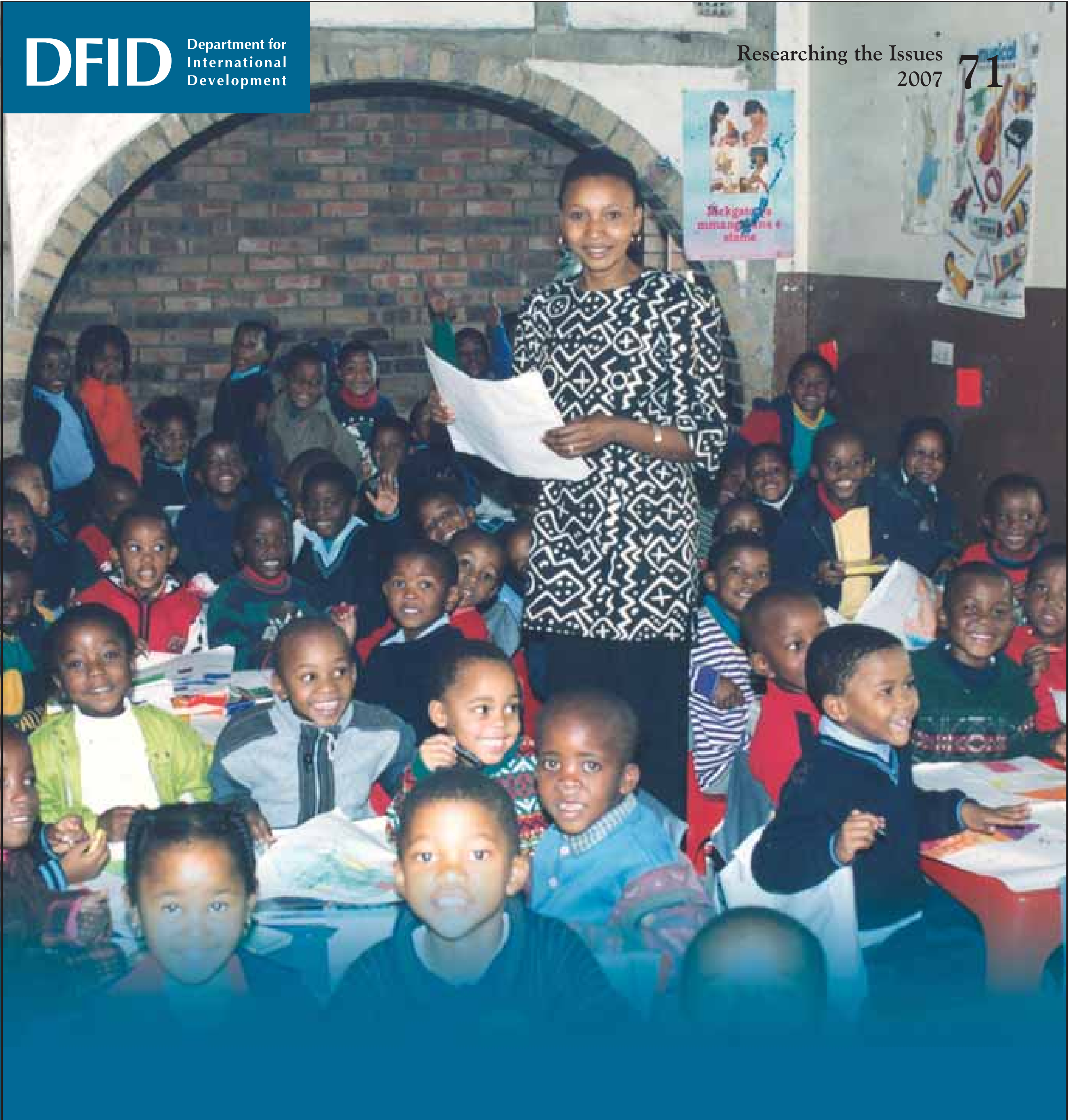
DFID Department for International Development

Researching the Issues 2007 71



Teacher Motivation in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia

by Paul Bennell and Kwame Akyeampong

Teacher Motivation in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia

by
Paul Bennell and Kwame Akyeampong

2007

Educational Papers

Department for International Development: Educational Papers

This is one of a series of Education Papers issued by the Central Research Department of the Department For International Development. Each paper represents a study or piece of commissioned research on some aspect of education and training in developing countries. Most of the studies were undertaken in order to provide informed judgements from which policy decisions could be drawn, but in each case it has become apparent that the material produced would be of interest to a wider audience, particularly those whose work focuses on developing countries.

Each paper is numbered serially. Further copies can be obtained through DFID Publications – subject to availability. A full list of previous Education books and papers can be found on the following pages, along with information on how to order copies.

Although these papers are issued by DFID, the views expressed in them are entirely those of the authors and do not necessarily represent DFID's own policies or views. Any discussion of their content should therefore be addressed to the authors and not to DFID.

Address for Correspondence

Dr. Paul Bennell,
Senior Partner, Knowledge and Skills for Development,
60 Rugby Road,
Brighton
BN1 6ED

Tel: 01273-503259.
Email: bennell_swainson@ntlworld.com

Dr. Kwame Akyeampong,
Senior Lecturer,
Centre for International Education,
Sussex University,
Brighton
BN1 9RE

Tel: 01273-907755.
Email: a.akyeampong@sussex.ac.uk

No. 1 **SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: A SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH EVIDENCE.**
D. Pennycuick (1993) ISBN: 0 90250 061 9

No. 2 **EDUCATIONAL COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS.**
J. Hough (1993) ISBN: 0 90250 062 7

No. 3 **REDUCING THE COST OF TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.**
L. Gray, M. Fletcher, P. Foster, M. King, A. M. Warrender (1993) ISBN: 0 90250 063 5

No. 4 **REPORT ON READING IN ENGLISH IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN MALAWI.**
E. Williams (1993) Out of Print – Available on CD-Rom and DFID website

No. 5 **REPORT ON READING IN ENGLISH IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN ZAMBIA.**
E. Williams (1993) Out of Print – Available on CD-Rom and DFID website

See also No. 24, which updates and synthesises Nos 4 and 5.

No. 6 **EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE ISSUES AND THE EVIDENCE.**
K. Lewin (1993) ISBN: 0 90250 066 X

No. 7 **PLANNING AND FINANCING SUSTAINABLE EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.**
P. Penrose (1993) ISBN: 0 90250 067 8

No. 8 Not allocated

No. 9 **FACTORS AFFECTING FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION IN SEVEN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.**
C. Brock, N. Cammish (1991) (revised 1997) ISBN: 1 86192 065 2

No. 10 **USING LITERACY: A NEW APPROACH TO POST-LITERACY METHODS.**
A. Rogers (1994) Out of Print – Available on CD-ROM and DFID website.
Updated and reissued as No 29.

No. 11 **EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR THE INFORMAL SECTOR.**
K. King, S. McGrath, F. Leach, R. Carr-Hill (1995) ISBN: 1 86192 090 3

No. 12 **MULTI-GRADE TEACHING: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND PRACTICE.**
A. Little (1995) ISBN: 0 90250 058 9

No. 13 **DISTANCE EDUCATION IN ENGINEERING FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.**
T. Bilham, R. Gilmour (1995) Out of Print – Available on CD-ROM and DFID website.

No. 14 **HEALTH & HIV/AIDS EDUCATION IN PRIMARY & SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AFRICA & ASIA.**
E. Barnett, K. de Koning, V. Francis (1995) ISBN: 0 90250 069 4

No. 15 **LABOUR MARKET SIGNALS & INDICATORS.**
L. Gray, A. M. Warrender, P. Davies, G. Hurley, C. Manton (1996)
Out of Print – Available on CD-ROM and DFID website.

No. 16 **IN-SERVICE SUPPORT FOR A TECHNOLOGICAL APPROACH TO SCIENCE EDUCATION.**
F. Lubben, R. Campbell, B. Dlamini (1995) ISBN: 0 90250 071 6

No. 17 **ACTION RESEARCH REPORT ON "REFLECT".**
D. Archer, S. Cottingham (1996) ISBN: 0 90250 072 4

No. 18 **THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF ARTISANS FOR THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN TANZANIA.**
D. Kent, P. Mushi (1995) ISBN: 0 90250 074 0

No. 19 **GENDER, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT – A PARTIALLY ANNOTATED AND SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY.**
C. Brock, N. Cammish (1997)
Out of Print – Available on CD-ROM and DFID website.

No. 20 **CONTEXTUALISING TEACHING AND LEARNING IN RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS: USING AGRICULTURAL EXPERIENCE.**
P. Taylor, A. Mulhall (Vols 1 & 2) (1997)
Vol 1 ISBN: 1 861920 45 8 Vol 2 ISBN: 1 86192 050 4

No. 21 **GENDER AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN.**
P. Kutnick, V. Jules, A. Layne (1997) ISBN: 1 86192 080 6

No. 22 **SCHOOL-BASED UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN FOUR COUNTRIES: A COMMONWEALTH STUDY.**
R. Bourne, J. Gundara, A. Dev, N. Ratsoma, M. Rukanda, A. Smith, U. Birthistle (1997) ISBN: 1 86192 095 4

No. 23 **GIRLS AND BASIC EDUCATION: A CULTURAL ENQUIRY.**
D. Stephens (1998) ISBN: 1 86192 036 9

No. 24 **INVESTIGATING BILINGUAL LITERACY: EVIDENCE FROM MALAWI AND ZAMBIA.**
E. Williams (1998) ISBN: 1 86192 041 5

No. 25 **PROMOTING GIRLS' EDUCATION IN AFRICA.**
N. Swainson, S. Bendera, R. Gordon, E. Kadzamira (1998) ISBN: 1 86192 046 6

No. 26 **GETTING BOOKS TO SCHOOL PUPILS IN AFRICA.**
D. Rosenberg, W. Amaral, C. Odini, T. Radebe, A. Sidibé (1998) ISBN: 1 86192 051 2

No. 27 **COST SHARING IN EDUCATION.**
P. Penrose (1998) ISBN: 1 86192 056 3

No. 28 **VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN TANZANIA AND ZIMBABWE IN THE CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC REFORM.**
P. Bennell (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 061 X

No. 29 **RE-DEFINING POST-LITERACY IN A CHANGING WORLD.**
A. Rogers, B. Maddox, J. Millican, K. Newell Jones, U. Papen, A. Robinson-Pant (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 069 5

No. 30 **IN SERVICE FOR TEACHER DEVELOPMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.**
M. Monk (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 074 1

No. 31 **LOCALLY GENERATED PRINTED MATERIALS IN AGRICULTURE: EXPERIENCE FROM UGANDA & GHANA.**
I. Carter (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 079 2

No. 32 **SECTOR WIDE APPROACHES TO EDUCATION.**
M. Ratcliffe, M. Macrae (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 131 4

No. 33 **DISTANCE EDUCATION PRACTICE: TRAINING & REWARDING AUTHORS.**
H. Perraton, C. Creed (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 136 5

No. 34 **THE EFFECTIVENESS OF TEACHER RESOURCE CENTRE STRATEGY.**
Ed. G. Knamiller (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 141 1

No. 35 **EVALUATING IMPACT.**
Ed. V. McKay, C. Treffgarne (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 191 8

No. 36 **AFRICAN JOURNALS.**
A. Alemna, V. Chifwepa, D. Rosenberg (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 157 8

No. 37 **MONITORING THE PERFORMANCE OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.**
R. Carr-Hill, M. Hopkins, A. Riddell, J. Lintott (1999) ISBN: 1 86192 224 8

No. 38 **TOWARDS RESPONSIVE SCHOOLS – SUPPORTING BETTER SCHOOLING FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN.**
(case studies from Save the Children).
M. Molteno, K. Ogadhoh, E. Cain, B. Crumpton (2000)

No. 39 **PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF THE ABUSE OF GIRLS IN ZIMBABWEAN JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS.**
F. Leach, P. Machankanja with J. Mandoga (2000) ISBN: 1 86192 279 5

No. 40 **THE IMPACT OF TRAINING ON WOMEN'S MICRO-ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT.**
F. Leach, S. Abdulla, H. Appleton, J. el-Bushra, N. Cardenas, K. Kebede, V. Lewis, S. Sitaram (2000) ISBN: 1 86192 284 1

No. 41 **THE QUALITY OF LEARNING AND TEACHING IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: ASSESSING LITERACY AND NUMERACY IN MALAWI AND SRI LANKA.**
D. Johnson, J. Hayter, P. Broadfoot (2000) ISBN: 1 86192 313 9

No. 42 **LEARNING TO COMPETE: EDUCATION, TRAINING & ENTERPRISE IN GHANA, KENYA & SOUTH AFRICA.**
D. Afenyadu, K. King, S. McGrath, H. Oketch, C. Rogerson, K. Visser (2001)
ISBN: 1 86192 314 7

No. 43 **COMPUTERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: COSTS AND OTHER ISSUES.**
A. Cawthera (2001) ISBN: 1 86192 418 6

No. 44 **THE IMPACT OF HIV/AIDS ON THE UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA: DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGIC RESPONSE.**
B. Chilisa, P. Bennell, K. Hyde (2001) ISBN: 1 86192 467 4

No. 45 **THE IMPACT OF HIV/AIDS ON PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA: DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGIC RESPONSE.**
P. Bennell, B. Chilisa, K. Hyde, A. Makgothi, E. Molobe, L. Mpotokwane (2001)
ISBN: 1 86192 468 2

No. 46 **EDUCATION FOR ALL: POLICY AND PLANNING – LESSONS FROM SRI LANKA.**
A. Little (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 552 0

No. 47 **REACHING THE POOR – THE 'COSTS' OF SENDING CHILDREN TO SCHOOL.**
S. Boyle, A. Brock, J. Mace, M. Sibbons (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 361 9

No. 48 **CHILD LABOUR AND ITS IMPACT ON CHILDREN'S ACCESS TO AND PARTICIPATION IN PRIMARY EDUCATION – A CASE STUDY FROM TANZANIA.**
H. A. Dachi and R. M. Garrett (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 536 0

No. 49a **MULTI – SITE TEACHER EDUCATION RESEARCH PROJECT (MUSTER)**
RESEARCHING TEACHER EDUCATION – NEW PERSPECTIVES ON PRACTICE, PERFORMANCE AND POLICY (Synthesis Report).
K. M. Lewin and J. S. Stuart (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 545 X

No. 49b **TEACHER TRAINING IN GHANA – DOES IT COUNT?**
K. Akyeampong (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 546 8

No. 49c **INITIAL PRIMARY TEACHER EDUCATION IN LESOTHO.**
K. Pulane Lefoka with E. Molapi Sebatane (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 547 64

No. 49d **PRIMARY TEACHER EDUCATION IN MALAWI: INSIGHTS INTO PRACTICE AND POLICY.**
D. Kunje with K. Lewin and J. Stuart (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 548 4

No. 49e **AN ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY TEACHER EDUCATION IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.**
J. George, L. Quamina-Alyejina (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 549 2

No. 50 **USING ICT TO INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY-BASED, NON-FORMAL EDUCATION FOR RURAL PEOPLE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.**
The CERP project (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 568 9

No. 51 **GLOBALISATION AND SKILLS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN RWANDA AND TANZANIA.**
L. Tikly, J. Lowe, M. Crossley, H. Dachi, R. Garrett and B. Mukabaranga (2003)
ISBN: 1 86192 569 7

No. 52 **UNDERSTANDINGS OF EDUCATION IN ANAFRICAN VILLAGE: THE IMPACT OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES.**
J. Pryor and J. G. Ampiah (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 570 0

No. 53 **LITERACY, GENDER AND SOCIAL AGENCY: ADVENTURES IN EMPOWERMENT.**
M. Fiedrich and A. Jellema (2003) ISBN: 1 86192 5719

No. 54 **AN INVESTIGATIVE STUDY OF THE ABUSE OF GIRLS IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS.**
F. Leach, V. Fiscian, E. Kadzamira, E. Lemani and P. Machakanja (2003)
ISBN: 1 86192 5751

No. 55 **DISTRICT INSTITUTES OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THREE INDIAN STATES.**
C. Dyer, A. Choksi, V. Awasty, U. Iyer, R. Moyade, N. Nigam, N. Purohit, S. Shah and S. Sheth (2004) ISBN: 1 86192 606 5

No. 56 **GENDERED SCHOOL EXPERIENCES: THE IMPACT ON RETENTION AND ACHIEVEMENT IN BOTSWANA AND GHANA.**
M. Dunne, F. Leach, B. Chilisa, T. Maundeni, R. Tabulawa, N. Kutor, L. Dzama Forde, and A. Asamoah (2005) ISBN: 1 86192 5751

No. 57 **FINANCING PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR ALL: PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND EDUCATION OUTCOMES IN AFRICA.**
S. Al-Samarrai (2005) ISBN: 1 86192 6391

No. 58 **DEEP IMPACT: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE USE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY FOR TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH.**
J. Leach with A. Ahmed, S. Makalima and T. Power (2005) ISBN: 1 86192 7126

No. 59 **NON-GOVERNMENT SECONDARY SCHOOLING IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. EXPLORING THE EVIDENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND MALAWI.**
K. M. Lewin and Y. Sayed (2005) ISBN: 1 86192 7436

No. 60 **EDUCATION REFORM IN UGANDA – 1997 TO 2004. REFLECTIONS ON POLICY, PARTNERSHIP, STRATEGY AND IMPLEMENTATION.**
M. Ward, A. Penny and T. Read (2006) ISBN: 1 86192 8165

No. 61 **THE ROLE OF OPEN, DISTANCE AND FLEXIBLE LEARNING (ODFL) IN HIV/AIDS PREVENTION AND MITIGATION FOR AFFECTED YOUTH IN SOUTH AFRICA AND MOZAMBIQUE. FINAL REPORT.**
P. Pridmore and C. Yates with K. Kuhn and H. Xerinda (2006) ISBN: 1 86192 7959

No. 62 **USING DISTANCE EDUCATION FOR SKILLS DEVELOPMENT.**
R. Raza and T. Allsop (2006) ISBN: 1 86192 8173

No. 63 **FIELD-BASED MODELS OF PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING. CASE STUDIES OF STUDENT SUPPORT SYSTEMS FROM SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.**
E. Mattson (2006) ISBN: 1 86192 8181

No. 64 **TEACHER EDUCATION AT A DISTANCE: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY.**
F. Binns and T. Wrightson (2006) ISBN: 1 86192 819X

No. 65 **GENDER EQUITY IN COMMONWEALTH HIGHER EDUCATION: AN EXAMINATION OF SUSTAINABLE INTERVENTIONS IN SELECTED COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES.**
L.Morley with C. Gunawardena, J. Kwesiga, A. Lihamba, A. Odejide, L. Shackleton and A. Sorhaindo (2006) ISBN: 1 86192 7614

No. 66 **TEACHER MOBILITY, 'BRAIN DRAIN', LABOUR MARKETS AND EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES IN THE COMMONWEALTH.**
W. J. Morgan, A. Sives and S. Appleton (2006) ISBN: 1 86192 7622

No. 67 **ALTERNATIVE BASIC EDUCATION IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES EMERGING FROM CONFLICT; ISSUES OF POLICY, CO-ORDINATION AND ACCESS.**
C. Dennis and A. Fentiman (2007)
ISBN: 1 86192 869 6

No. 68 **GLOBALISATION, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: IDEAS, ACTORS AND DYNAMICS**
S. Robertson, M. Novelli, R. Dale, L. Tikly, H. Dachi and N. Alphonce (2007)
ISBN: 1 86192 870 X

No. 69 **EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN GLOBAL ERA: STRATEGIES FOR 'SUCCESSFUL GLOBALISATION**
A. Green, A. W. Little, S. G. Kamat, M. O. Oketch and E. Vickers (2007)
ISBN: 1 86192 871 8

No. 70 **EDUCATING OUT OF POVERTY? A SYNTHESIS REPORT ON GHANA, INDIA, KENYA, RWANDA, TANZANIA AND SOUTH AFRICA**
R. Palmer, R. Wedgwood and R. Hayman with K. King and N. Thin (2007)
ISBN: 1 86192 872 6

NOW AVAILABLE – CD-ROM containing full texts of Papers 1-42.

Other DFID Educational Studies Also Available:

REDRESSING GENDER INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION. N. Swainson (1995)

FACTORS AFFECTING GIRLS' ACCESS TO SCHOOLING IN NIGER. S. Wynd (1995)

EDUCATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION. D. Phillips, N. Arnhold, J. Bekker, N. Kersh, E. McLeish (1996)

AFRICAN JOURNAL DISTRIBUTION PROGRAMME: EVALUATION OF 1994 PILOT PROJECT. D. Rosenberg (1996)

TEACHER JOB SATISFACTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. R. Garrett (1999)

A MODEL OF BEST PRACTICE AT LORETO DAY SCHOOL, SEALDAH, CALCUTTA. T. Jessop (1998)

LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL. DFID Policy Paper (1999)

THE CHALLENGE OF UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION.
DFID Target Strategy Paper (2001)

CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL. DFID Issues Paper (2001)

All publications are available free of charge from DFID Publications, and can be ordered by email to dfidpubs@ecgroup.uk.com or by writing to EC Group, Europa Park, Magnet Road, Grays, Essex, RN20 4DN. Most publications can also be downloaded or ordered from the R4D Research Portal and Publications sections of the DFID website (www.dfid.gov.uk).

Acknowledgements

We wish to acknowledge the support of the many people who assisted the research team. In particular, senior officials in the Ministries of Education who gave their permission for the country studies to be undertaken and all the education stakeholders, head teachers and teachers who agreed to be interviewed and/or completed questionnaires. Hazel Bines, Andrew Clegg and James Urwick made very helpful comments on the first draft. The UK Department of International Development (DFID) generously funded this research project. However, the contents of this synthesis report and the country case studies remain the sole responsibility of their authors.

Contents

Acknowledgements i
Contents iii
Acronyms and Abbreviations v
Executive Summary vi

1. Introduction 1
1.1 Study objectives 1
1.2 Country studies 2
1.3 Report structure 2

2. The Evidence Base 3
2.1 Motivation theory 3
2.2 Teacher motivation in developed countries 5
2.3 Teacher motivation in developing countries 7
2.4 Motivational factors 9
2.5 Impact on teacher behaviour 18

3. Study Design and Data Collection 21
3.1 General goals and research questions 21
3.2 Research methods 21

4. Is There a Teacher Motivation Crisis? 25
4.1 Overall motivation levels 25
4.2 Motivation trends 26
4.3 Motivation patterns 27

5. Key Determinants of Teacher Motivation 31
5.1 Accountability 31
5.2 Security and conflict 32
5.3 The policy environment 32
5.4 Pay and career progression 32
5.5 Status and vocational commitment 38
5.6 Teacher competence 40
5.7 Working and living conditions 41
5.8 Teacher management and professional support 43
5.9 The AIDS epidemic 45

6. The Impact on Schooling 47
6.1 Teacher deployment 47
6.2 Teacher behaviour and performance 51

7. What Should Be Done 57
7.1 Incentives for rural teachers 57
7.2 Improved conditions of service 58
7.3 Attractive career structures 58
7.4 Increased teacher accountability 58
7.5 Other priority interventions 59

References 61

Annexes 65

Annex A	Country case studies	65
Annex B	Survey instruments	67

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Primary teacher gross income per day, mid-late 1990s	14
Table 4.1	Teacher agreement rates to general statement ‘teachers at this school are well motivated.	25
Table 4.2	Teachers agreement rates to the general statement ‘teachers at this school are increasingly de-motivated’.	26
Table 4.3	Teachers indicating that the level of job satisfaction has declined during the last five years	27
Table 5.1	Average monthly income for qualified teachers, 2004	33
Table 5.2	Agreement rates to the general statement ‘teachers at this school come to work hungry’.	34
Table 5.3	Average teacher pay as a percentage of average monthly household expenditure, 2004.	34
Table 5.4	Percentage change in real incomes of primary school teachers between 1990 and 2004.	35
Table 5.5	Percentage of teachers indicating that their ‘standard of living has declined during the last five years’.	36
Table 5.6	Average net pay of teachers with 25 years of experience as a percentage of average net pay of teachers with 0-5 years experience.	37
Table 5.7	Agreement rates to the general statement ‘teachers’ salaries are paid on time’.	38
Table 5.8	Agreement rates to the general statement ‘teachers at this school are respected in the community’.	39
Table 5.9	Percentage of teachers indicating that their working conditions are ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’.	41
Table 5.10	Average teaching hours per week for teachers at primary survey schools, 2004.	42
Table 5.11	Agreement rates to the general statement ‘teachers at this school are well managed’.	43
Table 5.12	Agreement rates to general statement that ‘the impact of HIV/AIDS at this school has not been serious’.	45
Table 6.1	Unqualified teachers by rural and urban locations, 2004.	47
Table 6.2	Teacher attrition and transfer rates, 2004.	51
Table 6.3	Teacher absenteeism rates by reason and location, 2004.	52
Table 6.4	Agreement rates to the general statement ‘teachers at this school come to work on time’.	53
Table 6.5	Incidence of secondary employment activities among primary school teachers at survey schools.	54

Acronyms and Abbreviations

EFA	*Education For All*
CPD	*Continous Professional Development*
GCE	*Global Campaign for Education*
GDP	*Gross Domestic Product*
IIEP	*International Institute for Educational Planning*
INSET	*In-service Training*
LIDC	*Low Income Developing Country*
OECD	*Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development*
PTR	*Pupil-Teacher Ratio*
SSA	*Sub-Saharan Africa*
UPE	*Universal Primary Education*
VSO	*Voluntary Service Overseas*

Executive Summary

Study objectives

This report synthesises the main findings and recommendations of an international research project on teacher motivation and incentives in sub-Sahara Africa and South Asia. The study has addressed the following four main questions:

- To what extent is there a problem of poor motivation among teachers in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia? Does this amount to a 'crisis', as has been suggested by some observers?
- If so, what are the main reasons for poor teacher motivation?
- How do poor motivation and incentives affect teacher performance and the overall effectiveness of national education systems?
- What should be done to ensure that teachers are adequately motivated?

Country studies

This synthesis report is based on the findings and recommendations of national case studies in the two poorest regions of the world, namely sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, where the greatest challenges remain with regard to Education For All (EFA). A total of 12 studies were undertaken in the following countries:

Sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana*, Kenya, Lesotho*, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone*, Tanzania*, and Zambia*.

South Asia: Bangladesh, India*, Nepal, and Pakistan

National education researchers prepared each report under the supervision of the two project coordinators.

Research methods and data collection

The main source of information for this research project is the 12 country case studies. All the country case studies have three common components, namely a core set of 10-20 interviews with key education stakeholders, the collection of all relevant documentation, and the analysis of statistical data relating to teacher motivation and incentives. In addition, extended case studies were completed in six countries (marked with an asterisk above), which entailed surveying 10-15 primary schools in two representative rural and urban clusters.

Motivation levels and trends

The most critical finding that emerges from this study is that very sizeable proportions of primary school teachers, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, have low levels of job satisfaction and are poorly motivated. Many tens of millions of children are, therefore, not being taught properly and are not receiving even a minimally acceptable education[1]. The unavoidable conclusion is that most schooling systems are faced with what amounts to a teacher motivation crisis, which has far

[1] There are, of course, other important factors that affect the quality of education, including the curriculum and teaching methods, the availability of relevant textbooks and other learning materials, and adequacy of classroom accommodation.

reaching implications for the education Millennium Development Goals for basic education and for development as a whole.

Over one-third of all the teachers at the survey primary schools in five of the six extended case study countries indicated that teachers at their school are 'poorly' or 'very poorly' motivated. Motivation levels appear to be chronically low in Ghana and Zambia.

The evidence on motivation trends is more mixed. Stakeholder respondents in most countries usually identified the same negative and positive factors, but invariably reached different conclusions about the overall impact on teacher motivation. However, sizeable proportions of teacher respondents indicated that teachers at their schools are increasingly de-motivated.

With respect to motivation patterns, it is commonly argued that working in rural schools is considerably more difficult and thus more de-motivating than in urban schools due mainly to poor living and working conditions. However, the findings from the country studies show that this is not necessarily the case. Certainly, in South Asian countries, it appears that teachers at rural schools do feel disadvantaged. But, teachers who work at schools in their home areas tend to have higher levels of job satisfaction than their colleagues who are 'strangers' in the locality. This is because locally based teachers are more likely to have supportive extended family and social networks, be known to the community, and have higher levels of commitment to promoting education and development activities in the area. They are also likely to have access to land. Urban-based teachers who are posted to rural schools tend to come from better-off family backgrounds and often face considerable difficulties, even hardships, adapting to village life.

In some countries, age is a key factor. In Tanzania, for example, younger, better-qualified teachers are quite heavily concentrated at urban schools and are generally less satisfied with their jobs than the older generation of teachers, who still feel 'privileged' to be a teacher. Qualified teachers should be more competent and thus have higher levels of job satisfaction. Ensuring that all teachers are qualified might be expected to be an important way of improving and maintaining high levels of professional commitment and motivation. However, in nearly all the case study countries, no sizeable differences exist between the motivation levels of qualified and unqualified teachers. This is really quite worrying given that unqualified teachers are usually paid much less and many are frustrated in most countries by limited opportunities to acquire basic teaching qualifications through full-time study leave or open distance learning programmes.

Motivation levels also appear to be generally higher among secondary school teachers in most of the case study countries. This is evidenced by the fact that large proportions of primary school teachers in many countries (especially Ghana) want to upgrade their qualifications so that they can become secondary school teachers.

Private school teachers, particularly those catering to the upper end of the market, are usually much better motivated than their colleagues in government schools, as result of higher pay, better working and living conditions, and more effective management. But again, there are many exceptions to this pattern, mainly because private schools are so diverse with respect to size, fees and client groups.

Why is teacher motivation so low?

The study also explores the key determinants of teacher motivation in developing countries. Eight areas are delineated, namely teacher and school accountability, security and conflict, the policy environment, teacher competence, vocational commitment and occupational status, pay, working and living conditions, and teacher and system management.

Accountability: The degree to which teachers are properly accountable to their clients (children and parents) and their managers (head teachers and district and national level managers) has a powerful influence on teacher motivation levels. In South Asia, in particular, the 'accountability culture' is very weak. The politicisation of the teaching profession is perhaps the single most important reason for low teacher accountability in South Asia and affects nearly all aspects of job motivation including recruitment, deployment, promotion, and management control. Interestingly, lack of accountability is much less of a systemic problem in sub-Saharan Africa. In part, this is because teachers have not been heavily involved in party politics and patron-client relations are not as endemic as in South Asia.

The higher level of accountability of non-formal 'community' schools to parents and the host communities is a key reason for their success. Communities have a sense of ownership of the school, which is largely lacking with government schools. However, these schools account for only a small share of total enrolments.

Conflict and security: War, insurgency and insecurity have had a major impact on teacher motivation and commitment in countries such as Sierra Leone and Nepal. The lack of secure and safe school compounds is also a widespread concern, especially in urban schools in Africa.

The policy environment: Universal Primary Education (UPE) is now the single most important education goal in nearly all low-income developing countries. However, the pursuit of this goal has both positive and negative impacts on teacher motivation. Efforts to attain UPE goals are usually accompanied by much increased resource flows with the support of international donor partners. But, at the same time, teachers can become seriously demoralised, especially when teacher recruitment does not keep pace with rapidly increasing enrolments, as has generally been the case. Workloads and class sizes have increased appreciably in many countries as a direct result of the UPE policy. Teachers and teacher unions complain that most of the additional resources have been used to increase enrolment capacity and education quality without directly addressing the professional needs of teachers.

Pay: The overwhelming consensus from the stakeholder and teacher interviews in all but two of the 12 case study countries is that teachers are seriously underpaid and that this, more than anything else, is the key factor undermining teacher morale and motivation. With the sole exception of India, most teachers at the survey schools in the five other extended case study countries rated their pay as poor or very poor. Teachers in most low-income countries earn poverty wages of USD2-4 a day. Typically, teachers in Africa have at least five direct dependents. Only in India and Lesotho do qualified teachers earn anything like a living wage that covers even their most basic subsistence needs. The situation for the very large numbers of unqualified

and newly qualified teachers is considerably worse. Pay is so low that teachers, like many of their students, do not eat properly before coming to school. Over one-third of teacher respondents in Ghana, Sierra Leone and Zambia agreed with the statement that 'teachers in this school come to work hungry'.

Vocational commitment and occupational status: The low and declining status of the primary school teacher is identified as a major factor contributing to low occupational status and poor motivation in all the country reports. In most countries, this is closely related to limited vocational commitment to teaching among the majority of teachers. The general perception of stakeholders and teachers in all countries is that the teaching profession no longer commands the high status it enjoyed 30 years ago and that teachers, especially primary school teachers, are now 'undervalued by society', The country studies confirm that teaching is very much regarded as 'employment of last resort' by most school leavers and university graduates. Teachers also complain that the emergence of the para-teacher in many countries (especially in South Asia) has reduced the status of regular teachers. The shortening of pre-service training in many African countries to just one year in college followed by one year of supervised on the job training has also lowered the overall standing of teaching in relation to other professions.

Occupations that have high levels of solidarity are much more likely to have higher levels of self-esteem and thus status and job satisfaction. Occupational solidarity among teachers is generally low in Africa, but quite high in South Asia. In most of the case study countries, teachers have low opinions concerning the overall effectiveness and value for money of their trade unions. Multiple teacher unions are increasingly the norm in both Africa and Asian countries, which seriously undermine occupational solidarity, especially when unions are negotiating with government.

Teacher competence: In all of the 12 case study countries, most head teachers as well as teachers themselves believe that teachers at their schools have the necessary knowledge and skills to perform their jobs well. The main implication of this finding is that teachers are not poorly motivated through self-perceived inadequacies in their capacities as teachers. Nonetheless, the demand to upgrade qualifications and attend in-service training (INSET) courses is still high.

Working and living conditions: All of the 12 country case studies highlight the huge impact that working and living conditions have on teacher morale and motivation and thus their classroom performance. The key factors are workload (number of pupils and working hours), general classroom conditions, collegial and management support, location, living arrangements and distance to work. Housing and travel are the two critical issues affecting teacher morale and motivation in virtually every country. Finding decent accommodation in rural areas is a major headache for most teachers. Travel to work tends to be a much bigger problem for urban teachers. The high cost of travel contributes to teacher absenteeism and lateness in urban schools.

Very large class sizes are the norm for most teachers in all the case study countries. In countries such as India and Pakistan, rural schools typically have just one or two teachers. Not surprisingly, most teachers at these schools feel isolated and lack support and collegiality.

Teacher management: Teacher motivation depends critically on effective management, particularly at the school level. If systems and structures set up to manage and support teachers are dysfunctional, teachers are likely to lose their sense of professional responsibility and commitment. Teacher management is most crucial at the school level, where the importance of teachers' work and their competence in performing it are crucially influenced by the quality of both internal and external supervision.

The findings of the country studies indicate that many teachers, and in some countries, the majority of teachers, do not feel that they are well managed. Management training for school and other key managers tends to be minimal. Political interference in all types of management decisions is also rife in South Asia.

The impact on schooling

All the country case studies conclude that poor teacher motivation and inadequate incentives have far-reaching adverse impacts on the behaviour and overall performance of primary school teachers and thus learning outcomes. Two key areas are identified by the studies, namely the impact on the equitable and efficient deployment of teachers across the country and the professional behaviour of teachers inside and outside the classroom.

Staffing issues: The country studies confirm that the major staffing challenge for public education systems in most low-income countries remains how to achieve an equitable spatial distribution of teachers between rural and urban areas. The unattractiveness of living and working in rural areas means that most teachers strongly resist being posted to rural schools. Consequently, rural schools invariably have relatively less qualified and experienced teachers, teacher turnover is higher and, with higher vacancy rates, teachers have to work harder than their colleagues in urban schools.

In all the 12 country case studies, teachers point to high and often increasing workloads as a key contributor to low morale. Given the difficulties of staffing rural schools, teachers at these schools generally have to work a lot harder. Recruitment freezes prompted by the acute fiscal crisis in many countries have also driven up vacancy rates and increased teacher workloads.

High rates of teacher attrition through resignations are a key indicator of low levels of teacher job satisfaction and motivation. While resignation rates are very low in all the 12 case study countries, in sub-Saharan Africa this is not the consequence of high levels of job satisfaction, but rather an acute paucity of alternative employment opportunities. Low attrition in the context of pervasive teacher de-motivation only tends to make matters worst because dissatisfied teachers are unable to leave. High teacher transfer rates between schools are also indicative of teachers who are unhappy with where they are working and, more generally, with what they are doing. This is a major problem in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Again, rural schools are affected far more.

Teacher behaviour and performance: All 12 of the country studies raise major concerns about the behaviour and performance of teachers, which relate directly to low levels of job satisfaction and motivation. Poor professional behaviour (lateness, absenteeism, laziness)

seriously compromises schooling quality and learning outcomes. Also, weak teacher management and lack of a sense of accountability means that public school teachers often get away with under-performance and, at times, gross professional misconduct.

High rates of teacher absenteeism have been consistently reported in recent surveys in Africa, Asia and South America. These can be directly attributed to low levels of teacher commitment and accountability. Absenteeism rates are also quite high in most of the country studies, but only a relatively small proportion of these absences in the African countries are categorised as 'non-authorised'.

There are relatively few teacher dismissals due to gross professional misconduct. However a major problem in many countries is that head teachers lack the authority to be able discipline teachers effectively.

Industrial action or the threat of industrial action among teachers is common in most of the case study countries. Increasingly frequent official and unofficial strikes are a clear signal of growing levels of dissatisfaction with pay and other conditions of service.

In most countries, low pay forces teachers to find additional sources of income. Secondary income activities create divided attention and loyalty to teaching and impact negatively on the quality of schooling.

What should be done?

Faced with what amounts to a motivation crisis among primary school teachers in most low-income developing countries, what should be done to tackle this fundamental constraint on the attainment of the Education For All Millennium Development Goals? Each country study presents a set of recommendations about how to improve teacher job satisfaction and motivation. While these inevitably vary from one country to another, recommendations in the following four key areas are identified as top priorities in virtually all the reports: better incentives for rural teachers; improved conditions of service; attractive career structures; and increased teacher and school accountability.

- Major improvement in the incentives for teachers in rural schools is identified as the top priority in nearly every country. Unless this is done, the large majority of children who live in rural areas will continue to receive poor quality education. In the short term, the provision of good quality housing with running water and electricity for teachers is the probably the most cost-effective way of attracting and retaining teachers at hard-to-staff rural schools. In most countries, rural allowances would have to be at least half of basic pay in order to staff schools with qualified and able teachers. However, without external support, funding these allowances would be prohibitively costly for most governments.

- Nearly all the country reports recommend that teacher pay should be significantly increased. The core of the teacher motivation crisis, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, is that teacher pay is seriously inadequate. As the country studies clearly show, despite some improvement in pay in recent years in some countries, most primary school teachers, particularly in relatively

high-cost urban centres, are simply unable to meet their basic household needs. As a result, many of them are forced to find other sources of income. Those who cannot earn additional income slide into poverty. Primary school teacher salaries in most countries in Anglophone Africa should be at least doubled. However, given the severity of the fiscal crisis that besets most governments, pay increases of anything like this magnitude are completely unaffordable from domestic resources. Given the strong commitment of the international community to the attainment of the EFA goals with acceptable learning outcomes, serious consideration should, therefore, be given to how teacher's pay in these countries can be supplemented using external funding.

- Attractive career structures for primary school teachers need to be urgently introduced in most countries with regular promotions based on clearly specified and transparent performance-related criteria. Teachers who work at hard-to-staff rural schools should also be given accelerated promotion and/or preferential access to qualification upgrading opportunities.

- Teacher accountability to school management and to parents and the community as a whole should be increased. This is particularly the case at government primary schools in most of South Asia where very limited teacher and school accountability seriously undermine the provision of quality basic education.

Other priority areas are regular professional development, decentralised and well managed teacher postings systems, more effective teacher trade unions, and workplace programmes related to HIV/AIDS.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Study Objectives

This report synthesises the main findings and recommendations of an international research project on teacher motivation and incentives in sub-Sahara Africa and South Asia. The study has addressed the following four main questions:

- To what extent is there a problem of poor teacher motivation in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia? Does this amount to a 'crisis' as has been suggested by some observers?
- If so, what are the main reasons for poor teacher motivation?
- How does poor motivation and incentives affect teacher performance and the overall effectiveness of national education systems?
- What should be done to ensure that teachers are adequately motivated?

The most ambitious education-related Millennium Development Goal is the attainment of basic education for all by 2015, which is now less than a decade away. As has been repeatedly pointed out, this poses a major challenge for national governments, civil society organisations, and the international community.

Without teachers, there can be no education, and, without education, sustained economic, political and social development is not possible. The key question, therefore, is 'will there be sufficient numbers of teachers with the necessary competence and commitment to provide good quality basic education to all children?'

More than ever before, primary school teachers are under tremendous pressure from politicians, parents, and local communities to deliver quality education to all children. But, how likely is it that they will respond to this challenge, given their current levels of pay and their working and living conditions? There are, in fact, growing concerns that teachers are becoming increasingly de-motivated, which contributes to deteriorating teacher performance and learning outcomes. Poor incentives mean that far too few qualified and experienced teachers wish to work in rural areas. And yet, the provision of basic education in rural areas presents the single most important challenge to the achievement of UPE.

Most governments and other key education stakeholders recognise the crucial importance of improving the living and working conditions of teachers in order to achieve the desired improvements in quality and access to basic education. The necessity of adequately remunerating teachers has been a constant refrain of education commissions and other reviews over the last forty years. But, attempts to address the problem of low teacher motivation have invariably been quite superficial based on piecemeal interventions that have not been sustainable in the long-term. There are two main reasons for this. First, government and donor education strategies have tended to shy away from dealing head on with the problem of low levels of job satisfaction and motivation among teachers. This is despite the fact that it is universally recognised that most interventions to improve schooling access and quality will not be successful unless teachers are adequately motivated. And secondly, very little research has been undertaken that directly focuses on teacher motivation and incentives in developing countries.

1.2 Country Studies

This synthesis report is based on the findings and recommendations of national case studies in the two poorest regions of the world, namely sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, where the greatest challenges remain with regard to EFA: A total of 12 country studies were undertaken in the following countries:

Sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, and Zambia.

South Asia: Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan

National education researchers prepared each report (see Annex A for the full references to these reports). These reports can be accessed at the ELDIS education website.

1.3 Report Structure

The report is structured as follows: Chapter 2 summaries relevant motivation theories and then reviews the available evidence on teacher motivation. The research design and data collection methodology are described in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 then summarises the evidence from the country case studies with respect to levels, trends and patterns in teacher motivation. The main reasons for low teacher motivation are examined in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 then reviews the evidence concerning the impact of low motivation on teacher deployment, behaviour and performance. The final chapter summarises the key recommendations of the country studies about what should be done to improve levels of teacher job satisfaction and motivation.

Chapter 2: The Evidence Base

It is generally accepted that the competence and commitment of teachers are two of the most important determinants of learning outcomes. It is striking, therefore, just how little systematic research has been undertaken on motivational and incentives issues among teachers in low-income developing countries (LIDCs). For example, none of the four leading international comparative education journals have published a single article during the last ten years that focuses on teacher motivation and pay in any low-income developing country (LIDC) in either Africa or Asia.[2] Nor has it been possible to locate any study that systematically tracks levels and determinants of teacher motivation, deployment and absenteeism over time in any LIDC. In short, therefore, the evidence base is very weak.

Research on school effectiveness in developing countries has relied heavily on input-output education production functions. The quality of teaching inputs is crudely proxied by teacher education and professional qualifications, which have frequently been found not to have a major impact on learning outcomes. This, in turn, has reinforced quite negative perceptions about teachers in LIDCs and led to policy recommendations that place most emphasis on the increased provision of other inputs such as textbooks and classrooms in improving school effectiveness. The major shortcoming of this econometric modelling is that it radically over-simplifies and often misinterprets the complex nature of the teaching-learning process and ignores the overriding importance of teacher motivation and capabilities in the 'production' of quality education.

Two NGOs, Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) and the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) have recently published two valuable, advocacy reports on teacher motivation in developing countries (see VSO, 2002 and GCE, 2005). While both reports find that teacher motivation is seriously deficient in most LIDCs, this conclusion is based mainly on the responses of unstructured focus group discussions and individual interviews. There is a need, therefore, for more systematic, country comparative research that uses both quantitative and qualitative data.

The first part of this chapter summarises a number of well-known motivation theories, which appear to be particularly relevant to the teaching context in LIDCs. The following two sections then selectively review the literature on teacher motivation in developed and developing countries respectively. In the case of the LIDCs, most of this literature does not directly relate to teacher job satisfaction and motivation, but rather to the overall state of education service provision in general as well as individual countries.

2.1 Motivation Theory

Key concepts

Work motivation refers to the psychological processes that influence individual behaviour with respect to the attainment of workplace goals and tasks. However, measuring the determinants and consequences of work motivation is complex because these psychological processes are not directly observable and there are numerous organisational and environmental obstacles that can affect goal attainment.

[2] *Compare*, *International Journal of Educational Development*, *Comparative Education*, and *Comparative Education Review*

This project makes extensive use of the concepts of motivation, job satisfaction and incentives. Hoy and Miskel define work motivation as a combination of factors that "start and maintain work-related behaviours toward the achievement of personal goals" (1991:168). We, however, define teachers' motivation as their state of being influenced by such factors, not as the factors themselves. The type of personal goals involved is also an important issue. We would describe teachers as being "well-motivated" if they are striving for personal goals that correspond closely to the official goals of the school and the ideals of the profession. "Poor motivation" could imply either that teachers make little effort or that they intentionally focus their effort on goals not useful for the school.

It is useful to seek to measure and explain job satisfaction, as well as motivation, for two reasons. Firstly, job satisfaction, although distinct from work motivation, helps to account for it. Secondly, since motivation is a broad concept, involving both characteristics of the individual and external factors, it is open to varied interpretations in the field. While motivation is predictive of future behaviour, job satisfaction, with its focus on recent experience, is likely to be easier for informants to consider. The third concept, incentives, refers to deliberate efforts to encourage desired work motivation. There are two types of motivation, namely intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic motivation is motivation that comes from within a person whereas extrinsic motivation is determined mainly by the level and type of external rewards that are available. Although 'extrinsic incentives' (in particular higher pay and a decent working environment) tend to attract the most attention, attempts to improve the substance of teachers' work, such as improvement of teaching materials or in-service training, can also be significant incentives.

Motivation theories

There is a voluminous theoretical and empirical literature on human motivation, which will not be reviewed here. However, there are some major theories of motivation, which are potentially quite relevant to the teaching profession in LIDCs.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory postulates that humans have specific needs that must be met. There are five 'levels' of need, namely physiological (thirst, sex, hunger), safety (security, stability and protection), love and belongingness, self-esteem and self-actualisation (see Maslow, 1943). A key proposition is that if the lower level needs remain unmet, the higher level needs cannot be fulfilled. This theory seems particularly relevant to teachers in LIDCs because meeting the basic survival needs for food and shelter as well as security in conflict situations are major daily challenges for teachers in many countries. These can seriously impair the realisation of higher level needs without which effective teacher performance cannot be attained. For example, teachers who are tired and hungry and excessively preoccupied about meeting their household's livelihood needs, are unlikely to become strongly motivated by their involvement in professional development activities. It is also to be expected that the fine-tuning of pay to individual teacher performance, tasks or skills, which has received so much attention recently in the USA and England (see Chamberlin et al, 2002; Conley and Odden, 1995), will not be seen as a major issue where teachers feel that they do not earn a 'living wage'. Although Maslow's theory has received only limited empirical support (Hoy and Miskel, 1991), it is a useful theoretical framework for this study.

Other research has also found that individuals have inherent psychological needs with respect to three key areas of their working lives, namely autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Autonomy is a person's drive to retain a sense of agency regarding her or his actions; competence is a desire to be good at what we value; relatedness is the impulse to develop meaningful connections with others. People are strongly motivated to satisfy these needs. If they are not fulfilled, they are likely therefore to become dissatisfied with their jobs and thus de-motivated.

Hertzberg's (1966) 'motivation-hygiene theory' is based on a two-dimension paradigm of factors affecting people's attitudes about work. Factors such as interpersonal relations, working conditions and pay are 'hygiene' factors rather than 'motivators'. Hertzberg argues that the absence of hygiene factors can create job dissatisfaction, but their presence does not motivate or create satisfaction. Five types of motivators strongly determine job satisfaction – achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility and advancement. Motivators are associated with long-term positive impacts on job performance while hygiene factors only tend to produce short-term changes in job attitudes and motivation, which quickly fall back to their previous level.

With reference to specific incentives, Vroom's (1964) 'expectancy theory' is relevant to developing countries because of its recognition that the links between effort and reward may be very tenuous. Improved pay for senior posts, for example, may not motivate eligible teachers if they have no confidence in the system of assessment and selection for such posts.

A fourth area of theory focuses on the use of goals for motivation. Locke (1976) argues that employee motivation is likely to be enhanced if work goals are specific, challenging, formed through employee participation and reinforced by feedback. This argument raises important issues for educational systems of developing countries, in which teachers are often left to guess at what their professional goals should be, or have goals imposed on them without consideration of their views. Even where goals have been specified, feedback to teachers may be limited by infrequent contact with supervisors.

Work motivation has a collective, as well as an individual, dimension, which is explored by 'equity theories' (see Wilson and Rosenfeld, 1990). Teachers compare their own efforts and rewards with those of peers. The peers in question may be in other occupations as well as within the teaching profession. Such comparisons are likely to influence teachers' perceptions of their own status and are just as relevant to motivation in developing countries as in industrialised ones.

2.2 Teacher Motivation in Developed Countries

A major conclusion of the extensive literature on school effectiveness in developed countries is that achieving better learning outcomes depends fundamentally on improvements in teaching. Although there are many other factors that affect learning outcomes, teaching is the main school-level determinant of school performance. Thus, ways to increase teacher motivation and capabilities are central to any systematic attempt to improve learning outcomes. A considerable

amount of research has been conducted on what makes the 'effective' teacher. And yet, the focus to date of policy reform in most countries has been on improving learning outcomes through a better allocation of resources, more accountability, curriculum reforms and refined assessment systems, and better pre- and in-service teacher training. However, the limited impact of many of these interventions has forced politicians and policymakers to focus increasingly on the needs of teachers themselves.

The literature on teacher motivation and incentives in developed countries has many common or similar themes with the very much more limited literature on this subject in low-income developing countries. In particular, it is widely contended that the status of teachers in most OECD countries has declined appreciably during the last fifty years, teacher autonomy and creativity has been curtailed by more control and regulation, and that teachers are being asked to do more with less. Teachers also complain about the lack of variety and role differentiation in their careers, the limited incentives for them to improve their practice and develop as professionals, and the limited linkages between their performance, teacher compensation and teacher development (IIEP, 2004).

Research in OECD countries has also consistently found that 'working with children' is the main determinant of teacher job satisfaction. Consequently, it is the rewarding nature of the job itself rather than pecuniary gain that is the primary motivation for becoming a teacher.

A comprehensive literature review by Spear et al (2000) highlights the wide range of factors that influence teacher job satisfaction and motivation in the United Kingdom. The main factor found to contribute to job satisfaction of teachers is working with children whereas job dissatisfaction was primarily attributed to work overload, poor pay, and perceptions of how teachers are viewed by society. They applied Herztberg's two-factor model as the overarching theoretical framework in synthesising the main findings of the studies reviewed. Their main conclusions are that, in order to experience high job satisfaction, teachers need an intellectual challenge, a high level of professional autonomy, to feel that they are benefiting society, to enjoy good relations with their colleagues, and to spend a sufficient proportion of their time working with children. Enhanced pay, improved status, a less demanding workload and fewer administrative responsibilities do not necessarily bring about higher levels of job satisfaction. Another important finding of the review is that studies have consistently identified the same variations in the job satisfaction levels of teachers depending on certain individual and school characteristics. In particular, with regard to gender differences, female teachers tend to have higher levels of job satisfaction than their male colleagues, but male teachers are generally more satisfied over their level of influence over school policies and practices. Teachers in rural areas report higher levels of job satisfaction than those in urban areas.

In developed countries, pay incentives have been found to be generally ineffective in increasing teacher motivation. Teacher motivation is based on intrinsic factors and that true job satisfaction is based on higher order needs (Sylvia and Hutchinson, 1994). Offering additional extrinsic rewards has even been found to undermine the intrinsic motivation of teachers (see Deci et al, 1999).

Another common theme is that failure to secure teacher 'buy-in' invariably leads to education reforms and other improvement interventions foundering. In particular, when external 'ideas' and innovations are paired with escalating controls, learning outcomes usually diminish. "The irony is that trying to strong-arm the process of renewal can circumvent teachers' need to establish a sense of agency over personal change" (Northwest Regional Education Laboratory:10). Research studies have shown that motivation is most precarious when people are confronted by pressures to act on something that is not of particular interest to them. Consequently, "unless teachers retain a sense of agency about why and how they might teach differently, the call for new approaches and innovations will likely ring hollow" (NREL:1). Needless to say, the environment for the internalisation of new ideas is even poorer in national public education systems in SSA and South Asia.

Patterns of motivation are also influenced by teachers' personal characteristics and perceptions of their roles as teachers. Williams (1998) mentions research evidence that teacher attrition (i.e. individual decisions to leave the profession permanently) tend to be negatively related to age and positively related to intellectual capacity and educational attainment. One cannot assume that teachers' motivation, even if it is related to attrition, necessarily has the same set of relationships. Murnane (1987) suggests that some university graduates in the United States of America are attracted to teaching as a 'medium-term' occupation rather than a permanent career. However, teachers' age and qualifications are treated as potentially important factors in this study Finally, recent research shows that teachers suffer more than other professional groups from occupational lack of motivation (see Evans, 1999).

2.3 Teacher Motivation in Low-income Developing Countries

Discussions about EFA and improving the quality of education have generally failed to recognise the pivotal role of teachers. In particular, the key issues of teacher motivation and pay are skimmed over and, at times, ignored altogether. For example, the World Bank's website on 'effective schools and teachers' identifies eight improvement domains, but none of these relate centrally to teacher job satisfaction and motivation. Similarly, the World Bank's Action Plan to Accelerate Progress towards Education for All does not address the very low levels of teacher motivation in most countries.

It is certainly true that nearly all national education strategies and reforms now focus on improving teacher competence and the working environment, and the promotion of greater school autonomy, all of which can improve teacher motivation. But many reform programmes also seek to change fundamentally teaching practices and increase the workload of teachers while, at the same time, ignoring or giving insufficient attention to very low pay and other conditions of service. In South Asia, the challenge of reforming public education systems is so large that increasing attention has been given to supporting parallel education provision to avoid tackling staffing issues in government schools. Teachers in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are being asked to change radically teaching practices at a time when the majority of them are increasingly de-motivated. Top-down policy formulation and implementation with limited participation by teachers exacerbates the already very limited degree of self-determination that can be exercised by teachers and the end result is that many teachers feel that they are being coerced. Not surprisingly, therefore, teachers resist (both actively and passively) these reform efforts.

Teacher motivation levels and trends

There is a wide range of views about teacher motivation in Africa and South Asia, most of which are country specific. However, there appear to be mounting concerns that unacceptably high proportions of teachers working in public school systems in many low income developing countries (LIDCs) are poorly motivated due to a combination of low morale and job satisfaction, poor incentives, and inadequate controls and other behavioural sanctions. For example, the 2000 EFA Country Assessment for Pakistan notes that poor teacher motivation is a 'colossal problem', which is seriously compounded by 'political interference'.

The VSO report on valuing teachers concludes that "a potential crisis in the teaching profession threatens the ability of national government's to reach internationally agreed targets to expand and improve education. In many developing countries, the teaching force is demoralised and fractured" (VSO, 2002:1). The report is based on three country case studies in Malawi, Zambia and Papua New Guinea. It focuses on factors in four areas: the conditions of employment of teachers; their situation as educators; their relationship with the local community; and their voice in educational policy. The report shows a plethora of negative factors in all these areas and not many redeeming features in the educational systems involved. Of particular concern is poor teacher management at all levels, from the ministry of education to the school, and teachers' perception that the decline in their pay has adversely affected their status, both nationally and locally. Other specific problems that are highlighted include delayed payment of salaries, housing shortages, insufficient upgrading opportunities, lack of learning materials, a decline of inspectorate services, and insufficient involvement of teachers' representatives in policy making.

The report by the Global Campaign for Education also concludes that "it is evident that in the five years since the Education for All goals were restated at Dakar, improving teacher motivation has still not been sufficiently prioritised as a major concern of national or international policy makers. As a result, teacher motivation and morale remain in a chronic state of decline". The main reasons for this decline are identified as large class sizes, erosion in the quality of teacher training, the employment of para-teachers, other cost cutting measures such as multiple shifts, and poor pay (GCE, 2005:1).

Research in richer developing countries has also found low levels of teacher motivation. For example, recent surveys in Argentina and Mexico found that most teachers do not wish to teach in the classroom. Teachers' ambitions tend to gravitate around two poles. Either they want to be managers (at either the school or higher levels) or they want to do other types of education-related work, such as writing textbooks and educational planning (see IIEP, 2004).

In general, however, very little robust evidence is presented to support the views and assertions about teacher motivation in LIDCs. In the absence of adequate information, the incidence of poor teacher motivation and misbehaviour could well be seriously over-exaggerated mainly because of the pervasive negative stereotyping of teachers (especially by the media) in many countries. On the few occasions when teachers and school managers have been directly asked about teacher motivation, reported levels of morale have generally been quite high. For example, as part of a study of the impact of the AIDS epidemic on education in Botswana,

Malawi and Uganda, representative groups of primary and secondary school teachers were asked if they agreed with the statement that 'teacher morale at this school is high'. Morale in Botswana and Uganda was reasonably good whereas there appears to be more cause for concern in Malawi, especially at primary schools (see Bennell et al, 2002).

Another study on the impact of AIDS in Tanzania, Mozambique, Kenya and Uganda, noted that "morale among teachers is surprisingly high" (Carr-Hill et al, 2003:44). A recent survey in Ghana also concluded that teacher morale is "reasonably high" (Akyeampong, 2003). Only 13 per cent of teacher respondents indicated that they 'did not enjoy teaching' although nearly one-third stated that they did not intend to remain in the teaching profession. Conversely, over 80 percent of primary school teachers recently interviewed in Sierra Leone said they did not want to be teachers. Nonetheless, in a recent survey of primary schools in Sierra Leone, primary school head teachers indicated that, if they could, they would replace less than 20 percent of teachers because they are poorly motivated (see Bennell et al, 2004).

Teacher morale also varies noticeable across schools in the same locations. For example, in a small survey of secondary schools in Lusaka, Zambia, the breakdown of head teacher ratings of teacher morale was high, 44 percent, moderate/average, 22 percent and poor, 33 percent (see Bennell, Bulwani and Musikanga, 2003).

An additional de-motivating factor in Sub-Saharan Africa is the HIV/AIDS epidemic, partly because of its effects on pupils through their home environments and partly because of its effect on teachers themselves. However reliable, empirical findings about the latter are generally lacking. Bennell's (2003a) review of the evidence refutes the notion that teachers themselves are a 'high-risk group' in relation to the epidemic.

2.4 Motivational Factors

To date, only a handful of studies have been undertaken that comprehensively analyse in a robust manner the key determinants of teacher motivation in the developing country context. Based on survey data from five Francophone countries (Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire Madagascar and Senegal), Michaelowa finds that large class size, double-shifting, rural location, high educational attainment and active parental involvement are all negatively correlated with teacher job satisfaction in these countries. However, the contract status of the teacher and the level of communication between teachers and school managers have no statistically significant impact on teacher job satisfaction. Even more surprisingly, the salary variables showed no noticeable impact on teacher job satisfaction. She concludes that "the role of salaries does not seem to be as important as many people believe" (see Michaelowa, 2002: 18). It should be pointed out however that teachers in Francophone Africa are relatively well paid compared with their colleagues in most other African countries.

Jessop and Penny (1998) analyse the role perceptions of primary school teachers in rural South Africa and the Gambia. They identify two distinct 'frames of understanding' about teaching, described as 'instrumental' and 'relational', which affect the way teachers discuss job satisfaction and motivation. The individual teachers studied are classified according to whether they lean

towards one frame or the other. The authors find that instrumental teachers, who see education mainly as a technical process, are more likely to show concern about the inadequacy of physical resources for learning, support from inspectors and extrinsic incentives. Relational teachers, however, see education mainly as a moral activity and are motivated mainly by a nurturing relationship with pupils. The typical complaints of this group are not mentioned and one is left to assume that they complain less. The authors argue that neither group perceives 'ownership' of the curriculum as a goal. From the perspective of Maslow, however, this is not surprising if the teachers are poorly paid and little respected by their supervisors. The categories developed by Jessop and Penny can be compared with those of researchers in other settings, such as the 'pupil-oriented', 'subject-oriented' and 'benefits-oriented' categories used by Griffiths et al (1965).

A study of teacher stress by Gorrell and Dharmadasa (1989) provides controlled, empirical findings about certain factors that may be important 'de-motivators' for teachers in a developing country. It shows that overcrowded classrooms, absent pupils and lack of teachers' texts can be very stressful factors, especially for the less experienced teachers. They related closely to another source of stress: the pressure to produce examination passes. Barrett's (2005) research on primary school teachers in Tanzania, shows that they, as 'second parents', have a great concern about whether their pupils will qualify for admission to secondary education.

Occupational status

Traditionally, the strong intrinsic motivation of teachers has been closely associated with the high status of teachers in society. This was certainly the case during the colonial era in Africa and Asia and also during the early independence period. It is now widely argued that that the status of teachers, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, has declined appreciably during recent decades. As noted earlier, the same is true to a considerable extent in developed countries, but the forces that are resulting in the 'de-professionalisation' of teachers are more pronounced in LIDCs. These include protracted economic and social crisis in many countries, increasing diversification of the teaching force with increasing reliance on less well-educated and qualified teachers with lower job security, generally lower standards of teaching, feminisation of the teaching force, and sizeable declines in the standards of living of teachers.

Occupational status depends on the 'public valuing' of the competence, role and overall contribution of a particular occupation to individual and societal welfare. Occupations that have attained 'professional status' share a common set of characteristics including a high level of education and training, a strong ideal of public service with an enforced professional code of conduct, and high levels of respect from the public at large. Teachers in most LIDCs are 'semi-professionals' mainly because of their relatively low levels of education and training vis-à-vis professional occupations such as doctors, engineers and lawyers, Also, the sheer size of the teaching force militates against 'professional' exclusivity. Teaching is reported to have become 'employment of the last resort' among university graduates and secondary school leavers in many countries. Consequently, teachers often lack a strong, long-term commitment to teaching as a vocation. Finally, teachers are paid considerably less than the mainstream professions.

Teacher labour markets are also becoming increasingly segmented in most countries. The primary segment comprises of government-funded teachers who enjoy relatively high levels of job security and are often quite heavily unionised. A secondary segment is rapidly emerging in many LIDCs, which is characterised by teachers employed by non-state providers and contractual teachers in the public education sector. The latter group invariably has lower education and professional qualifications, is employed on short-term temporary contracts with much lower salaries, and is concentrated in rural locations.

School and teacher accountability

It is widely noted that incentives for schools and teachers in the public education system to perform well are frequently weak due to ineffective incentives and sanctions. This is particularly the case when teachers cannot be effectively disciplined for unacceptable behaviour (absenteeism, lateness, poor teaching, abusive behaviour towards pupils) by school managements because it is very difficult to dismiss them and pay and promotion are largely unrelated to actual performance.

Where teacher pay is very low, there is normally de facto recognition and acceptance that the 'labour process' in schools has to be organised in such a way that enables teachers the autonomy to generate additional income. Many school managers also engage in these 'survival' activities. More generally, there is a widespread acceptance that 'you get what you pay for', which is not very much when pay does not meet minimum livelihood needs. Secondary employment activities are likely to both directly and indirectly lower the motivation of teachers in their main jobs.

The poor and declining quality of public education in many LIDCs has led to growing numbers of parents sending their children to non-state schools. In some countries, particularly in South Asia, this amounts to a mass exodus (see Bennell, 2003b). Without the political 'voice' of the middle class, there is much less pressure on governments to improve public education.

Teacher management

Poor human resource management seriously de-motivates employees. Teacher management at the national and sub-national levels is nothing short of chaotic in many countries. In most of Africa, "for almost all administration regarding teacher management, one notes a lack of clear rules which tend to generate conflict, power vacuum, and overlap and duplication of effort" (IIEP, 1999:35). Teacher supervision is frequently very weak, especially in countries such as India, where head teachers lack formal administrative control over teachers in their schools. There is invariably no effective performance appraisal and inspections are infrequent, especially in more remote schools.

Teacher management tends to be authoritarian, based on rigid hierarchical structures, which results in limited participation, delegation, and communication by teachers with respect to major school management functions. Teachers subjected to these types of management regimes have little sense of self-determination, which seriously undermines job satisfaction and motivation. The extent to which teacher grievances are addressed is also a key issue. The high turnover of head teachers in many countries is particularly disruptive and frequently bad for teacher morale. Many managers are 'acting' for very long periods.

Effective management training programmes for head teachers can, however, lead to noticeable improvements in teacher behaviour and performance.

Teacher-state relationships

Relationships between teachers and governments are becoming increasingly strained in many countries, which also adversely affects teacher morale. Teachers as a group have been targeted by governments and ruling parties in some countries. The leaders of teachers' unions have been imprisoned and even tortured (recently, for example, in Burundi and Ethiopia).

Staffing patterns

Teachers in LIDCs are highly dispersed, typically in thousands of small schools and remote locations. In Madyha Pradesh, India, for example, one-third of schools have only a single teacher and only 20 per cent of schools have more than two teachers. Maintaining teacher morale in these work environments is a major challenge. Teachers often feel isolated with little or no collegiality and support. High staff turnover (both voluntary and involuntary) in hard-to-staff schools can adversely affect motivation. With very high vacancy rates in rural schools, teachers are often over-worked.

Where teachers pay large bribes to secure employment and desired postings, this may also impact on job commitment and overall motivation. In these situations, teaching positions are little more than sinecures, which means that teachers do not feel accountable to school management, parents or the wider community.

Multiple shifts are common in many countries, especially in urban schools. For example, one-third of primary teachers in Rwanda teach two shifts with an average class size of 61. Elsewhere, though, teachers who work a single shift in double and triple shift schools often only need to be at schools for three-four hours a day.

Workload demands and expectations

The available evidence on teacher workloads is particularly weak. Increasing hours of work, larger class sizes, more subjects, and constantly changing curricula are cited as major de-motivators in many countries. What is expected from teachers (the 'social contract') is not pitched at a realistic level in many countries given material rewards, workloads, and work and living environments. Large class sizes and heavy workloads in relation to pay (the effort-price of work) also make teachers resistant to the introduction of new teaching methodologies and other innovations.

The available indicators, especially pupil-teacher ratios (PTRs) are too crude to draw robust conclusions. While PTRs are very high in many countries, they do not appear to have increased appreciably during the last 10-15 years in the majority of LIDCs. However, the introduction of free universal primary education in Sub-Saharan Africa has generally resulted in:

- larger classes, especially in the lower grades, which tend to be taught by less experienced and poorly qualified teachers;
- increased financial pressures on schools, especially where they have not been fully compensated by governments for the loss of parental fee income;
- more demanding school management;
- recruitment of less well-educated and qualified teachers;
- introduction of new and more demanding curricula;
- increased demands for parental and community involvement in school management.

In contrast, the teaching loads of secondary school teachers are frequently singled out as being too low. This is a highly contested issue in some countries (for example China, Uganda and Zambia). In Uganda, the Ministry of Education raised the teaching load of secondary school teachers to a minimum of 26 periods per week (out of a possible total of 40) in 2002. However, teachers protested to the President who reduced the number of periods to the original level of 18 per week. There are usually major differences in teacher workloads according to school size, type and location as well as subject areas. The most common reasons for low teaching loads are small schools, overcrowded curricula with too many specialised teachers, insufficient classrooms, and a predominance of single subject teachers. Secondary schools often have strong incentives to expand classes in order to maximise fee income. If, however, the financial payoff to teachers for teaching extra classes is not increased sufficiently then this can result in lower motivation. In many countries, teachers are being asked to take on more responsibilities, including HIV/AIDS education, counselling, and community development.

Data are not readily available on the relative workloads of teachers at government and private schools. Often comparisons are not meaningful because private schools rely heavily on part-time teachers who are employed to teach a few lessons per week. They are only paid for the classes they teach so salary costs per class are generally much lower than in publicly funded schools. In some countries (for example Pakistan and India), overall PTRs are lower in government than private schools, which to a considerable extent is a reflection of the low level of demand for public education. But elsewhere, class sizes are generally smaller in private schools and both students and parents are more motivated, which makes teaching more rewarding and less stressful.

Work and living conditions

The work and living environment for many teachers is poor, which tends to lower self-esteem and is generally de-motivating. Schools in many countries lack basic amenities such as pipe-borne water and electricity, staff rooms, and toilets. Housing is a major issue for nearly all teachers. Again, though, time series data is urgently needed that can track changes in working and living conditions. For example, in Ghana, the percentage of teachers who are housed increased from only 5 percent in 1988 to 30 per cent in 2003 (Aykeampong, 2003).

Pay and allowances

No comprehensive, cross-country analysis of teachers' pay in LIDCs has been undertaken for well over a decade. However, there is a broad consensus that teacher's remuneration in the majority of LIDCs is inadequate. This is because total pay does not cover basic household

survival needs, let alone enable teachers to enjoy a 'reasonable standards of living'. The SIDA review of teacher conditions of service concludes "there has been a dramatic erosion in teacher working conditions and consequent brain drain of qualified and experienced teachers to other professional fields" (SIDA, 1999:12). Similarly, a major OECD study of teacher pay notes "salaries continue to deteriorate in low-income developing countries" (OECD, 1998:113).

The minimum household survival incomes for teachers are typically two-three times more than the basic government salary (including allowances), and frequently more than this. Table 2.1 shows that teachers in the large majority of LIDCs earn less than three dollars a day, which is usually the main source of household income. Given that most households have more than five people, household income per head is well under one dollar a day.

Table 2.1: Primary Teacher Gross Income per Day, mid to late 1990s (US dollars)

	<1	1 to 2	2 to 3	3 to 4	4>
AFRICA	DRC Guinea Bissau	Burundi Gambia Malawi Rwanda Sierra Leone Sudan Zambia Zimbabwe	Ethiopia Ghana Kenya Madagascar Mozambique Nigeria Tanzania	Benin Chad Eritrea Togo	Burkina Faso Congo Mali Mauritania Niger Senegal
ASIA	Afghanistan Cambodia Lao Vietnam	Bangladesh Nepal Pakistan			India
LATIN AMERICA	Nicaragua				

Source: Bennell (2004)

Earning secondary income is central to the coping strategies adopted by teachers to meet minimum household subsistence needs. Private tuition amounts to a 'shadow' education system in many countries with very large proportions of pupils involved.

Non-formal, not-for-profit schooling, which is provided mainly by NGOs, generally employs teachers who have lower education levels than government teachers and relatively little professional training. They are also locally recruited and usually work for only a few hours each school day. Thus, their pay is much lower than public sector payroll teachers. Teachers at private-for-profit schools also earn less, on average, than in the public sector.

The broad consensus among occupational psychologists in developed country contexts is that pay on its own does not increase motivation. However, pecuniary motives are likely to be dominant among teachers in those LIDCs where pay and other material benefits are too low for individual and household survival needs to be met. Only when these basic needs have been

met is it possible for 'higher-order' needs, which are the basis of true job satisfaction, to be realised. A key empirical issue is therefore to establish the extent of this problem.

There is only one study that challenges the prevailing consensus about teacher pay in LIDCs. As part of the background analysis for the EFA Fast Track Initiative, Bruns, Mingat, and Rakotomalala from the World Bank computed gross teacher expenditures as ratios of GDP per capita in forty or so LIDCs (see Bruns et al, 2002). Using simple regression analysis, they claim that a strong negative relationship exists between teacher's pay, expressed as a ratio of GDP per capita, and enrolment rates. They conclude that teachers' salaries tend to be higher, the lower the level of economic development. More significantly, they argue that countries that have ratios greater than 3.5 times GDP per capita also tend to have lower primary school enrolment rates. The main policy implication is that teachers' pay in all LIDCs should be either reduced or increased to this target, 'best practice' level. By so doing, countries with relatively high salaries will free-up more resources, especially for essential non-salary inputs, which have been 'crowded out' by teacher emoluments. For countries, where the ratio is very high, this implies that teacher's pay will have to be cut in absolute terms. Over two-thirds of the 33 LIDCs in Africa for which data is available have salary GDP per capita ratios of over 3.5. This includes most of the Francophone countries as well as large countries, most notably Ethiopia and Nigeria. In contrast, in none of the six South Asia countries is the pay ratio significantly greater than the 3.5 target.

This World Bank study has been influential both within the World Bank itself and among other donors. In particular, the '3.5 ratio' has been used prescriptively as a policy norm for countries wishing to access FTI funding. However, Bennell (2002) has identified the following shortcomings of this analysis:

- inaccurate and misleading data;
- the absence of a strong relationship between teacher pay and enrolment rates;
- failure to consider the sufficiency of teacher pay in relation to minimum household livelihood needs;
- no analysis of labour market factors, in particular teacher's pay relative to other occupations in formal sector employment and pay trends over time;
- no consideration of other key contextual factors, especially the adequacy of teacher's pay in relation to key deployment issues, most notably attracting teachers to work in rural schools.

The salary data presented by Bruns et al (2002) is misleading for a number of reasons. First, gross rather than net salaries are presented. Second, average salaries for all teachers are used which, given the often very sizeable income differences between primary and secondary teachers, seriously over-inflates the incomes actually received by primary school teachers. Third, much of the data is quite old. And finally, it is necessary to look at the full range of pay for primary school teachers. In particular, pay levels for unqualified primary school teachers tend to be very low.

With regarding to the econometric modelling, only a very weak and statistically insignificant relationship exists between primary school completion and gross enrolment rates and GDP per capita teacher pay.[3] Among the group of 'high performance' countries identified by Bruns et al, the values of the GDP per capita salary ratios also vary very considerably. They assert that there

[3] The coefficient of determination (R-squared) is only 0.31.

has been a 'strong convergence' (p.36) over time of regional averages with respect to this pay ratio. However, this is almost wholly accounted for by marked reductions in GDP per capita teacher pay levels in Francophone Africa. There is no evidence of convergence among the other main regions, namely Anglophone Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East and North Africa.

Pay structure

The overall structure of teachers' pay shares most of the pervasive characteristics of public sector pay systems in LIDCs. In particular, formal education and professional qualifications largely determine salary levels. The salary scales for both primary and secondary school teachers are often very flat with very small salary increments awarded on the basis of seniority/experience, with little or no link with actual job performance. Salary administration is also poor in many countries. In particular, late payment of salaries is very common. Rural or remote area allowances are paid to teachers in many countries, but in general they are too small to have a major impact on teacher deployment.

Community participation and decentralisation

It is widely contended that the comprehensive decentralisation of school management functions will result in significant improvements in teacher recruitment and deployment practices and higher teacher motivation and overall performance. This is because school managers and teachers become more accountable to parents and other local stakeholders and schools and/or communities have much greater direct control of teacher recruitment and deployment. Once again, however, there is a paucity of evidence, which can be drawn upon to assess these assertions in a robust manner. Michaelowa (2002) found that increased higher levels of community involvement were negatively correlated with teacher motivation since it undermined their sense of occupational autonomy and control.

The link between decentralisation and improved teacher performance is often quite weak in government schools. In part, this is because education decentralisation has, in practice, remained quite limited in many LIDCs (especially in much of South Asia). Furthermore, decentralisation can exacerbate political interference. The capacity of parents and local stakeholders to exercise control over school managers and teachers is another key factor.

Teacher competence

The 'struggling teacher' is an all too common sight, especially in primary schools. High proportions of teachers remain untrained in many LIDCs, which adversely affects 'can-do' motivation. Too often, teachers are 'thrown in at the deep end' with little or no induction. Multi-grade teaching is common in LIDCs, but most teachers are not adequately prepared for the special demands of this type of teaching.

Poor quality in-service training compounds poor pre-service training and induction in many countries. Teachers need continuous professional development (CPD) as well as support from peers and supervisors. CPD is usually scarce, one-shot, top-down, unrelated to a broad strategy,

and not targeted at teachers who need it most. In the absence of appropriate support, teachers can quickly lose motivation. There have however been some very effective interventions in this area. In Guinea, for example, teachers have been encouraged to take more responsibility for their own professional development, in particular by enabling them to access training resources through a competitive grant scheme.

Occupational health

Teachers living below or near national poverty lines are likely to suffer from high levels of illness. Teachers are also believed to be a 'high-risk' occupational group with respect to HIV infection. This is expected to have a major impact on teacher motivation in high prevalence HIV countries in Eastern and Southern Africa. Apart from the obvious impact of teachers who are living with AIDS, working with colleagues who are sick and who may eventually die is also demoralising. The extra workload of covering from sick teachers is another key factor. But, conversely, there is some mainly anecdotal evidence to show that teachers 'come together' in the face of the AIDS threat and other adversities. In addition, the actual and potential impact of the epidemic on teachers has been exaggerated (see Bennell, 2003a and 2006a). Mortality rates among teachers are appreciably lower than those based on demographic projections of the impact of the epidemic on the adult population as whole. For example, the mortality rate among teachers in Swaziland, which has the highest HIV prevalence rate in the world (estimated to 32.5 percent in 2005), was less than one percent in 2005. This is three times less than the projected mortality rate for teachers in this year (see Bennell, 2006b).

Individual characteristics

Individual teacher characteristics can also adversely impact on motivation levels. The age profile of teachers has become younger in many countries due to the rapid expansion of primary and, more recently, secondary school enrolments and/or higher rates of teacher attrition. This means that there are relatively few experienced teachers who can serve as mentors and provide professional support and leadership. Primary school teachers in Sub-Saharan Africa are usually considerably younger than secondary school teachers.

In most countries, government teachers are predominantly from higher socio-economic backgrounds and have been brought up in urban areas. Social distance is a particularly important in India where teachers are mainly from higher castes, but increasingly teach students from lower castes.

The impact on women teachers of being in a male-dominated profession is also likely to be a salient factor in some countries. Research has shown that motivational patterns are different among men and women in OECD countries with men more concerned with extrinsic rewards (most notably pay) and women focusing more on intrinsic rewards i.e. the satisfaction of teaching children.

2.5 Impact on Teacher Behaviour and Staffing

It is widely asserted that low teacher motivation impacts negatively on teacher behaviour and performance in a variety of ways including deteriorating standards of professional conduct, poor professional performance, and serious distortions in the spatial deployment of teachers. Teacher absenteeism is unacceptably high and rising, time on task is low and falling, and teaching practices are characterised by limited effort with heavy reliance on traditional teacher-centred practices. Teachers are devoting less and less time to extra-curricular activities, teaching preparation, and marking. For example, the 2004 World Development Report notes "cases of malfeasance among teachers are distressingly present in many settings: teachers show up drunk, are physically abusive, or simply do nothing. This is not low-quality teaching – this is not teaching at all" (World Bank, 2004, p.65). But again, such negative views of teachers are not adequately supported by robust evidence.

Teacher deployment

Another major impact of low teacher motivation is that it seriously exacerbates the deployment of teachers to schools in less attractive locations. The deployment of teachers, even in quite small national education systems, is complex. For a variety of reasons, teaching positions are not being filled in an efficient and effective manner in most countries. Invariably, the key issue is the unattractiveness of rural schools, especially in remoter locations. Teacher resistance to working in these hard-to-staff schools reinforces urban biases in resource allocations and overall education outcomes.

The low proportion of qualified and experienced teachers working in rural schools is one of the most serious problems preventing the attainment of EFA with reasonable learning outcomes in most LIDCs. Rural-urban differences in the qualification profiles of teachers are usually very large. For example, in Namibia, 40 per cent of teachers in rural schools in the north are qualified compared to 92 per cent in the capital Windhoek and neighbouring areas. In Uganda, two-thirds of primary school teachers in urban schools are qualified, but only half in rural schools. The qualification divide is particularly acute in conflict and post-conflict situations. In Sierra Leone, for example, 96 per cent of teachers in the capital in Freetown are qualified, but less than 25 per cent in the remoter, war-torn northern districts (see Bennell et al, 2004).

Younger, inexperienced teachers tend to be posted to schools in rural areas in many LIDCs, which many find stressful and de-motivating. In some countries, a sizeable proportion of the teachers who are recruited are not competent. Even in a relatively developed country such as Brazil, "unclear lines of accountability have encouraged patronage relationships and recruitment of under-qualified teachers" (World Bank, 2001). In the worst cases, teaching positions are purchased. In India, grant in aid schools expect 'donations' from prospective staff because teachers receive the same, relatively attractive salaries as government teachers.

Most teachers want to be posted to urban schools for both professional and personal reasons. The size of the rural-urban divide in most countries creates strong disincentives to being posted to a rural school. Teachers want to remain in urban areas for a variety of reasons, most notably the availability of good schooling for their own children, employment opportunities for spouses

and other household members, the desire to maintain often close knit family and friendship networks, opportunities for further study, and poor working and living conditions in rural schools. The much greater opportunities for earning secondary incomes in urban locations is also a major factor. Finally, in many countries, newly appointed primary school teachers expect to upgrade their qualifications within three-four years so that they can become secondary school teachers or have a second chance of getting a place at university. Being posted to a rural primary school can, therefore, severely affect their ability to undertake further studies.

A posting to a rural school can be a one-way ticket or for very long periods of time in some countries, especially where sizeable proportions of teachers pay for their postings. Where the deployment process is manifestly corrupt, this merely heightens the sense of injustice felt by new teachers who are forced to work in rural schools.

Despite the widespread recognition of what amounts to a teacher deployment crisis in many LIDCs, efforts to tackle the most serious deployment problems have been quite limited and invariably unsuccessful. Forcing teachers to work in rural schools can seriously lower morale and result in high levels of turnover. In Malawi, for example, a 1989 government directive instructed all teachers that they should teach in their own regions. However, this decision was so unpopular that it had to be reversed. Similarly, the compulsory posting of science and mathematics teachers to rural schools in South Africa during the mid 1990s had to be abandoned because many teachers decided to quit. The lack of attractive additional incentives to work in remoter rural schools is another key factor. Relatively very large incentives may be necessary to attract teachers to hard-to-staff schools, but these are not likely to be affordable in most LICs.

Teacher retention

It is widely reported that poor job satisfaction among teachers in developing countries results in high attrition rates (see, for example, VSO, 2005). Again, however, very little information is available on staff retention in schooling systems in Africa and South Asia.

There are five main types of teacher turnover: departures of teachers at the school level; movements of teachers between public and non-state schools; teacher upgrading; occupational attrition (teachers leaving the profession to take up other jobs); and international migration. Teacher retention at the school level is a combination of attrition (through long-term illness and death, resignation, retirement, dismissal) and transfers (lateral, promotion, study leave). The main issue in most countries is the high rate of transfers of teachers between schools rather than attrition per se. A ‘culture of discontinuity’ often characterises teacher staffing in remoter rural schools. The ‘need to belong’ is a fundamental human motivation, which is undermined when teachers are frequently transferred, as is the norm in South Asia. The compulsory posting of teachers to hard to staff mainly remote rural schools is also unlikely to engender a sense of belonging.

The lack of alternative employment opportunities keeps occupational attrition rates low in most countries. This is especially the case for primary school teachers who do not have the education and qualifications to be particularly marketable in private sector labour markets. Anecdotal

evidence suggests that occupational attrition among contractual and community teachers is higher than permanent teachers in some countries. Disgruntled teachers are likely to feel particularly trapped in their jobs, which will have wider deleterious impacts on teacher morale in schools.

Brain drain

Another alleged consequence of low teacher motivation is the large scale migration of teachers from developing to the United Kingdom and other OECD countries. It is argued that the 'brain drain' of teachers to the North is negatively impacting on teacher supply and retention in a growing number of developing countries, which is undermining the attainment of EFA. However, the available evidence shows that the overall impact on teacher supply in most LIDCs has been and is likely to remain minimal for the foreseeable future. The large majority of overseas teachers (both on work permits and working holiday visas) are from the 'old' Commonwealth countries, in particular Australia and South Africa and, to a lesser extent, New Zealand and Canada (see Bennell, 2004; Morgan et al, 2006).

Teacher absenteeism

Poor motivation and lack of accountability are widely reported to result in high levels of teacher absenteeism in many LIDCs. Again, however, the evidence base is weak. It is also difficult to measure teacher absenteeism that can be directly attributed to poor motivation and opportunistic behaviour.

Research by the World Bank finds generally high levels of teacher absence in developing countries, especially in Africa and South Asia (for example, for Zambia, see Habayarimana et al, 2003 and Kenya, Glewwe et al, 2004). However, most teacher absenteeism is for legitimate reasons, namely personal illness, official duty, and leave. Other studies have not found unauthorised (opportunistic) absenteeism to be a major problem in a number of countries in SSA (see Bennell et al, 2002, Bennell, 2004).

Absenteeism is widely reported to be lower in private-for-profit schools. Although there is little or no hard evidence to back this up, it is likely that non-state providers, and especially for-profit schools, do impose sanctions on teachers who are absent for legitimate reasons. One of the most important findings of the World Bank research is that absenteeism rates among contractual teachers are much higher than for teachers with permanent status.

Chapter 3: Study Design and Data Collection

This chapter discusses the key research goals and questions and then describes the research methodology that was employed in order to collect good quality information on teacher motivation and incentives.

3.1 General Goals and Research Questions

The study is intended to provide both an overview of the motivation and job satisfaction of primary school teachers in a representative group of low-income developing countries and an in-depth analysis of the major determinants of their motivation in different types of local and school context. This enables an assessment to be made of the prospects for improvement of teacher motivation, especially through policies of national governments.

The major, specific issues are captured in the following set of research questions, all of which refer to teachers at the primary level:

1. How well motivated are teachers, generally and in different types of local environment (particularly rural and urban schools)?

2. What is their level of job satisfaction and how does it vary according to type of local environment and level of qualifications?

3. What do teachers and other stakeholders identify as the major factors in teachers' motivation and job satisfaction?

4. What are the attitudes of teachers, in different types of local environment, to their pay, working conditions and opportunities for career development?

5. How important are the relations of teachers with their managers and with their local communities as factors in their motivation and job satisfaction?

6. What are the recent trends in teacher motivation and job satisfaction as reported by teachers and other stakeholders?

7. What evidence is there about the effects of teachers' motivation on their retention, behaviour and performance?

8. What measures to improve teacher motivation would be realistic in each country?

3.2 Research Methods

The main source of information for this research project is 12 country case studies. All country case studies have three common components, namely a core set of 10-20 interviews with key education stakeholders, the collection of all relevant documentation, and the analysis of statistical data relating to teacher motivation and incentives.

Stakeholder interviews

Motivation means different things to different people. Thus, all the country studies sought to examine key motivational factors from the perspectives of different stakeholders. A common set of key individuals from the Ministry of Education, teacher trade union(s), education NGOs, academic researchers and aid donors was interviewed in each country. Interviews were based on a semi-structured questionnaire and sought to elicit the main views and opinions of each respondent with respect to each of the key research questions listed above. Interviewees were assured of anonymity and note taking during the interview was kept to a minimum in order to improve the quality of the discussion. Although the information was mainly qualitative, these interviews provided important insights into the level and determinants of teacher job satisfaction and motivation in each country as well as a range of recommendations about what should be done to improve teacher performance.

The list of interviewees and core questionnaire schedule were modified slightly in some countries in order to take into account the specific characteristics of the institutional profile of the education sector and the education sector itself. For example, in some countries the role of NGOs and the private sector is particularly large so more representatives from these organisations were interviewed. It was not possible to identify academic researchers with in-depth knowledge of teacher motivation issues in three countries.

Interviews typically lasted one hour. Most individuals readily agreed to be interviewed although it was difficult arranging appointments with senior ministry officials in about half the countries. Occasionally, telephone interviews were conducted.

Documentation and statistics

Key documentation included national education strategies and policy reviews, schemes of service for teachers including salary scales for the last 10 years, trade union submissions and supporting analyses for salary reviews and other conditions of service, and the impact of HIV/AIDS on the education sector. Information on teacher staffing patterns and flows (qualification and experience profiles, recruitment deployment, transfers and attrition) was obtained from MoE Planning and Research Departments, and in particular, education management information systems (EMIS). Other statistics such as consumer price indexes and household survey data were obtained from national statistical offices.

School survey

Extended case studies were conducted in six countries (Ghana, Lesotho, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zambia in Sub-Saharan Africa and India in South Asia). Here, in addition to the stakeholder interviews and document and statistical review, a purposive sample of primary schools was selected in order to explore in depth a wide range of issues pertaining to teacher job satisfaction and motivation. In each country, 10-15 primary schools in usually two[4] rural and urban clusters were surveyed. The urban cluster was usually a low-income suburb or a particular area in the capital city while the rural cluster of schools was chosen to be as

[4] Three clusters were selected in Lesotho in the mountains, foothills and urban area.

representative as possible of conditions in rural areas in the country. Inevitably, though there are differences in the remoteness of the rural clusters between countries. In Tanzania, for example, the rural cluster was in a relatively remote area of Kagera Province, which is over 500 miles from the capital Dar es Salaam, while in Zambia the rural schools were located only 50-80 kilometres from the capital, Lusaka.

For each school, six different data collection procedures were followed:

1. In-depth interviews with two to four teachers, depending on the size of the school.
2. In-depth interviews with the head teacher and with a community representative of the parent-teacher association (or local equivalent) and the school management committee.
3. Collective responses to 23 'general statements' about teachers and the school, by a focus group of teachers with a maximum size of eight.
4. Individual responses to the 23 'general statements' by any teachers who were not members of the focus group.
5. Responses to seven 'personal statements' about the work situation by all available teachers, including interviewees and focus group members.
6. Responses to a personal background questionnaire by all available teachers except interviewees. (In most respects the interviews provided the same background information.)

The research instruments are reproduced in Annex B.

The teacher interviewees were selected from the staff lists in such a way as to give variations in qualifications, age, grade level taught and gender (where possible). The local community representatives interviewed were any available non-teacher members of the parent-teacher accociation or the school managment committee (or equivalent). In some schools, more than one member attended and so they were interviewed as a group.

The teacher focus groups utilised participatory research techniques, but were sufficiently structured to allow group responses to particular statements to be systematically recorded so that they could be compared with those of other groups both in the same country and in other countries. The manner in which the teacher focus groups were formed varied to some extent according to the school size. In schools with less than eight teachers, all available teachers, including the interviewees (but excluding the head teacher), were included in the focus group in the interests of synergy and meaningful consensus. In larger schools, the focus group consisted of a systematic sample of eight teachers other than the interviewees. Therefore, individual responses to the general statements were only obtained in schools with more than eight teachers, from teachers outside the focus group. Focus groups were given a choice of three responses to each general statement: 'Agree', 'Not sure' or 'Disagree', whereas individuals

responding to the general statements were given a five-point scale. Focus groups were asked to discuss the general statements without the researcher being present and to record comments selectively in order to explain the responses they chose.

The school survey instruments were piloted in one or two schools. This enabled the researchers to make minor improvements to the instruments and schedule of activities. The preparations also included contact with the local MoE officials, who were also interviewed. National researchers normally spent one day at each survey school.

3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses

Getting good quality information on overall levels and trends in teacher motivation is not easy. In part, this is because of the highly subjective nature of job satisfaction, but it also depends very heavily on the way in which the information is obtained. It is for this reason that the study employed a variety of approaches, including individual questionnaires, focus group interviews, and one-on-one semi-structured interviews.

If valid and reliable measurement of teacher motivation is difficult to achieve, this applies even more to the impact of motivation on teacher behaviour and performance, where numerous factors affect staffing outcomes. But, clearly, the level of teacher motivation does have a major impact on teacher retention and movement, the professional conduct of teachers, and educational outcomes.

The reliance on multiple sources of quantitative and qualitative information in a relatively standardised format has enabled robust cross-country comparisons of motivation levels and trends and the salience of specific causative factors to be successfully made for the first time. Good preparation and close supervision of national researchers ensured relatively high compliance with the prescribed research method and specific data collection instruments. Multiple sources of information provided an excellent basis for triangulation on most key issues. The decision to increase the number of extended case studies from two to six was particularly critical since it enabled rich school-level data to be collected to a much greater extent than was originally considered possible given the resources available.

The main shortcoming of the research is that it was not possible to undertake more in-depth and therefore rigorous applied psychological research on teacher motivation and job satisfaction. As a consequence, it is possible that extrinsic determinants, which are more readily observed and measurable than intrinsic determinants, may be given undue emphasis. The available information on teacher staffing patterns kept by Ministries of Education is also generally quite limited.

Chapter 4: Is There a Teacher Motivation Crisis?

The most critical finding that emerges from this research study is that very sizeable proportions of primary school teachers, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, have low levels of job satisfaction and are poorly motivated. Many tens of millions of children are, therefore, not being taught properly and are not receiving even a minimally acceptable education. As the authors of the Tanzania country report point out "the de-motivation of teachers is a major contributory factor to the abysmally poor learning achievements of primary and secondary students" (Bennell and Muykanuzi, 2005:34). With a few exceptions, it would appear that this is true for most low-income developing countries.

On the basis of the evidence presented in the country studies, the unavoidable conclusion is that most schooling systems are faced with what amounts to a teacher motivation crisis, which has far reaching implications for the education Millennium Development Goals for basic education and for development as a whole.

4.1 Overall Motivation Levels

Concerns about low motivation are pervasive. While the precise reasons vary from country to country, education stakeholder respondents, school managers and teachers themselves all agree that the primary school teachers tend to be dissatisfied with their jobs and are poorly motivated.

Table 4.1 shows that well over one-third of all the teachers at the survey primary schools in five of the six extended case study countries indicated that teachers at their school are 'poorly' or 'very poorly' motivated. Motivation levels appear to be chronically low in Ghana and Zambia.

Table 4.1: Teacher Agreement Rates to General Statement 'Teachers at this School are Well Motivated' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	9	7
Lesotho	58	12
Sierra Leone	10	45
Tanzania	36	60
Zambia	14	17
India	94	80

Source: School surveys

Although self-reported levels of teacher motivation in India are much higher, more detailed probing by the country researchers uncovered that the majority of teachers are poorly motivated. They conclude that "there is clearly a teacher motivation crisis at the basic education level in India".

Low levels of motivation are also apparent from teacher responses to questions concerning whether they would choose to be a teacher again and their future intentions about remaining in the teaching profession. In general, most teachers see teaching as a 'stepping stone ' to careers that they feel are more respected and are better paying than teaching. This is particularly the case for early career teachers who enter teaching much younger than those who entered a generation or two ago, and whose aspirations can hardly be contained by what the profession offers, in terms of remuneration and working conditions.

4.2 Motivation Trends

The evidence on motivation trends is more mixed. Stakeholder respondents in most countries usually identified the same negative and positive factors, but invariably reached different conclusions about the overall impact on teacher motivation. Table 3 shows that sizeable proportions of teacher respondents agreed with the statement 'teachers in this school are increasingly de-motivated'. However, when asked about trends in their own levels of job satisfaction levels, a more positive picture emerges since the large majority indicated that their own levels of job satisfaction have improved or remained the same since the late 1990s. In some countries, this improvement has been quite marked. In Kenya, for example, there was a major motivation crisis among teachers in the 1990s, but with improvements in pay and other conditions of service during the last five years, it is probably the case that this crisis no longer exists. It is also noticeable that much higher proportions of urban teachers indicated that their job satisfaction levels have declined in recent years, which is a consequence of rapidly increasing costs of living in most towns and cities in Africa (see below).

Table 4.2: Teacher Agreement Rates to the General Statement 'Teachers at this School are Increasingly De-motivated' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	54	46
Lesotho	3	58
Sierra Leone	55	60
Tanzania	57	36
Zambia	50	33
India	13	47

Source: School surveys

Sizeable pay awards in Kenya, Nigeria and Zambia have also been crucial in at least stemming the plummeting motivation levels that characterised much of the 1990s.

Table 4.3: Teachers Indicating that the Level of Job Satisfaction has Declined During the Last Five Years (percentage of total respondents)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	5	25
Lesotho	11	33
Sierra Leone	40	55
Tanzania	5	22
Zambia	14	34
India	0	0

Source: School surveys

4.3 Motivation Patterns

Location

Working in rural schools is widely regarded as being considerably more difficult and thus more de-motivating than in urban schools due mainly to poor living and working conditions. However, the findings from the country studies show that this is not necessarily the case. Certainly, in South Asia countries, it appears that teachers at rural schools do feel disadvantaged. In Bangladesh, for example, "given poor facilities at rural schools, teachers are not usually prepared to live at or near the school so they end up having to commute long distances, which leaves them tired and lacking energy for teaching" (Haq and Islam, 2005:10).

However, teachers who work at schools in their home areas tend to have higher levels of job satisfaction than their colleagues who are 'strangers' in the locality. This is because locally based teachers are more likely to have supportive extended family and social networks, be known to the community, and have higher levels of commitment to promoting education and development activities in the area. They are also likely to have access to land. Urban-based teachers who are posted to rural schools tend to come from better-off family backgrounds and often face considerable difficulties, even hardships, adapting to village life.

The main attractions of towns and cities are that it is easier for partners to find work, plentiful opportunities exist for further study, and the general level of amenities is much higher. However, this is offset by the much higher costs of urban living (particularly rent and transport).

Age

In some countries age is a key factor. In Tanzania, younger, better-qualified teachers are quite heavily concentrated at urban schools and are generally less satisfied with their jobs than the older generation of teachers, who feel 'privileged' to be a teacher.

Qualifications

Qualified teachers should be more competent and thus have higher levels of job satisfaction. Ensuring that all teachers are qualified might be expected to be an important way of improving and maintaining high levels of professional commitment and motivation. However, in nearly all the case study countries, no sizeable differences exist between motivation levels of qualified and unqualified teachers. This is really quite worrying given that unqualified teachers are usually paid much less and many are frustrated in most countries by limited opportunities to acquire basic teaching qualifications through full-time study leave or open distance learning programmes.

Part of the explanation is that unqualified teachers tend have lower job expectations than qualified teachers, which leads to higher levels of job satisfaction. As the Lesotho report points out, "good academic results may embolden teachers to have higher expectations for other aspects of the situation, such as pay, working conditions and instructional support" (see Urwick et al, 2005:24). In many countries, the unqualified teacher is just grateful to be employed at all

Typically, the whole issue of qualifications and motivation is strongly age- related. Younger teachers are better educated and have acquired higher professional qualifications. However, even though they are usually much better paid and are more able to find schools in preferred locations, motivation levels do not appear to be higher. Indeed, in some countries, it is quite clear that younger teachers on whom the future of the education system depends are seriously de-motivated.

School type

Motivation levels appear to be generally higher among secondary school teachers in most of the case study countries. This is evidenced by the fact that large proportions of primary school teachers in many countries (especially Ghana) want to upgrade their qualifications so that they can become secondary school teachers.

But, again, this is not always the case. In Tanzania, for example, motivation levels appear to be considerably lower among secondary school teachers. Unlike primary school teachers, most secondary school teachers have not chosen teaching through choice.

School ownership

The school surveys did not include private schools, so the following findings and conclusions are based on the views of stakeholder respondents and secondary data.

Generally speaking, teacher motivation is lowest in government primary schools followed by teachers in community schools. Private school teachers, particularly those catering to the upper end of the market, are usually much better motivated as result of higher pay, better working and living conditions, and more effective management. But again, there are many exceptions to this pattern, mainly because private schools are so diverse with respect to size, fees and client groups. In Kenya, for example, "although (private school) salaries are regarded as generally

satisfactory, the increasing competition between private schools coupled with the pressure of free education in the public sector has led to a lot of stress and has contributed to low morale in these schools… Morale at private schools catering for low-income groups is poor since most teachers are unqualified, are paid a pittance, and have to endure extremely poor working conditions" (Hyde et al, 2005:22).

Employment status

Job security is highly valued by most teachers. Job satisfaction tends, therefore, to be low among teachers who are on temporary appointments. In Nepal, for example, only slightly more than half of all teachers have permanent job status. As Devcota (2005:6) notes, the difficulty of getting promoted to permanent status is a major source of frustration for many Nepalese teachers, many of whom have waited years for a permanent position. In Sierra Leone, community and volunteer teachers have very little training and are paid virtually nothing.

Even when teachers are officially appointed, in some countries, it can take up to a year for them to be put on the government payroll. The impact on the morale of newly qualified, young teachers can be quite devastating. Long delays in recruiting new qualified teachers are the norm in some countries (Malawi, Zambia).

Chapter 5: Key Determinants of Teacher Motivation

This chapter summarises the findings and conclusions of the country studies concerning the main reasons why so many primary school teachers are poorly motivated. The country studies highlight the complex array of factors that collectively determine levels of job satisfaction and motivation among teachers. The salience of these factors varies considerably across countries, so again it is usually not possible to make broad generalisations.

5.1 Accountability

The degree to which teachers are properly accountable to their clients (children and parents) and their managers (head teachers and district and national level managers) has a powerful influence on teacher motivation levels. In South Asia, in particular, the 'accountability culture' is very weak. The Nepal reports notes "primary school teachers at government schools seem to care little about the effect of their performance on student achievement… Whether they teach or not, they are paid" (Devcota, 2005:13). On the other hand, private school teachers are constantly evaluated on the basis of student performance.

The politicisation of the teaching profession is perhaps the single most important reason for low teacher accountability in South Asia, which affects nearly all aspects of job motivation including recruitment, deployment, promotion, and management control. In Pakistan, with increasing 'political interference', the status of teachers started to decline rapidly from the 1960s onwards. "Teachers' appointments and transfers have become political. Many primary school teachers are enlisted as election agents. These teachers often develop patron-client relationships that they later exploit by extracting benefits from the political elite" (Khan, 2005:21). In Nepal, teachers are divided along political lines with their own separate organisations.
The politicisation of the education system has also resulted in a proliferation of schools with untrained teachers and a lack of resources to cater for expanded enrolments. The education bureaucracy has become 'paralysed' and is highly impartial with respect to the recruitment and deployment of teachers.

Similarly, in India, "teachers have no security of tenure and are constantly haunted by the fear of being transferred. They have to acquire godfathers for protection. Once they develop these contacts and linkages, then there is no need for them to do their job seriously" (Ramachandran et al, 2005:31). This is further compounded by the lack of effective control (agency) that head teachers can exercise over their teaching staff, which means that they have "little power to do anything about a teacher who refuses to teach".

Interestingly, lack of accountability is much less of a systemic problem in sub-Saharan Africa. In part, this is because teachers have not been become heavily involved in party politics and patron-client relations are not as endemic as in South Asia.

The high level of accountability of non-formal 'community' schools to parents and the host communities is the single most important reason for their success. Communities have a sense of ownership of the school, which is largely lacking with government schools. However, these schools account for only a small share of total enrolments. Even in Bangladesh, this figure does not exceed six percent.

The social background of teachers can also exacerbate low levels of accountability. In India, in particular, 'the social hiatus' between teachers and children is wide in government schools with most teachers belonging to upper castes and most children coming from low castes. "Sadly, social attitudes and community prejudices continue to play an important role in determining the ability and willingness of teachers to reach out to children and teach them with empathy and love" (Ramachandran et al, 2005:19).

5.2 The Policy Environment

Universal Primary Education (UPE) is now the single most important education goal in nearly all low-income developing countries. However, the pursuit of this goal has both positive and negative impacts on teacher motivation. Efforts to attain UPE goals are usually accompanied by much increased resource flows with the support of international donor partners. But, at the same time, teachers can become seriously demoralised, especially when teacher recruitment does not keep pace with rapidly increasing enrolments, as has generally been the case. In Kenya, for example, "the Free Primary Education initiative appears to be strongly resented by primary teachers in areas where the demand for education is strongest… Teachers now have to cope with much increased workload with the introduction of UPE at the same time that the resources to deal with this increased workload have been strained" (Hyde et al, 2005:8).

Workloads and class sizes have increased appreciably in many countries as a direct result of the UPE policy. Teachers and teacher unions complain that most of the additional resources have been used to increase enrolment capacity and education quality without directly addressing the professional needs of teachers.

5.3 Security and Conflict

War, insurgency and insecurity have had a major impact on teacher motivation and commitment in countries such as Sierra Leone and Nepal. Maoist insurgents targeted teachers in Nepal and many fled to the towns. Those who stayed had to pay 'levies' to the insurgents, ranging from 5-25 percent of their pay. However, the ending of a long running conflict, if coupled with major efforts to rebuild the education system, may have a major positive impact on teacher morale. The lack of secure and safe school compounds is also a widespread concern, especially in urban schools in Africa.

5.4 Pay and Career Progression

Current pay levels

The overwhelming consensus from the stakeholder and teacher interviews in all but two (India and Nepal) of the 12 case study countries is that teachers are seriously underpaid and that this, more than anything else, is the key factor undermining teacher morale and motivation. As the Lesotho report succinctly states, low teacher morale is mainly due to 'material factors'. With the

sole exception of India, most teachers at the survey schools in the five other countries rated their pay as poor or very poor.

Teachers in most low-income countries earn poverty wages of $2-4 a day (see Table 5.1). Typically, teachers in Africa have at least five direct dependents. Only in India and Lesotho do qualified teachers earn anything like a living wage that covers even their most basic subsistence needs. The situation for the very large numbers of unqualified and newly qualified teachers is considerably worse.

Table 5.1: Average Monthly Income for Qualified Primary School Teachers, 2004 (US dollars)

Country	Average Income	Ratio GDP per capita	Income per day
School surveys			
Ghana	156	4.3	5.1
Lesotho	240	4.5	7.9
Sierra Leone	55	3.3	1.8
Tanzania	83	3.2	2.7
Zambia	113	2.8	3.7
India	323	6.2	10.6
Other country studies			
Bangladesh	119	3.7	3.9
Kenya	97	2.4	3.2
Nepal	56	2.5	1.8
Malawi	105	8.3	3.5
Nigeria	112	2.7	3.7
Pakistan	71	1.2	2.3

Notes: Incomes are for rural teachers only in Sierra Leone For India and Pakistan, mid points in regular, qualified teachers pay scales have been used Source: School surveys

As discussed in Chapter 2, Bruns et al (2003) have recommended a universal norm for developing countries that the level of teacher pay should average 3.5 times GDP per capita. The majority of the case study countries do not exceed this norm (see Table 2.1). But even where they do, the absolute level of pay is still usually very low. This norm was, therefore, strongly criticised by many stakeholders, and not just teacher trade union leaders.

The following statement from the Bangladesh report is mirrored in all the other country studies, again with the exception of India. "Pay is neither commensurate with the high level of skill required for effective job performance nor does it cover the most basic subsistence needs.

Despite their very low standard of living, teachers are expected to maintain high ethical standards of conduct both in and outside schools, possess a sacrificing spirit, and devote their life to the cause of education" (Haq and Islam, 2005:12). Or, as one rural primary school teacher in Sierra Leone graphically put it, 'I just work for my stomach'.

Pay is so low that teachers, like many of their students, do not eat properly before coming to school. Over one-third of teacher respondents in Ghana, Sierra Leone and Zambia agreed with the statement that 'teachers in this school come to work hungry' (see Table 5.2). In Malawi, low pay results in teachers being absent from school in order to search of food.

Table 5.2: Agreement Rates to General Statement 'Teachers at this School Come to Work Hungry' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	36	0
Lesotho	59	44
Sierra Leone	100	100
Tanzania	20	33
Zambia	57	58
India	12	33

Source: School surveys

Teacher's pay in most countries does not meet basic household expenditures. This is particularly the case for teachers at urban schools who have to cope with high accommodation and transport costs. The cost of living is generally much lower in rural areas (see Table 5.3). Teachers who work at schools in their home areas are generally better off because of lower accommodation costs and access to productive assets, in particular land and animals.

Table 5.3: Average Teacher Pay as a Percentage of Average Monthly Household Expenditure, 2004

% net pay		
Country	**Rural**	**Urban**
Ghana	36	0
Lesotho	59	44
Sierra Leone	100	100
Tanzania	20	33
Zambia	57	58

Source: School surveys

The pay of community and para-teachers is much lower than government teachers. In India and Bangladesh teachers in NGO schools are paid only one-sixth of what a regular teacher receives. In Sierra Leone, community teachers receive less than USD10 a month. In India, most community teachers are prepared to put up with such meagre pay because "they are hopeful of becoming regular teachers".

Although teachers are very poorly paid, in most countries, their base salaries usually compare favourably with equivalent occupations (such as nurses, accounts clerks and agricultural extension workers) in the civil service.

In a number of countries (including Bangladesh and Malawi) income differentials between qualified and unqualified teachers have also become seriously compressed over time. Generally speaking, teachers at private schools earn considerably more than in government schools.

Income trends

Pay is not only low, but as can be observed in Table 5.4, was lower in real terms in 2004 than in 1990 in a number of countries. Sizeable pay awards during the last five years in Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia reversed steep declines in real incomes during the 1990s.

Table 5.4: Percentage Change in Real Incomes of Primary School Teachers between 1990 and 2004

Country	% change
Lesotho	-18
Tanzania	130
Sierra Leone	25
India	-3
Nigeria	-15
Malawi	56
Kenya	-18
Nepal	-4
Bangladesh	117
Pakistan	-42

Notes: Base year for Nigeria is 1996 and 1994 for Pakistan

Very sizeable proportions of teachers also indicated that their own standard of living had declined during the last five years (see Table 5.5). The impact of rapidly increasing costs of living in urban areas is highlighted in most country reports.

Table 5.5: Percentage of Teachers Indicating that their 'Own Standard of Living has Declined during the Last Five Years' (rounded percentages).

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	9	10
Lesotho	31	47
Sierra Leone	45	55
Tanzania	7	38
Zambia	50	42
India	5	7

Source: School surveys

Allowances

Three major issues emerge from the country case studies with regard to allowances.

- While allowances continue to account for a sizeable proportion of the overall remuneration package for teachers in a few countries (notably India and Bangladesh), the trend elsewhere, and especially in Africa, is for allowances to be phased out, in some cases, almost altogether. This is in line with reforms of public sector salaries, which are central to the economic reform agendas of the IMF and World Bank.

- Teachers are often not entitled to the same allowances as other civil servants (particularly housing and car loans).

- Remote area allowances are paid in many countries, but they do not appear to have a major impact in rectifying staffing imbalances between rural and urban schools. This is mainly because they are not usually large enough (typically 20-30 percent of basic pay) to compensate teachers for the net disadvantages of rural life. In some countries, such as Sierra Leone, remote area allowances have been agreed, but, lack of funding, means that they not been operationalised.

Secondary employment

Not surprisingly, it is not easy to get reliable information on the extent to which teachers are supplementing their salaries through secondary employment activities. However, teachers in most countries have no alternative but to find extra income from somewhere. The most common activities are private tuition classes after school, vending, taxi driving and, in rural areas, selling (and consuming) their own agricultural produce.

The implications of secondary employment that are enumerated in the Sierra Leone report are typical: "There are pervasive concerns that the extent of after-school tuition adversely affects teacher commitment in official classes. Some teachers deliberately do not teach the full syllabus thereby forcing students to attend private classes… Given high levels of poverty in rural areas,

private tuition markets are too thin for teachers to increase their incomes to any significant degree. Even so, teachers commonly sell cakes and sweets to their own pupils during break times at primary schools. At rural schools, pupils also frequently work on teacher's farms. In some schools, this activity is done on a regular basis and is effectively part of the timetable" (Harding and Mansaray, 2005:14). In Zambia, "competition for the time of the teacher has greatly affected their concentration on schoolwork" (Musikanga, 2005:32).

Promotion opportunities

Career progression opportunities remain limited in most countries, which mean that a teacher's salary increases by relatively little over time. Being able to double one's salary over a 30-year career is still the exception in Africa (see Table 5.6). Teachers in some countries (such as Malawi) complain that their promotion prospects are considerably worse than for other civil servants in comparable occupations.

Promotion criteria are also still based largely on qualifications and years of service. Consequently, both good and bad teachers get promoted together, which many teachers find very demoralising. In some countries (such as Malawi) promotions are based on interviews, which are widely criticised for their lack of transparency. In Bangladesh, only 5-10 percent of teachers manage to get promoted to higher positions during their careers. There are clear guidelines for promotion in Nepal, but they are 'rarely applied'. In Kenya, teachers who live in remote areas have virtually no chance of being visited by an inspector, which dramatically reduces their promotion prospects. In Pakistan, teachers have to acquire additional qualifications in order to be promoted, which many, especially women and those working in remoter areas, find especially difficult to study.

Table 5.6: Average Net Pay for Teachers with 20-25 years Experience As a Percentage of Average Net Pay of Teachers with 0-5 years Experience (rounded percentages)

Country	%
Ghana	165
Lesotho	112
Sierra Leone	200
Tanzania	75
Bangladesh	200
India	400

Upgrading of professional qualifications is the major avenue for promotion in many countries. In Sierra Leone, for example, one in eight primary school teachers were on study leave in 2004. Teachers in Kenya complain that the system of teacher upgrading is 'haphazard and erratic'.

Attempts have been made in some countries to introduce performance/merit based systems, but to date they have been unsuccessful. Appraisal instruments are too complicated and, without major changes in pay structures, most teachers see little point in taking new appraisal systems seriously.

Late payment

Not only are pay levels very low but, in many countries, they are also not paid on time. Late payment of salaries is very common, especially in low-income African countries, where fiscal crises are most acute (see Table 5.7). This can have a devastating impact on teacher morale. In Sierra Leone, for example, "late payment of salaries makes teachers dissatisfied with their jobs" (Harding and Mansaray, 2005: 27). Typically, teachers who have not been paid do not come to school on time and are hungry. In some countries, newly recruited teachers also have to wait a year to be put on the payroll.

Table 5.7: Agreement Rates to General Statement: 'Teachers' Salaries are Paid on Time' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	50	57
Lesotho	25	75
Sierra Leone	0	20
Tanzania	12	17
Zambia	14	17
India	89	93

Source: School surveys

In Zambia, teachers at remote rural schools can spend up to half their salary on transport and accommodation costs incurred during the monthly visit to the District Education Office to pick up their pay.

5.5 Status and Vocational Commitment

The low and declining status of the primary school teacher is identified as a major factor contributing to low occupational status and poor motivation in all the country reports. In most countries, this is closely related to limited vocational commitment to teaching among the majority of teachers.

The general perception of stakeholders and teachers in all countries is that the teaching profession no longer commands the high status it enjoyed 30 years ago and that teachers, especially primary school teachers, are now 'undervalued by society', The country studies confirm that teaching is very much regarded as 'employment of last resort' by most school leavers and university graduates.

Table 5.8 shows that very sizeable proportions of teachers in the six extended case study countries do not agree with the statement that 'teachers at this school are respected in the community'. In Ghana, in particular, three-quarters of teachers working in rural schools do not feel they are respected.

Table 5.8: Agreement Rates to General Statement, 'Teachers at this School are Respected in the Community' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	27	79
Lesotho	63	50
Sierra Leone	100	70
Tanzania	69	43
Zambia	57	42
India	89	60

Source: School surveys

In Nepal, "teachers are expected to play key roles in the community and act as role models and yet most teachers feel devalued and not respected by society. The involvement of teachers in politics also fuels the public's declining perception of teachers" (Devcota, 2005:23). In Kenya, "only a minority of teachers have a long term commitment to their profession… Teachers no longer enjoy high occupational status, particularly because the pay of primary public teachers is very low" (Hyde et al, 2005:22). In India, with the mass provision of schooling, "teachers moved into roles of disempowered government functionaries relegated to the bottom layers of the administrative hierarchy. At the same time, their accountability towards children and parents declined" (Ramachandran et al, 2005:42).

Teachers also complain that the emergence of the para-teacher in many countries (especially in South Asia) has seriously reduced the status of regular teachers. In India for example, 'many teachers feel they no longer discharge a unique public service and that the profession is demeaned by the hiring of untrained personnel'. This is despite the fact that para-teachers are frequently better educated than permanent, properly trained teachers.

The shortening of pre-service training in many African countries to just one year in college followed by one year of supervised on the job training has also lowered the overall standing of teaching in relation to other professions.

Occupational solidarity

Occupations that have high levels of solidarity are much more likely to have higher levels of self-esteem and thus status and job satisfaction. Occupational solidarity among teachers is generally low in Africa, but quite high in South Asia.

In most of the case studies countries, teachers have low opinions concerning the overall effectiveness and value for money of their trade unions. Multiple teacher unions are increasingly the norm in both Africa and Asian countries, which seriously undermine occupational solidarity, especially when unions are negotiating with government.

5.6 Teacher Competence

There are two inter-related aspects of occupational motivation- 'will-do' and 'can-do'. Will-do motivation refers to the extent to which an employee has adopted the organisations goals and objectives. Can-do motivation, on the other hand, focuses on factors that influence the capacity of individuals to realise organisational goals. For example, a teacher may be highly committed to the attainment of the school's learning goals, but she may lack the necessary competencies to teach effectively, which ultimately becomes de-moralising and de-motivating. The actual and perceived competence of primary school teachers is therefore a key issue.

In all of the 12 case study countries, most head teachers as well as teachers themselves believe that teachers at their schools have the necessary knowledge and skills to perform their jobs well. Head teachers at the survey schools indicated that, given a free hand, they would only like to dismiss a few of their teachers for reasons of incompetence – typically less than 10 percent. The main implication of this finding is that teachers are not poorly motivated through self-perceived inadequacies in their capacities as teachers. Nonetheless, the demand to upgrade qualifications and attend INSET courses is still high.

The views of stakeholder respondents on teacher competence present a far more mixed and complex picture. Three areas, in particular, were invariably identified. Firstly, many are very concerned about the weak academic background of teachers, especially at primary schools. In most countries, school leavers with lower academic grades tend to opt for teaching. Generally speaking, the overall qualification profile of teachers has improved considerably in most countries during the last decade and most teachers now have the minimum qualification requirements. But, given the relatively poor status of teachers combined with the rapid expansion of enrolments, recruitment standards remain low in all countries. In Malawi, for example, most of the teachers who were recruited en masse in 1994 following the introduction of free primary education had only junior secondary education when the minimum entry requirements are good passes in terminal secondary school examinations. In Tanzania, also, many school leavers are being admitted into teacher training colleges with poor examination results and yet the duration of formal pre-service training has been cut to just one year. In Kenya, job scarcity coupled with improved teacher pay, has led to an improvement in the quality of intakes to teacher training colleges.

Second, even though most teachers think they are competent, many do struggle to cope in the classroom, which does adversely affect their levels of job satisfaction and morale.

Thirdly, if not carefully managed, national teacher qualification upgrading programmes can be seriously de-motivating for the majority of teachers. In Pakistan, for example, "the new minimum qualification requirement of university degree has created a lot of dissatisfaction. Older, less qualified teachers feel discriminated against. The lack of consultation has compounded this… In marginalised districts, female teachers do not have the opportunities for further training". As a result, "outsiders get the available jobs, while locally trained teachers who are often more dedicated, are disqualified in their localities"(Khan, 2005:11). In Nepal, large numbers of teachers are reported to have fake certificates.

Training opportunities

Even though teachers generally feel that they have the required competencies, the extent to which they can upgrade their qualifications and undertake continuous professional development are major motivational factors. In most countries, being able to upgrade ones qualifications is a critically important incentive since it is the only way to improve significantly incomes and offers the opportunity to escape the perceived drudgery of the rural classroom. Teachers in some countries (such as Kenya) are even prepared to use their own resources to attend courses.

Despite some improvement in recent years, teacher respondents at the survey schools are generally very unhappy with the available opportunities for qualification upgrading and INSET. In particular, infrequent, poor quality INSET heightens the sense of neglect felt by teachers. The rigid structure of teaching qualifications is also a serious deterrent in some countries. In Sierra Leone, for example, with service requirements, it takes a minimum of 16 years for an untrained teacher to obtain a professional degree.

5.7 Working and Living Conditions

All of the 12 country case studies highlight the huge impact that working and living conditions have on teacher morale and motivation and thus their classroom performance. The key factors are workload (number of pupils and working hours), general classroom conditions, collegial and management support, location, living arrangements and distance to work.

Table 5.9 summarises the responses to teachers at the survey schools to the general statement concerning working conditions at their schools. In countries such as Ghana, Sierra Leone and Zambia, it is noticeable that the large majority of teachers in rural areas indicate that working conditions are 'poor' and 'very poor'. While concerted efforts are being made to improve working and living conditions, the daily challenge for most teachers remains daunting.

Table 5.9: Percentage of Teachers Indicating that their Own Working Conditions are 'Poor' or 'Very Poor' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	77	18
Lesotho	39	25
Sierra Leone	75	45
Tanzania	43	40
Zambia	65	25
India	20	44

Source: School surveys

In Nepal, working conditions at schools in the mountains are so difficult that, typically, teachers (who are mostly males) only stay short periods, which means that they have limited commitment to school.

Housing and travel are the two critical issues affecting teacher morale and motivation in virtually every country. Finding decent accommodation in rural areas is a major headache for most teachers. Travel to work tends to be a much bigger problem for urban teachers. The high cost of travel contributes to teacher absenteeism and lateness in urban schools. In India, "most teachers talked about distance from home to school as the main problem they face" (Ramachandran et al, 2005: 33).

Over and under staffing

Remote location coupled with relatively poor working conditions results in under-staffing of rural schools with high vacancy rates. The rural teacher in South Asia usually has more than one class to teach. In Ghana, five percent of schools have only one or no teacher and these are all in rural areas. In contrast, urban schools tend to be over-staffed. Where patron-client networks are strong, as in South Asia, teachers use their connections to secure appointments in preferred locations.

Workloads

The official workload of teachers varies considerably among the case study countries (see Table 5.10). Double shifting in urban schools in Ghana with only one group of teachers effectively doubles the workload. In other countries such as in Tanzania, teaching loads are quite light.

Table 5.10: Average Teaching Hours per Week for Teachers at Survey Primary Schools, 2004/05

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	23	40.5
Lesotho	na	na
Sierra Leone	25	26.2
Tanzania	19.9	15.1
Zambia	21.2	21.2
India	na	na

Source: School surveys

Notwithstanding these variations in official workload norms, the general under-utilisation of instructional time is a common problem in most countries. This is indicative of a poorly motivated teaching force. The incidence of low job satisfaction, understaffing and poor teacher management combines to create the conditions for poor utilisation of instructional time, especially in rural schools.

Very large class sizes are the norm for most teachers in all the case study countries. As mentioned earlier, UPE has usually resulted in even larger classes. Other aggravating factors are the enforcement of teacher recruitment freezes (Zambia), the non-replacement of teachers who are on study leave (Sierra Leone), and very frequent in-service training, which increases the workload of teachers who are left behind (India).

In countries such as India and Pakistan, rural schools typically have just one or two teachers. Not surprisingly, most teachers at these schools feel isolated and lack support and collegiality.

Pupil behaviour

Generally speaking, the 12 country case studies do not find that pupil behaviour is a major contributory factor with respect to teacher job satisfaction and motivation. This is in marked contrast to the situation in most developed countries, especially in urban conurbations. However, it is a growing problem in some countries, again, mainly in urban schools. High levels of pupil absenteeism can also make teaching more difficult because of having to deal with students who have missed significant parts of previous lessons.

Teachers are also unhappy about the introduction of new regulations concerning student discipline and punishment. In Kenya, for example, teachers do not like the new official policy that forbids the use of corporal punishment. 'Most feel that they are being deprived of an important part of their disciplinary arsenal just a time when student behaviour is becoming an increasingly serious issue. With the abolition of primary school fees, teachers are having to deal with a growing proportion of students who are over-age and who are from families that are unfamiliar with schooling and the mores of school behaviour'.

5.8 Teacher Management and Professional Support

Teacher motivation depends critically on effective management, particularly at the school level. If systems and structures set up to manage and support teachers are dysfunctional, teachers are likely to lose their sense of professional responsibility and commitment. Teacher management is most crucial at the school level, where the importance of teachers' work and their competence in performing it are crucially influenced by the quality of both internal and external supervision.

Table 5.11: Agreement Rates to General Statement, 'Teachers at this School are Well Managed' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	55	65
Lesotho	59	58
Sierra Leone	40	60
Tanzania	43	18
Zambia	38	37
India	41	47

Source: School surveys

The findings of the country studies indicate that many teachers, and in some countries, the majority of teachers, do not feel that they are well managed (see Table 5.11). Interestingly, though, specific aspects of head teacher management behaviour (such as leading by example, classroom observation, and attendance) are generally a lot more positively evaluated by teachers, which suggests that a lot of criticism relates to the overall management of the schooling system. The leadership role of the head teacher is, therefore, of paramount importance. The school case studies present numerous instances of both successful and unsuccessful leadership.

As discussed earlier, much of this is attributable to a basic lack of accountability at all levels. Allegations of corruption and other serious mismanagement are widespread in a number of countries.

The frailty of management systems and practice as described in the Ghana report is fairly typical: "the management of primary schools is very weak. Head teachers are not appointed because of their competence as managers but because of the number of years they have spent teaching. Most of them have not been given any management training since assuming office. The disciplinary authority granted to them is ineffective. Consequently, vices such as lateness, absenteeism, drunkenness etc abound. Circuit supervisors do relatively little – just check staff numbers and enrolments rather than offer professional advice and support to teachers" (Akyeampong and Asante, 2005:40). In Nigeria, teacher consultation is minimal and the overall management is 'autocratic' and 'high-handed with minimal teacher consultation. "Inspectors lower morale through unfair administrative and supervisory practices" (Adelabu, 2005:6). In India, "most head teachers appear more concerned about administrative and infrastructure issues than about teacher behaviour and how it impacts on the achievement levels of students" (Ramachandran, 2005:33).

Management training for school and other key managers tends to be minimal. Among the case study countries, only the Ministry of Education in Bangladesh has made a concerted effort to provide systematic and good quality training to all school managers based on the institutionalisation of a well-staffed and resourced management training system.

Political interference in all types of management decisions is rife in South Asia. In Nepal, "local politicians interfere in appointment of head teachers. This usually splits teachers into factions – whose who support the new appointment and those who did not. When this happens the management of teachers in schools is greatly compromised" (Devcota, 2005:14).

Serious weaknesses in employing authorities are a major concern in some countries. For example, in Sierra Leone, most schools are owned and managed by churches, most of which lack basic management capacities. Teachers at many of these schools complain bitterly about unfair recruitment and transfer practices. Some are even required to give part of their salary to the church as a 'tithe'.

School governance

In order to be properly motivated, teachers must be fully accountable, not just to their school managers, but also to parents and the wider community. The effectiveness of school governance is, therefore, a crucial issue. Over the last decade or so, new systems of school governance have been

introduced in most countries. School management committees often have quite considerable responsibilities, including teacher recruitment. Parent-teacher associations also provide additional monetary incentives to teachers, although they are less able to do this in rural areas.

Generally speaking, the findings of the case country studies indicate that the implementation of these governance reforms (along with other decentralisation measures) is encountering major difficulties. Teacher opposition to these reforms has been intense in some countries. In Nepal, for example, the teacher unions have resisted plans to hand over the management of schools to communities because 'they fear that their rights and privileges will be trampled upon and teachers will be excluded from decision-making' (Devcota, 2005:X). In Bangladesh, "there is widespread dissatisfaction with how school management committees are functioning. They tend to be dominated by head teachers and local political leaders and do not have sufficient resources to carryout their designated responsibilities" (Haq and Islam, 2005:7).

Another common finding is that school and teacher relationships with local communities tend to be more problematic in rural areas. In Lesotho, the reasons for this are that teachers and parents are less likely to have common goals for children or it is more difficult to find competent individuals for school management and advisory committees.

5.9 The AIDS Epidemic

Teacher morale is likely to be adversely affected in countries that have very high rates of HIV prevalence. Table 5.12 shows that sizeable proportions of teachers in Lesotho and Zambia and, to a lesser extent, Tanzania did not agree with the general statement that 'the impact of HIV/AIDS has not been serious at this school'. In the ten remaining survey country studies, however, the epidemic has not seriously impacted on teacher morale.

The increasing availability of anti-retroviral drugs is starting to reduce illness and drive down mortality rates in the most seriously affected countries.[5] Consequently, the impact of HIV/AIDS on teacher motivation is likely to be less than originally anticipated when these drugs were not widely available.

Table 5.12: Agreement Rates to General Statement 'The Impact of HIV/AIDS at this School has not been Serious' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	50	57
Lesotho	25	75
Sierra Leone	0	20
Tanzania	12	17
Zambia	14	17
India	89	93

Source: School surveys

[5] Even in Swaziland, which has an estimated national HIV prevalence rate of over 40 percent, only one percent of teachers died from all causes in 2004 (see Bennell, 2006b).

Chapter 6: The Impact on Schooling

All the country case studies conclude that poor teacher motivation and inadequate incentives have far-reaching adverse impacts on the behaviour and overall performance of primary school teachers and thus learning outcomes. Two key areas are identified by the studies, namely the impact of the equitable and efficient deployment of teachers across the country and the professional behaviour of teacher inside and outside the classroom.

6.1 Teacher Deployment

The country studies confirm that the major staffing challenge for public education systems in most low-income countries remains how to achieve an equitable spatial distribution of teachers between rural and urban areas. The unattractiveness of living and working in rural areas means that most teachers strongly resist being posted to rural schools. Consequently, rural schools invariably have relatively less qualified and experienced teachers, teacher turnover is higher and, with higher vacancy rates, teachers have to work harder than their colleagues in urban schools.

Rural-urban imbalances in the deployment of teachers are particularly acute in some countries (see Table 6.1). In Lesotho, "remoter rural schools cannot attract qualified teachers, except for the head teacher" (Urwick et al, 2005:56). Unqualified teachers staff account for over one-third of the staff of primary schools, but less than five percent in the capital, Maseru. In Sierra Leone, "the acute shortage of qualified teachers in the rural areas is the most serious staffing weakness, which prevents rural children receiving quality education… Most rural schools have only one or two qualified teachers" (Harding and Mansaray, 2005:19). In Malawi, there is a glaring urban bias in the distribution of (educational) resources…Low job satisfaction makes it very difficult to staff rural schools properly. Remote rural schools are chronically under-staffed due to high teacher turnover and the refusal of teachers to be deployed to schools in these areas. In the hard to staff remote schools, once a teacher is lost through attrition, it is very difficult to find a replacement" (Kadzamira, 2005:21). As a general rule, the wider the socio-economic divide between rural and urban areas, the greater the imbalance in the spatial distribution of teachers.

Table 6.1: Unqualified Primary School Teachers by Location (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	18	4
Lesotho	35	5
Malawi	77	86
Sierra Leone	43	11
Tanzania	62	29
Zambia	89	9
India	na	na

Notes: Lesotho rural teachers are those located in mountain areas

Numerous factors further exacerbate the deployment of teachers. Firstly, in many countries, most newly qualified teachers are from urban backgrounds, and are therefore even more resistant to be posted to rural schools. In Tanzania, in 2003, nearly 2000 out of 9000 newly qualified teachers refused to be posted to their assigned schools.

Secondly, it is usually much harder to deploy female teachers to rural locations. In part, this is due to social and cultural factors that impinge far more on the personal and professional lives of female teachers, especially those who are single. Most countries also allow married female teachers to live with their spouses, most of who work in towns and cities. As result, women teachers tend to be heavily concentrated in urban schools. In India, for example, 61 percent of primary school teachers at urban schools are female compared to only 24 percent at rural schools. Similarly, in Zambia, there are twice as many female teachers in urban schools as there are male teachers. This ratio is reversed at rural schools. In Malawi, "female teachers who are posted to rural schools often refuse to take up their appointments… it is also well known that female teachers deliberately look for urban-based men as marriage partners so as not to be posted to a rural school" (Kadzamira, 2005:22).

Thirdly, teachers at rural schools often live in urban areas and so spend considerable time and money commuting to work. In Osun State, Nigeria, for example, more than half of teachers at rural schools live in towns and cities.

Fourthly, the selection, recruitment and deployment of teachers remain highly centralised in most countries. Consequently, the whole process is usually highly bureaucratic and subject to very long delays. In some countries, centralisation is further compounded by the politicisation of teacher recruitment and deployment.

Fifthly, the incentives to work in towns and cities continue to increase because the scope for secondary employment and opportunities for further study are so much greater than in rural areas. In Ghana, for example, newly trained teachers are unwilling to accept postings to rural areas for fear of losing out on opportunities for further studies to improve their qualifications and chances of securing secondary teaching positions or jobs outside teaching. This leaves rural schools with mostly untrained, under-qualified and inexperienced teachers.

Sixthly, in some countries (most notably India), teachers backed by powerful unions have fiercely resisted attempts to move teachers from urban to rural schools.

Finally, conflict and insecurity invariably impact more on rural schools. In Nepal, for example, the Maoist insurgency compelled many teachers to transfer to safe areas in the cities and district headquarters. The same was true during the decade-long civil war in Sierra Leone.

Policy interventions

A number of measures have been introduced to redress teacher deployment inequities. Firstly, the increase in the number of qualified teachers in most countries (especially during the last decade) has meant that the rural-urban teacher qualification gap has narrowed considerably. Secondly, in some countries, increased decentralisation has allowed districts and schools much

greater control over the recruitment process. But, to be effective, this requires the full decentralisation of teacher pay and incentives systems to empower districts to take decisions about recruitment and offer incentives that reflect their particular teacher demands.

As noted earlier, various kinds of allowances are paid to teachers in most countries for working in rural locations. In Kenya, "teachers are paid a 20 percent rural hardship allowance, but for most teachers this does not even begin to make up for the additional hardships of rural life" Hyde et al, 2005:29). In Nigeria, incentives to attract teachers to teach in rural areas exist on paper only. For example, rural teachers are entitled to an extra five percent of their basic salary, 10 percent for teachers in difficult terrain, and 15 percent extra for teachers in riverine areas. But, "these monetary incentives are rarely paid" (Adelabu, 2005:11).

In Zambia, the staffing situation has improved a lot since 2000 as result of the early deployment of teachers and the recruitment of temporary teachers as a stopgap measure.

Teacher workload

In all the 12 country case studies, teachers point to high and often increasing workloads as a key contributor to low morale. Given the difficulties of staffing rural schools, teachers at these schools generally have to work a lot harder. The gap in the rural-urban teacher vacancy rate is very large in most countries – for example, 29 percent compared to four percent in Sierra Leone and 25 percent compared to nine percent in Zambia. In most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, class sizes are also considerably larger at rural schools (but the reverse is typically the case in South Asia). Urban schools in Africa are increasingly bearing the brunt of the rapid rise in enrolments due to the introduction of UPE, resulting in the introduction of double shift schooling or overcrowded classrooms in single shifts.

In many countries, there are not only wide disparities in rural-urban vacancy rates, but deployment problems are so severe that urban schools are over-supplied with teachers. In Tanzania, for example, the teacher-class ratio at survey primary schools in the capital Dar es Salaam is 1.35, almost twice the level of the rural survey schools.

Recruitment freezes prompted by the acute fiscal crisis in many countries have also driven up vacancy rates and increased teacher workloads.

Attrition and transfers

High rates of teacher attrition through resignations are a key indicator of low levels of teacher job satisfaction and motivation. While resignation rates are very low in all the 12 case study countries (see Table 6.2), in sub-Saharan Africa, this is not the consequence of high levels of job satisfaction, but rather an acute paucity of alternative employment opportunities. Low attrition in the context of pervasive teacher de-motivation only tends to make matters worst because dissatisfied teachers are unable to leave. In South Asia, teaching is relatively a well-paid job, and therefore, teachers are less likely to want to quit. In Nepal, for example, competition for teaching posts is very intense. In Pakistan, the opportunities teaching offers for earning extra

income through private tuition encourages many teachers to stay on despite their dissatisfaction with other conditions of service. Unfortunately, this means many teachers invest very little professional energy into public schools.

High teacher transfer rates between schools are also indicative of teachers who are unhappy with where they are working and, more generally, with what they are doing. It can be observed in Table 18 that this is a major problem in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Again, rural schools are far more affected.

Very high levels of teacher transfers seriously undermine the quality of schooling because teachers are not satisfied with where they are working and usually do not stay long enough in a school for their experience to impact pupils' learning and achievement. Teachers, who are unhappy with their working and living conditions and wish to transfer, but are unable to do so, become despondent and are likely to under-perform in their jobs.

In South Asia, the teacher transfer system is strongly influenced by politics and rent-seeking behaviours. In India, for example, transfers are usually instigated by district level management rather than by teachers. Teachers often have to lobby local politicians if they wish to stay in their school. The India school survey found that only about 24 percent of teachers had been in their current school for between five to ten years, and those who managed to stay longer had to pay bribes.

More generally, high levels of teacher turnover (i.e. attrition and transfers) massively disrupt the smooth functioning of schools in Africa. In part this is because, teachers in Africa are freer to initiate their transfer, whereas teachers in South Asia are subject to stronger central management control over their transfer. However, the high incidence of study leave, and high mortality rates in countries such as Zambia, which have been particularly badly affected by the AIDS epidemic, are also major sources of wastage. Teacher who go on study leave are not usually replaced in most countries.

Table 6.2: Primary School Teacher Annual Turnover Rates, 2004

Survey countries		Resignation	Retirement	Death	Medical	Dismissal	Total attrition	Transfers	Promotion	Study leave	Total turnover
Ghana	Rural	4.5	4.5	0	0	0	9	4.5	13.6	0	27.1
	Urban	7.1	0	0	0	0	7.1	25	3.5	0	35.6
Malawi	Rural	0.5	0.7	1.8	0	0.5	3.5	10.4	0.2	0.5	14.6
	Urban	0.9	0.5	1.8	0	0.6	3.8	6.7	0.3	0.4	11.2
Sierra Leone	Rural	0	0	3.2	1.6	0	4.8	4.8	9.5	9.5	28.6
	Urban	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0	3.2	1.7	3.3	6.7	14.9
Tanzania	Rural	0	0	3.4	0	1.7	5.1	10.2	3.4	0	18.7
	Urban	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	10.3	2.7	0.5	14
Zambia	Rural	0	5.5	3.7	0	0	9.2	15.6	3.7	3.7	32.2
	Urban	0	2.1	5.6	0	0	7.7	8.5	4.7	4.7	25.6
India	All	0.4	1.9	0.4	0.2	0	2.9	0.4	0	0	3.3

Source: Country studies

6.2 Teacher Behaviour and Performance

All 12 of the country studies raise major concerns about the behaviour and performance of teachers, which relate directly to low levels of job satisfaction and motivation. Poor professional behaviour (lateness, absenteeism, laziness) seriously compromises schooling quality and learning outcomes. Also, weak teacher management and lack of a sense of accountability means that public school teachers often get away with under-performance and, at times, gross professional misconduct.

Absenteeism

High rates of teacher absenteeism have been consistently reported in recent surveys in Africa, Asia and South America and these are directly attributed to low levels of teacher commitment and accountability. Absenteeism rates are also quite high in most of the country studies, but only a relatively small proportion of these absences in the African countries are categorised as ‘non-authorised’ (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Teacher Absenteeism Rates by Reason and Location, 2004

Country	Location	Illness	Duty	Leave	Other authorised	Non-authorised	Total
Ghana	Rural Urban	4.5 10.1	0 13.6	4.5 0	3.6 0	0 3.6	12.6 27.3
Sierra Leone	Rural Urban	4.8 2.5	3.2 5	3.2 1.7	0 2.5	0 0	11.2 11.7
Tanzania	Rural Urban	8.5 4.9	16.9 4.9	1.7 0	3.4 10.9	1.7 10.9	32.3 13.7
Zambia	Rural Urban	1.6 4.1	0 0.5	0.8 2.3	0.9 2.1	2.3 6.4	7.9 16.8
Malawi	Rural Urban	na na	na na	na na	na na	na na	17.2 17.6
Bangladesh	All	na	na	na	na	na	na
India	All	na	na	na	na	na	na

Note: Teacher absenteeism on the day of the survey

In South Asia, teacher absenteeism is undoubtedly a major problem. In Nepal, 40 percent of primary school teachers were absent for more than five working days during a 25-day period in late 2002. Such a high incidence of absenteeism is attributed to teachers' frequent engagement in farming activities and election activities. A 2004 school survey in India found that 24 percent of teachers were absent and, in about 63 percent of schools, no teaching was going on whatsoever (Kremer et al, 2004). In Pakistan, 'ghost schools', which are set up to obtain government funding but do not operate, are common in rural areas. A recent survey found that close to one-fifth of teachers in schools that were open were absent with no official permission. However, teachers in South Asia are frequently required to undertake official assignments outside of school. Thus, as the Bangladesh study points out, "most teachers have legitimate reasons for being absent since they are frequently summoned to undertake a variety of administrative tasks" (Haq and Islam, 2005:14).

Teacher absenteeism is much less of a problem in sub-Saharan Africa. In part, this is because teachers are not called upon to perform administrative and other government-related tasks outside of the school. Even so, there are indications that absenteeism is becoming a serious issue in some countries. In Ghana, for example, teacher absenteeism is high and getting worse at rural schools because many teachers live in nearby towns, spend days collecting their pay from district education offices, and are heavily involved in farming activities. "Although penalties and sanctions for lateness and absenteeism are stated in the professional code of practice, head teachers seem unable to enforce them because the occupational culture does not give them the necessary authority for endorsement" (Akyeampong and Asante, 2005:46).

Low teacher time-on-task is also indicative of low job satisfaction and motivation. Again, this is reported to be a major issue in the majority of the country studies. In Nepal, for example, teacher time-on-task fell from 51 percent in 1984 to 41 percent in 1994.

Lateness is also another consequence of poor teacher motivation. From the responses of teachers in the school survey, it would appear that sizeable proportions of teachers come to school late in many countries (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: Agreement Rates to Statement, 'Teachers at this School Come to School on Time' (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	77	86
Lesotho	94	60
Sierra Leone	75	45
Tanzania	83	83
Zambia	64	50
India	20	44

Source: School surveys

Misconduct

There are relatively few teacher dismissals due to gross professional misconduct. In Ghana, head teacher survey respondents at rural schools are generally satisfied with the general behaviour of their staff, but urban heads complained that their teachers are increasingly rude and difficult to manage (p.48). In Sierra Leone, very few complaints are made about teachers. In part, this is because most teachers at rural schools are from the immediate locality. Sexual misconduct is not a problem at primary schools in any of the case study countries, especially in urban schools, where most teachers are female.

There are, however, some exceptions. In Malawi, for example, the Ministry of Education is 'overwhelmed' with disciplinary cases, which usually involve issues to do with teachers' sexual misconduct with pupils, fraud, substance abuse (drug and alcohol), and theft of teaching and learning materials. More generally, the actual incidence of serious professional misconduct is reported to be much higher due to ineffective management and limited school and teacher accountability. The Bangladesh report notes that: "probably around one half of all teachers are involved in some form of malpractice" (Haq and Islam, 2005:10), in particular teachers pressurise their students to attend their private coaching classes. Teachers in remote rural areas in Bangladesh and India have also been known to use unauthorised persons to do their teaching so that they can focus on their own private businesses. In Tanzania, Barrettt estimates that one in seven male primary school teachers in rural schools have a drink problem (see Barrett, 2004:23). Parent hostility to the exploitation of their children by teachers under the guise of self-reliance activities has also been widely observed. A major problem in many countries is that head teachers lack the authority to be able discipline teachers effectively.

Industrial action

Industrial action or the threat of industrial action among teachers is common in most of the case study countries. Increasingly frequent official and unofficial strikes are a clear signal of growing levels of dissatisfaction with pay and other conditions of service. However, teachers in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia generally rated the overall effectiveness of their teacher unions as poor. In a few countries, most notably Kenya, national teacher unions have been quite successful in negotiating improved conditions of service. In South Asia, teacher unions are politically powerful and have been quite divisive. In Nepal, for example, the three teacher unions are directly linked to the major political parties, which fuels deep divisions among teachers and affects their morale and commitment to teaching.

Secondary employment

As discussed earlier, in most countries, low pay forces teachers to find additional sources of income. Secondary income activities create divided attention and loyalty to teaching and impact negatively on the quality of schooling. In Zambia, "the majority of teachers in Zambia have developed an attitude of 'work as you earn', which many believe has greatly affected their professional attitudes and overall commitment to achieving quality of education for all" (Bennell and Musikanga, 2005:36). Where students have become an important source of income, there are concerns that teachers engage in opportunistic behaviour in order to maximise their income, especially from private tuition. As noted earlier, in some countries, it is alleged that teachers deliberately do not cover the entire curriculum so that students are obliged to attend after-school lessons.

Although it is difficult to get accurate information, it appears that the incidence of secondary employment activity among teachers is high and increasing (see Table 6.5). In India, most of the male teachers at the survey schools admitted that they undertake these activities. Where double shifting has significantly reduced the duration of the working day, this has increased the amount of time for secondary activities.

Table 6.5: Incidence of Secondary Employment Activities among Primary School, Teachers at Survey Schools (rounded percentages)

Country	Rural	Urban
Ghana	<10	33
Lesotho	na	na
Sierra Leone	33	25
Tanzania	75	67
Zambia	44	14
India	na	na

Source: School survey

Weak management systems are conducive to high levels of professional misbehaviour and misconduct among teachers. The overall political and social environment is another important factor. In Malawi, for example, "the new political dispensation which has brought in new freedoms is partly responsible for laxer standards of professional conduct including sexual misconduct and drunkenness" (Kadzamira, 2005:18). In Nigeria, on the other hand, "teacher discipline is improving because pay is now being paid more promptly and working conditions are improving" (Adelabu, 2005:17).

Chapter 7: What Should be Done

Faced with what amounts to a motivation crisis among primary school teachers in most low-income developing countries, what should be done to tackle this fundamental constraint on the attainment of the EFA Millennium Development Goals? As noted in the Introduction, what has been lacking in nearly all national and donor agency education development strategies is a clear focus on the very serious problem of low teacher job satisfaction and motivation. Given the enormous challenge that this poses in most countries, it is perhaps not surprising that governments and their international partners are reluctant to grasp this nettle. But unless this is done, ambitious efforts to improve primary education provision for every child will founder.

Large proportions of teachers are poorly motivated because their basic needs for food, housing and security are not met. Consequently, in accordance with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory, efforts to improve educational quality, which depend crucially on higher order needs are unlikely to succeed unless these basic needs are adequately satisfied.

Each country study contributing to this synthesis presents a set of recommendations about how to improve teacher job satisfaction and motivation. While these inevitably vary from one country to another, recommendations in the following four key areas are identified as top priorities in virtually all the reports: better incentives for rural teachers, improved conditions of service, attractive career structures, and increased teacher and school accountability.

7.1 Incentives for Rural Teachers

First and foremost, major improvement in the incentives for teachers in rural schools is identified as the top priority in nearly every country. Unless this is done, the large majority of children who live in rural areas will continue to receive poor quality education.

In the short term, the provision of good quality housing with running water and electricity for teachers is probably the most cost-effective way of attracting and retaining teachers at hard-to-staff rural schools. In most countries, rural allowances would have to be at least half of basic pay in order to staff schools with qualified and able teachers. However, without external support, funding these allowances would be prohibitively costly for most governments.

Alternative types of 'non-formal' primary school especially in remoter and disadvantaged rural areas staffed by teachers who are paid much less than regular government teachers are feasible in countries, such as India and in Francophone Africa, where teachers are relatively well paid. However, it is not a realistic option in the large majority of countries where government teachers are very poorly paid. But, where school staffing problems are particularly acute, much greater reliance should be placed on locally trained and recruited teachers.

In the longer-term, the staffing crisis in rural primary schools can only be solved once governments make concerted efforts to promote the economic and social development of rural areas.

7.2 Much Improved Conditions of Service

With the exception of India and Nepal, all the country reports recommend that teacher pay should be significantly increased. The core of the teacher motivation crisis, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, is that teacher pay is seriously inadequate. As the country studies clearly show, despite some improvement in pay in recent years in some countries, most primary school teachers, particularly in relatively high-cost urban centres, are simply unable to meet their basic household needs. As a result, many of them are forced to find other sources of income. Those who cannot earn additional income slide into poverty.

Primary school teacher salaries in most countries in Anglophone Africa should be at least doubled. However, given the severity of the fiscal crisis that besets most governments, pay increases of anything like this magnitude are completely unaffordable from domestic resources. Given the strong commitment of the international community to the attainment of the education for all goals with acceptable learning outcomes, serious consideration should, therefore, be given to how teacher's pay in these countries can be supplemented using external funding.

The persistent late payment of salaries and allowances in many countries in Africa is also a major de-motivator, which needs to be urgently addressed.

Another key conclusion of the country studies is that, where teacher pay cannot be significantly increased, this highlights the importance of focusing on other (non-pecuniary) motivators.

7.3 Attractive Career Structures

Attractive career structures for primary school teachers need to be urgently introduced in most countries with regular promotions based on clearly specified and transparent performance-related criteria. Teachers who work at hard-to-staff rural schools should also be given accelerated promotion and/or preferential access to qualification upgrading opportunities. Also, primary and secondary school teachers should receive equal pay for equal qualifications and qualifications between the two groups should be as equivalent as possible.

7.4 Increased Teacher Accountability

Teacher accountability to school management and to parents and the community as a whole should be increased. This is particularly the case at government primary schools in most of South Asia where very limited teacher and school accountability seriously undermine the provision of quality basic education.

Related recommendations are: (i) much improved school management through improved training of head teachers and other teachers with substantive management responsibilities; (ii) eliminate or at least seriously reduce non-school activities that teachers in India and other countries in South Asia are expected to undertake on a regular basis; and (iii) reduce the level

of politicisation of the teaching profession in South Asia; and (iv) give more effective representation to teachers in key decision-making bodies.

7.5 Other Priority Interventions

Other priority areas are regular professional development, decentralised and well managed teacher postings, more effective teacher trade unions, and workplace policies and programmes related to HIV/AIDS.

Professional development

While the importance of continuous professional development for teachers is widely recognised, teachers in most countries receive very little, good quality in-service training during their careers. Improving CPD is, therefore, crucially important.

Decentralised, well-managed teacher postings

The deployment of teachers should be increasingly decentralised and should be based on clear and transparent regulations that are strictly enforced.

More effective trade unions

The capacity of national teacher unions to operate as effective professional organisations for all teachers needs to be strengthened appreciably in most countries.

HIV/AIDS in the Workplace

Workplace policies and strategies related to HIV/AIDS should be introduced, based on detailed risk-assessments, effective school and district-level programmes, and the provision of anti-retroviral drugs to all teachers who need them.

References

Akyeampong, A. (2003) *Review of Secondary Education in Ghana,* Accra: World Bank.

Barrett, A. (2005) 'Teacher accountability in context: Tanzanian primary school teachers' perceptions of local community and educational administration', *Compare*, 55: 43-61.

Bennell, P.S. (2002) 'An assessment of EFA cost projections,' Background paper for the 2003 EFA Global Monitoring Report, Paris: UNESCO.

Bennell, P.S., Hyde, K. and Swainson, N. (2002) *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on the Education Sector in sub-Saharan Africa. The Main Findings and Recommendations of a Three-country Study*, Centre for International Education, Brighton: Sussex University.

Bennell, P.S., with G. Bulwani and M. Musikanga (2003) *Secondary Education in Zambia: A Situational Analysis with Special Reference to Cost and Funding Issues,* Centre for International Education, Brighton: Sussex University.

Bennell, P.S. (2003a) 'The AIDS epidemic in Sub-Saharan Africa: Are teachers a high- risk group?', *Comparative Education,* 39:493-508.

Bennell, P.S. (2003b) 'Public-private partnerships in basic education in South Asia', Paper presented at seminar on public-private partnerships for the delivery of basic education services to the poor, London: Aga Khan Foundation and DFID.

Bennell, P.S. (2004) 'Teacher motivation in developing countries', Paper prepared for DFID, Brighton: Knowledge and Skills for Development.

Bennell, P.S., Harding, J. and Rogers-Wright, S. (2004) *PRSP Education Sector Review in Sierra Leone*, Freetown: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology.

Bennell, P.S. (2006a) '*Teacher Mortality In Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review',* Brighton: Knowledge and Skills for Development.

Bennell, P.S. (2006b) *Countering the Impact of the AIDS Epidemic on the Education Sector in Swaziland*, Brighton: Knowledge and Skills for Development.

Bruns, B., Mingat, A. and Rakotomalala, R. (2003) *Achieving Universal Primary Education by 2015: A Chance for Every Child*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Chamberlin, R., Wragg, T., Haynes, G. and Wragg, C. (2002) 'Performance-related pay and the teaching profession: A review of the literature', *Research Papers in Education,* 17:31-49.

Chaudhury, N., Hammer, J., Kremer, M., Mularidharan, K. and Rogers, H. (2004) *Roll Call: Teacher Absence in Bangladesh,* Mimeo, Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Conley, S. and Odden, A. (1995) 'Linking teacher compensation to teacher career development', *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis,* 17:219-237.

Davies, L. (1993) 'Teachers as implementers or subversives', *International Journal of Educational Development,* 13:161-170.

Evans, L. (1998) *Teacher Morale, Job Satisfaction and Motivation*, London: Paul Chapman Publishing

Fairhurst, G., Gibbs, W., Jain, P., Khatete, D., Knamiller, G., Welford, G. and Wiegand, P. (2003) *The Effectiveness of Teacher Resource Centre Strategy.* London: DFID.

Garrett, R.M. (1999*) Teacher Job Satisfaction in Developing Countries*, London: DFID.

Glewwe, P., Ilias, N. and Kremer M. (2004) *Teacher Incentives*, mimeo, Washington: World Bank.

Global Campaign for Education (2005) *Teachers for All: What Governments and Donors Should Do?* Cape Town: GCE.

Gorrell, J. and Dharmadasa, K.H. (1989) 'Sources of school stress for teachers in Sri Lanka,' *Compare,* 19:115-125.

Gottelmann-Duret, G. (2000) *Current Conditions, Policies and Challenges of Primary School Teacher Utilization in Four African Countries*, Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning.

Habyarimana, J., Das, J., Dercon, S. and Krishnan, P. (2003) *Sense and Absence: Absenteeism and Learning in Zambian Schools*, Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Hertzberg, F. (1966*) Work and the Nature of Man*, New York: Crowell Publications.

Hoy, W.K., and Miskel, C.G. (1991) *Educational Administration: Theory, Research and Practice*, New York: McGraw Hill.

IIEP (2004) *Teachers: A Priority*, IIEP Newsletter vol. XXII, no. 1, January-March, Paris:IIEP.

Jacobson, S.L. (1995) 'Monetary incentives and the reform of teacher compensation: A persistent organizational dilemma', *Journal of Educational Reform,* 4:29-35.

Jessop, T. and Penny, A. (1998) 'A study of teacher voice and vision in the narrative of rural South African and Gambian primary school teachers', *International Journal of Educational Development,* 18:393-403.

Locke, E.A. (1976) 'The nature and causes of job satisfaction', in M.D. Dunnette (ed.), *Handbook of Industrial and Organization,* Chicago: McNally.

Maslow, A.H. (1943) 'A theory of human motivation', *Psychological Review,* 50:379-396.

Michaelowa, K. (2002) *Teacher Job Satisfaction, Student Achievement and the Cost of Primary Education in Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, HWWA Working Paper 188, Hamburg: Hamburg Institute of International Economics.

Morgan, W J., Sives, A. and Appleton, S. (2006) *Teacher Mobility, 'Brain Drain', Labour Markets and Educational Resources in the Commonwealth,* London: DFID.

Mulkeen, A. (2005) 'Teachers for rural schools: A challenge for Africa', Paper presented at the Ministerial Seminar on Education for Rural People in Africa: Policy Lessons, Options, and Priorities, Addis Ababa: FAO/IIEP/ADEA.

Murnane, R.J. (1987) 'Understanding teacher attrition', *Harvard Educational Review*, 57:177-182.

Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory (2001) *Understanding Motivation and Supporting Teacher Renewal*, NREL.

Spear, M., Gould, K. and Lee, B. (2000) *Who Would Be A Teacher? A Review of Factors Motivating and De-motivating Prospective and Practising Teachers*, London: National Foundation for Educational Research.

Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. (2000) *Teacher Education, Teachers' Conditions and Motivation*, Department of Democracy and Social Development, Stockholm: SIDA.

Sylvia, R.D. and T. Hutchinson (1985) 'What makes Ms. Johnson teach? A study on teacher motivation', *Human Relations,* 38:841-56

Voluntary Service Overseas (2002) *What Makes Teachers Tick? A Policy Research Report on Teachers' Motivation in Developing Countries*, London: VSO.

Vroom, V. (1964) *Work and Motivation*, New York: Wiley.

Wilson, D.C. and Rosenfeld, R.H. (1990) *Managing Organizations, Tests, Readings and Cases*, London: McGraw-Hill.

World Bank (2001) *Teacher Development and Incentives in Brazil*, Washington D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank (2004) *World Development Report 2004, Making Services Work For the Poor*, Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Annex A

Country Case Studies

Adelabu, M.A. (2005) *Teacher Motivation and Incentives in Nigeria*.

Akyeampong, K. and Asante, K. (2005) *Teacher Motivation and Incentives: A Profile of Ghana*, Centre for International Education, University of Sussex.

Bennell, P. and Mukyanuzi, F. (2005) *Is There a Teacher Motivation Crisis in Tanzania?*, Brighton: Knowledge and Skills for Development.

Devcota, B. (2005) *Is There a Teacher Motivation Crisis in Nepal?*, Kathmandu.

Harding, J. B. and Mansaray, A. T. (2005) *Teacher Motivation and Incentives in Sierra Leone,* Division of Educational Studies, University of Sierra Leone.

Kadzamira, E. C. (2005) *Teacher Motivation and Incentives in Malawi*, Zomba:Centre for Education Research and Training, University of Malawi.

Khan, T. (2005) *Teacher Job Satisfaction and Incentives: A Case Study of Pakistan*, Islamabad.

Hyde, K. Muito, M. and Muito G. (2005) *Teacher Motivation and Incentives in Kenya,* Nairobi.

Musikanga, M. (2005) *Is There A Teacher Motivation Crisis in Zambia?*, Lusaka.

Nazmul Haq. M. and Saijidul Islam, M. (2005) *Teacher Motivation and Incentives in Bangladesh*, Institute of Education and Research, University of Dhaka.

Ramachandran, V. with S. Jain, S. Shekar, J. Sharma and M. Pal (2005) *Teacher Motivation in India*, New Delhi.

Urwick, J., Mapuru, P. and Nkhoboti, M. (2005) *Teacher Motivation and Incentives in Lesotho*, Maseru: Lesotho College of Education.

Annex B

Research Instruments

1. Interview Schedules for National-Level Stakeholders

1. How would you describe current levels of job satisfaction and morale among primary school teachers in government and government-supported schools? ....
....
....

Are there any significant differences between public and private sector teachers? ....
....
....

Are there any significant differences between primary and secondary school teachers? ....
....
....

What are the main reasons for current levels of job satisfaction/morale among public sector teachers? ....
....
....

Personal characteristics: (sex, age, education/training, others) ....
....
....

Vocational commitment: ....
....
....

Teacher status: ....
....
....

Remuneration. How adequate pay? ………………………………………………………..........................
....
....

Physical and emotional well being of teachers: Overall health and nutrition ....
....
....

Locational issues (especially rural schools) ....
....
....

Distance to work ....
....
....

Work environment (compound, classrooms, furniture, toilets, staff room, housing) ....
....
....

Workload/pressures:

Hours/periods per week ....
....
....

Class size ....
....
....

Preparation ....
....
....

Marking ....
....
....

Extra duties ....
....
....

Distance/time to work: ....
....
....

Student behaviour inside and outside classroom ....
....
....

Teacher competence/capacity to teach effectively ....
....
....

Adequacy of pre and in-service teaching/CPD ....
....
....

Supervision/management ....
....
....

Parental/community participation ....
....
....

Impact of AIDS epidemic ....
....
....

Other factors ....
....
....

What proportion of teachers are:

Well motivated .... adequately motivated .... poorly motivated ....

highly competent .... adequately competent .... poorly competent ....

3. Have there been any noticeable trends during the last ten years in the overall level of teacher job satisfaction and motivation in government and government-supported schools? Give reasons ....
....
....

4. Teacher behaviour and performance in public schools

How does current level of job satisfaction and motivation influence teacher behaviour and performance? ....
....
....

Staffing situation: ....
....
....

Vacancy rates-level, pattern and trends ....
....
....

Turnover rates-level and patterns: ....
....
....

Transfers ....
....
....

Promotion ....
....
....

Study leave ....
....
....

Resignations ....
....
....

Retirement ....
....
....

Death ....
....
....

Medical retirement ....
....
....

Dismissal ....
....
....

Other ....
....
....

Absenteeism and timekeeping: ....
....
....

Teacher behaviour/conduct: (drunkenness, rudeness, disobedience, sexual relations with students /others, preparation, classroom practice, marking, extra duties (clubs parent meetings, etc): ....
....
....

Secondary employment activities: Scale and type of activities ....
....
....

Impact (if any) on normal teaching duties? ....
....
....

5. What has been done to improve teacher job satisfaction and motivation by MoE? Interventions-goals and outcomes ....
....
....

6. What further actions are needed to improve teacher job satisfaction and motivation? (open-ended and then prompt- status, staffing, pay and benefits, working and living conditions, training, management practices, parental/community involvement) ....
....
....

7. What do you think will happen if teacher job satisfaction and motivation is not addressed effectively? ....
....
....

Additional questions for trade unions

What is current membership? .... What are union dues? ....

How effective has trade union been in improving pay and other conditions of service for teachers? ....
....
....

What have been main successes during the last five years? ....
....
....

What have been the main constraints? ....
....
....

What has been main industrial action during the last five years? Dates and duration of strikes
....
....
....

What are current demands? ....
....
....

Additional questions for NGOs

Brief description of own educational provision ....
....
....

Staffing information of their own schools/projects (numbers, education and qualification profile, pay, benefits, recruitment, deployment, vacancies, turnover) ....
....
....

Level of job satisfaction and morale ....
....
....

Key factors ....
....
....

2. Interview Schedule for Teachers

Stress that the interview is completely anonymous and confidential. The study is part of a high-profile international research project on teacher motivation and incentives. Their views are very important.

1. Tell me a little about yourself. (Non-threatening warm-up)

Female / Male .... Age .... Place of residence ....

Family background: your father's and mother's education and main occupations
....
....

Your own school education (level completed) ....

Result obtained in school leaving examination ....

Teaching qualifications and years in which obtained: ....

Years teaching .... No. of schools: .... Years in current school ....
Marital status ....

Living with spouse (if any): Yes / No.

No. of own children .... No. of direct dependants at present ....

No. of members of household (other than self) in salaried or waged employment: ....

Are you studying to upgrade your qualifications at present? Yes / No

Are you a member of a trade union or teachers' association?
Member of a union / member of an association / not a member of either

How many meetings of a trade union or teachers' association have you attended this year?
....

2. Why did you decide to become a teacher? (open-ended)
....
....

Prompts: Interest in teaching, lack of other employment opportunities, temporary employment, pay, working hours, school holidays,
....
....

Given your experience as a teacher, would you still make the same career choice again? Yes / No

3. How satisfied are you with your job as a teacher in this school? (open-ended)
Job satisfaction level ....

Reasons: (open ended) ....
....
....

Now we'll discuss some factors that may influence your job satisfaction.

(a) Income and expenditure
How adequate is your pay? ....
....
....

Gross monthly pay at present ....

Net monthly pay at present ....

Other allowances and benefits (specify) ....

Do you receive any non-monetary benefits (such as free or subsidised housing)?
Yes / No If yes, specify ....

What was your net starting salary (monthly)? .... Year ....
What was your total net pay in 1999 (monthly)? ....

Do you have any other work outside your normal teaching job? Yes / No
If yes, what type of work? ....
If yes, what is your average monthly income from this work? ....

What is the average monthly household expenditure on:
Rent/housing ....
Food ....
Transport ....
Education ....
Other items ....
All items ....

(b) Your physical well-being: General health ....
Are you often short of food? Yes / No

(c) Location of school: Views on the school's location/host community ....
....

Do want to be transferred to another school? Yes/ No.
If yes, for what reasons? ....
If yes, where do you hope to go? (location and/or school) ....
....

Have you made a formal request for transfer? Yes / No

(d) Working conditions: School environment (compound, classrooms, furniture, toilets, staff room, housing) ....
....
....

(e) Your capacity to teach
How do you feel about your ability to do the job? ....
....
....

How adequate was the training you received? ....
....
....

What about the opportunities for continuing professional development? ....
....
....

(f) Your workload: Hours/periods teaching per week ....
What is the size of the group(s) you actually teach? ....

(Insist on size of group or stream if the Standard is divided for teaching.)
Approx. hours per week spent on:
Preparation .... Marking .... Extra duties ....
How many minutes does it take you to come to work? ....

(g) Supervision/management: Do you feel that your work is well managed and supervised?
....
....

(h) The impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic (effects on teachers and pupils):
....
....

(i) Other factors ....
....
....

4. Is your level of job satisfaction lower, the same or higher than five years ago? (open-ended with reasons) ....
....
....

5. Do the other teachers at this school feel the same as you do about their work as teachers?
....

Who do/don't feel the same way? Reasons...
....
....

How many teachers in the school are:
Highly motivated .... (b) Just OK .... (c) Poorly motivated ....

How many teachers in the school are:
Highly competent .... (b) Adequate .... (c) Not competent ....

6. Among teachers who are poorly motivated, how does this affect their behaviour and performance? (open-ended and prompt) ....
....
....

7. Do you intend to continue working as a primary school teacher for the foreseeable future? Yes / No. If no, what are your reasons and plans? ....
....
....

8. What needs to be done in order to improve the job satisfaction and motivation of teachers at this school? ....
....
....

9. Any other comments ....
....
....

3. Interview Schedule for Head Teachers and Community Representatives

1.Warm-up: How long have you been a HT/SMC Chairperson? .....How long at this school?
What are the major challenges you face as a HT/Chairperson at this school? ....
....
....

2. Tell me about your teachers. How many? Qualified .... Unqualified ....
Female .... Male .... Under 30 .... Over 30 .... Locals .... Outsiders ....

How would describe the overall level of job satisfaction among your teachers? ....
....
....

Specific determinants of job satisfaction/motivation

Personal characteristics: (sex, age, education/training, others) ....
....
....

Vocational commitment: ....
....
....

Teacher status: ....
....
....

Remuneration. How adequate pay? ....
....
....

Any salary supplementation? ....
....
....

Physical and emotional well being of teachers: Overall health and nutrition ....
....
....

School location ....
....
....

Distance to work ....
....

Work environment (compound, classrooms, furniture, toilets, staff room, housing) ....
....
....

Workload/pressures:

Hours/periods per week ....
....
Class size ....
....
Preparation ....
....
Marking ....
....
Extra duties ....
....
Distance/time to work: ....
....
Student behaviour inside and outside classroom ....
....
Teacher competence/capacity to teach effectively ....
....
Adequacy of pre and in-service teaching/CPD ....
....
Supervision/management ....
....
Parental/community participation ....
....
Impact of AIDS epidemic ....
....
Other factors ....
....

How many of your teachers are:

Well motivated .... adequately motivated .... poorly motivated ....

high competence .... adequate competence .... poor competence ....

Given a free hand, how many teachers would you like to replace because of:

Poor motivation .... Lack of competence ....

3. Have there been any noticeable trends over time in overall level of teacher job satisfaction and motivation? Give reasons ....
....
....

4. Teacher behaviour and performance

How does current level of job satisfaction and motivation influence teacher behaviour and performance? ....
....
....

Staffing situation: ....
....
....

How many vacancies at this school? ....

How many teachers left this school during the last school year? ....
Transfers .... Promotion .... Study leave .... Resignation ....
Retirement .... Death .... Medical retirement .... Dismissal ....
Other ....

Absenteeism and timekeeping: ....
....
....

How many teachers were absent yesterday? .... Illness .... Duty ....
Leave .... Other authorised absence .... Not authorised/no reason ....

How many absent today? .... (directly check later) How many were late? ....

Teacher behaviour/conduct: (drunkenness, rudeness, disobedience, sexual relations with students /others, preparation, classroom practice, marking, extra duties (clubs parent meetings, etc):
....
....

How many teachers have been formally disciplined or dismissed during the last two years?
Yes/no Details ....
....

Secondary employment activities: Number teachers? .... Activities ....
....

Impact (if any) on normal teaching duties? ....
....

5. What should be done to improve teacher job satisfaction and motivation? (open-ended and then prompt- status, staffing, pay and benefits, working and living conditions, training, management practices, parental/community involvement) ....
....
....

6. What do you think will happen if teacher job satisfaction and motivation is not addressed effectively? ....
....

7. Any other comments ....
....
....

4. Personal Background Questionnaire for Teachers

Where alternative responses are shown, please circle one.

1. Sex: female / male   2. Age ....

3. Where do you live? (Name town or village) ....

4. Level of school education you completed: senior secondary (high school) / junior secondary / primary

5. Teaching qualification (give highest obtained) ....

6. For how many years have you been teaching? ....

7. How many schools have you worked at? ....

8. For how many years have you worked at this school? ....

9. Marital status: married / single / divorced / widowed

10. Is your spouse (if any) currently living with you? Yes / No

11. Number of your own children ....

12. Total of your direct dependants at present (including dependent children) ....

13. How many members of your household (other than yourself) are in salaried or waged employment? ....

14. Are you currently studying to upgrade your qualifications? Yes / No

15. How many days were you absent from school last week? (Do not include official holidays.) ....

16. Have you requested, or are you planning to request, a transfer from this school? Yes / No

17. If yes, what are your main reasons? ....
....
....

18. If yes, where would you like to be transferred? (Give name of town or village and/or school ....

19. What was your net monthly pay when you first started teaching?
    Basic .... Allowances ....

20. What is your gross monthly pay now? Basic .... Allowances ....

21. What is your net monthly pay now? Basic .... Allowances ....

22. What non-monetary benefits do you receive, if any? ....

23. Do you have other work outside your normal teaching job? Yes / No

24. If yes, please indicate what type of work: ....
    ....
    ....

25. Roughly how much, on average, do you earn each month from this additional work? ....

26. Please indicate the approximate monthly expenditure of your household on various items, as follows:
    - Rent/housing ....
    - Food ....
    - Transport ....
    - Education ....
    - Other items ....
    - All items ....

27. Are you a member of a trade union or teachers' association?
    Member of a union / member of an association / not a member of either

28. How many meetings of a trade union or teachers' association have you attended this year? ....

5. General Statements on Teachers' Motivation

Please circle ONE of the alternative responses to each statement.

1. Teachers in this school are well-motivated
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

2. Teachers at this school have the knowledge and skills to do their jobs well
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

3. The working environment at this school is adequate
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

4. Teacher absenteeism is not a problem at this school
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

5. Teachers at this school come to work on time
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

6. Teachers in this school are well-managed
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

7. The head teacher of this school leads by example
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

8. Teachers at this school work well together
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

9. Teachers salaries are usually paid on time
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

10. School inspectors regularly visit this school
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

11. The impact of HIV/AIDS on teachers at this school has not been serious
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

12. Teachers and parents work well together
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

13. Our head teacher regularly observes classes
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

14. Our head teacher is often away from school on private business
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

15. Our head teacher is often away from school on official duties
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

16. Teachers at this school are increasingly de-motivated
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

17. The behaviour of pupils in class is not a problem for teachers at this school
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

18. Teacher transfers are managed well and fairly
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

19. Teachers sometimes come to school hungry
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

20. Teachers are respected in the community
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

21. Teachers at this school think their trade union is doing a good job
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

22. Qualified teachers are better motivated than unqualified teachers
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

23. Female teachers are better motivated than male teachers
Strongly disagree Disagree Not sure Agree Strongly agree

6. Personal Statements

(Circle ONE response to each statement.)

1. My current level of job satisfaction is

Very poor
Poor
Just OK
Good
Excellent

2. My pay as a teacher is

Very poor
Poor
Just OK
Good
Excellent

3. Working conditions in this school are

Very poor
Poor
Just OK
Good
Excellent

4. Opportunities for upgrading professional qualifications are

Very poor
Poor
Just OK
Good
Excellent

5. Other in-service training opportunities are

Very poor
Poor
Just OK
Good
Excellent

6. My level of job satisfaction over the last five years has

Declined significantly
Declined
Remained the same
Increased
Increased significantly

7. My standard of living over the last five years has

Declined significantly
Declined
Remained the same
Increased
Increased significantly

1 There are, of course, other important factors that affect the quality of education, including the curriculum and teaching methods, the availability of relevant textbooks and other learning materials, and adequacy of classroom accommodation.

2 *Compare, International Journal of Educational Development, Comparative Education, and Comparative Education Review*

3 The coefficient of determination (R-squared) is only 0.31.

4 Three clusters were selected in Lesotho in the mountains, foothills and urban area.

5 Even in Swaziland, which has an estimated national HIV prevalence rate of over 40 percent, only one percent of teachers died from all causes in 2004 (see Bennell, 2006b).

DFID Department for International Development

DFID's headquarters are located at:

DFID
1 Palace Street
London SW1E 5HE
United Kingdom

Abercrombie House
Eaglesham Road
East Kilbride
Glasgow G75 8EA
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0) 20 7023 0000
Fax: +44 (0) 20 7023 0019

Website: www.dfid.gov.uk
email: enquiry@dfid.gov.uk
Public enquiry point: 0845 3004100
From overseas: +44 1355 84 3132

DFID

08/07 1K Produced for DFID by Fuller-Davies Limited

ISBN 1 86192 873 4

Printed on recycled paper containing a minimum of 75% post-consumer waste.