research teams to compare and contrast their findings and propose actions. In each country, the national and local-level findings ignited a debate among ILOPS stakeholders as to the 'appropriate' policies and resources required to strengthen the teaching profession as well as how different stakeholders can specifically contribute to

these efforts. More specific findings on parental involvement and the collaborative research methodology resulting from the ILOPS Project can be found in the research briefs on the project methodology (Edge et al., 2010) and parental participation (Marphatia et al., 2010).

It is hoped that these local, national and international findings will contribute to the current international and national debates around teachers' qualification levels and training programmes and, most importantly, what policies are required to ensure teachers are prepared and equipped to offer good quality education to children.

SECTION 1

ILOPS participatory methodology

The 18-month ILOPS Project started in January 2008 with the identification of a multi-stakeholder research team comprising national education coalitions, research institutes, TUs, teachers, parents, pupils and, where possible, the Ministry of Education (see last page of this brief for a full list of partners). The effort aimed to gather a robust evidence-base on teacher quality, parental participation and learning outcomes in each country. These stakeholders were involved in the whole

research process, from design to dissemination, to develop a shared sense of confidence in gathering and critiquing data that was later used to advocate for informed political decision-making. It was hoped that these different perspectives would also facilitate a deeper and more critical understanding of the role each stakeholder plays in supporting one other. Box 1 outlines the involvement of teachers and unions in this Project.

Box 1

Partnering with teachers and unions

In 2006, ActionAid and Education International (EI), along with the international federation of TUs, developed a partnership agreement, the 'Parktonian Recommendations' to strengthen relationships between TUs and NGOs (ActionAid and Education International, 2007). The ILOPS Project presented the ideal opportunity for these two institutions to undertake a joint activity. Representatives from the EI Africa Regional Bureau joined the international advisory group of ILOPS, participating at different points during the national research. EI provided invaluable feedback on the teachers' section of the research and encouraged the unions in all four countries to actively engage in the research teams.

El's involvement also created a platform for the different unions to discuss how they can work together. This was particularly important in both Burundi and Senegal which have four and 30 unions respectively.

The TUs facilitated the inclusion of teachers in local research teams, who in turn encouraged their peers to actively take part in responding to research questions and critically reflect upon their own engagement with parents and in children's learning. ILOPS team members, of whom 17 had previous experience as teachers, also enriched the teachers' perspective.

Strengthening advocacy for improving teaching conditions

Based on evidence from the end of project evaluation the ILOPS participatory approach has changed the way education coalitions and Ministry officials view and engage with teachers and unions. A participant interviewed during the end of project evaluation shared, 'The project allowed trade unions and the government to work together, in another framework than trade unions' demands. This was positive... There were also representatives from all the country's regions, which allowed us to exchange on our experience, difficulties... It allowed us to extend the field of knowledge on education in our country [...] Of course, really, educational partners were many times brought closer together, and the misunderstandings there often is with government and trade unions, those gaps were made smaller.' (Edge et al., 2009b: 14).

Research process to address children's learning

The Project was predicated on the assumption that reforms are likely to be successful when key stakeholders, especially teachers, are actively involved (Dembele and Schwille, 2003; Heneveld, 2007). For example, Kalin (2007) finds that, 'declarative goals by governments themselves are not enough for the successful introduction of reform or achievement of reform goals. What matters are teachers' perceptions; the extent of their active involvement in all phases of the reform; and teachers' confidence.' Similarly, Dembele (1994) points to the success of a bottom-up approach, where consultation and inclusion of teachers in reform efforts has developed ownership, accountability and motivation to change. This need for teachers to change not only what they teach but also the assumptions and beliefs about how they teach is the key to successful reform (Toole, 2000, cited in Riley, 2004).

Based on a preliminary review of research and programmes in each country, research teams compiled a list of issues around 'teacher quality' to be explored during February and March 2008:

- Mapping national and district policies and initiatives on teacher-related issues, including management, recruitment, training, remuneration, support and assessment
- Identifying the different TUs, their missions and areas of joint action/discord
- Profiling teachers' academic qualifications, training levels and contractual status in a select number of schools
- Illustrating the conditions under which teachers work and, to a certain extent, live
- Identifying how different stakeholders define a 'quality teacher', how well this matches the reality of classroom practice and the obstacles for achieving this ideal profile
- Identifying the current relationships and expectations teachers have of the government, of themselves, unions, parents, communities and pupils and what each of these stakeholders expects of teachers.

In April 2008, 54 partners from the four countries gathered on the Sesse Islands in Uganda to agree on the framework and focus of the research, design research instruments and discuss different methodologies for conducting the research. The team met with the Bujumba and Bwendero communities and Kibanga and Kinymara schools to test the instruments, which were further refined, adapted and translated in each country during April and May.

National and district-level research was conducted during the months of May and June within the following districts: Bururi and Karusi (Burundi); Machinga and Mchinji (Malawi); Foudiougne and Tambacounda (Senegal); and Kalangala and Masindi (Uganda). The selection of districts and schools was based on geography, poverty levels, achievement rates, teacher profiles and where either ActionAid or partners were already familiar with communities and schools.

Throughout July and August, researchers visited 240 schools and surrounding communities across the four countries. The teams in Senegal and Burundi selected their 60 schools (30 per district) based on students' achievement levels. Malawi chose the 60 schools according to the percentage of trained and volunteer teachers, as data on learning outcomes were not available at the national level. Uganda picked schools by location (rural and peri-urban).

A second national-level workshop to analyse the findings took place after the local-level research. In addition, several 'discussion forums' were held throughout the year in each country with a more diverse group of stakeholders at the national and district level and in communities/schools. The goal of these forums was to build a wider platform for civil society engagement. Dialogues between TUs, teachers and 'para-teachers' (which are underqualified or contract teachers) were initiated to discuss the data and their implications for teacher management and practice. As a result, stakeholders worked together to identify teacher training options and also to negotiate access to unions for all teachers (and thus protection under labour codes).

In total, 6,850 stakeholders were interviewed throughout the Project: 199 headteachers; 1,591 teachers; 1,636 parents; 1,929 pupils; 604 SMC/PTA; 808 community leaders; 38 decision-makers at the national level and 45 decision-makers at the district level through focus group discussions at home, in community settings and home visits.

In November, once all data had been gathered, collated and analysed within each country, the same 54 partners who met in April gathered in Bujumbura, Burundi to share and compare their findings, discuss challenges and propose follow-on activities based on the results of the study and recommendations of the various stakeholders involved. The publication and launch of the national research reports and proposals for follow-on work took place from December 2008 to June 2009.

SECTION 2

Current knowledge on teachers' status, pay and training

This section summarises the findings of the ILOPS light-touch literature review on financing teachers, their status, training and performance (Edge et al., 2009a).¹ The review identified possible disjuncture between the academic research from developed countries and the practice/policy related resources in developing countries, predominantly published by international institutions such as the World Bank, UNESCO and bilateral aid agencies.

Factors that define teacher quality

While there is no accepted common definition of what constitutes a 'quality teacher', several factors such as individual characteristics, qualifications and classroom practice emerge as criteria associated with teaching quality. Some researchers define quality in terms of inputs related to levels of preparation, qualifications, experience, professional knowledge and pedagogical skills (Kaplan, 2001; Cheung, 2008). However, many important aspects are not captured by these indicators yet remain vital to student learning (OECD, 2007), including the ability to convey ideas in clear and convincing ways; creating effective learning environments for different students; fostering productive teacher-student relationships; and working well with colleagues and parents.

Role model behaviour such as dedication, honesty, presentation and child-friendly approaches are also commonly associated with good teachers (Mooij, 2008). Many of these are based on personal attributes such as caring for students, resilience, patience, enthusiasm, creativity and humour (Peterson, 2004; Stronge, 2002). These characteristics are subjective and influenced both by the predominant culture and the context of students' lives.

There was consensus in the literature on how these inputs and actions can enhance classroom practice and, eventually, influence students' progress or achievement (Sanders and Horn, 1998). However, the level of teachers' academic qualifications and professional training that best support the development of quality teachers and how this specifically influences student achievement is difficult to pinpoint. Relatively few studies correlate these factors, especially across the diverse teaching force.

Variations in qualifications and employment strategies

The recognition of the practice of hiring different types of teachers dates back as far as the 1966 International Labour Organization (ILO) and UNESCO Recommendation on the Status of Teachers. They promoted this policy/practice as a way to address teacher shortages but also cautioned that the practice should be short term and over time provide opportunities to train those who were not certified. 'In developing countries, where supply considerations may necessitate short-term intensive emergency preparation programmes for teachers, a fully professional, extensive programme should be available in order to produce corps of professionally prepared teachers competent to guide and direct the educational enterprise' (ILO and UNESCO, 1966, Art. 142).

¹ Most of the references in this section have been taken from the literature and resource review by Edge et al. (2009a). The full review, which is published alongside the three comparative briefs, summarised 132 articles selected from a preliminary search of 2,253 articles. They were chosen for their clarity in the conceptualisation of teacher quality and the rigour of the research methods (both quantitative and qualitative) applied, along with their relevance to the ILOPS Project. The full citations for those references not included in the literature review can be found in the bibliography.

Box 2

Bamako conferences on contract Teachers: 2004, 2007 and 2009

In 2004 ADEA, the World Bank and El organised the first meeting on non-professional teachers in Bamako, Mali. Twelve countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Uganda) were invited to share their experiences of expanding the teaching force using strategies like contractual workers. The communiqué outlined the need to coordinate policies on recruitment, training, conditions of service and career advancement of non-professional teachers.

A follow-up meeting in 2007 assessed the implementation of the 2004 recommendations. The technical report found that hiring contract teachers is inevitable given increasing enrolment and budget pressures. It recognised how this policy successfully expanded access to education as well as the risks it entailed for the quality of the education and the retention and effectiveness of staff. Guidelines or minimum standards for recruitment, salary, training, professional development and career advancement (incorporating contract teachers into the civil service) were established. The minimum criteria for recruitment was set at potential teachers having an academic qualification of four years of post-primary education or a junior secondary certificate, a written test (60% pass rate) and a panel interview. Initial training was to be shortened (to three, six or nine months) and coupled with different formats of ongoing professional development in the short, medium and long term.

The 2009 evaluation report assessed how well the 2007 framework had been implemented based on self-reported questionnaires by 7 out of the 11 governments and interviews with officials in Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger and Togo. Findings showed that non-professional teachers made up over half of primary school teachers, with some being paid by the central government and others by parents and external partners. The co-existence of new categories of 'contractual' and permanent teachers was and still is a threat to the education systems in SSA. Job insecurity and wage disparities between the different types of teachers tend to increase teacher mobility, inequity and frustration. This complexity has been difficult to address, including resolving how this cadre of new teachers compromises education quality. Efforts to reclassify contractual teachers into the civil service have conflicted with quotas and budget restrictions imposed by the civil service and finance ministries. As such, country presentations confirmed that the contract and non-professional teacher strategy was still seen by most as a long-term measure to address teacher shortages. These findings raised serious concerns about the haphazard manner in which teachers have been hired, stressing the need to follow minimum criteria for recruitment, training, qualification and career advancement.

Recommendations from Bamako 2009

The three-day meeting in 2009 marked a significant shift from 2007, when the hiring of contract teachers was seen to be an inevitable policy solution. It recommended that participating countries gradually phase out the recruitment of untrained teachers by 2015; recognise and support all teachers in their career development; and view training and professional development as life-long learning.

However, little guidance was offered on how to secure funding for these three recommendations or how best to design training and professional development programmes to respond to the unique educational and training needs of the different teachers. Neither did the debates address the impact of the different types of teachers on the quality of learning or on learning outcomes. Rather, the very lack of scientific evidence on how of para-teachers (untrained, undertrained, contract) affect the quality of education was cited by some as a reason to continue hiring them.

Source: ADEA et al., 2004; ADEA et al., 2007; ADEA et al., 2009; Adoté and Adotevi, 2009; and observations from meeting

Over time the practice of shortening teacher-training programmes and recruiting untrained teachers has not only increased but evolved into a longer term policy response (Box 2). Duthileull (2004) reports that between one-fifth and one-third of primary teachers in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia have not been trained for the job. In Lesotho, for example, before the Free Primary Education Policy in 1999, 22% of teachers were unqualified and in 2008, approximately 40% of teachers were untrained (Phamtose, 2009). Contract and unqualified teachers have been used as a strategy to successfully expand access to education in rural, remote areas where qualified teachers are less likely to go (Zafeirakou, 2007). Being locally appointed, they are seen to establish a good rapport and greater accountability between schools and the local communities (Duthilleul, 2005). The World Bank found contract teachers in Peru had the lowest rates of absenteeism (Alcázar et al., 2006), but in 2007 another study by the World Bank (Mulkeen and Chen, 2008) found the opposite was true. Contract teachers, with less stable remuneration, had higher rates of absenteeism and lower retention, creating increased challenges for schools. None of these studies looked at the quality of teaching or the corresponding impact on children's outcomes.

It is difficult to have a definitive, uniting categorisation of teachers from which to compare internationally due to the fact that these policies have emerged haphazardly and without coordinated planning. While macro labels such as 'non-professional', 'contractual' and 'para-teachers' are most commonly used, they often do not capture the differences in employer, salary, qualification and training levels. The 2009 Bamako Preliminary Evaluation Report states that, 'recruitment criteria vary considerably from country to country, making it impossible to construct a profile of potential teachers on which we might build a consensus' (Adotevi, 2009: 30).. Some countries have up to 14 types of teachers, including community, contractual, volunteers, non-permanent and auxiliary, all with varying degrees of qualifications and training. To simplify the analysis, teacher types were first divided into three main categories according to employer: civil service; contractual/volunteers paid by the state; and teachers/volunteers hired by communities and NGOs. Table 1 defines the four most commonly used terms and provides examples from countries worldwide. The information in the table is complied from different sources captured in the literature review.

Upgrading contract teachers to civil service status

Although the participants of the Bamako conferences agree that the status of contract teachers should gradually be standardised, there is little clarity on how this can be achieved. Additional questions that need to be addressed are related to the required timescale to facilitate this transition, the financial implications and the nuances of the different salary scales for different categories of teachers. Few countries have a policy in place to facilitate this transition. Examples from the Preliminary Evaluation Report of the Bamako 2004 Recommendations (Adotevi, 2009) include:

- Togo contract teachers are eligible to be able to obtain civil service contracts after five years.
- In Benin, contract teachers can gain legal status and bargaining rights after four years. It is even more complex in other countries.
- In Niger, for example, teachers who have completed service under a fixed two-year contract are supposed to receive a permanent contract, but the probation period for this category of teacher normally lasts four years, which contradicts the limit of two years on fixed-term contracts.

Budgeting for teachers

In addition to adjusting pay rates according to training and qualification levels, another way of containing and managing budgets and addressing growing enrolment has been to limit teachers' salaries. Mignat found reducing salaries to be a practical solution, arguing "...this is not only an option, but a necessity" (2002: 9). In practice, the salary levels in many countries has been influenced by the benchmark established by the Education For All Fast Track Initiative (EFA FTI), where an efficient education system is seen to have teacher salaries of around 3.5 times GDP per capita (Bruns et al., 2003). Though GDP is a useful measure for comparing salaries across countries, it makes it difficult to determine how income levels adequately reflect the cost of living and offset poverty. These economic measures and judgements of teachers' salaries overlook the international human rights standards around equal and fair pay. For example, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) states, 'Functioning educational institutions and programmes have to be available in sufficient quantity within jurisdiction of the State party. What they require to function depends upon numerous factors, including...trained teachers receiving

Table 1

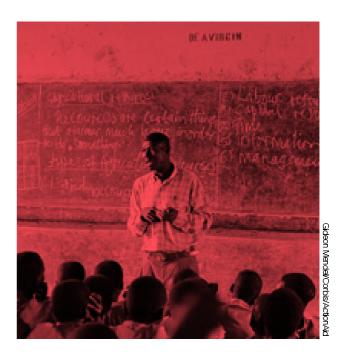
Different categories of teachers currently in classrooms

Category	Description	Country illustration of trend		
Contract teacher	 Any teacher who is not in civil service Some offered fixed-term contracts with the state, and protection of legal frameworks Many open-ended or short-term with no benefits or protection Contract differs according to employer, and includes 'volunteer' and 'community teachers' hired/paid for by the community and/or Parent Associations 	 At primary level, the government pays for approximately half of contract teachers (ILO, 2007): 50% in Niger, 42% in Senegal, 39% in Guinea, 31% in Togo, 24% in Burkina Faso and 20% in Cameroon In Benin they comprise 40% of all teachers and in Togo, they now equal 70% of all teachers (Adotevi, 2009) 		
	Concerns with terminology: Masks differences in qualifications, type and length of pre and service training			
Unqualified or underqualified	 Some governments profile teachers (and thus different salary scales) based on their level of academic attainment Entry qualifications range from junior secondary certification to four years post primary and higher Verspoor (2003) advocates decreasing acader level of primary teachers (prior to professional training) to 10–11 years of schooling 			
	Concerns with terminology: General acceptance that a teacher with higher qualifications to be better, but the benefit in terms of quality of education and/or learning outcomes is outweighed by the additional salary cost for higher academic qualification			
Untrained or under trained Volunteer teachers	 Defined by level of pre-service training Training is often short and does not lead to diploma or certification Goal is to rapidly increase number of teachers Different training/certification based on academic level at entry leading to different contract, salary and in-service training 	 Niger, Congo and Guinea recruit volunteer teachers who are 'untrained' Togo and Benin are now reopening teacher training centres to offer a 'catch up' programme on initial training 		
	Concerns with terminology: 'For many counting resources for initial training would be reduced be increased. This formula could also lead to position often indexed on the initial training received' (M.	out those for in-service training and support tive cost-related aspects since salary grids are		
Para-teacher	In India 'para-teacher' does not mean someone who is untrained or under qualified but includes those who do not have regular and steady employment (Govinda, 2004)	Pandey (2006) profiled 373 para-teachers in India and found 55% were better qualified than regular teachers.		
	Concerns with terminology: Does not denote training levels.	the contract type, employer nor academic and		

domestically competitive salaries' (CESCR, General Comment 13, para 6(a)). The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) states that 'The material conditions of teaching staff shall be continuously improved' (ICESCR article 13.2(e)).

Governments must implement long-term planning strategies for the teaching corps because salaries are calculated as recurrent costs, meaning they will continue to occur at the same or higher rate, year after year. Therefore, teachers' salaries are most often covered by national revenue sources (e.g. taxation) rather than donor funding, which can be less predictable and shorter term. The budget line for salaries is often called the public sector wage bill and comprises a large proportion of national expenditure. Research shows that in Togo, 79% of the primary education budget is spent on teachers, and that it amounts to 68% in Niger and 59% in Benin (Adotevi, 2009). Governments routinely, and rightly, set limits or ceilings on wage spending. Since teachers and health workers tend to make up the largest part of the wage bill, when the ceiling is lowered or capped governments also cap recruitment within these professions accordingly or find other cost-effective solutions.

How much countries can spend on wages is also determined by the national macroeconomic framework, which includes monetary (inflation targets and interest rates) and fiscal (deficit, public expenditure rates, wage bill and taxation) policy targets. In lowincome countries, these targets are established in loan agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (ActionAid, 2005). Until recently, the IMF also included wage ceilings as part of its conditions to help contain spending (IMF, 2007). In 2007, the Fund committed to stopping this practice, acknowledging that the wage ceilings had negatively affected the recruitment of teachers and health workers. Despite the change in IMF policy, studies reveal how restrictive macroeconomic conditions continue to limit spending on wages (GCE, 2009). In their drive to achieve both macroeconomic stability and education goals, governments often continue to hire under- and untrained and unqualified teachers (ActionAid, 2007; Education International, 2009).



How cost effective is it to hire contract and para-teachers?

Fyfe raises serious concerns about these cost saving measures, stating that:

...the trends towards the use of contract teachers is, after all, a symptom of much broader education and teacher policies set against the prevailing fiscal and macroeconomic environment or space. (2007:9)

Fyfe continues to explain:

...in francophone Africa, governments (with the support of the World Bank and other major donors) have deliberately tried to lower the status of fonctionnaires (civil service) teachers, who are considered overpaid. More then half of the contract teachers in the sub region are paid between 33 per cent (Mali) and 200 per cent less (Niger) than regular teachers. Some see this as part of a wider trend towards the deprofessionalisation of teaching. (2007: 13)

Experience shows that more teachers can be hired if lower salaries are paid. As shown above, setting different pay rates for different types of teachers has enabled countries to increase the number of teachers. Further cost saving has also been possible because many of these teachers are not entitled to pensions and benefits.

However, some researchers challenge these findings, arguing that in the long term, these strategies are actually more costly. Buckland (2000) suggests that the immediate cost-effective attraction of hiring these teachers is in reality a false economy. He and others argue that there are considerable hidden costs such as the impact on quality; the need for ongoing support; monitoring; the introduction of a new, simplified curriculum; and salary incentives which do not make these policies cost effective (Zafeirakou, 2007).

Another consequence of these practices is the development of a two-tier system of teacher employment that is neither regulated nor monitored by the government for the quality of teachers it produces. For example, in Niger and Burkina Faso approximately 300 teachers per year follow the 'normal' recruitment process of one to two years of training, depending on their level of academic qualification. Additional teachers who are hired outside this normal recruitment process receive only 30 to 45 days training before being placed in classrooms (Fyfe, 2007).

Increasingly poor and differential pay scales have had a broader impact on the teaching profession. They often demotivate teachers and diminish their commitment to remain with their establishment (Davidson, 2007). Absenteeism is a direct consequence of low salaries, as teachers often need to supplement their income by working elsewhere. Perceptions of pay and teachers' status also influence whether individuals are drawn into teaching, stay in their posts and develop their knowledge and skills (Fuming, 2007). All, these factors affect the teaching profession, efficiency of the education system and children's learning outcomes (Chaudhury et al., 2006).

Truncating teacher training: another 'cost saving' measure?

Teacher training, alone or in combination with other strategies, is the most common approach for improving classroom practice and teacher quality in developing countries (Chapman, 2000). In order to be effective, both initial training and ongoing professional development need to be relevant, timely and context specific. Research shows that current pre- and inservice training are both outdated and in need of reform (Kunje, 2005; Courtney, 2007). Exactly what this reform should consist of, however, must be urgently debated, given the lack of in-depth information on the current teaching force or programmes that can effectively train and support such a wide array of teacher profiles. In the face of this lack of evidence, many countries continue to truncate training as a costsaving measure.

Pre-service training

Traditional, long pre-service programmes are seen to be both ineffective and out of date. They also often lack a fruitful balance between theory and practice (Dyer, 2004). Some believe these shortcomings can be explained by the influence of Northern models on the South, leading to a mismatch between aspirations and reality (Ntoi, 2002). In these instances, neither the content and process of training delivery matches the local context nor does it take into account the learning experiences, perceptions and expectations of trainees (Lewin, 2002). As such, training is not 'experience' based and does not necessarily build the capacity of teachers to better understand how to support children's learning (Wayne, 2003; Hardeman, 2008). The parameters for reforming training remain a subject of international debate. The 2009 technical report of the Bamako Conference suggests limiting initial training to three, six or nine months, assuming incoming trainees have attained the necessary academic level (defined as four years post primary). However, the recommendation that initial training should focus more on the areas directly related to teaching rather than a revision of basic academic material may be difficult to implement if teachers have not yet mastered these concepts.

In-service training and professional development

Ongoing training is an important factor in supporting teachers to excel in the classroom and commit to the profession, especially in countries with varied recruitment and initial training policies (Kent, 2005). Training programmes are different depending on the academic qualifications and pre-service training levels of teachers. In Niger, those who have been teaching for one year but have no pre-service training can access 45-day training courses during their vacation period (Fyfe, 2007).

Most countries do not have a systematic approach to in-service training, lacking both clear policy and an earmarked budget. In-service training is influenced by the culture and practices of where teachers are based (Vescio, 2008), and also depends on the skills and competence of providers (Courtney, 2007). The content of this training can vary considerably, with some covering basic subjects, training on teacher skills and peer support mechanisms such as the Quality Learning Circle in New Zealand (Lovett, 2003). Sifuna (2007) highlights the disparity in Kenya between in-service programmes which expose teachers to student-centred approaches and their classroom practice, which rarely follows the same methods. Overall, there are no systematic evaluations on the content or impact of these courses, particularly on student learning.

Balancing pre- and in-service training

There is some debate about the relative value of initial preparation or ongoing professional development. As a result, there is also debate about how best to balance the two. The Covenant on the Rights of the Child (CRC) states, 'Pre-service and in-service training schemes which promote the principles reflected in article 29(1) are thus essential for teachers, educational administrators and others involved in child education' (CRC, General Comment 1, para 18). On the other hand, a study by Bernard et al. (2002) found that in nine SSA countries (Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Madagascar, Senegal, Togo, Guinea, Mali and Niger) pupils with teachers who had no pre-service teacher training did not perform worse than those who were taught by teachers with long pre-service training. They suggest shorter preservice training with more follow-up, supervision and inservice training as a more appropriate and cost effective option. The Bamako Communiqués (ADEA et al., 2004; ADEA et al., 2009) and Lockheed and Verspoor (1991) also advocate for truncating pre-service programmes in favour of increasing in-service ones.

The recommendations to shorten pre-service training programmes fail to recognise that many governments currently lack a coherent policy on in-service - or indeed any training – even for qualified teachers. The reduction of both types of training inevitably means that issues such as gender, patriarchy and power relations may not be adequately addressed (Stacki and Pigozzi, 1995, cited in Kirk, 2006). As a result, changes in knowledge, behaviour and practices in schools that promote female teachers to access leadership roles may not take place (Kirk, 2006). In addition, the general lack of data on the impact and effectiveness of different training and development models makes it difficult for governments to assess which approach and length of training is best suited to support the development of quality teachers while responding to growing demand for teaching staff.

Exploring the link between teacher profile and student achievement

Our light-touch literature review found no clear evidence of the impact different types of teachers have on student learning outcomes. There is a distinct lack of robust evaluation or empirical evidence. Anecdotal

evidence portrays the role of non-professional teachers as a promising policy option and warns of the potential negative impact on quality. These mixed and, at times, contradictory perspectives on the impact different teachers have on achievement can partly be explained by differences and limitations in methodology and which type of 'link' is being assessed. It is possible that separating out this impact is so difficult due to the multiple factors affecting teachers' performance, competency and students' learning.

The literature review shows that most studies do not evaluate the relationship between pedagogical knowledge, teachers' behaviour and student learning, but focus on shifts in teaching attitude, rather than on changes in knowledge and skills (Wilson, 2002). Research also does not link the profile (e.g. how they differ by training levels and academic qualification) of teachers with student outcomes. However, Van de Grift (2007) argues against using student test scores as a sole measurement of teacher quality and advocates rather for the use of observation tools to monitor and assess this instead. Characteristics of 'teacher quality' are defined by Darling-Hammond (2002) as skills used by teachers to create open and interactive learning which help children flourish, excel academically and become well-rounded and grounded individuals. These skills are usually gained through further academic study, training, qualification/certification status as well as being based on academic ability such as knowledge of subject matter and teaching knowledge.

The case for contract and unqualified teachers

A study by Bertrand (2002) comparing the results of the Programme d'Analyse des Systèmes Educatifs des Pays de la CONFEMEN (PASEC) tests with different teacher characteristics, like initial academic levels, status (contract or civil servant) and training found minimal or no differences between the different profiles of teachers and their relative impact on students. Similarly, Bourdon (2007) found that contract teachers could improve the quality of education, but primarily for low ability and lower grade students and not higher ability students in higher grades. This, however, is most likely explained by the need for more specialised subject knowledge, which implies formal training for teaching higher grades (Duthilleul, 2004; Govinda, 2004).

Similarly, a recent two-year study of 200 schools in India found that students performed better in exams when there was an extra contract teacher in school. Although the authors admitted to not having addressed the issue of relative effectiveness and therefore could not claim that a contract teacher is more effective than a regular teacher, they advised countries to pursue this policy as a promising cost effective measure:

The combination of low cost, superior performance measures than regular teachers on attendance and teaching activity, and positive program impact suggest that expanding the use of contract teachers could be a highly cost effective way of improving primary education outcomes in developing countries... The large cost differences imply that the correct policy comparison ought to be not of a regular teacher versus a contract teacher, but rather between an additional regular teacher and several additional contract teachers.

(Muralidharan, K. and Sundararaman, V., 2009: 21–22)

Findings from a similar study in Cambodia, India and Nicaragua raise concerns about the methodology used by this study. Duthilleul (2005) finds that the coexistence of contract and regular teachers in the same school in India makes it challenging to disentangle the effects of each one on student learning. What the findings highlight is that since the quality of education is so poor, despite the presence of trained teachers, contract teachers may in fact be contributing to improving it.

The case for trained and qualified teachers

Motivans (2006) warns that reducing training requirements for new teachers does not represent the kind of strategy that is likely to result in improved teaching and quality of education. He explains that education quality is 'inextricably' bound to teachers' working conditions. Contract and para-teachers, who have unstable employment and lower salaries, tend to have limited competencies and high turnover rates.

Similarly, Pandey, within the context of an unprecedented increase of para-teachers in India explains, 'Para teacher scheme[s] may serve the purpose of UEE in far flung, remote, rural and hilly areas as viable option but adopting this scheme to replace the regular teachers is detrimental for the quality of education and effectiveness of schools and needs to be avoided' (2006:20). In contrast to the World Bank's findings (Muralidharan, K. and Sundararaman, V., 2009), Pandey's (2006) literature review suggests that dull and teacher-centred methods

characterise para-teachers' teaching, possibly affecting students' learning.

Other studies caution that the expansion of different types of teachers is worrying for the teaching profession. In 2007, a report by El and ActionAid found that the existence of different types of teachers has 'deprofessionalised' teachers, often fragmenting unions and decreasing the bargaining power of unions to secure liveable wages and fair and decent working conditions. Fyfe also explains that, 'Whilst the use of contract teachers has resulted in increasing enrolments, particularly for minority populations, in many countries there has been a trade-off in terms of quality and in an increasingly demoralized teaching force evidenced by teacher absenteeism and tumover' (2007: 5).



Georgie Scott/ActionAid

SECTION 3

Evidence from the field: demand for and financing of teachers

The literature review does not present a conclusive picture of the potential influence of teachers with different training on the quality of teaching and learning and consequently on student achievement. This prompted ILOPS research teams to analyse the emerging issues related to teachers' qualifications and employment in depth. To do this, they first focused their efforts on exploring how governments in the four countries make decisions on hiring and paying teachers. They then set about defining, within each country, what constitutes a quality teacher, the multiple factors that influence teachers' performance and the resulting influence this may have on learning outcomes. Sections 3 to 7 of this paper portray these findings following a similar structure to the literature review.

Teacher availability

The ILOPS teams started by charting the relative need for teachers versus their availability in the four countries. Table 2 demonstrates that the growth rate of the current teaching workforce is increasing. Uganda and Malawi face significant challenges in meeting their annual and long-term EFA targets.² In addition, without increasing the number of female teachers, these countries are not likely to improve girls' enrolment, retention and achievement in school (UNESCO, 2003).

Though the pupil-teacher ratio (PTR) is indicative of teacher availability, it masks the complexity of school situations and attrition rates. For example, the low PTR of 38:1 in Kalangala, Uganda looks impressive at first, yet does not in reality indicate an adequate number of teachers, but rather the poor teaching conditions and lower enrolment rates due to a smaller population living on the islands. There are fewer than six teachers per school, including the headteacher. Many juggle a high workload in multi-grade classrooms, often managing several classes at one time. The PTR also does not capture the difficulty in recruiting, attracting and retaining teachers due to the isolated nature of the islands, the high cost of living and poor access to social services. Another aspect not factored into these figures is the attrition rate. Students interviewed for the ILOPS research in Malawi explained how low numbers of teachers impact on their learning:

Pupils indicated that one of the reasons they do not attend classes regularly is because the schools have inadequate teachers and so most of the times they do not learn. They like it when schools have adequate teachers because they are assured of learning. They further said that they love it when the teachers are well qualified and hard working as this leads to a large number of pupils being selected to secondary schools.

(ActionAid Malawi, 2009: 62)

Table 2

Teacher demand vs. availability in Burundi, Malawi, Senegal and Uganda

	PTR	Teacher growth rate necessary to reach EFA by 2015*	Average teaching force growth rate 2000–2007	Percentage of female teachers	
Burundi	60:1	8.4%	10.4%	55%	
Bururi	36:1				
Karuzi	84:1				
Malawi	78:1	5.7%	0.3%	38%	
Machinga	110:1				
Mchinji	87:1				
Senegal	39:1	5.4%	10.4%	28%	
Tambacounda	53:1				
Foundiougne	n/a				
Uganda	57:1	4.5%	2.7%	39.2%	
Kalangala	38:1				
Masindi	92:1				

Source: ActionAid Burundi, 2009; ActionAid Malawi, 2009; ActionAid Senegal, 2009a; ActionAid Uganda, 2009b; *UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2006

Budgeting for teachers

To gain a better picture of how budgeting works, ILOPS teams gathered data on national and district expenditure on primary education and on teachers. They found that Senegal and Malawi went beyond the internationally recommended expenditure of 20% of the national budget by spending 26% and 25% respectively on education, while Burundi spends 19% and Uganda 18%. Of this total allocation to education, a smaller portion goes to primary education and of this, a large portion is spent on teachers.

In Burundi, 95.6–99% of the primary education budget (which comprises 51% of the total budget for education) goes towards teacher salaries. Though these numbers look impressive, when considering the PTR of Burundi in Table 2 above, it is clear that if the PTR is to be reduced to 40:1, the government will have to increase spending

quite substantially on teachers and on education overall or pursue other 'cost efficient' options which may impact the quality of teaching (see Section 4).

Macroeconomic conditions and the wage bill

Section 3 of this paper outlines the influence that IMF policies and practices have on national macroeconomic frameworks, which determine the final size of the budget and public expenditure. Though the IMF no longer imposes a ceiling on the wage bill, previous years of limited spending have impacted on the number of teachers currently in service. In addition, ongoing pressure to bring inflation down to single digits and contain deficits influences the amount that can be spent on wages (Table 3).

Despite the recent policy change by the IMF regarding wage ceilings, countries continue to experience difficulty

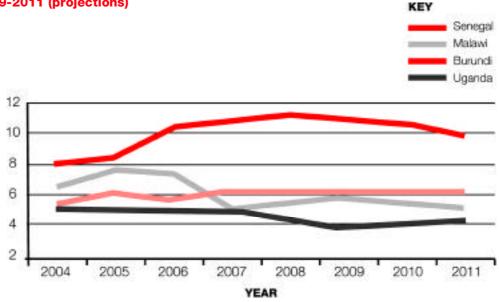
Table 3

Teacher demand vs. availability in Burundi, Malawi, Senegal and Uganda

	Wage bill (% of GDP)		Inflation		Fiscal deficit	
	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012
Burundi	11.2%	10.7%	25.7	6.0	-3.8	-4.0
Malawi	5.5	5.2 (2011)	8.4	6.6 (2010)	<i>–</i> 5.1	-3.3 (2010)
Senegal	5.8%	6.0%	4.3	2.2	-4.6	0
Uganda	4.5%	4.1%	12.1	5.0	-2.1	-3.9

Source: IMF documents, 2008-2009

Figure 1
Wage bill as % of GDP 2004-2008 (actual)
and 2009-2011 (projections)



Source: IMF Article IV consultations documents, 2005-2009

in increasing spending on teachers. Figure 1 shows that the wage bill as a percentage of GDP has not increased significantly in any of the four countries. Moreover, in Malawi and Uganda, where the teacher shortage is the highest, it has been decreasing since 2004. Research shows that as long as other restrictive macroeconomic policies remain in place, governments will not be able to hire sufficient numbers of teachers (GCE, 2009).

Impact of low pay

Teachers' pay and working conditions are the backbone of union demands. Many, including those in the four ILOPS countries, challenge the current low salary levels, stating they are not sufficient to earn a decent living, are rarely representative of the high cost of living and are often lower than the salaries of other civil servants with equivalent diplomas and qualifications.

Uganda spends even less on teacher salaries (3.2 times GDP per capita) than the contested EFA-FTI level of 3.5 times GDP per capita. In Malawi, this figure is 5.2; in Senegal 4.6; and 6.8 times GDP per capita in Burundi (UNESCO-BREDA, 2009).

Low pay can be a demotivating factor for teachers and a major reason for leaving the profession, or experiencing increased frustration with a climbing workload especially where PTRs are rising and poor working conditions persist. UNESCO (2009) found that these factors could affect teachers' performance, practice, attendance and professionalism, all of which can potentially influence children's learning outcomes. In some cases, these conditions have also led to teacher absenteeism. In Uganda, the ILOPS research found that teachers are absent in order to earn extra money elsewhere to pay for basic goods because their salaries are too low.

However, absenteeism should not be seen as a reason for changing employment terms and conditions. Rather a deeper understanding of why teachers are absent and appropriate policy responses are required. This can include encouraging children, parents and communities to hold schools and unions accountable for absenteeism and to work together to find feasible solutions.

Informative and current indicators like the PTR and budget allocations are not adequate for planning appropriate responses to improve the quality of learning. If teacher quality is seen to be based on a range of factors, including training, then the Pupil Trained Teacher Ratio (PTTR) is a better measure. However, data on this indicator is not available in all countries.

Profiling contract and para-teachers

Governments often face the choice between increasing the number of teachers and ensuring quality of teaching and learning (Lewin, 2002). Traditionally most countries have established minimum levels of academic qualification for those who wish to enter teaching training programmes and become civil servant teachers. However, the rapid increase in enrolment of pupils in recent years, achieved as countries pursue the important goal of universalising primary education, has wreaked havoc on many already fragile systems. Most countries, including the four ILOPS countries, have not adequately planned or budgeted for the sudden increases that have followed major policy changes such as the elimination of user fees. In order to address the shortage of teachers, while staying within the

spending limitations outlined in Section 2, countries have either frozen teachers' salaries or only nominally increased them. They have also changed recruitment policies to hire a range of different teachers, with lower academic qualifications, shorter training courses and different contracts.

In order to gain a more precise understanding of the different types of teachers currently working in schools within the four countries, ILOPS in-country research teams gathered national-level information on teacher status (Table 4). The data was collected and compiled according to teachers' academic achievements, qualifications and contracts as defined by their employer – government or community.

Table 4

National trends in teacher workforce in Burundi, Malawi, Senegal and Uganda

Burundi	Malawi	Senegal	Uganda
Decreasing from 12.6% to 11% (2005–06)	Decreasing (12% today)	In principle all teachers are trained, but the field research has shown that in the two	Decreasing since the 1990s when it was 40%, today only 12% of teachers are
In Kauzi, they number 12.8% and in Bururi 7.4%		districts, around 30% of teachers had no identified	unqualified
		training	67% are qualified and majority, 58% have ordinary level and a teaching certification, 4% have A level certification and 1% higher qualification
Officially all teachers are hired and paid by the government, with some part time or on a contract basis (unqualified teachers who do not have secondary school certification)	e 6% contract (month-to-month retired	 12 categories of teacher coexist 34% permanent/civil servants 54% contract or volunteer 12% 'other' 	82% hired by the government, 13% by private schools, 3.6% by communities

Source: ActionAid Burundi, 2009; ActionAid Malawi, 2009; ActionAid Senegal, 2009a and ActionAid Uganda, 2009b

Table 5 **Teacher academic achievement and training in Burundi**

Type of teacher	Academic achievement	Training	Presence in schools and level of 'appreciation'
D4			
Tutors (monitors)	Primary school	4 years	Not frequently found, but were appreciated
Primary school: fifth and sixth standards D6	Junior secondary	1 year	Frequently found and appreciated
Бо	Senior secondary	2 years in former EFI training centre	Still teaching, moderately appreciated
	Senior secondary	Pedagogical College (LP2) during conflict years	Still teaching but not appreciated
D7			
	University	Former Ecoles normales	Not frequently found in schools Not appreciated
	University	Pedagogical school and New Ecole Normale	Still teaching, Moderately appreciated after second year of teaching but lack motivation

Source: ActionAid Burundi, 2009

Though initially the national categorisation seemed straightforward, when researchers set about profiling teachers in the 240 schools of the ILOPS Project, they encountered considerable confusion as to how to identify the teachers. This led to developing a typology that categorised teachers according to academic achievement, certification/qualification, training and contract.

Profiling teachers in Burundi

All of the stakeholders interviewed found that there were different types of teachers working within the country. Researchers also found varying levels of teacher performance in any one school, but most schools do not have the specific information necessary to differentiate them according to academic achievement and training levels (Table 5).

In Burundi, there are currently three different structures for entering the profession: pedagogical school (requiring secondary school plus two years of training); Ecole Normale Primaire (secondary school plus four years of training); or one year of pedagogical training after a general humanities degree. Salary scales, including retirement age and benefits, are based on these criteria plus number of years in service.

Unqualified teachers, though legally not permitted, continue to be recruited under 'special circumstances' provided they have completed a minimum of six years of secondary schooling. Research respondents, including teachers, headteachers, parents, students and community members raised concerns over the quality of teachers who were trained under the previous programmes, signalling the need to assess the training and capacity needs of these teachers.

Profiling teachers in Malawi

The ILOPS research in Malawi identified many inconsistencies and contradictions within official figures on teachers. Originally, education officials insisted that there were no untrained or temporary teachers with low achievement/qualification levels in classrooms in Malawi following a regulation making them 'illegal'. However, the ILOPS school-level research revealed they were still recruited by many communities. Based on ILOPS data, there are currently 3,245 (627 of whom are female) untrained teachers nationwide. In Machinga District, 914 of the total 995 teachers are currently 'qualified' (though, again, this is relative to their level of academic certification and type of training received), 81 are

Table 6
Unqualified teachers in 60 schools across Machinga and Mchinji Districts

Type of District unqualified teachers	Total number of unqualified teachers						
	Machinga		Mchinji				
	Male Female		Male	Male Female			
	MSCE JCE MSCE JCE		MSCE	JCE	MSCE	JCE	
Volunteer	9 4	2 1	4	7	1	1	29
Temporary	0 0	0 0	6	0	0	0	6

Source: ActionAid Malawi (2009)

unqualified and 54 are volunteer teachers. Not a single teacher held the higher, Primary 8 (P8) qualification. In the Mchinji District research, only one teacher out of the 30 sampled schools had the P8 grading. Table 6 shows the teacher profile by type of teacher and academic achievement in the 60 schools researched by ILOPS. Academic achievement is defined by completion of a Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) or a Junior Certificate of Education (JCE).

Some of the contradictions between the ILOPS research findings and official figures can be explained by the way in which governments categorise teachers. Though illegal, the government turns a blind eye to the 'volunteer' and temporary teachers hired by communities who are desperate to increase the number of teachers in schools. By failing to monitor and acknowledge that these teachers exist, the government is not officially required to pay commensurate salaries or offer in-service training.

A government official from Malawi shared that the unique opportunity presented by the ILOPS research opened their eyes to the fallacies of national data:

I didn't know there were so many unqualified teachers in the system. Not even lacking training, but I ignored that there was a systematic and parallel recruitment of unqualified teachers throughout the system. [...] Some of them follow a two-month training, and then are thrown into a class, facing pupils. That was an important shock for me. That I didn't know, although I've been in the system for a while.

(Edge et al., 2009b: 9)

Profiling teachers in Senegal

Researchers in Senegal did not see the need to conduct research into the current profile of individual teachers because a clear education policy and resulting data on hiring contract and volunteer teachers have existed since the 1990s. These practices continue to be the only way to enter the profession to date. However, in the mid-1990s, following a decrease in enrolment rates due to a lack of teachers, the government began to hire volunteer teachers. Lacking a professional diploma, these teachers were offered basic six-month pre-service training and lower salaries than qualified teachers. Today, these teachers make up 53% of the primary school teaching force. Pressure from TUs and schools to 'upgrade' the skills of this growing number of teachers has recently led to the introduction of a transition programme. After two years of service, volunteers can take an exam to become civil servants. However, as places are limited, only a small number ever succeed in achieving this status.

Since the mid-1990s, other reforms have also been introduced, including reducing the length of the full training programme, from four years to three months, to churn out teachers more quickly. This policy started at the same time as the recruitment of volunteer teachers but has since been revised so teachers now definitively receive six months of initial training.

Another controversial policy in Senegal has been to hire teachers through a roster called the 'quota sécuritaire'. Once the regular new teacher spaces have been allocated, individuals who have not gone through the formal hiring process are brought in to fill the gaps. While some of these teachers do follow part of the sixmonth training period, others are parachuted into classrooms without any training. Many education

actors consider this system to be highly politicised and corrupt, with some local elites abusing power by putting friends and family members into classrooms. The ILOPS findings provided evidence of the arbitrary quota sécuritaire policy and forced the government to admit that it was unregulated and should be discontinued.

Profiling teachers in Uganda

Uganda does not have a formal national-level policy on the recruitment and selection of contractual teachers. However, the 2008 Education Policy makes allowances for the employment of contract teachers (Government of Uganda, 2009). These teachers are currently recruited into specific schools in hard to reach areas, or with overly high PTRs, to compensate for the lack of qualified teaching staff. In Kalangala District, six out of the 109 teachers researched were untrained and teaching in the non-formal Complementary Opportunity for Primary Education (COPE) centres. In Masindi District, 41 out of a total of 2,006 teachers were untrained/licensed teachers. Efforts are underway to gradually phase out these teachers through in-service training. Contract teachers are hired either by SMCs, local government or municipalities. Though there is a minimum level of qualification to enter teacher training colleges (Grade III teaching certification, with six O levels in including a credit in English, Maths and one Science subject), those who have failed the Advanced level but have passed O levels are also accepted. Contract teachers are not offered any training prior to beginning classroom practice but are eligible to receive ongoing support from the headteacher. Coordinating centre tutors (CCTs) also review teaching and learning issues with contract teachers through peer group meetings in school or at the zone level.



Labour rights

Using contract teachers as a cheap, long-term labour strategy may violate labour rights according to the fundamental rights and principles detailed in Recommendations concerning the status of teachers (ILO and UNESCO, 1966). As the profession fragments, the struggle to maintain a basic pay rate and advocate for adequate increases over time will become even more difficult. There are significant divides between trained and untrained teachers especially where untrained teachers are not unionised. The lower salaries offered to untrained teachers directly threaten the employment of trained teachers and their respective pay negotiations. In Uganda, trained teachers are often not hired because underqualified teachers can be hired at a lower cost.

Even more discouraging has been the denial of unionisation for contractual and para-teachers, offering them little security or protection within the law. The ILOPS research shows that in Burundi, Malawi and Senegal, both qualified and unqualified teachers are recognised and represented by the unions. Based on ILOPS evidence and several initial discussions, Uganda is now moving forward and considering allowing all teachers, regardless of their status, to be protected by union membership. Jointly these teacher groups can strengthen the union and advocate for reforms in teacher education, professional development and improving planning and management systems, so that the common goal of improving teaching quality and consequently learning outcomes is achieved.

Teacher training strategies and programmes

ILOPS teams gathered information on teacher education programmes by reviewing policy documents, interviewing decision-makers, teacher trainers, teachers, headteachers and unions. The goal was to assess if current programmes are adequately designed to respond to the diverse educational and training needs of the teachers working in schools across the countries.

The ILOPS research results show that none of the countries has a clear, uniting policy for pre-service and in-service training (Table 7). The current shortened training programmes were first put in place during the 1990s to augment the number of available teachers following rapid increases in enrolment. Some of these programmes remain in place today, having evolved into more permanent policy positions on teacher training. In some countries, there are several different training programmes, though few offer continuing professional development and there is little inter-programme coordination. Most have not been systematically assessed. The Malawi researchers summarise the lack of policy coordination across the four countries by stating, 'the teachers education system is characterised by lack of coherent policies and clear strategies to address the overwhelming increase in pupil enrolment' (ActionAid Malawi, 2009: 20).

Quality and content of training

The ILOPS research suggests that the terms 'qualified/unqualified' and 'trained/untrained' can be misleading and problematic. The question of the length, content, and quality of teacher training and the value of the qualifications vary greatly both between countries and over time, meaning that teachers with varying levels of training and qualification coexist.

Findings point to the need to evaluate, debate and reform both the content and length of the training programmes so they better respond to teachers' and students' needs. Serious concerns were raised as to

the quality of the pre-service programmes in Senegal that were cut from four years to three months then recently extended to six months. Training programmes in Burundi are more than 40 years old, making them out-of-date and often inappropriate. Teaching methods are very classical and teacher-centred as opposed to pupil-centred. As one respondent to the research in Burundi observed, 'we ask teachers to do things in class that they have never learned how to do' (ActionAid Burundi, 2009: 36).

The absence of any systematic evaluation of the quality of the different training programmes in any of these countries complicates reform efforts. Nevertheless, Malawi's new two-year teacher training (TT) programme offers more in-depth discussion of teaching methods, spread across theory and practice. Though the National Strategy for Teacher Education and Development (NSTED) mentions that teaching requires professionals committed to lifelong learning, the ILOPS research revealed that in practice this is not taking place, 'Despite the NSTED, there is lack of clear policy to guide INSET in Malawi...most of the INSETs that the teachers attend are Donor/NGO initiated...As a result teachers are neither updated on new methods of teaching and content nor are they adequately oriented to changes in school curriculum' (ActionAid Malawi, 2009: 49).'

Career advancement

Few opportunities for career advancement and promotion, combined with limited access to higher academic qualifications, can also be de-motivating and affect teachers' morale. In Malawi, the process for shortlisting and interviewing teachers for promotion is marked with many flaws, so that the length of service, conduct and performance of teachers are not necessarily part of the assessment criteria. Although formal salary grades exist and theoretically teachers should earn more as they progress in their career, in practice few actually reach higher salary levels. The ILOPS school-level research revealed that in the

Table 7 Policy for pre-service and in-service training

Country	Training programme		
	Number of trained teachers	Trends in pre-service training	Trends in in-service training
Burundi		 Many changes through the years Teachers with varying lengths of training in the system 	 Teachers to benefit from 60 days over 5 years but there is no budget or coherent policy for its implementation TOne-off training by donors Distance education to be offered through radio Untrained teachers get 120 hours/year; trained teachers 80 hours/year District inspectors visit once a year; evaluate not support
Malawi	12% of teachers untrained	 3 programmes of 1–4 years depending on academic qualification 2 year initial primary teacher education 	 Teachers get 6 days/year but most cannot afford this 49% of teachers today have had short, in-service training
Senegal	 Officially all teachers are trained ILOPS identified 30% of teachers in Tambacunda and Foudingoune with no training 	 Decreasing, from 4 years to 6 months Teachers have different levels of training and preparedness 	
Uganda	Government committed to phasing out untrained teachers	 The Teachers' Development Management System (TDMS) structures professional development At least 2 years' initial training 	teaching colleges • 539 tutors provide support to

Source: ActionAid Burundi, 2009; ActionAid Malawi, 2009; ActionAid Senegal, 2009 and ActionAid Uganda, 2009b

Machinga District, only 52 out of 197 teachers had moved beyond the basic minimum wage. As a result, teachers frequently engage in other income-generating activities such as petty trading, a phenomenon especially acute in Mchinji District given its close proximity to the Zambian border.

In Senegal, unqualified teachers can follow a two-year programme to become qualified teachers then upgrade to diploma level after two years of additional training. Though the training is free, other costs prohibit some from accessing this service. In 2008-09, the government was to roll out the first phase of a new service scheme addressing the remuneration, career path and professional development needs of primary school

teachers. In Uganda, qualified teachers can upgrade from a teaching certification to a diploma after two years of training, which is the minimum qualification level.

Who should provide the training?

The underlying question about the most appropriate organisation and/or agency to act as training provider is ultimately one of responsibility. Should it be donors, NGOs and TUs who provide training, or is this absolving these governments of one of their fundamental responsibilities? In Uganda and Malawi, a number of initiatives to provide upgrades have been implemented by unions to help teachers who have lower initial academic levels or no teacher training.

Impact of teachers on quality of education

The plethora of different types of teachers with widely disparate levels of academic experience, qualifications and training raises the fundamental question about what then defines a good teacher. The literature review demonstrates that there is no existing, specific definition of what makes a good teacher, nor any conclusive evidence as to how this specifically influences learning outcomes.

International human rights standards do provide information on the type of education that would adhere to meeting children's rights to learning and schooling. Since teachers interact most with children in classrooms and are responsible for imparting learning, the qualities described below in the Covenant on the Rights of the Child can be seen as those teachers should possess and thus be able to relay to pupils:

Article 29 (1) not only adds to the right to education recognized in article 28 a qualitative dimension which reflects the rights and inherent dignity of the child; it also insists upon the need for education to be child-centred, child-friendly and empowering... The goal is to empower the child by developing his or her skills, learning and other capacities, human dignity, self-esteem and self-confidence. 'Education' in this context goes far beyond formal schooling to embrace the broad range of life experiences and learning processes which enable children, individually and collectively, to develop their personalities, talents and abilities and to live a full and satisfying life within society.

(CRC, General Comment 1, para 2)

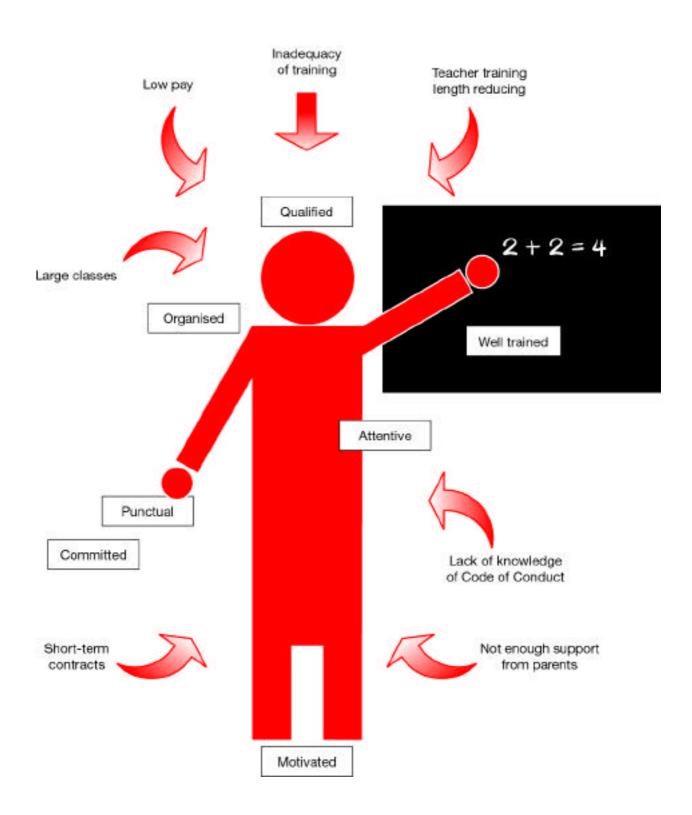
The stakeholders interviewed by the ILOPS national and local research teams also came up with a number of characteristics that inherently define a quality teacher as well as key external factors that directly influence teacher quality. These characteristics were similar across the four countries and are illustrated in Figure 1. The arrows pushing down on the teacher in Figure 1

represent the numerous factors that put pressure on them, leading to high turnover, low motivation and poor quality of teaching. The descriptions around the figure are the characteristics of a good teacher, including both professional know-how and personal attributes that encourage students to flourish as individuals and succeed academically. Academic experience/ achievement and qualifications are also high on stakeholders' lists, with almost half of the parents interviewed in Uganda and almost all respondents in Senegal considering this as the best way to improve learning outcomes.

Teachers were also asked to construct their own diagrams of a good quality teacher. They mapped similar characteristics to those identified by other stakeholders. Teachers across the four countries explain that the greatest challenge they face in performing their tasks is parents' apparent lack of interest in their children's education, followed by an immense workload due to understaffing and the high costs of living. Their ability to deal with professional challenges like multi-grade or large classes and disciplinary issues also determines how willing and able they are to stay in the profession for longer. Moreover, insufficient inputs such as teaching/learning materials and infrastructure, ranging from classrooms and furniture to toilets, libraries, electricity and water points - especially for teachers and pupils who are disabled are a serious concern. The lack of nearby schools or on-site accommodation is shown to increase teachers' fatigue and diminish their punctuality while also raising concerns over safety, particularly with respect to female teachers, who are sometimes harassed by community members. Teachers' motivation is influenced by all of these factors as well as by pay and their personal perceptions of how well teaching fulfils their aspirations for a better family life and improves their longer-term career prospects (VSO, 2008).

The ILOPS research also highlights the historic lack of open communication between parents and teachers. To

Figure 1 Teacher expectations and constraints in Burundi, Malawi, Senegal and Uganda



date there has been little discussion about the different expectations and roles of each stakeholder in supporting one another and working together to improve student outcomes. It was widely agreed by ILOPS participants that spaces to discuss each others' roles and expectations are crucial to supporting both teachers and student achievement. Clearly, an ongoing communication strategy involving all stakeholders is an important next step if learning outcomes are to improve significantly.

'De-professionalisation' of teachers

Partners in the ILOPS Project noted that these challenges and the lack of coordinated, long-term responses by the government have led to the deprofessionalisation of teachers. As such, teachers are starting to turn away from the profession. In Burundi, over 80% of primary school teachers explained that, given the poor pay and abysmal working conditions, they would leave the profession if they had other opportunities. In Senegal, 70% of teachers said they came to the profession by vocation and the same proportion also claimed they would like to find another job one day.

Research respondents from all four countries caution that this lack of interest and respect of teaching as a profession is likely to have long-term, negative impacts on the education system and learning outcomes. They noted the importance of teachers having a good sense of purpose and mission towards pupils but also wondered if the current de-professionalisation of teachers could impact this level of dedication. For example, if anyone (without a minimum level of qualification) can be a teacher, can the profession be respected? And if the professional can no longer be respected, then how can parents and pupils be convinced of education being valuable (ActionAid Malawi, 2009).

Similarly, in Senegal, a TU representative shared, 'Being a teacher used to be such a prestigious job in Senegal. In every village the teacher was one of the most respected people. Now the system considers anybody ready to be a teacher' (ActionAid Senegal, 2009a)

Potential links between teacher quality and learning outcomes

Though the ILOPS Project did not set out to pinpoint the relationship between the different types of teachers and student achievement, the findings reveal potential links. The easiest way to connect these two issues is to look at the number of pupils currently succeeding in school. The results show that only a very small number of students obtain their primary certificate. In 2006, 69% of girls and 79% of boys successfully passed the primary leaving exam in Malawi (ActionAid Malawi, 2009). Similarly, 62.2% of children in Burundi (ActionAid Burundi, 2009); 60% in Senegal (ActionAid Senegal, 2009a) and less than 50% in Uganda passed this level (ActionAid Uganda, 2009b).

International assessments also show persistently low performance in basic literacy and numeracy. The Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) shows that in Malawi in 2002 only 0.1% of girls and 0.5% of boys achieved the desired level of mastery (Chimombo et al., 2005). In Uganda, 10.6% of girls and 9.5% of boys attained the desired level of achievement (Byamugisha and Ssenabulya, 2005). The 2007 Programme for Analysing Education Systems (PASEC) in Senegal reveals that 40.6% of fifth graders tested achieved the desired levels (CONFEMEN and Ministry of Education, Senegal, 2007). Comparable international assessments are not available for Burundi nor are test results compiled at the national level. However, information available at the provincial level shows that in 2007, the percentage of students in sixth grade in Bujumbura municipality achieving a 50% passing score in French was 29.1% and in Mathematics 10.3% (ActionAid Burundi, 2009).

In Uganda, these low levels of student achievement are not surprising given that teachers themselves have not mastered these subjects. In an attempt to gauge their level of competency, teachers were recently tested in the same primary leaving examinations sat by pupils. Most of the teachers tested lower than pupils, prompting some very serious questions about the quality of teacher training programmes and their effect on the teachers' performance and, consequently, for student achievement levels (ActionAid Uganda, 2009).

Though there are many factors, in addition to teachers, that impact on student learning (e.g. parental support), teachers are arguably one of the most important inputs. Teachers carry the bulk of the responsibility for imparting their knowledge to children, stimulating positive and productive learning environments and emulating good behaviour. As Figure 1 shows, a good quality teacher is one that has been supported through her/his academic experience and professional development, so that s/he can nurture students to grow as individuals and succeed as students.

These findings have been used throughout the ILOPS Project to facilitate dialogue between key stakeholders on how to better support teachers, parents and students. As a result of this process, all participants reported to having:

- greater respect for teachers' and unions' perspectives, challenges and proposed solutions
- better dialogue between unions and the governments; discussions are expanding beyond salaries to include support for improving teaching and learning practices
- more discussions among unions and teachers on improving teaching practices, involving parents and engaging with para-teachers
- revising the Teachers' Ethical Code of Conduct to better support teachers and protect children's rights; this includes dealing with the 'professionalism' of teachers (e.g. absenteeism) and monitoring and confronting violence at school



Recommendations for improving learning outcomes

Partners in the four countries have defined a number of activities and strategies that can effectively respond to the challenges identified during the research. One major initiative resulting from the ILOPS research is that the ILOPS teams are committed to encouraging and supporting more active parental participation in schools - from interactions with teachers to governance matters and in their children's learning. Structured discussions between pupils, parents, teachers, headteachers, community members, district education officials, education coalitions and unions are also planned so each group can identify their role and how they can best work together to improve student achievement. Below are five examples of activities currently being implemented to improve teaching and ensuing teaching outcomes as a result of the ILOPS Project. Other specific examples of how a participatory approach to decisionmaking can improve learning outcomes can be found in the accompanying parents' brief of the ILOPS Project.

Five key actions for professionalising teachers

Collaboration is the key to sustainable change

ILOPS finding:

The ILOPS research found that researchers, decision-makers and practitioners do not always work closely together and their perspectives rarely lead to joint and sustained initiatives. In addition, parents, teachers, unions, community members and pupils are neither consulted on a regular basis nor are they involved in discussions on what needs to change and how.

Action:

Follow-on activities in all four countries will be implemented by the education coalition, community based groups, the TUs and a national research institute. Parents, PTAs and SMCs, teachers, headteachers, pupils and community members will be consulted on each activity, as well as being involved in the design, implementation and evaluation. Easily accessible documents in local languages will be jointly developed to clarify the roles and obligations of government and other stakeholders.

2 Understanding the teaching workforce is the first step to reforming the teacher management system

ILOPS finding:

The profiling of teachers by academic qualifications, training and salary levels highlighted the huge discrepancies in national teaching workforce statistics. As such, it became clear that current recruitment and training programmes do not respond to teachers needs. The budgeting for teaching staff is not likely to be accurate either as it is based on flawed data.

Action.

The Malawi, Uganda and Senegal teams will partner with the National Teachers' Union, headteachers, teachers and the governments' primary education advisors in the same 60 schools where the ILOPS research took place to expand the teacher profiling research to include issues such as capacity, competency and training needs. The evidence from ILOPS on the availability/shortage of teachers will be used to advocate for equitable deployment in schools and across standards, especially for special needs learners. This assessment will also include costing how many teachers are required and lead to the development of a framework to actively monitor recruitment and training of volunteer teachers. The resulting policy briefs on financing of education, including requirements, obstacles and potential solutions, will help connect need with resources.

3 A coherent teacher management system, matched with adequate resources must be established to manage the teacher recruitment and training budget

ILOPS finding:

There is no coherent national education policy on recruitment, pre-service and in-service training. This has led to the unsystematic hiring of teachers with various levels of academic achievement and qualification. The initial training and in-service training programmes are poorly equipped to address the different challenges these teachers face. As a result, teachers often do not receive the support they require to upgrade their skills and knowledge and practice, child-friendly, nondiscriminatory and participatory techniques in class.

Action:

- The Malawi team will carry out a baseline research in the form of reading, writing and Maths tests and a questionnaire for teachers on their level of qualification and difficulties met in exercising their profession. The Burundi team will deepen the initial assessment of the teacher training programmes to identify areas for change.
- Malawi and Burundi will use the findings from the research to advocate for good quality pre- and onthe-job training. This includes lobbying for a review of the national policy on training for teachers to ensure a definite improvement in the standard of teaching.

The team in Senegal will support better coordination between the various training bodies teachers' colleges, inspectors, headteachers and regional pedagogical centres. They will strengthen the Teachers' Training Support System (TTSS) to better coordinate initial and on-the-job training and to provide technical knowledge and skills to local trainers. The TTSS will design an on-the-job training programme from the results of baseline research on gaps in teachers' and students' performance. This network will coordinate monitoring teachers' performance in the classroom and developing remedial sessions based on needs as identified by teachers themselves.

4 More research is needed on the impact of the various types of teachers on the teaching profession and student achievement

ILOPS finding:

The trend in hiring contract, untrained and under qualified teachers is increasing yet there is little research on what this means for the quality of education. Independent research is needed to profile these different teachers and track their performance and potential impact on learning.

Action:

In Malawi and Burundi, a longitudinal, comparative study will be undertaken to fill the following knowledge gaps. The findings will be used to advocate for reforming the teacher management system. It will frame this work within a rights' based approach: rights of children and rights of teacher and facilitate:

- a holistic understanding of the many factors that have led to the development of such different teacher profiles
- a clearer definition of education quality and achievement
- a deeper understanding of the different teachers, their profiles and their employers
- the development of a coherent policy on how to recruit, train and offer professional development and career advancement opportunities to contract/para-teachers

The Teachers' Code of Conduct should maintain teachers' professionalism

ILOPS finding:

The Teachers' Code of Conduct is supposed to guide the teaching profession in terms of ethics. However, not all teachers are aware of this Code. Mechanisms are not in place to hold teachers who abuse their positions accountable, either through drunken behaviour, harassing and abusing pupils or not showing up for work.

Action:

The Uganda team will support 320 teachers (120 in Kalangala and 200 in Masindi) to understand, adhere and comply with the professional Code of Conduct. They will develop and produce 500 popular/translated versions of the teacher professional Code of Conduct as well as lobby for its review. Guidelines for monitoring compliance with the professional Code of Conduct will be developed and utilised by the 320 teachers. This process will strengthen peer accountability and hold teachers accountable for their actions.



Conclusion

The ILOPS project sought to provide relevant, contextspecific information on the current availability and status of teachers. Using a participatory methodology allowed stakeholders to agree on a common definition of what constitutes a quality teacher and assess the adequacy of recruitment and training policies in achieving this profile. The ILOPS researchers found existing recruitment, pay and training policies to be largely incoherent and highlighted the need to understand how the different qualification and training levels of teachers influence education quality and student achievement. Dialogue between a wider group of stakeholders and the governments is already taking place in order to develop both short and long term strategies to restore teachers into their rightful place as valued professionals.

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