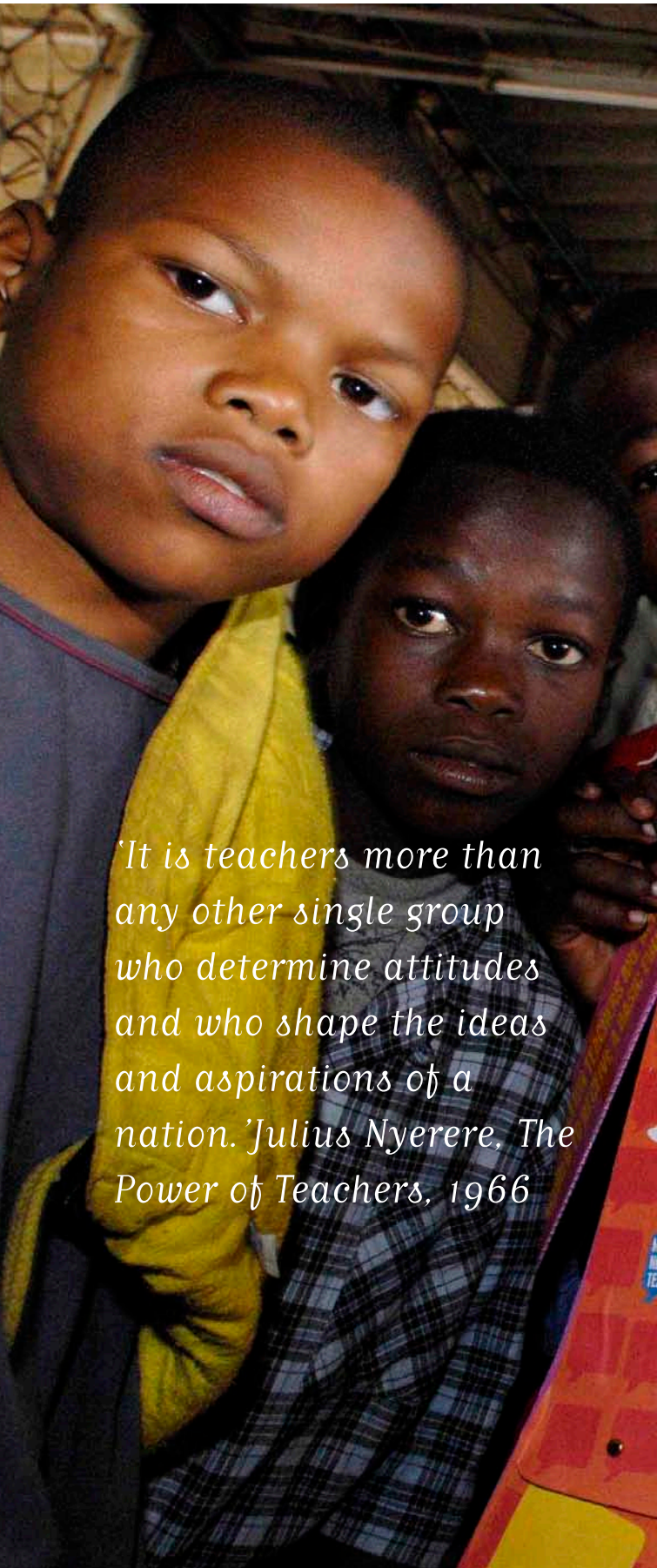




EVERY CHILD NEEDS A
TEACHER



'It is teachers more than any other single group who determine attitudes and who shape the ideas and aspirations of a nation.' Julius Nyerere, The Power of Teachers, 1966

Every child needs a teacher

Last year, the Global Campaign for Education mobilised five million children, parents, teachers and activists in over 100 countries around the call to 'Send My Friend To School'. As a result, the major international policy events of the year – the G8 Summit and the UN Millennium +5 World Summit - delivered strong endorsements of the right to free and compulsory education of good quality.

Perhaps more importantly, in dozens of countries, national leaders vowed their continued support to the Education For All goals. Budget increases for education were promised in Cote D'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo and Niger. Pakistan introduced free books and stipends for girl students in Punjab, and undertook to improve infrastructure in 64,000 schools. Ministers in Cameroon, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Burundi pledged to abolish user fees in education, and the government of the Philippines agreed to employ more teachers. These promises, and others like them around the world, represent crucial progress in the push to achieve EFA by 2015.

Teachers are the lifeblood of any education system – a school place, books and classrooms are useless without a teacher. Across the world, millions of teachers, most of them women, are working tirelessly for poverty wages educating the next generation. Teachers such as Nellie Kumambala in Malawi, who teaches classes of more than 100 children, and is paid \$40 dollars a month. Everyone remembers their favourite teacher- the person who inspired them and helped them become who they are. Teachers shape the minds of the future. Worldwide at least 15 million more teachers are required between now and 2015 in order to meet the Education For All goals.

Campaign Briefing

Once respected members of their communities, teachers are now overworked, demoralised and undervalued. Teachers in Zambia are paid the same in 2006 as they were in 1975, and can no longer support their families. Yet evidence suggests that far from being a priority issue for policy-makers, teachers remain last in line for investment and attention. As a result, the teaching profession is overstretched and under-rewarded, leading to teachers leaving the profession in droves. HIV/AIDS compounds this, killing more teachers in some African countries each year than can be trained.

Instead of helping, rich countries steal teachers from poor countries to prop up their own education systems, and at the same time fail to give the aid money they promised to support poor country education plans. The World Bank, rather than support these heroic teachers, chooses to present them as the villains- lazy, absent and ineffective. They support the undermining of the teaching profession by pushing for the recruitment of unqualified para-teachers. The IMF compound this by denying governments the ability to employ more teachers using their economic straightjacket.

Last year rich countries, under pressure from campaigners worldwide, promised to increase their aid by \$50 billion by 2010. If they do this, and these increases are directed to education, every child could go to school and be taught by a qualified teacher. Sadly so far rich countries have completely failed to meet this promise. In the last year 95% of aid increases in fact went to Iraqi debt relief. Aid to education remains a fraction of what it should and could easily be. At the same time education aid is wasted on expensive consultants; 100% of US aid to education is spent on this technical assistance.

2006 is the year for the international community to put right this wrong. As a first step at the World Bank/IMF Spring Meetings finance ministers must apologise for wasting their aid and failing the children of the world. They must immediately commit to targeting the increases in aid they have promised to education, and to long-term support to recruit an army of teachers to bring hope to a new generation.

Building on the huge success of past years' campaigning, GCE continues to build pressure on governments and the international community, pushing for the removal of obstacles to the achievement of EFA. This year, campaigners worldwide will unite around the theme 'Every Child Needs A Teacher' – calling on national governments and the international community to enable the recruitment and retention of a professional well-motivated teacher workforce so that every child can be taught by a qualified teacher in a class no bigger than 40. Without vast numbers of teachers, properly supported, and valued by society, the world stands no chance of realising the dream of Education For All.

Education For All – an enduring challenge for the world

Education is the key to eliminating poverty and realising rights. At the turn of the Millennium this indisputable truth was reaffirmed at the World Education Forum in Dakar, with the adoption of the Education For All goals by over 160 countries. Later that year, world leaders again acknowledged the critical role of education when they incorporated two of these into the Millennium Development Goals².

Yet right now, over 100 million children worldwide do not have access to education. The majority of them are girls. These children wake up every day without the hope that education offers. These children know poverty, know hard labour, know ill-health and HIV/AIDS... but they will never know the inside of a schoolroom or the care and attention of a teacher.

This silent emergency has a real and immediate effect on the capacity of countries to make inroads into poverty and on citizens' ability to realise their rights. Research has shown that education, especially of women and girls, is the single most powerful weapon in the fight against poverty and inequality:

- Failure to achieve gender equality in education by 2005 will lead to over 10 million unnecessary child and maternal deaths over a decadeⁱ.
- HIV/AIDS infection rates are doubled among young people who do not finish primary school. If every girl and boy received a complete primary education, at least 7 million new cases of HIV could be prevented in a decadeⁱⁱ.

- Education is a key economic asset for individuals and for nations. Every year of schooling lost represents a 10 to 20% reduction in girls' future incomes. Countries could raise per capita economic growth by about 0.3% per year – or 3% in the next decade - if they simply attained parity in girls' and boys' enrolmentsⁱⁱⁱ.
- Failure to educate girls and women perpetuates needless hunger. Gains in women's education contributed most to reducing malnutrition between 1970-1995, playing a more important role than increased food availability^{iv}.

Compelling arguments about the social and economic benefits that flow from educating all children can clearly be made, but we should never let these obscure the fact that education is a basic human right. The goal of getting all girls and boys into school is critical in itself, and also enables girls and boys to access and secure their other rights.

"Only a person who is aware that he or she has rights can better strive for those rights, whether it be the right to a job, to obtain adequate food, shelter or medical care, to participate actively in political life, or to benefit from the progress of science and technology," UNESCO Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura

Since 1990 there has been tentative but discernible progress towards achieving the dream of all children completing an education of good quality. Between 1990 and 2002^{vi} seventy-five million more children were enrolled in primary school. Over the past five years, primary school fees have been abolished in many countries, especially in Africa. These and other policy measures have helped enrolment to inch up slowly, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia.

¹The Education For All (EFA) goals committed governments to achieving the following goals by 2015:

- Expand early childhood care and education;
- Ensure all children, particularly girls, complete free and compulsory, good quality primary education;
- Ensure equal access to learning and life-skills training for young people and adults;
- Achieve a 50% improvement in adult literacy rates;
- Achieve gender equality in primary and secondary education; and
- Improve the quality of education – especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

²The education related Millennium Development Goals (MDG) aim to:

- Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling
- Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and to all levels of education no later than 2015

Some cases have been dramatic, following the abolition of user fees; in Uganda, enrolment rose in 1996 from 3.4 million to 5.7 million students; in Kenya in 2003, from 5.9 million to 7.2 million students; and in Tanzania in 2002, from 1.5 million to 3 million students^{vii}. When Burundi abolished user fees in 2005, an additional 500,000 children immediately enrolled in school.

Yet this progress, however welcome, remains far short of what is necessary to achieve Education for All or even the more minimal targets in the MDG framework. 40% of sub-Saharan African countries fail to get every child of school age into the first year of education. High population growth rates, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia, are adding to the school-age population, bringing about an increase in demand for education that outstrips the ability of countries to expand the number of school places. Indeed recent estimates suggest that an extra 200 million children will have to enter primary schooling between now and 2015, taking such forecasts into account^{viii}. The 2005 Millennium Development Goal target of achieving gender equality in primary and secondary education was missed in 94 countries.

And crucially, even where countries have succeeded in significantly increasing enrolments to meet demand, concerns about quality endure. Repetition rates remain unacceptably high in a significant number of countries, and ensuring that children remain in school until the last grade of primary schooling remains a major challenge. Again, these problems are particularly acute in sub-Saharan Africa where two-thirds of all children never complete their primary education.

Thus, the urgent task for governments of poor countries, supported by donors and international financial institutions, is to redouble efforts and accelerate progress in both access and quality in education at a much greater rate than is currently being achieved. The challenge is great,

but it is achievable, and essential; offering free good quality primary education to all children is the most cost-effective investment the world could ever make – and the duty of all governments to provide.

Education for All = Teaching for All

In the drive to achieve the education goals, one factor above all others crucially determines a country's ability to make speedy and meaningful progress: a supply of professionally-trained, well-motivated teachers. Teachers are the cornerstone of any education system – a school place, books and curricula are clearly meaningless inputs unless there are teachers to deliver classes. They are also the mediators of quality in education, with their contribution being pivotal among a handful of factors that contributes to children completing an education and achieving good learning outcomes.

'High quality education for our children is essential. I think each of us recognizes that the transmission mechanism for that – "more than anything else" is the quality of the teachers and the consistency of teaching that goes into the training of our young people.' James D. Wolfensohn, Former President, World Bank 2004

As many developing countries move from a model of education for the relatively privileged to mass education, the contribution of teachers becomes even more critical. As highlighted above, countries that have recently abolished fees are welcoming thousands of children into education from communities never before served by schools. Education commentators argue that first generation learners have greater needs than those who have traditionally attended school. They are usually from disadvantaged social groups and are more likely to belong to an ethnic, caste or class minority whose language or dialect may not be used as the medium of instruction. Such children are further disadvantaged due to their

parents' inability to help them with their homework or communicate with their teachers. Without the special efforts of teachers to accommodate their needs, it is these children who are at the greatest risk of being 'pushed out' of school.

Making education free: teachers needed!

There is growing recognition of the fact that user fees in education are a very significant obstacle to progress on getting all children into school. Recent influential policy research reports, from sources such as the UN Millennium Report and Tony Blair's Commission For Africa, have identified the elimination of fees and other charges in education as a top priority for eliminating poverty. More and more national governments are responding to popular demand by announcing an end to these unpopular and obstructive costs with the result that children are flooding into schools in their millions. However, these impressive gains risk being squandered in less than a generation if there are not enough teachers to accommodate them.

In Nepal, the successful School Enrolment Campaign of 2005 ran into difficulties after an additional 200,000 students turned up to school. UNICEF, the World Bank and the government of Nepal had agreed that the number of teachers would be frozen until 2009. However, an extra 4,000 teachers will be needed to staff 4,000 new classrooms so that these children can actually stay in school and learn.

When Malawi eliminated fees in 1994 enrolment increased by 51% from 1.9 million to 3 million necessitating a 75% increase in the number of teachers. To meet this demand about 20,000 untrained teachers were recruited and deployed after a three-week induction course. Simultaneously, about 4,000 retired teachers were recalled to service. Government was unable to allocate sufficient funds to meet the demand and the response from donors was poor. As a result there was overcrowding in schools, the ratio between the numbers of pupils and permanent classrooms rose to 119:1 and that between pupils and textbooks to 24:1.

Sources: ActionAid *Contradicting Commitments, 2005*; UK Department for International Development *From Commitment to Action, 2005*

Female teachers can be extremely important in making schools more girl-friendly^{ix}, especially for improving girls' enrolment, retention and achievement. According to UNESCO "girls' enrolment rises relative to boys' as the proportion of female teachers rises from low levels". This positive correlation between female teachers and girls' enrolment is often particularly strong in countries where girls' enrolments are relatively low and cultural practices mitigate against girls going to school.

But teaching contributes much more than even this overview suggests. There is increasing, and justified, expectation that teaching will incorporate elements of socialisation and nurturing, with teachers acting as role models and counsellors for their pupils. Teachers are also required to pass on the values of society, enable children to develop 'life skills' and the competence to participate in the knowledge economy.

'It is teachers more than any other single group who determine attitudes and who shape the ideas and aspirations of a nation.' Julius Nyerere, *The Power of Teachers*, 1966

Never has Nyerere this statement rung more true than today. As developing countries struggle against challenges caused by conflict, HIV/AIDS, and economic shocks and crises, it is teachers who pick up the pieces. In contexts as diverse as Liberia and Nepal, teachers are the key to ensuring that children receive an education that is relevant, high quality and meets a range of learning and emotional needs.

Teachers are the frontline

Jeanne d'Arc Mujawamaliya, is 43 years old, and is headmistress of two school centres in rural Rwanda. She also represents the primary teachers' union SNEP, chairs the National Women's Council and is regional AIDS coordinator for the Kibuye province.

Rwanda remains severely affected by the genocide, which in 1994 claimed one million casualties (one eighth of the population). One direct result of the troubles was the total collapse of the Rwandan school system. Every school was either totally destroyed or seriously damaged, and a large number of teachers were killed or forced into exile. For example, seven teachers were killed in the rural education centre where Jeanne was teaching at the time. The genocide has also contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS because rape was used as a weapon.

In 2002, Jeanne was trained through Education International to become a master trainer on HIV prevention. Jeanne is also fighting for funding from the government and other authorities for AIDS orphans. Families who are affected by AIDS often struggle to send their children, especially their daughters to school. This is because children need to compensate for the lack of income and manpower resulting from parents' disease. On occasions, they also have to stay at home to look after sick family members. Furthermore, families that suffer from AIDS withdraw their children from school when they no longer have the money to pay school fees. Rwanda, like many other developing countries, depends on school fees in order to pay teachers salaries.

'I want to see every Rwandan child attend school,' says Jeanne. 'Only this way, will they have the essential knowledge about HIV/AIDS and the skills they need to avoid dangerous situations and protect themselves.'

'At home, no schools were opened. It was during the war in the early 1990s. No activity was going on. Children were going astray. I appealed to ECOMOG to allow me to carry on some activity for the children. They agreed. A mother in my church and I conducted Sunday school classes with the kids. My older daughter also joined me. Later on the children became more. Since I was at teacher, I started a little class with children in the neighbourhood and began teaching them so that they would not go astray.'

Mother Viola Shaw-Lewis, Kindergarten Teacher, Kingsville Public School, Liberia

Teaching now: a profession on the brink

It is clear that there is more need than ever before to ensure that there are enough well-motivated, professional teachers to guarantee every child, in whatever circumstances, a quality education. Yet evidence suggests that far from being a priority issue for policy-makers, teachers remain last in line for investment and attention. As a result, the teaching profession is on the whole overstretched and under-rewarded, leading to demoralisation and attrition out of the profession.

The world desperately needs more teachers

The teacher shortage crisis is dramatic - at least 15 million more teachers will need to be trained and recruited between now and 2015. The shortage of teachers varies from country to country but the greatest need is reported to be in Sub-Saharan Africa, South and West Asia and the North African and Arab states - the same regions which have furthest to go to achieve 100% primary school enrolment and completion rates^x. The total number of teachers working in schools across the world currently stands at around 26 million, even the lower end of this estimate amounts to more than a 50% increase in the size of the global teaching force.

This staggering number of extra teachers needed to provide good quality education to all children by 2015 begins to make sense when compared to the estimated 200 million children that will enter primary schooling between now and 2015. This includes over 100 million primary-school aged children who are not in school today plus the estimated increases in the primary-school aged population that will result from current forecasts of population growth during the 9 years left

until 2015^{xi}. If the teachers, educators and teacher trainers required for the planned expansion of early childhood care and education, lower secondary education and adult literacy programmes (all part of the now widely accepted definition of basic education, and key pillars of the EFA goals) are also factored in, the number of teachers needed could be even higher.

'Africa is undergoing a teacher shortage of critical proportions. Ghana has just a quarter of the teachers it needs and Lesotho only a fifth... Large sums must be invested in teacher training, staff retention and professional development. Teacher/child ratios should be brought to under 1:40 in basic education. Donor countries and international financial institutions must change their policies to allow recurrent expenditure – including teachers' salaries – to be paid for from aid' (Report of the Commission for Africa, 2005).

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If the global figure is awesome, the numbers of teachers needed at country and regional level often mean a doubling of the teacher workforce. The 2006 Education For All Global Monitoring Report cites examples such as Cameroon which could need an additional 22,000 teachers and Bangladesh which could require an extra 167,000. Sub-Saharan Africa alone is estimated to be in need of at least 4 million additional teachers to enable governments to provide universal access to primary education^{xii}.

Burkina Faso, Mali and the Niger, where GERs [Gross Enrolment Ratios] are still low, would each need to increase teacher supply by 20% per year. The number of teachers in the Niger would need to quadruple, from 20,000 to 80,000 in the next ten years or so. Even in countries that would need only moderate teacher supply growth rates, such as Bangladesh (4%) and Cameroon (3%), this would involve huge absolute increases: from 49,000 to 71,000 teachers in Cameroon and from 315,000 to 482,000 in Bangladesh' (Education For All Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO, 2006).

The demand for more teachers is exacerbated by the impact of HIV and

AIDS. There is compelling evidence that teacher mortality rates are likely to grow over time^{xiii} and are already doubling in the worst affected areas, thereby exacerbating or even causing teacher shortages^{xiv}. Conservative estimates for 2005 teacher mortality rates in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia point to a loss of at the very least 600 teachers each to AIDS, and at least 300 in Mozambique. Less conservative estimates put the 2005 figures at between 1,100 to 3,000 teacher deaths as a result of AIDS in each of Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique^{xv}.

In high prevalence countries HIV and AIDS has been reported to account for as much as 77% of teacher absenteeism. HIV & AIDS related absenteeism itself has at least three dimensions. Teachers may need to take time off work to: attend the funerals of friends or relatives; to care for sick relatives (where primary teachers are predominantly women, absenteeism necessitated by caring requirements may be intensified, as research has shown that the burden of care falls disproportionately on the shoulders of women); or because teachers themselves become ill. 'The long, debilitating illness that generally precedes death from AIDS implies loss of teacher contact time, quality, continuity and experience^{xvi}'. Unlike some other causes of absenteeism, time taken off work for any of the above reasons is completely legitimate and so should be factored into government planning.

Many efforts are being made by teachers and their unions to address the pandemic. For example the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) has conducted a broad survey of HIV prevalence in the teaching community and produced a policy response to accompany their survey. Education International and its affiliates are already working in conjunction with the World Health Organisation in many countries on HIV & AIDS awareness and training. SADTU's work shows that there is also a role to play for teachers unions in advocacy policy dialogue around government's response to HIV & AIDS.

In addition to population growth, drives for universal access and deaths and absenteeism associated with HIV & AIDS (and of course other illnesses) a further cause of teacher shortages is migration and attrition. Where teachers are migrating in large numbers to other countries the flow of trained teachers not only undermines governments' efforts to supply their schools with enough teachers and reduce escalating pupil-teacher ratios, but it also allows richer countries to capitalise on investments made in training of teachers.

Guyana

"They come back every year, and every time they come, we lose dozens of teachers", complains Avril Crawford, President of the Guyana Teachers' Union (GTU). 'They' are the British recruiters on their annual visit to Guyana to meet teachers who replied to their advertisements for applicants to teach in Britain. 'Recruitment agencies from the United States and the Bahamas are now flocking in, too. Even Botswana looks for teachers here', exclaims Avril Crawford. The Bahamas and Bermuda are the Caribbean countries that headhunt most from their neighbours. Guyana is one of the few Latin American English-speaking countries. Its teachers are highly trained, but working conditions are poor, making them more open to attractive offers from elsewhere. The highest monthly salary that a Guyanese teacher could earn is € 400, which even a novice teacher in the Bahamas would spurn.'

Source: Education International Brain Drain: Rich country seeks poor teachers. Brussels 2005

Countries such as USA, Canada, the UK and France are popular destination countries for skilled migrants, especially where there is a high demand for teachers and nurses, and historical, colonial or language links between countries or possibilities for family reunification where earlier generations have migrated. In some cases, rich countries have been found to be actively recruiting teachers from countries such as Guyana, with offers of higher pay, better working conditions and quality of life.

'...it is not just the best teachers that are taken, but also the most experienced, who are also versed in management and administration duties. The loss of teachers is a vicious circle for countries drained of their resources. These are countries that

have invested in teacher training, put public money into raising teaching standards, and at the end of the day, lose them as soon as they have built up the necessary experience.^{xvii}

As a result of this growing crisis in the teaching profession, quality education remains a dream in many countries that are struggling with unacceptably high pupil-teacher ratios and class sizes. In Zambia, for example, the government projects a pupil-teacher ratio of 64:1 within its education sector plan^{xviii}. The use of double or triple shifting (in which the same teachers are expected to teach two or three different shifts of children per day) or multi-grade teaching (whereby teachers are expected to teach differently aged children, at different stages of their studies in the same classroom) is also widespread. The effect on teachers is not only demoralisation, but also exhaustion.

Although in some countries teaching is often dominated by women, in the regions with the greatest gender disparities, and lowest enrolments of girls, female teachers continue to be a minority^{xix}. As we have seen above, the presence of female teachers at secondary as well as primary level can be critical to allowing girls to progress through their education.

Female teachers missing

Worryingly, between 1990 and 2000 the number of female teachers decreased in a number of countries where the percentages of female teachers were already extremely low: for example Benin, Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic, Djibouti and Togo. The proportion of women teachers is lowest in South and West Asia and in sub-Saharan Africa; in sixteen sub-Saharan African countries women hold only one third or less of teaching posts and in Benin and Chad, less than one-fifth of primary teachers are women.

The proportion of female teachers tends to get lower as the level of education gets higher, with fewer teachers teaching at secondary and tertiary levels of education. In countries including Benin, Burkina Faso, the Comoros, the Congo, Eritrea and Senegal, less than 15% of all secondary teachers are women.

Source: UNESCO Education For All Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO 2006

Undervaluing teachers

Members of the Global Campaign for Education have observed for some years that teacher motivation and morale is fragile and declining. Large class sizes caused by under-investment in teachers, the declining quality of training and the gradual erosion of teacher terms and conditions are two major causes of the decline in teacher motivation and morale. Together with policy measures designed to accommodate more children without increasing cost - such as the use of double or triple shifting or multi-grade teaching, the effect on teachers is not only demoralisation, but also exhaustion.

'In a survey by VSO of teachers in Malawi, Zambia and Papua New Guinea, three primary concerns emerged as well as low pay. Allowances and incentives were considered insecure, inequitable and often not included in pension plans; payment of salaries and allowances was late; and accommodation, where available, was in poor condition. The survey also noted the scarcity of promotion opportunities, the personal costs of furthering professional development through study, and a lack of transparency and equity in promotion processes. Collectively, such conditions help explain why some teachers leave the profession and many feel their professional status is undermined.^{xx}'

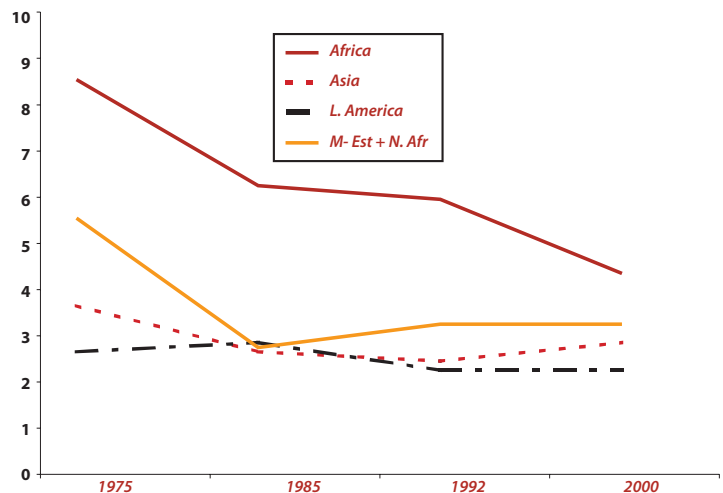
In a truly rational society, the best of us would aspire to be teachers and the rest would have to settle for something less, because passing on civilisation from one generation to the next ought to be the highest honour, and the highest responsibility anyone could have. Lee Iacocca, Industrialist

In many cases teacher salaries and other incentives are either woefully inadequate or, because of malfunctioning salary payment systems, are paid late, paid only partially or not paid at all. As the graph, below, shows, teacher salaries have declined massively relative to per capita GDP. As a result many teachers

have to take second jobs (often as private tutors, or by engaging in subsistence farming) to make ends meet, adding to their exhaustion, affecting their ability to prepare lessons and assess students' work, and often resulting in teacher absenteeism or attrition from the profession. In a 2003 survey of Education For All plans from six sub-Saharan African countries, Education International found that all countries in the survey were struggling to deliver quality education with extremely high proportions of untrained teachers.

Source: Oxfam International briefing paper (unpublished)

Average primary - school teachers salary - ratio to per capita GDP



In addition teacher management provisions – supervision, continuing professional development, promotion systems etc – are in disarray in many countries, further adding to teacher demoralisation. Measures to tackle bias and discrimination against female teachers, disabled teachers (if disabled people are even allowed to train as teachers) ethnic, caste and other minorities are conspicuous by their absence in most countries, further degrading the morale of such teachers.

What's more, the status of teachers in the eyes of society has declined in direct proportion to the decline in salary levels and quality of training. As teaching has become a profession of last resort, so have communities turned to teachers as convenient scapegoats for societies ill. Despite constricted education budgets,

leading to under investment in teacher training and spiralling class sizes, and rushed decentralisation processes leading to overworked and under-trained education managers and head-teachers, it is usually teachers who are blamed for any decline in the quality of education. This decline in status adds to the already multiple layers of demoralising factors that undermine teachers' ability to deliver the best quality education.

Not only do teachers come under fire from their own governments and populations, they are also attacked by the World Bank, which persistently characterises teachers as lazy, absent and unconcerned with the quality of education. The 2004 World Development Report is a prime example of this castigation of teachers, noting as it does that 'cases of malfeasance by teachers are distressingly present in many cases; teachers show up drunk, are physically abusive, or simply do nothing at all.' This kind of sweeping statement is an insult to the millions of teachers who continue to try their best, in the most challenging of circumstances to live up to their own high standards. As will be shown later in this report, the Bank has also used these observations to bolster their own arguments in favour of para-professional teachers.

'We don't have enough material, books and computers. Classrooms are over-crowded. Each teacher has to look after 160 pupils, 80 in the morning and 80 in the afternoon. Many pupils are poor and their parents cannot buy the necessary material.... But I would not leave teaching for another job. It is a vocation, it requires a conscience and spirit. One gives themselves to the world of children. If one likes children, they cannot walk away.' Martine Hujawimana, Rwandan teacher

Teachers must be seen as part of the solution, not part of the problem. Poor pay, low status and morale are key causes of poor performance and corrupt behaviour in the public sector. Countries which have succeeded in tackling these problems have

improved the status and remuneration of workers whilst simultaneously insisting on performance improvements and strengthened accountability mechanisms. Codes of conduct for public sector employees can be effective. In Bangladesh, India and Nepal codes of conduct are seen to have a significant positive impact on commitment, professional behaviour and performance of teachers and staff and to contribute to a reduction in teacher absenteeism.

Female teachers face a 'double jeopardy' with many policies compounding their problems. In some countries women have inadequate arrangements for maternity leave and the posting of female teachers to rural areas, often far from their own communities, may pose particular difficulties for them. Another research project found that female teachers expressed concerns about the increased risks of physical insecurity and sexual harassment of being posted far from home^{xxii}. Within countries there are often marked regional variations in the numbers of female teachers, with the proportion of women in rural schools often being particularly low.

Wider gender inequalities also affect the experiences that men and women have of teaching. Positions of authority in education systems are overwhelmingly dominated by men – in Bolivia only 16% of head-teacher posts are held by women^{xxiii}. The employment of women as 'para-teachers', at a fraction of the salary of a regular teacher, can have serious implications for the professionalism and status of women and women teachers often have even fewer opportunities for promotion than men^{xxiv}.

'As of now, as a primary school teacher, I am not satisfied because of the low salaries, working conditions and the dilapidated buildings. We teach under trees and when it rains we can't teach.' Nellie Kumambala, Primary School Teacher, Malawi



Teacher's View in Zambia

Tobias Mwandila is a History teacher:

"It was my uncle who inspired me to be a teacher. Growing up I used to sit and watch him read books, and I got really interested in learning and would love going to school. I've been teaching for 17 years now.

In this time, many things have changed for the worse. More and more children are coming to school, but teachers now get less and less support. We're teaching classes of 70 students. We have to mark all those books, and assess and evaluate each of the pupils work. It's not easy.

We are often not paid on time, sometimes waiting up to 45 days for our salary, but we still have to pay rent and keep our families. Many of my colleagues have problems, family members have died from one of the many diseases in the country. And we are looking after children at school who are orphans." Credit: Oxfam, Zambia



Teacher's View in Ghana

Teacher Albert, as his students like to call him, worries about the status of his school that he has headed for the past eight years. The teachers and students struggle in poor conditions - the dilapidated classrooms have been battered by heavy rains year in and year out. With every passing rainy season, classroom walls collapse, exposing the children more and more to snakes, scorpions and insects creeping from overgrown bushes nearby.

Albert Aziah, 32, set up the local primary school in Adiembra so that children did not have to walk many kilometres to school everyday. In the last year his school has seen an increase in enrolments due to a government fee-free education policy. But there has been no increase in the number of teachers. The kindergarten class has more than 70 eager children, struggling to gain the attention of one teacher.

Credit: World Vision, Ghana



School Student's View in Brazil

Eliane, aged 11, is in the fourth and final year at her village school in São Sebastião de Jaçara, Brazil. Her school only has one teacher, who teaches all four years at the same time. Next year in order to continue her education Eliane will have to move far from her parents, to the town of Porto de Moz, as this has the nearest large school. Like her brothers and sister, she will stay with a family and pay her rent, by working as a domestic labourer. If she's lucky she will get home to her parents in the holidays, twice a year.

"I really want to finish school, but I don't want to leave my family. It will be so hard to live with someone else and only come home twice a year. If our school had more teachers I wouldn't have to make this choice. I could finish my education and stay with my family and everyone would be happy."



Teacher's View in Mozambique

Mendes Jonas is an English teacher in Pemba, Mozambique

"I've been teaching for 17 years, including through the civil war, when our classrooms were raided. Mozambique is a poor country with a lot of problems. We need doctors and engineers to develop this country for the future - that is why I am a teacher.

Our town is expensive now, because tourists now come here. My family struggle on what I earn, sometimes all it pays for is food for the month, but I still have to buy uniforms and books for my children to go to school. It's not me alone; all teachers in Mozambique have these problems – problems of food, transport and health.

I have two sons, both in primary school. My youngest Eddie wants to be a teacher when he grows up."



How did we get here?

How has this desperate situation come about? The long-term causes are well-known but bear revisiting to put the current crisis in historical context. Many countries now struggling to open the doors of learning to all spent the two decades up to the turn of the Millennium straining under the burden of unpayable debt. Investment in social sectors – such as health and education – was severely constrained in order to meet debt repayments. In 1999 Ethiopia spent \$6 per capita on debt-servicing compared to \$2.5 per capita on education. Such problems were compounded by prescriptions arising from structural adjustment programmes, which prioritised short-term fiscal objectives over public sector investment. And, at the same time as domestic budgets were squeezed between these two pressures, aid fell dramatically in the 1990s, shrinking to its lowest-ever level in real terms by 2000 with a tiny proportion – just 1.4% - of donor aid going to basic education.

By 2000, a shift in the terms of debate about development and poverty had occurred. Promulgated by the World Bank, poverty reduction became the new mantra, and governments were encouraged to prioritise strategies and spending designed to mitigate the impact of economic adjustment and benefit the poor. Rich countries backed this philosophy; the Education For All Declaration, Millennium Development Goals and subsequently the Monterrey Consensus³ supposedly made this project a global endeavour and responsibility. During 2005, rich countries further promised to raise aid to \$50 billion by 2010 and offering full debt cancellation to 18 highly-indebted poor countries. The high-profile political events of the year – the G8 Summit and Millennium +5 Summit – delivered endorsement of ‘free primary education of good quality’ for all children.

However, an analysis of the situation facing many developing countries reveals that they are today still desperately short of resources needed to make the right investments in their education systems.

Governments – could do better

National governments aiming to achieve Education For All must take cognisance of the fact that teachers are pivotal to the project. But, ensuring that there are enough teachers, that they are adequately remunerated for their efforts and are supported by appropriate incentives, training and management all costs money.

Government funds have always been, and will remain, the major source of expenditure on education as a whole and especially for those aspects that enable the recruitment and retention of a suitable teacher workforce. Typically, teacher salaries make up between 65% and 95% of countries recurrent budgets. Low economic growth has restricted the ability of many of the poorest countries to finance primary education. Nevertheless, more could be done. Despite longstanding commitments to increase education spending to 6% of GDP, countries in Africa and South and West Asia countries still devote an average of less than 3.5% of GDP to spending on all levels of education.^{xxv} Primary education receives less of their GDP, on average, than military spending.

The UNESCO Global Monitoring Report for 2006 shows that there is considerable variation in the patterns of domestic investment in education, despite increasing global consensus on appropriate levels of expenditure. Public spending on education as a share of national income increased between 1998 and 2002 in about two-thirds of countries, according to the report. Education’s share of the national budget, which is a useful indication of domestic political priorities, typically ranges between 10% and 30%. More than half the countries in sub-Saharan Africa with data available spend over 15% of the government budget on education. Yet even where public spending matches internationally recommended targets, it is often simply not

³Declared at the International Conference on Financing For Development, the Monterrey Consensus committed governments to ‘a new partnership between developed and developing countries’. It urged that as long as ‘respected principles of good governance and mobilised sufficient domestic resources, rich countries should play their part by encouraging investment, freeing the terms of trade, tackling debt and increasing ODA.’

enough to get all children into school whilst protecting and improving quality.

Faced with budget constraints and pressure from both domestic and external sources to expand education, countries have resorted to hiring contract or non-professional teachers. Although non-professional teachers can provide an important stop-gap for staffing inadequacies, these untrained, poorly-compensated teachers are struggling to provide a quality education.

Para Teachers in South Asia India

India has witnessed a phenomenal rise in the number of para-teachers from primary to senior secondary schools...more than 220,000 para-teachers were engaged in full time/regular schools during the period from 1994-1999, the present count is likely to be substantially higher. Unofficial estimates put it in excess of 500,000. Recruitment procedures and service conditions of these teachers vary considerably across the states, as does the underlying stated rationale. In some states, such schemes were seen as interim or exceptional measures, whereas in others they are long-term policy. Gradually, the exception appears to have become the 'norm' all over the country. Often such a move is justified in financial terms as for one regular teacher's salary, 3 to 5 para-teachers can be appointed. However, there are now a large number of field-studies that suggest that such schemes have little merit. As well as creating 'dualism' within the public provisioning, the damage to educational quality has been huge.

Pakistan

Teachers interviewed by VSO Pakistan expressed deep concern about various aspects of fixed term contracts – which have become widespread in Pakistan. The introduction of different terms and conditions for new recruits has provoked outcry amongst existing teachers, who complain that despite additional recruitment, their workloads have increased. This is because the limited job security of new recruits means they have a disincentive to work hard and as a result, they are frequently absent as they hunt for alternative employment. The introduction of contract teachers has thus created a two-tier system of incentives, in which existing teachers on a job-for-life type contract have access to in-service training, transfer and promotion prospects and salary increments whilst the newly recruited teachers on fixed-term contracts do not have such entitlements

Sources: Contradicting Commitments, ActionAid 2005; Teacher Professionalism in Punjab VSO/DFID 2005

Domestic political will is clearly key, but countries are critically constrained by a number of external factors. As highlighted above, the last few years have seen repeated promises from the international community that plans and strategies that aim to reduce poverty and achieve the MDGs will receive timely and effective support from donors and international institutions. Disappointingly, however, it appears that reality falls short of their grand statements, leaving countries in the lurch when it comes to addressing the pressing needs of their populations.

Must try harder: teachers cannot be hired with promises

Even if all developing countries substantially increased their own education investments, they would need additional support to achieve the MDGs. Many good performers are already spending as much as 20%, or more, of their government budgets on education. This means that they are already up to the absolute limit of what they can finance from their existing budgets. As Ethiopia's Ministry of Education points out:

'In a country like Ethiopia, with a total population of over 65 million, achieving good quality universal primary education by 2015 will require a huge sum of money and other resources as well. Since the Ethiopian government is committed and has given it high priority, we will not defer this goal until sometime later. However the total resources requirement may be unbearable for such a poor country as Ethiopia. To achieve the targets set, the financing gap has to be filled. But, if additional money is not available, the targets will not be achieved.'^{xxxvi}

One would imagine then, that the international donor community would be eager to live up to its side of the promise made in Dakar and reiterated at major events since – that no country with a viable plan to achieve Education For All should be allowed to fail for lack of resources.

However, aid to basic education in poor countries has increased only very modestly in the last five years, to about \$2.6 billion, representing just 6% of the total aid that is given^{xxvii}. This leaves the international community at the very least \$5 billion and probably as much as \$10 billion^{xxix} away from guaranteeing its share of the estimated annual costs of enabling all girls and boys to complete a primary education. As the table below shows, despite their

warm words and fine promises donors are contributing tiny absolute sums to basic education in low-income countries, with the G7 rich countries being particular culprits, contributing measly amounts compared to their Gross National Income. The US, for example, gives just \$1 per person per year to primary education in poor countries - comparing very poorly to the Netherlands, which gives \$9 per person per year.

Overall commitments to All Low Income Countries figures in US \$						
					Average	
	Donor	2002	2003	2004	2002-04	As % total
	Bilaterals	Australia	9.9	10.3	36.3	18.8
Austria		1.7	1.9	1.7	1.8	0%
Belgium		31.4	20.4	31.6	27.8	1%
Canada		110.7	165.0	104.5	126.7	5%
Denmark		84.3	22.9	89.5	65.6	3%
Finland		23.9	24.8	41.9	30.2	1%
France		44.4	63.4	94.9	67.6	3%
Germany		72.4	83.6	74.0	76.7	3%
Greece		1.1	1.5	1.7	1.4	0%
Ireland		46.1	42.1	33.0	40.4	2%
Italy		30.1	19.3	35.6	28.3	1%
Japan		80.2	183.3	216.8	160.1	6%
Luxemburg		8.2	-	5.0	6.6	0%
Netherlands		271.5	67.4	149.3	162.7	6%
New Z.		5.6	4.7	7.4	5.9	0%
Norway		73.9	180.6	71.2	108.6	4%
Portugal		12.0	6.9	7.6	8.8	0%
Russia**		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0%
Spain		15.6	18.7	16.3	16.9	1%
Sweden		74.5	129.1	55.8	86.5	3%
Switzerland	16.9	17.2	12.7	15.6	1%	
UK	104.8	258.5	655.2	339.5	13%	
US	104.3	124.2	259.0	162.5	6%	
Bilateral Total	1,223.3	1,445.9	2,001.1	1559.0	61%	
Multilaterals***	AfDF	92.6	135.9	60.8	96.4	4%
	AsDF	180.6	79.0	109.8	123.1	5%
	EC	59.1	187.7	71.5	106.1	4%
	IDA	168.8	505.9	1,085.3	586.7	23%
	IDB	-	-	37.3	37.3	1%
	UNICEF	47.0	48.8	46.0	47.3	2%
Multilaterals	548.1	957.3	1,410.7	996.9	39%	
Grand Total	1,771.4	2,403.1	3,411.8	2555.9	100%	

The good news is that clearly defined mechanisms have been put in place to help deliver on the Dakar pledge. The “**Education For All Fast-Track Initiative**” has laid down clear criteria for education plans and promised more and better aid to enable them to deliver their strategies. Now, increasing numbers of countries are coming forward to have their plans endorsed by this scheme, backed by the World Bank and most other donors. Within the next three years up to 60 countries, accounting for 70% of the world’s out-of-school children, could be reached through the scheme. The problem is that after poor countries have largely fulfilled their side of the contract, rich countries have reneged on theirs. The first 20 FTI-endorsed countries are still facing a collective shortfall of some \$510 million per year^{xxxii}. As a result around 16 million children who could be in school are still waiting at the school gates.

Over the next three years, the external financing needed for these twenty countries alone will amount to just short of \$2 billion. Together they represent approximately 15% of the world’s out-of-school children. If FTI is to encourage others to come forward with ambitious plans, which will allow them to expand their teaching forces to the extent needed, it must ensure that all approved countries are given an upfront commitment to finance in full their immediate strategies.

Investment in education should be seen as the **soudest of all investments** for a poor country. This is certainly the view of Gordon Brown who recently observed, “*Universal education is a fundamental birthright, the best anti-poverty strategy and the best economic development programme*”. But if countries cannot significantly increase their own spending on education and international donors do not live up to their promises, there is little possibility for countries to make progress on the education MDGs.

Mozambique – struggling to maintain momentum

Mozambique has made massive strides in education, doubling enrolment since the end of the civil war and reducing the barriers to girls entering school for the first time. Despite having received FTI endorsement as long ago as 2002, Mozambique’s education system still requires external financing to the tune of just under **\$300 million** between now and 2008. This money will be urgently needed to reach over **1 million** children out of school and bring the **pupil:teacher ratio** down from the current level of **70:1**.

‘In 2002, donor governments approved Mozambique’s education plan, since then we have built 2000 new schools. Last year we dropped school enrolment fees, giving every child a chance to go to school. But there are still problems... Of those who do make it to school, most will not make it to the secondary level. For girls, only one in three make it past 5th grade. This is not acceptable. We need 55,000 more teachers. Teachers are badly paid and often leave the profession for the private sector. We need to train more teachers, pay them higher salaries and build at least 6,000 new classrooms every year. To make this a reality, we need long-term predictable funding. Mozambique has seen very little of the money that G8 and European countries promised.’

Marta Cumbi, Mozambique Education For All Coalition

Sources: EFA/FTI Progress Report, 2005; EFA Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO 2006

Fast Track Initiative: The missing millions and the missing teachers



Country	Year endorsed	Gap	Shortage of trained teachers actual numbers	Children not enrolled in primary school (net)
Burkina Faso	2002	59.40	35,051	1,398,000
Guinea	2002	77.40	14,044	455,000
Guyana	2002	-4.00	24	1,000
Honduras	2002	0.00	1,241	132,000
Mauritania	2002	18.60	3,399	145,000
Nicaragua	2002	73.20	1,887	124,000
Niger	2002	136.80	34,443	1,218,000
Gambia	2003	12.20	1,794	44,000
Mozambique	2003	290.70	41,305	1,171,000
Vietnam	2003	39.00	0	544,000
Yemen	2003	111.60	N/A	997,000
Ghana	2004	-1.40	23,771	1,323,000
Ethiopia	2004	490.80	199,501	5,780,000
Madagascar	2005	186.30	16,038	511,000
Kenya	2005	314.60	77,858	2,030,000
Tajikistan	2005	69.40	0	n/a
Lesotho	2005	21.00	1,778	47,000
Djibouti	2005	36.00	1,525	74,000
Timor Leste	2005	17.90	159	n/a
Moldova	2005	N/A	0	53,000

Source for funding figures: EFA-FTI status report December 2005

Source for teacher figures: UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2006

Teacher's View in Rwanda

Teacher's Nikombamera Prudence and Hujawimana explain the joy and challenges of being a teacher in Kigali, Rwanda.

"Teachers teach all the children in the community. They are the light of their surroundings. They are also counsellors. Many people come to them to ask questions about practical things and teachers help them in many ways even though they are themselves poor.

But we work in near impossible conditions. We lack resources and we do not get enough training. At school teachers look after 160 students, in order to cope children do half days, we teach classes of 80 in the morning, and 80 in the afternoon.

Children are often hungry; some don't have uniforms and cannot keep warm in the rainy season. Teachers are often ill because of the conditions they live in and the little money they earn. Some cannot afford accommodation. In our school, one of the teachers has been living in a classroom for 3 years."

Credit: VSO Rwanda



Teacher's View in Nepal

"There are 1000 students at my school and only 26 teachers. I'm teaching classes with as many as 83 students. I like my job a lot and I like watching my pupils develop. I like having a regular income but it's not enough to live on. Everyday I teach at college or give private tuition outside of school. I know this means I have less time to devote to planning my school lessons, but I have no choice.

The government should come and find out what it is like for teachers. They should experience our workloads and observe a class sizes, then they should appoint appropriately more qualified teachers."

Credit: VSO, Nepal

Following the money: quality counts

At the World Conference on Education in Dakar, 2000, donors promised to respond to the needs of countries by 'making longer-term and more predictable commitments and ...being more accountable and transparent.' They pledged to 'co-ordinate their efforts to provide flexible development assistance within the framework of sector-wide reform'. These sentiments have also been echoed at subsequent international conferences and meetings.

Sadly, even a cursory examination of aid practice reveals that donors are failing to live up to these standards. Too much aid to education is not aligned with country needs and priorities, and is spent on expensive consultancies rather than core system costs. Eleven countries (Canada, Spain, Austria, Portugal, France, New Zealand, Austria, Germany, Italy, Belgium and the USA) provide more than 70 per cent of their aid to education in the form of technical assistance^{xxxii}. This means that, of the already paltry sums of aid available for education, as much as half of it may not be available for core service delivery costs including teacher salaries. The tendency of donors, and the World Bank, to channel resources through discrete projects rather than supporting a single integrated education strategy has also contributed to a situation where countries are unable to finance the running costs of education.

Short-termism prevails: How World Bank lending has undermined the teaching profession

The World Bank Operations Evaluation Department (OED) is currently undertaking an "independent" evaluation of World Bank investments of \$10 billion in primary education worldwide since 1990. The OED is independent of senior management and reports directly to the World Bank Board and President. Reports produced for this big evaluation include a Review of the World Bank Education Portfolio since 1990, A paper on determinants of education outcomes in developing countries and new evaluations of Bank education projects in Mali, Pakistan, Peru and Romania. **David Archer** has been following this evaluation as part of an External Panel, which comments on how the World Bank has framed and conducted the evaluation:

'The elephant in the room in most Bank literature is teacher pay. The country reports carried out for the OED evaluation show how the pay, status and conditions of teachers have fallen in recent years. World Bank lending for education has not historically included recurrent costs such as teacher salaries even though this is what countries most desperately need.

In **Mali**, for example, the OED evaluation notes the decline of the teaching profession and the emergence of contract teachers as one of the major "outcomes" of Bank support to education. The report notes that structural adjustment measures reduced the number of teachers and led to closure of teacher education institutions. A 'Voluntary Departure' programme, supported by the Bank, also contributed to the loss of 12.5% of teachers. The study notes, approvingly, that the policy solution to this problem is to employ teachers on short-term contracts.'

Source: Adapted from an article in ActionAid's Education Action 2006

Countries embarking on major education reforms need to be able to count on donor funding for a period of 5-10 years so that they can plan in confidence. The political problems associated with expanding the teaching force in the absence of such a guarantee could be immense. Very few donor countries will commit to this time horizon, needed to give governments

this degree of confidence, making it impossible for them to make long-term plans. Unpredictability is also an issue, with much foreign aid 'arriving late or not at all' making it 'far less reliable than government revenues', according to a recent study^{xxxiii} by ActionAid. In Zambia, it reports, late and incomplete releases of aid to the education sector have left large parts of the country's education strategy unimplemented.

'No prudent government will invest in training additional teachers unless there is an assurance of long-term financing to meet salaries... Donors need to keep to the promises that have already been made.'^{xxxiv}

The UK government has recently recognised the critical role of predictability and, in early 2006, made a formal pledge to fund governments' education strategies over a ten-year period. This welcome step raises pressure on other rich country governments to follow suit.

The debt legacy

The debt burden faced by many countries has continued to constrain their ability to hire enough teachers. Debt servicing has been a drain on countries' resources, especially their own recurrent funds that could be used to make up for donors' failure to finance such costs. And it has had a very direct impact on the capacity of countries to hire teachers – Zambia shelled out \$25 million more than it spent on education to the IMF alone for debt repayments in 2004. At the same time, 9,000 trained teachers were left on the streets because the government could not afford to take them onto the payroll.

In July 2005 G8 leaders endorsed a debt cancellation deal agreed by their finance ministers. This deal represented a serious step forward in ending the debt burden of the poorest countries, however, there is much further to go. The main challenge is to ensure that every country that needs this cancellation receives it as soon as possible. This means both widening the list of eligible countries, and abolishing the harmful conditions that eligible countries

have to comply with to benefit from debt cancellation. Currently many with massive debts are left out of the deal, such as Sri Lanka, Kenya, or Vietnam. The deal agreed covers just 18 countries initially at a cost of \$1.5bn to rich countries each year. Although no new conditions were included in the G8 proposal, qualifying countries still have to complete the Highly Indebted (HIPC) process, which involves complying with harmful World Bank and IMF policy conditions and budget ceilings. Finally, the finance for this debt cancellation, although additional to the World Bank and IMF, will still be taken from rich countries' aid budgets and will be spread amongst all the poorest countries.

The need for debt cancellation to go further and deeper is emphasised by the fact that experience shows that money saved in debt service payments has been put to good effect in reducing poverty and increasing expenditure on education and health. Poverty reducing expenditures in African HIPC countries have increased on average 6% as a result of HIPC debt relief, and as much as 14% in some countries. Because debt relief represents a direct saving from central government expenditure, it is the equivalent of budget support and can be used for financing recurrent costs such as salaries. Furthermore, debt relief is guaranteed for 20 years, giving a predictable income allowing for long-term planning and recruitment of teachers.

How debt relief can help

In Benin, for 43% of HIPC debt relief went to Education in 2002, allowing the recruitment of teachers for empty posts in rural areas. In Malawi, HIPC resources have been used among other things to train 3600 new teachers a year.

Vicious circles: the role of conditionality and macro-economic prescriptions

A further constraint on countries' ability to invest in recruiting and retaining sufficient numbers of professional teachers are the limits imposed on public spending as a result of IMF-advised fiscal policy. Concern to contain inflation to very low levels (typically between 5% and 10%) has led many countries to declare caps on the public sector wage bill. As teachers make up the largest group of public sector workers within countries, this has direct consequences for the profession: governments must either halt the hiring of new teachers or freeze the wages of existing teachers – in some cases both. Thus, while countries are on the one hand encouraged, even cajoled, by donors to upscale their efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, on the other they are held back by narrow fiscal concerns promoted by the IMF.

In 2004 in Zambia, the IMF congratulated the Government for taking a strong stand and “limiting the wage bill to 8% and providing more room for ...priority spending” – despite the fact that this move had left 9,000 trained teachers unemployed while the schools struggled with classes of over 70. It stated that “the initial results of fiscal policy implementation were positive.”^{xxxv} Absurdly, this suggests that paying primary school teachers is not ‘priority spending’ and that 9,000 teachers unemployed could be considered a ‘positive’ result of fiscal policy implementation; yet this would contradict the IMF’s resident representative’s statement that “if you’re putting money into education but not providing teachers it won’t work.”^{xxxvi} Despite being increasingly committed to Education for All and the other MDGs, it continues to perceive wages and salaries as ‘wasteful’ expenditure. Unless it reverses

this prejudice and shows greater fiscal flexibility, its commitment to poverty reduction is clearly discredited.

Tied hands – the impact of IMF-advised wage caps

In 2005 the government of Sierra Leone took the decision to decrease the public sector wage bill from 8.4% of GDP to 5.8% by 2008, as a result of IMF advice. Although an estimated 8000 teachers were needed to help the country deal with a massive out-of-school population after the brutal civil war, only 3000 could be hired in 2004.

An effort to reduce the public sector wage bill from 8.5% of GDP to 7.2% has resulted Kenya being forced to freeze teacher numbers at the 1998 level – despite having enrolled 1.3 million more students after the elimination of user fees.

Source: Contradicting Commitments, ActionAid 2005

The effects of IMF advice and prescriptions are also felt beyond the sphere of national budget decisions, however. Other donors tend to follow the lead of the Fund where confidence in a country’s development programme is concerned; where the IMF presses the ‘off’ switch on its programme this sends a signal to other donors that a country is no longer trustworthy - who then suspend donor aid. Rwanda encountered this problem when the Fund suspended its Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility over a dispute about reducing the budget deficit, and several donors followed suit. According to the Rwandan Ministry of Finance \$66 million was forfeited in the six months that followed – a sum equivalent to half the national budget. This phenomenon also significantly exacerbated the 2004 teacher recruitment crisis in Zambia, when donors cut off aid to all sectors, including education, following the Fund’s suspension of the PRGF.

And the Fast-Track Initiative is not blameless in respect of its influence over domestic decisions about appropriate policies to retain an effective teaching force. The mechanism used for assessing the viability of government plans – the Indicative Framework Benchmarking Tool

– included an indicator that stipulated that the total teacher salary bill should not exceed 3.5 x per capita GDP. Under pressure, the Fast-Track Initiative has conceded that the indicator should not be a condition for endorsement. However an analysis of those countries qualifying for support under FTI shows that the indicator has a very strong influence on policy decisions. For example following approval of their strategy the Government of Niger froze the recruitment of civil service teachers and promoted system expansion with contract teachers at a lower salary level – a ‘courageous reform’, according to FTI Secretariat briefings ^{xxxvii}.

The World Bank has clearly been instrumental in promoting just this approach to cost-cutting, although its actual position (as represented in its published research and in the annual World Development Reports) is curiously schizophrenic. On the one hand, in their 2004 World Development Report they clearly and explicitly recommend the use of these ‘para-teachers’ – justifying their use on the grounds of greater community involvement, reduced costs and the apparent absence of conflict with teachers’ unions:

‘Madhya Pradesh, India, has seen substantial improvement in test scores, completion rates, and literacy. Community involvement is strong in recruiting teachers, getting new schools built, and encouraging neighbours to enrol their children. Parents have been helped by the ability to hire local, less-than-fully-trained teachers at a fraction of standard pay scales for government teachers—with better results. This last aspect of the programme complicates scaling up. The ability to avoid confrontation with public sector unions has been a great advantage. Will teachers’ unions allow such recruitment to become standard? ^{xxxviii}’

On the other hand the World Bank has published research from four countries (Togo, Peru, Ecuador and Indonesia) which plainly contradicts the World Development

Report stance. This research concludes that the employment of ‘contract teachers’ has a direct causal link to a decline in the quality of teaching - due to reduced attractiveness of the profession, leading to lower quality applicants, and increased absenteeism as a result of fewer incentives and lower job security.

‘...students of regular teachers systematically outperform those of contractual teachers, even after controlling for prior achievement, household-, school- and classroom characteristics. Variation in teaching methods, absenteeism, and resentment over “unfair” pay across contract types do not explain the performance gap. Instead, our findings suggest the reforms triggered a reduction in supply of high quality teacher entrants... If, indeed, the negative effect of contractual teachers is mostly due to a decline in the quality of those choosing to enter teaching, the long-term negative effects of this policy change could be enormous.^{xli}’

As can clearly be seen, donors and international financial institutions appear wilfully reluctant to absorb the truth that the major cost of achieving the education MDGs will be the cost of paying teachers. Yet the vast majority of poor countries face the same challenge: to achieve the education MDGs they must both increase the number of children in school and improve the quality of the education they receive. Professionally trained, well-motivated teachers are absolutely pivotal to them accomplishing this. All development partners should be working together to formulate realistic plans for reducing poverty, with teachers at the heart of them – so that every child can know a teacher.

Breaking the deadlock – teachers will deliver Education For All

"We will have time to reach the Millennium Development Goals – worldwide and in most, or even all, individual countries – but only if we break with business as usual. We cannot win overnight. Success will require sustained action across the entire decade between now and the deadline. It takes time to train the teachers, nurses and engineers; to build the roads, schools and hospitals... So we must start now. We must more than double global development assistance over the next few years. Nothing less will help to achieve the Goals." Kofi Annan

As long ago as 1966 the international community agreed a framework to guide countries on securing and supporting quality teachers for quality education. The content of the ILO UNESCO recommendation concerning the status of teachers remains as relevant and urgent as it did 40 years ago. GCE urges all governments and international institutions to ensure that the bold vision enshrined within this declaration can be realised.

The Global Campaign for Education believes that every primary school child deserves to be taught by a qualified teacher in a class no bigger than 40. In order to achieve this, a major effort by all stakeholders will be necessary to deliver a professionally trained, well-supported and highly-motivated teacher workforce fit for the challenges of achieving Education For All. In particular, donors and international financial institutions must now, before it is too late, recognise the centrality of the teacher workforce to the entire EFA project and should work together with governments of poor countries to enable them to find, and keep, the teachers that children desperately need.

Recommendations

Poor country governments must:

- Develop long-term and ambitious plans for achieving Education for All including developing projections for year on year increase in teaching force to 2009 to

accommodate all children in school and in classes under 40

- Allocate at least 3% of GDP to basic education, and 20% of the budget to education
- Abolish user fees in education whilst mobilising sufficient domestic and external finance to expand systems and improve quality
- Work with teacher unions to establish transition mechanisms so that within 5 years untrained and contract teachers can be absorbed into the profession

The IMF and World Bank must:

- Encourage governments to develop long-term education strategies based on robust projections of human resource needs to enable all children to enter school and be taught in a class no bigger than 40
- Work with governments and donors to ensure that poor countries are afforded the maximum fiscal space to enable the expansion of the teacher workforce
- Formally rescind the 3.5 x per capita GDP indicator in the FTI framework

Rich country governments must:

- Meet the target of giving 0.7% of Gross National Income to assist poor countries, and cancel unpayable debt of all poor countries
- Implement the agreement of the 1995 Copenhagen World Summit on Social Development to allocate at least 20% of ODA to basic services
- Allocate their 'fair share' of aid to basic education, allocating the majority of financing through the Education For All Fast-Track Initiative
- Fund recurrent costs and ensure predictability of aid over a 10 year time period
- Support the Netherlands government proposal for reform of current FTI mechanisms to allow upfront commitments to forthcoming plans to be made
- Promote abolition of user fees but ensure funds are sufficient to employ enough teachers to meet increased demand.

ENDNOTES

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This is an independent report, and does not necessarily reflect the views of all GCE member organisations. Any errors are the sole responsibility of the authors.



GCE Members

Regional and International Organisations

ActionAid International
 ANCEFA
 ASPBAE
 CAMFED
 CARE
 CEAAL
 Education International
 FAPE
 FAWE
 Fe y Alegria
 Global March Against Child Labour
 Ibis
 Inclusion International

NetAid
 Oxfam International
 PLAN International
 Public Services International
 REPEM
 Save the Children Alliance
 SightSavers International
 VSO
 World Alliance of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts
 World Vision International

National civil society coalitions

Bangladesh: CAMPE
 Brazil: CDE
 Burkina Faso: CCEB
 Canada: Canadian GCE Alliance
 El Salvador: CIAZO
 France: Solidarité Laïque
 Gabon: CONCEG
 Gambia: GEFA
 Ghana: GNECC
 India: NCE
 Indonesia: E-Net for Justice
 Ireland: Irish GCE Coalition
 Japan: JNNE
 Kenya: Elimu Yetu Coalition
 Lesotho: LEFA

Liberia: ALPO
 Malawi: CSCQBE
 Mali: ASSAFE
 Mozambique: MEPT
 Nigeria: CSACEFA
 Pakistan: EFA Network
 Phillipines: E-Net
 Sierra Leone: EFA Network
 South Africa: GCE-SA
 Sweden: Swedish EFA Forum
 Tanzania: TEN/MET
 Togo: CNT/CME
 UK: GCE-UK
 Zambia: ZANEC