

**TEACHER MOTIVATION AND INCENTIVES
IN MALAWI**

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July 2006

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ACRONYMS

| | |
|----------|---|
| CDSS | Community Day Secondary School |
| CSS | Conventional Secondary School |
| DFID | Department of International Development |
| EMIS | Education Management Information Systems |
| FPE | Free Primary Education |
| GOM | Government of Malawi |
| HIV/AIDS | Human Immune Virus/ Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome |
| IIEP | International Institute of Educational Planning |
| JCE | Junior Certificate of Education |
| MIITEP | Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Programme |
| MK | Malawi Kwacha |
| MOE | Ministry of Education |
| MSCE | Malawi School Certificate of Education |
| NEC | National Economic Council |
| NGO | Non Governmental Organisation |
| SSSTEP | Secondary School Teachers Education Programme |
| TSC | Teacher Service Commission |
| TUM | Teacher Union of Malawi |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| VSO | Voluntary Service Organisation |

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is one of 12 country case studies, which have been prepared for an international research project on teacher motivation and incentives in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.¹ The main aim of the project is to examine the extent to which low teacher motivation is a constraint to the attainment of universal primary education in low-income developing countries. Each country study reviews the major determinants of teacher motivation and job satisfaction, focusing in particular on teacher conditions of service (including both pecuniary and non-pecuniary factors). The impact that teacher motivation has on the deployment of teachers is also investigated.

Three interrelated hypotheses guided the study:

- Primary school teacher pay is both low, in absolute terms and in relation to other skilled and unskilled occupations, and is not adequate to meet minimum physical and social needs. Consequently, teachers tend to be poorly motivated.
- Public sector teacher pay has declined appreciably.
- Other key motivators, most notably workload, promotion and career paths, training opportunities, teaching and learning conditions, are seriously deficient and deteriorating.

Information on teacher pay and grading structures and staffing patterns was collected from the Ministry of Education (MoE) archives as well as from published education statistics and the EMIS database. These were used to assess the levels, trends and determinants of teacher motivation. In addition stakeholder interviews were held with government officials, the teacher's union, NGOs, and representatives of donor agencies and researchers in order to obtain their views on the level, trends and determinants of teacher job satisfaction and impact on teachers' motivation. Information was also garnered from related literature, including the recently concluded DFID funded study on teacher absenteeism and attrition (Moleni and Ndalama 2004), the VSO study on valuing teachers (Tudor-Craig 2002), and the UNESCO/IIEP study on the impact of HIV/AIDS on governance in the education sector (Chawani 2004).

While it was relatively easy to collect information on staffing patterns and teacher pay and grading structures, data on teacher absenteeism was hard to come by as neither the central nor district levels of the MoE keep and maintain such records and these could only be sourced at school level. District, division and central levels of the MoE hierarchy do not have well-maintained and automated record systems on human resources. Previous education statistics do not contain detailed information on staff attrition; however the recent 2004 EMIS has some information on teacher attrition including its causes.

¹ The countries are Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia in Africa, and Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan in South Asia.

2. TEACHER JOB SATISFACTION AND MOTIVATION

2.1 OVERALL LEVELS

Earlier research studies conclude that the overall levels of teacher job satisfaction and motivation in Malawi are low in both primary and secondary schools. In particular, teachers are highly dissatisfied with their remuneration and other conditions of service (Kadzamira and Chibwana 2000, Kadzamira et al 2001, Tudor-Craig 2002, Chimwenje 2003). There is also a broad consensus among other stakeholders, including community members and students, that poor incentives and conditions of service have resulted in low morale and thus poor performance among teachers (National Economic Council 2002, Kadzamira 2003). The recent DFID study on teacher absenteeism and attrition in Malawi noted that absenteeism and attrition were largely influenced by teacher motivational factors with low salaries and poor working conditions coming out strongly as underlying causes of absenteeism and attrition (Moleni and Ndalama 2004).

The views of stakeholders interviewed for this study on the current levels of teacher job satisfaction and motivation are somewhat varied. Some respondents indicated that there is indeed a teacher motivation ‘crisis’ in Malawi while others find no evidence that suggests that there has been a serious breakdown in teacher morale. However, they all agree that the level of teacher morale and job satisfaction is generally low.

Two of the respondents pointed out that, while teacher morale is low, it has nevertheless been improving over the last few years. Only one respondent rated teacher morale as high, but quickly admitted that there are some disgruntled teachers who are unhappy with the new salary structure, as it does not consider the length of service.

All stakeholders agree that teachers’ levels of job satisfaction and motivation depend on an array of factors such as levels of remuneration, location and type of school, availability of appropriate housing, opportunities for further training, and conditions of service, workload, promotion and career path, student behaviour, relationship with community, school quality factors such as availability of teaching, and learning resources.

2.2 VARIATIONS AND PATTERNS

Variations in teacher motivation do appear to exist with respect to type of provider and also teacher qualifications. MoE respondents indicated that job satisfaction and motivation tends to be higher in private than government schools. It is alleged that, in the past, teachers were resigning from government schools to work in private schools. While to some extent this is true, it should however, be borne in mind that private schools themselves are quite diverse ranging from those at the top end of the market serving higher income groups, which pay higher salaries than schools that cater for low income groups, which charge much lower fees. Other factors which may account for the perceived higher levels of job satisfaction among teachers in private schools include more conducive teaching and learning environments such as smaller class sizes, close supervision by management and proprietors and, to some extent, the

availability of resources which helps to reduce work-related stress arising from conditions of the work environment.

Though teachers in private schools seem to have higher morale than teachers in public schools they are more insecure about their positions. The VSO study on valuing teachers also reports that some teachers who left public schools to join private schools returned to the public sector following the introduction of housing allowances in 2001 (Tudor-Craig 2002).

Clear motivational differences also exist between qualified and unqualified/ under-qualified teachers at government schools. At both primary and secondary schools, unqualified teachers receive considerably lower salaries even though their workloads are usually the same, if not heavier, than they are for qualified teachers. While unqualified teachers can acquire the necessary professional qualifications, it usually takes such a long time for them to be considered for training that many become demotivated. A recent tracer survey of university graduates found that education graduates have had fewer opportunities for further education and training than graduates from other disciplines, which is mainly attributable to the lack of opportunities for training for education graduates as well as career paths that do not reward further education and training (Kadzamira 2003).

The majority of stakeholder respondents believe that secondary school teachers tend to be better motivated than primary school teachers. Living conditions is a key factor. Teachers at government secondary schools usually have much better housing with utilities such as running water and electricity. The majority of teacher houses at primary school and community day secondary schools (CDSSs) were constructed by communities and, as such, they are usually of sub-standard quality often without basic amenities (in particular running water and electricity) and, in some areas, are in serious disrepair. For example, in 2000, 32 percent of the teacher houses were in need of minor or major repair and 7 percent were classified as 'temporary'. Only 22 percent of the houses available for primary school teachers were in 'good condition' (EMIS 2000).

Government officials who were interviewed also noted that it is difficult to retain science teachers at secondary schools who can easily secure higher paying jobs in the private sector. Overall, it is more difficult to retain graduate than diploma teachers because of low salaries and poor incentives. As one official pointed out, 'Domasi college graduates (with diploma) are less difficult to post and easier to retain than Chancellor College graduates'. This observation is further substantiated by the findings of the tracer survey, which show that hardly any education graduates over the last 20 years have remained as classroom teachers. The proportion of education graduates who were still teaching at the time of the survey in 2001 progressively declined according to their year of graduation. For example, none of the 1980 cohort of education graduates were classroom teachers, and only 5 percent and 10 percent respectively of the 1987 and 1994 graduate cohorts (Kadzamira 2003).

School location is another critical factor. Rural schools are especially disadvantaged when it comes to teacher housing and availability of suitable housing within the vicinity of the school. The distribution of primary school teachers by gender and qualification is greatly influenced by the availability of suitable teachers' houses with

schools that do not have adequate houses for teachers often being understaffed, especially if located in rural areas (see Croft 2002). The Moleni and Ndalama study also finds that the majority of transfers are teacher-initiated with teachers frequently asking to be transferred because of the remote location of the school. MoE respondents for this study highlighted the case of a newly constructed secondary school in a rural area with good housing and running water that still cannot attract teachers because of the remoteness of the school and lack of electricity.

3. IMPACT ON STAFFING, BEHAVIOUR AND PERFORMANCE

How does low morale and motivation affect the staffing and behaviour and performance of teachers? The impact on staffing is examined by analysing trends in recruitment and placement standards, deployment patterns, and teacher turnover and school vacancy rates. Impact on performance is examined by looking at trends in teacher absenteeism, key indicators of professional behaviour, and learning outcomes.

3.1 IMPACT ON STAFFING

Recruitment standards and placement rates

The low status of the teaching profession among the general public and school leavers in particular has negatively impacted on recruitment standards for both primary and secondary school teaching. For the majority of secondary school leavers, teaching remains an occupation of the last resort. Failure of teacher training programmes at both primary and secondary school levels to attract better students has been blamed on the poor conditions of service in the teaching profession.

Until very recently, the minimum entry qualification to become a primary school teacher was the Junior Certificate of Education, which is taken at the end of Form 2. Although strong preference has been given to Form 4 school leavers who had passed the Malawi Secondary Certificate Education (MSCE), very few have been attracted into the teaching profession. Thus, most of the teachers who were recruited en-masse following the introduction of free primary education in 1994, only have the JCE qualification. The tracer survey of secondary school leavers conducted in 2001 found primary school teaching to be one of the most popular training courses among JCE school leavers (Kadzamira 2003). Though recruitment to teacher training colleges for secondary education requires a minimum of MSCE, secondary school leavers with better MSCE grades have in the past tended to opt for other types of training courses (Chimwenje 2003).

There is some evidence that, as the economic situation and employment prospects have continued to worsen, significantly more MSCE school leavers are doing teacher teaching.² Even so, most only do so in order to increase their chances of obtaining a university place and have therefore little or no commitment to becoming a teacher. This situation is compounded by long delays in recruiting graduate teachers. At the 2005 Joint Sector Review, it was revealed that delayed employment of graduate teachers has meant that less than 10 percent (7 out of 79) of education graduates from Mzuzu University are now employed as teachers.

² The Acting Director of Department of Teacher Education and Development reported that the majority of 40,000 applications for 2005 intake into teacher training colleges received were MSCE holders rather than JCE holders (Personal communication).

Staffing analysis and deployment patterns

Low job satisfaction makes it difficult to staff schools properly. Key indicators of the staffing situation in schools are student-teacher ratios, and transfer, attrition and vacancy rates. Anecdotal evidence and discussions with some District Education Managers suggest that remote rural schools are chronically understaffed due mainly to high teacher turnover and the refusal of teachers to be deployed to schools in these areas.

Student-teacher ratios

The official pupil-teacher ratio for primary schools is 60:1. Table 3.1 shows that PTRs in rural areas are much higher than in the major cities and towns (as much as twice as high than in Lilongwe, the capital city), which is indicative of the glaring urban bias in the distribution of resources. The major reason for these staffing inequalities is that many teachers are reluctant to be posted to rural areas. Moreover, in the hard-to-staff remote schools, once a teacher is lost through attrition it is usually difficult to find a replacement. As noted earlier, the poor accommodation and the non-availability of key services such as running water, electricity and entertainment are key contributory factors. In 2004, the teacher-house ratio was almost 3 to1.

Table 3.1: Primary pupil-teacher ratios by location

| Location | 2004 | 2000 | 1998 | 1995 | 1990 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Capital | 38.5 | 37.7 | 55.6 | 44.4 | 65.0 |
| Other urban | 47.4 | 51.6 | 54.3 | 43.6 | 66.0 |
| Rural | 76.8 | 65.2 | 69.2 | 65.6 | 80.6 |
| Total | 72.0 | 63.0 | 67.4 | 62.5 | 78.1 |

Source: Computed from Basic Education Statistics, various years

Though teacher houses are in short supply everywhere, the situation in rural areas is compounded by the paucity of rented accommodation of a reasonable standard. In short, the overall environment in rural areas provides few incentives for teachers to teach in rural schools. Living in thatched houses with mud walls without running water and electricity is not an attractive prospect.

The recently completed teacher absenteeism and attrition study also highlights the importance of living and working conditions. Teachers in both rural and urban areas face very serious problems travelling between home and school. In rural areas, teachers living far from school often cannot reach school during the rainy season. On the other hand, teachers in urban schools who are not housed within the school compound often have to find cheaper accommodation in the high density townships, which often means that they have to walk long distances to school because they are unable to afford the high transport costs of commuting (Moleni and Ndalama 2004).

Until very recently, the type of secondary school has been a more important determinant of student-teacher ratio than location. Table 3.2 shows that until the mid 1990s STRs were consistently much higher in CDSS than Conventional Secondary Schools mainly because there was an open door entry policy for CDSS, which resulted in serious over-enrolment. However, by 2000, differences in STRs between the two types of secondary schools had become minimal largely as a result of government policy to create a unified secondary school system with greater control

over the management of CDSSs. As a consequence, since the late 1990s, entry into the CDSS schools has been restricted, which has significantly lowered STRs.

Table 3.2: Secondary student-teacher ratios by location³

| Location | 2004 | 2000 | 1995 | 1990 |
|----------|------|------|------|------|
| CSS | - | 27.6 | 17.8 | 17.8 |
| CDSS | - | 29.0 | 47.3 | 47.3 |
| Total | - | 28.4 | 26.9 | 26.9 |
| Urban | 20.4 | | | |
| Rural | 18.0 | | | |
| Total | 19.9 | | | |

Source: Calculated using data from Basic Education, Statistics various years

Deployment patterns

Tables 3.3 to 3.6 further illustrate the extent of rural-urban imbalances in the deployment of teachers with respect to gender and qualification. Qualified teachers are disproportionately located at urban schools. At the primary level, the difference in teacher qualification profiles has narrowed over the years as more teachers have been trained.⁴

Table 3.3: Deployment of primary school teachers by location and qualification

| Location | FEMALE | | | MALE | | | TOTAL | | | |
|---------------|--------|-------|-----------|------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|----|
| | 2004 | Total | Qualified | % | Total | Qualified | % | Total | Qualified | % |
| Urban | | 5286 | 4462 | 84 | 1134 | 1026 | 91 | 6420 | 5488 | 86 |
| Rural | | 11564 | 8466 | 73 | 25968 | 20448 | 79 | 37532 | 28914 | 77 |
| Total | | 16850 | 12928 | 77 | 27102 | 21474 | 79 | 43952 | 34402 | 78 |
| 2000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | | 4666 | 3002 | 64 | 915 | 692 | 76 | 5581 | 3694 | 66 |
| Rural | | 13483 | 5966 | 44 | 28761 | 14892 | 52 | 42244 | 20858 | 49 |
| Total | | 18149 | 8968 | 49 | 29676 | 15584 | 53 | 47825 | 24552 | 51 |
| 1998 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | | 4004 | 2713 | 68 | 1296 | 890 | 69 | 5300 | 3603 | 68 |
| Rural | | 12365 | 5131 | 42 | 23969 | 12253 | 51 | 36334 | 17384 | 48 |
| Total | | 16369 | 7844 | 48 | 25265 | 13143 | 52 | 41634 | 20987 | 50 |
| 1995 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | | 4956 | 3631 | 73 | 1672 | 1001 | 60 | 6628 | 4632 | 70 |
| Rural | | 12330 | 6446 | 52 | 26817 | 15468 | 58 | 39147 | 21914 | 56 |
| Total | | 17286 | 10077 | 58 | 28489 | 16469 | 58 | 45775 | 26546 | 58 |
| 1990/1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | | 2387 | 2269 | 95 | 755 | 707 | 94 | 3142 | 2976 | 95 |
| Rural | | 3789 | 2209 | 58 | 11011 | 7026 | 64 | 14800 | 9235 | 62 |
| Total | | 6176 | 4478 | 73 | 11766 | 7723 | 66 | 17942 | 12211 | 68 |

Source: Calculated using data from Basic Education Statistics various years

In 1990, 95 percent of the teachers at urban schools were qualified compared to only 62 percent among rural teachers. By 2004, this gap was only nine percentage points (86 percent and 77 percent respectively).

³ Given the existing secondary school database, it was not possible for most years except 2004 to disaggregate the data by location and gender and as such analysis was done by school type. The decision to use school type was also guided by the fact that at secondary level there are stark differences in provision between the two main school types, CSS and CDSS. This applies to all tables presenting secondary school indicators presented in this report.

⁴ For example in 1990 68 percent of teachers were trained and this dropped to about 50 percent of teacher in the mid 1990s before increasing to 78 percent in 2004.

The same pattern is observable among secondary schools. Half of all teachers at urban schools were qualified in both 2000 and 2004 compared to 30 percent in 2000 and 36 percent in 2004 of teachers at rural schools.

Table 3.4: Deployment of secondary school teachers by qualification and location

| Location | Total | | | Female | | | Male | | |
|-----------------|--------------|------------------|----------|---------------|------------------|----------|--------------|------------------|----------|
| 2004 | Total | Qualified | % | Total | Qualified | % | Total | Qualified | % |
| Urban | 1870 | 940 | 50 | 683 | 320 | 47 | 1187 | 620 | 52 |
| Rural | 7174 | 2608 | 36 | 1056 | 408 | 39 | 6118 | 2200 | 36 |
| Total | 9044 | 3548 | 39 | 1739 | 728 | 44 | 7305 | 2820 | 39 |
| 2000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 1391 | 703 | 50 | 537 | 231 | 43 | 854 | 472 | 55 |
| Rural | 4510 | 1346 | 30 | 667 | 192 | 29 | 3783 | 1154 | 31 |
| Total | 5901 | 2049 | 35 | 1214 | 423 | 35 | 4687 | 1626 | 35 |
| 1998 | | | | | | | | | |
| CSS | 1106 | 327 | 30 | | | | | | |
| CDSS | 3732 | 1103 | 30 | | | | | | |
| Total | 4838 | 1484 | 30 | | | | | | |
| 1995 | | | | | | | | | |
| CSS | 2713 | 2350 | 87 | | | | | | |
| CDSS | 1983 | 5 | ? | | | | | | |
| Total | 4696 | 2355 | 50 | | | | | | |
| 1990/1 | | | | | | | | | |
| CSS | 1095 | 1023 | 93 | | | | | | |
| CDSS | 550 | 66 | 12 | | | | | | |
| Total | 1645 | 1089 | 66 | | | | | | |

Source: Computed from Basic Education Statistics, various years

Though the two types of secondary systems have been unified, it has proved to be almost impossible to post qualified teachers (especially university graduates) to the CDSSs, most of which are located in remoter and less developed parts of the country.

Four out of five female teachers at both primary and secondary schools work in urban areas. The preponderance of female teachers at urban primary schools has increased since the early 1990s. Significantly though, primary school teaching in rural areas has become much less male dominated due mainly to the recruitment of more female teachers. Nonetheless, it remains generally more difficult to post female teachers to rural schools. One of the most common reasons female teachers have used as an excuse not to teach in rural areas is the need to follow their husbands who are working in urban areas. Wherever possible, the MoE tries not to separate teachers from their spouses. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that quite a number of female teachers have flouted this rule and have obtained fake marriages certificates in order to be transferred to urban schools.

Table 3.5: Deployment of primary school teachers by gender and location

| Location | Total | Female | % | Male | % |
|---------------|-------|--------|----|-------|----|
| 2004 | | | | | |
| Urban | 6420 | 5286 | 82 | 1134 | 18 |
| Rural | 25968 | 11564 | 45 | 14404 | 56 |
| Total | 43952 | 16850 | 38 | 27102 | 62 |
| 2000 | | | | | |
| Urban | 5581 | 4666 | 84 | 915 | 16 |
| Rural | 42244 | 13483 | 32 | 28761 | 68 |
| Total | 47825 | 18149 | 38 | 29676 | 62 |
| 1998 | | | | | |
| Urban | 5300 | 4004 | 76 | 1296 | 25 |
| Rural | 36334 | 12365 | 34 | 23969 | 66 |
| Total | 41634 | 16369 | 39 | 25265 | 61 |
| 1995 | | | | | |
| Urban | 6628 | 4956 | 75 | 1672 | 25 |
| Rural | 39147 | 12330 | 32 | 26817 | 69 |
| Total | 45775 | 17286 | 38 | 28489 | 62 |
| 1990/1 | | | | | |
| Urban | 3142 | 2387 | 76 | 755 | 24 |
| Rural | 14800 | 3789 | 26 | 11011 | 74 |
| Total | 17942 | 6176 | 34 | 11766 | 66 |

Source: Calculated using data from Basic Education Statistics various years

Teacher turnover

Teacher attrition rates are reportedly very high among both primary and secondary teachers (Kadzamira et al 2001, Tudor-Craig 2002, Moleni and Ndalama 2004). At current levels, it is estimated that over 4,000 replacement teachers will need to be recruited each year for the primary sector alone to replace those lost through attrition (retirement, death, resignations or transfer to non-teaching posts). Table 3.6 shows that the number of teachers in post has fluctuated considerably from year to year. The largest increase in the size of the teaching force occurred in 1994/95 when an additional 18,000 untrained teachers were recruited in order to meet the demand for teachers created by the introduction of free primary education. Thereafter, however, the number of teachers declined considerably between 1996 and 1998 and again between 2000 and 2004 since there was no recruitment of new untrained teachers (pre-service) to replace those lost through attrition. The apparent recruitment freeze was brought about by challenges facing the government as a result of the introduction of FPE, which resulted in massive increases in enrolments and in teacher supply thereby creating great financial constraints on the education sector. As has been noted by other studies⁵ the resources that were made available by both government and donors to meet this expansion have been grossly inadequate. This affected the funding of teacher education programmes and created uncertainties in the teacher education programmes hence there was no recruitment of teachers between 1996-1999 and after 2000 resulting in acute shortage of teachers in primary schools. After 1994 pre-service teacher training programme was abandoned in favour of in-service training and MIITEP was introduced in 1996 to train the backlog of untrained teachers and relied heavily on donor funding. The ministry has not been happy with the quality of teachers produced under MIITEP, which led to the development of a

⁵ See for example Castro-Leal 1996, Kadzamira & Chibwana 2000, Rose 2002, Kadzamira et al 2004)

new teacher training programme which was approved in 2004. The delays in coming up with the new programme also contributed to the recruitment freeze, especially after 2000, as well as to the reluctance of donors to provide more funding. In addition, this was also a period when the ministry was facing problems in paying teacher wages with delays in payment of teacher salaries being common.⁶

Until 2004, the annual school census did not request information on teacher turnover that could be used to explain the annual fluctuations in teachers.

Table 3.6: Changes in overall teacher supply

| YEAR | TOTAL | % CHANGE | PTR |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| 1991/2 | 23294 | 29.8 | 71.4 |
| 1992/3 | 26333 | 13.0 | 68.2 |
| 1993/4 | 27748 | 5.4 | 67.8 |
| 1994/5 | 45775 | 65.0 | 62.5 |
| 1995/6 | 49139 | 7.3 | 58.8 |
| 1997 | 47343 | -3.6 | 61.3 |
| 1998 | 41634 | -12.1 | 67.4 |
| 1999 | 45812 | 10.0 | 63.2 |
| 2000 | 47825 | 4.4 | 63.0 |
| 2001 | 53444 | 11.8 | 59.7 |
| 2003 | 45100 | -15.6 | 68.0 |
| 2004 | 43952 | -2.5 | 72.0 |

Source: Basic Education Statistics various years.

The total turnover (attrition plus transfers) of teachers was 15 percent and 19 percent at primary and secondary schools respectively in 2004. Teacher transfers accounted for well over one-half of all departures from both primary and secondary schools. Nearly 10 percent of the teachers transferred to new schools within the year. Attrition rates (resignation, retirement, dismissal, sickness and death) were 5 percent for primary school teachers and 9 percent for secondary school teachers. The study by Moleni and Ndalama found that the main causes of turnover at the school level were transfer and death (Moleni and Ndalama 2004).

There were significant differences in the magnitude of other causes of attrition among primary and secondary school teachers. Among primary school teachers, the second most important reason for attrition after transfers was death (at 2 percent per annum). In contrast, for secondary schools, the other causes of attrition accounted for just as much teacher turnover as transfers with secondary teachers more likely to resign than primary school teachers.

⁶ Initially funding was sourced to train six cohorts (approximately 18,000 teachers). This might have created uncertainties as to what would become of additional untrained teachers recruited thus delayed decisions to replace teacher lost through attrition.

Table 3.7: Primary school teacher transfers and attrition by reason and location, 2004

| Reason | Capital | | Other urban | | Rural | | Total | |
|-------------------------------|------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| | N | % turnover | N | % turnover | N | % turnover | N | % turnover |
| Transfer to another school | 193 | 7.80 | 264 | 6.70 | 3901 | 10.40 | 4358 | 9.92 |
| Transfer to non teaching post | 5 | 0.20 | 12 | 0.30 | 86 | 0.23 | 103 | 0.23 |
| Subtotal | 198 | 7.98 | 276 | 7.01 | 3987 | 10.63 | 4461 | 10.15 |
| Resignation | 11 | 0.44 | 34 | 0.86 | 199 | 0.53 | 244 | 0.56 |
| Retirement | 18 | 0.73 | 21 | 0.53 | 275 | 0.73 | 314 | 0.71 |
| Dismissal | 1 | 0.04 | 23 | 0.58 | 183 | 0.49 | 207 | 0.47 |
| Sickness | 14 | 0.56 | 14 | 0.36 | 153 | 0.41 | 181 | 0.41 |
| Death | 30 | 1.21 | 70 | 1.78 | 685 | 1.83 | 787 | 1.79 |
| Other | 28 | 1.13 | 18 | 0.46 | 284 | 0.76 | 330 | 0.75 |
| Sub total | 102 | 4.11 | 180 | 4.57 | 1779 | 4.74 | 2063 | 4.69 |
| Total turnover | 300 | 12.10 | 456 | 11.57 | 5766 | 15.37 | 6524 | 14.84 |
| Total employed | 2480 | | 3940 | | 37521 | | 43952 | |

Source: Calculated using data from the Primary School EMIS 2004

A major weakness of secondary education cited by school leavers is the frequent change of teachers, with one subject often being taught by more than three teachers in one term (see Kadzamira 2003). A recently concluded longitudinal survey also reports high teacher mobility with more than half of the teachers surveyed no longer in the teaching classes (nine months later) which they had been assigned at the beginning of the study (Jessee et al 2003). The negative impact of teacher mobility is exacerbated by acute shortages of teachers in rural areas, which often leaves classrooms without teachers and remaining teachers having to teach more than one class. As one of the MoE respondents observed, shortages of teachers at remote schools mean that teachers can end up handling five or more classes.

Table 3.8: Secondary teacher attrition by reason and location 2004

| Reason | Capital | | Other urban | | Rural | | Total | |
|-------------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| | N | % turnover | N | % turnover | N | % turnover | N | % turnover |
| Transfer to another school | 48 | 8.8 | 55 | 4.16 | 700 | 9.76 | 806 | 8.91 |
| Transfer to non teaching post | 12 | 2.2 | 14 | 1.06 | 105 | 1.46 | 138 | 1.53 |
| Subtotal | 60 | 11.0 | 69 | 5.22 | 805 | 11.22 | 944 | 10.44 |
| Resignation | 31 | 5.7 | 49 | 3.71 | 217 | 3.02 | 303 | 3.35 |
| Retirement | 7 | 1.3 | 5 | 0.38 | 21 | 0.29 | 34 | 0.38 |
| Dismissal | 13 | 2.4 | 23 | 1.74 | 99 | 1.38 | 131 | 1.45 |
| Sickness | 5 | 0.9 | 5 | 0.38 | 19 | 0.26 | 30 | 0.33 |
| Death | 10 | 1.8 | 18 | 1.36 | 138 | 1.92 | 165 | 1.82 |
| Other | 1 | 0.2 | 16 | 1.21 | 97 | 1.35 | 120 | 1.33 |
| Sub total | 67 | 12.2 | 116 | 8.77 | 591 | 8.24 | 783 | 8.66 |
| Total turnover | 127 | 23.2 | 185 | 13.99 | 1396 | 19.46 | 1727 | 19.10 |
| Total employed | 548 | | 1322 | | 7174 | | 9044 | |

Source: Computed from the Secondary School EMIS 2004

High teacher turnover creates serious urban-rural staffing disparities with some schools in remoter areas reported to be chronically understaffed. This leads to stress and burnout, which in turn contributes to the low and declining teacher motivation.

Table 3.9 shows that, since the early 1990s, rural schools have had high vacancy rates while urban schools have had an oversupply of teachers.

Table 3.9: Primary school vacancy rates by location

| | Capital | | | Other urban | | | Rural | | | Overall | | |
|------|------------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|-----------|
| | Tchr avail | Tchr req | Vac Rate | Tchr avail | Tchr req | Vac Rate | Tchr avail | Tchr req | Vac Rate | Tchr avail | Tchr req | Vac. rate |
| 1990 | 1092 | 1184 | 7.7 | 1950 | 2145 | 9.1 | 14900 | 20016 | 25.6 | 17492 | 23345 | 23.1 |
| 1995 | 1938 | 1435 | - | 4690 | 3411 | - | 39147 | 42834 | 8.6 | 49775 | 47680 | -4.4 |
| | | | 35.0 | | | 37.5 | | | | | | |
| 1998 | 2013 | 1864 | -8.0 | 3287 | 2973 | - | 36334 | 41926 | 13.3 | 41634 | 46763 | 11.0 |
| | | | | | | 10.6 | | | | | | |
| 2000 | 2345 | 1473 | - | 3236 | 2784 | - | 42244 | 45948 | 8.1 | 47825 | 50205 | 4.7 |
| | | | 59.2 | | | 16.2 | | | | | | |
| 2004 | 2480 | 1592 | - | 3940 | 3114 | - | 37532 | 48075 | 21.6 | 43959 | 52780 | 16.7 |
| | | | 55.8 | | | 26.5 | | | | | | |

Source: Computed from Basic Education Statistics, various years

3.2 IMPACT ON BEHAVIOUR AND PERFORMANCE

This section looks at the impact of poor motivation on teachers' performance and behaviour. The discussion draws heavily from interviews with key stakeholders and previous research that explores the relationship between motivation and teacher behaviour and performance. It was not possible to collect data on teacher absenteeism. Existing databases at central level do not keep records on teacher absenteeism and, at school level, there is no systematic way in which data on teacher attendance is captured except for data collected during in research studies⁷ which is nevertheless sporadic and as such cannot provide trends in teacher absenteeism rates.

Teacher absenteeism

Most of the stakeholders interviewed and previous studies have suggested that there is a link between poor motivation and low levels of job satisfaction among teachers and their performance and professional conduct. Both the Ministry of Education officials and other stakeholders interviewed for this study observed that low morale has reduced performance and has resulted in teachers finding excuses to absent themselves from school. The majority observed that teacher absenteeism is a serious problem in schools and is on the increase. A key issue is that teachers are frequently engaged in secondary employment activities to supplement their incomes. The following comments from interviewees are typical:

Teacher absenteeism is high. Teachers go vending or get secondary employment. For example, few teachers go for marking exam papers nowadays. They say it's better to do other jobs (MOE official).

In urban areas, teachers are finding ways of getting out of the classroom, even during lesson time. Vending keep things going (MOE official).

⁷ For example the Kadzamira et al (2001) and Moleni and Ndalama (2004) studies collected data on teacher attendance rates for specific periods of time.

Teacher absenteeism is a big problem. Teachers get involved in secondary activities e.g. chicken rearing and this affects their performance (Teacher Union of Malawi).

The most common activities are vending and private tutoring in urban areas and farming in rural areas. The necessity to engage in additional income generation activity distracts teachers from their normal teaching activities and affects their performance. Teachers become less committed to their work as shown by lack of proper lesson planning and general preparedness for classes.

Existing research evidence further corroborates the views expressed by stakeholder respondents. A number of studies have reported that teacher absenteeism is on the increase and that low staff morale is one of the reasons contributing to this (Kadzamira et al 2001, GOM/UNDP 2002, Chawani 2004, Moleni and Ndalama 2004). A study on teacher absenteeism and attrition covering over 3,000 teachers in four districts found that the extent of absenteeism depended on school location and age and professional grade of the teacher with rural school registering higher absenteeism rates than urban schools (see Table 3.10) and older teachers and teachers in higher professional grades less likely to have been absent from school than younger teachers and teacher in lower professional grades (Moleni and Ndalama 2004). The study linked the lower absenteeism rates among teachers in higher professional grades to issues of teacher motivation and remuneration.

Table 3.11 shows that the main reasons for absenteeism given by teachers tend to be related to personal factors, most notably personal sickness and attending funerals (over three-quarters of the teachers) followed by attending to sick family members (mentioned by a third of the teachers). Work-related factors were mentioned with less frequency (Moleni and Ndalama).

Table 3.10: Absenteeism rates among primary teachers by location in selected schools in 2004

| LOCATION | ABSENTEEISM RATE |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Private | 3.6 |
| Urban | 17.6 |
| Rural | 19.2 |
| Overall | 18.4 |
| N | 3386 |

Source: Moleni and Ndalama 2004

Other studies have come up with similar findings. The GOM/UNDP (2002) study reported that the major reasons for absenteeism amongst public servants were due to personal sickness, attending to sick family members and funerals. Similarly the HIV/AIDS study found personal sickness, funeral attendance and attending to sick family members to be the most common reasons given for teacher absenteeism (Kadzamira et al 2001).

Table 3.11: Reasons for teacher absenteeism

| REASON FOR ABSENCE | % OF TEACHERS |
|--|----------------------|
| Personal sickness | 82 |
| Attending funerals | 79 |
| Attending to sick family members | 35 |
| Attending seminar/workshop/INSET | 13 |
| Other official duties | 9 |
| Financial problems incl. Looking for credits/loans or settling debts | 7 |
| Failing to travel long distance to school/ transport problems | 6 |
| Collecting salaries or pensions (contract teachers) | 3 |
| Sitting for national examinations/ study leave | 2 |
| Attending out-patient/ under-five/ antenatal clinics | 1 |
| Residential training | 1 |
| Maternity leave | 1 |
| Number | 3490 |

Source: Moleni and Ndalama 2004.

Professional conduct and performance

Stakeholder respondents stated that the incidence of teacher misconduct and unprofessional behaviour has increased over the past ten years. This is partly attributed to the poor preparation of teachers following the introduction of the fast track in-service teacher training education programme (MIITEP), which pays relatively little attention to professional ethics. More generally, unprofessional behaviours such as excessive drinking and sexual relations with students are seen as being symptomatic of low morale and poor motivation.

Data on the number of disciplinary cases handled by the ministry is hard to come by because of poor record management. However, the perception of officials is that the Ministry of Education is overwhelmed with disciplinary cases, which usually involve issues to do with teachers' sexual misconduct with pupils and fraud particularly involving salaries, substance abuse (drug and alcohol), and theft of teaching and learning materials (Bonga 2005). Bonga partly attributed this to weaknesses in management and inspectorate systems and low teacher morale resulting from heavy workloads and poor incentive structures. Bonga's paper does not however, give figures of how many disciplinary cases are presented to MoE each year to substantiate his claims.

The Presidential Commission of Inquiry, which was set up to investigate the reasons behind the poor examination performance of students at MSCE, found that indiscipline among teachers is rising and this often manifests itself in increasing absenteeism and in the growing number of teachers who are reported for unprofessional behaviour such as drunkenness and failure to observe social distance (Presidential Commission of Inquiry 2000). Students interviewed during the inquiry also reported that most of their teachers were engaged in moonlighting activities in order to generate extra income, which they said contributed to the poor performance in the public examinations. Communities interviewed for the Poverty Monitoring Study also corroborate these concerns. Teachers in their communities sometimes turn to alcohol and, as a result, tend to treat children harshly (NEC 2000). Similarly, school leavers interviewed for the tracer survey noted that one of the factors that affected the quality of the secondary schooling was the lack of teacher commitment

with teachers not taking their work seriously. Some even reported that teachers drank beer with students (Kadzamira 2003).

The study on teacher absenteeism and attrition reported that one of the major causes of teacher-initiated transfers was excessive beer drinking, especially among male teachers, and sexual abuse of female pupils. The study also found out that low motivation of teachers often manifested in teachers being described as 'lazy' or 'tired' and unwilling to put in the work required of them (Moleni and Ndalama 2004). Another study on the impact of HIV/AIDS on schooling found that a dominant perception of teachers among students is that teachers often give private lessons during the afternoons after school in order to supplement their income and often demand sexual favours from girls when they are unable to find money to pay for the extra tuition (Kadzamira et al 2001). Likewise, a recent study on the abuse of girls study found that sexual harassment of girls by teachers is commonplace and, in some cases, teachers had affairs with schoolgirls, which led to pregnancy (Leach et. al 2003).

4. KEY DETERMINANTS OF MOTIVATION

The key determinants of job satisfaction and motivation are perceived to be both pecuniary (remuneration) and non-pecuniary factors, such as promotion opportunities and career structure and the work environment.

4.1 REMUNERATION

This sections analyses trends in teacher pay and the extent to which it constitutes a living wage. There was a broad consensus among all stakeholder respondents that teachers are underpaid and this is the main factor affecting their motivation and morale. Both MoE and teacher union officials believe that teacher pay is not adequate and does not match with the demands of the job nor does it meet their basic needs. Some officials observed that for higher grades the pay is adequate, but for lower grades pay is too low to meet the minimum requirements for basic needs. In particular, starting salaries are very low for unqualified teachers. .

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show primary and secondary school teacher salaries by grade during the period 1990-2004. Perhaps not surprisingly, teacher salaries in nominal terms increased over the period. Between 1992 and 2001 salaries were reviewed almost on an annual basis and, in some years, more than once. Salary differentials between unqualified and qualified primary school teachers have narrowed considerably, especially since 1993. Unqualified secondary teachers are usually qualified primary teachers working mostly in the CDSSs and, as such, receive primary school salaries.

Table 4.1: Primary gross monthly nominal salaries 1990-2004 (in MK)

| Grade | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 |
|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Unq | 92 | 92 | 141 | 247 | 472 | 763 | 991 | 1234 | 1355 | 1951 | 2239 | 3739 | 3739 | 3739 | 5645 |
| PT4 | 180 | 180 | 260 | 381 | 605 | 883 | 1147 | 1426 | 1530 | 2251 | 2581 | 5881 | 5881 | 5881 | 7610 |
| PT3 | 232 | 232 | 329 | 460 | 884 | 1245 | 1613 | 2013 | 2213 | 3191 | 3667 | 10467 | 10467 | 10467 | 11354 |
| PT2 | 297 | 297 | 437 | 500 | 1086 | 1443 | 1973 | 2465 | 2711 | 3913 | 4501 | 14301 | 14301 | 14301 | 15342 |
| PT1 | 409 | 409 | 589 | 766 | 1337 | 1754 | 2493 | 2910 | 3054 | 4533 | 5220 | 18220 | 18220 | 18220 | 20364 |
| P8 | 824 | 824 | 1398 | 1524 | 1663 | 2183 | 2955 | 3250 | 3275 | 5161 | 5936 | 18936 | 18936 | 18936 | 23297 |

Source: GOM circulars on restructuring of salaries and wages in the public service various years⁸

Diploma-level secondary school teachers appear to be particularly disgruntled about the fact that primary school teachers receive the same salary as diploma teachers or even more. Teacher respondents in the VSO study also expressed similar sentiments (Tudor-Craig 2002).

Though graduate teacher salaries are generally higher than teachers in other grades, their levels of remuneration compare unfavourably with other graduates employed in other professions. The tracer survey of university graduates, which compared the incomes of graduates in different degree programmes, found that education graduates fared the worst in terms of pay and teachers had the lowest mean income of all employment categories (Kadzamira 2003).

⁸ For each grade mid point salaries were used. The salaries from 2001 to 2003 include housing and professional allowances, which were introduced in 2001 but have since been merged into salary in 2004.

Table 4.2: Secondary gross monthly nominal salaries 1990-2004 (in MK)

| Grade | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Unq ⁹ | 277 | 277 | 337 | 577 | 976 | 1325 | 1717 | 2141 | 2353 | 3391 | 3873 | 10673 | 10673 | 10673 | 11352 |
| Dip | 409 | 409 | 589 | 766 | 1101 | 1500 | 2077 | 2593 | 2746 | 3963 | 4559 | 11359 | 11359 | 11359 | 11352 |
| Deg | 578 | 578 | 886 | 1041 | 1097 | 1670 | 2373 | 2770 | 2937 | 4248 | 4890 | 14890 | 14890 | 14890 | 20364 |
| P8 | 824 | 824 | 1398 | 1524 | 1663 | 2183 | 2955 | 3325 | 3575 | 5161 | 5936 | 18936 | 18936 | 18936 | 23297 |
| P7 | 903 | 903 | 1577 | 1719 | 1870 | 2456 | 3284 | 3613 | 3974 | 5738 | 6599 | 19599 | 19599 | 19599 | 27302 |
| P6 | 980 | 980 | 1756 | 1914 | 2075 | 2724 | 2615 | 3976 | 4373 | 6313 | 7260 | 20260 | 20260 | 20260 | 32573 |
| P5 | 1066 | 1066 | 1939 | 2113 | 2280 | 2993 | 4648 | 5113 | 5625 | 8120 | 9338 | 22338 | 22338 | 22338 | 34853 |

Source: GOM circulars on restructuring of salaries and wages in the public service various years¹⁰

Table 4.3: Primary gross monthly real salaries 1990-2004 (in 1990 constant MK)

| Grade | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 |
|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Unq | 92 | 85 | 106 | 151 | 214 | 189 | 174 | 198 | 168 | 166 | 147 | 115 | 94 | 86 | 181 |
| PT4 | 180 | 166 | 195 | 233 | 275 | 218 | 201 | 229 | 190 | 191 | 169 | 133 | 108 | 99 | 244 |
| PT3 | 232 | 215 | 247 | 281 | 401 | 308 | 283 | 324 | 274 | 271 | 241 | 189 | 154 | 140 | 363 |
| PT2 | 297 | 275 | 328 | 305 | 493 | 357 | 347 | 397 | 336 | 332 | 295 | 232 | 189 | 172 | 491 |
| PT1 | 409 | 378 | 442 | 468 | 607 | 434 | 438 | 468 | 379 | 385 | 342 | 269 | 219 | 200 | 652 |
| P8 | 824 | 762 | 1049 | 931 | 755 | 540 | 519 | 523 | 406 | 438 | 389 | 306 | 249 | 227 | 746 |

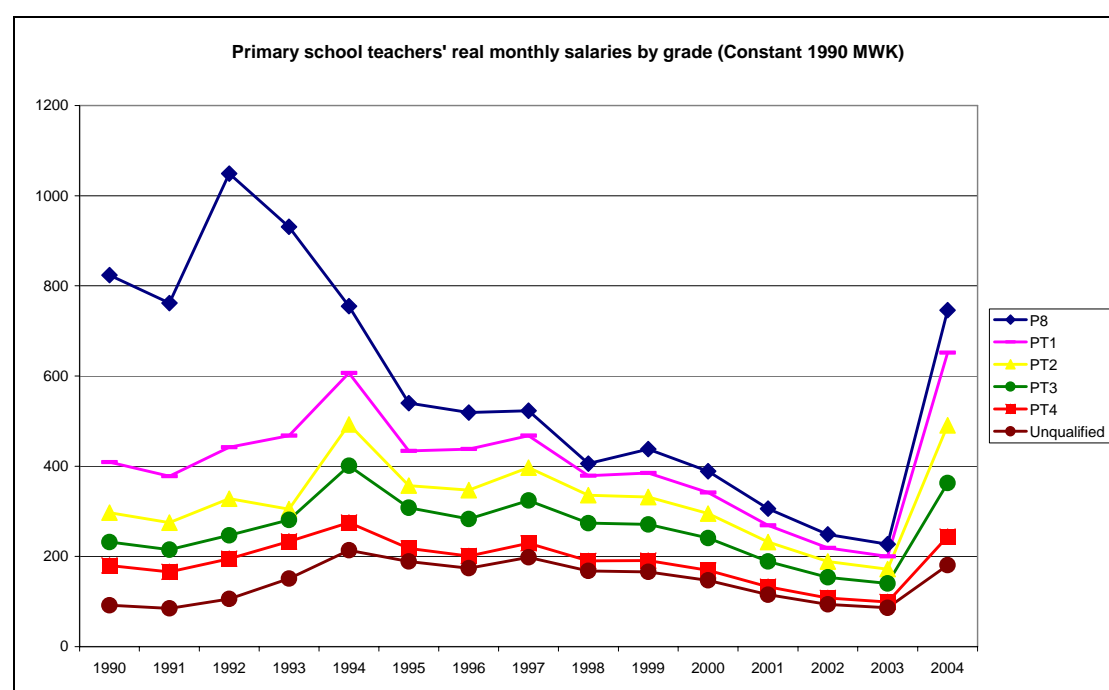
Though teacher salaries have been increasing in nominal terms, there has been a decline in real salaries over the period (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2). There was a marginal increase in real salaries in the early 1990s, but after 1994, real salaries decreased considerably and only increased again in 2004 after the restructuring of job grades and salaries in the civil service. Many teachers however, think that they can only be motivated through money so the devaluation of the currency, which leads to the eroding of real wages, has acted as a de-motivating factor. The 2004 salary adjustments did make up for the real income decline since the early 1990s. The main reason for both 2001¹¹ and 2004 salary adjustments was political. The 2004 salary increases were announced by the new President upon assuming office however the underlying motive for the salary adjustments was to restructure civil service job grades and consolidate allowances such as housing allowances into the basic structure as part of the economic reform programme. As has been mentioned, the restructuring of civil service jobs has not gone down well with all the teachers, especially diploma teachers whose position in the new grading system has not been clearly defined. In addition, all civil servants were placed at the base salary for each grade irrespective of experience, which has created resentment among some of the long serving teachers.

⁹ Salary for unqualified secondary teachers was ranges from PT4 to PT1 grade therefore the four grades were combined into one scale to get the mid point salary.

¹⁰ For each grade mid point salaries were used. The salaries from 2001 to 2003 include housing and professional allowances, which were introduced in 2001 but have since been merged into salary in 2004.

¹¹ President announced at a public rally that every teacher should receive a minimum of MK5, 000 a month.

Figure 4.1: Primary school teachers' real monthly salaries by grade (constant 1990 MK)



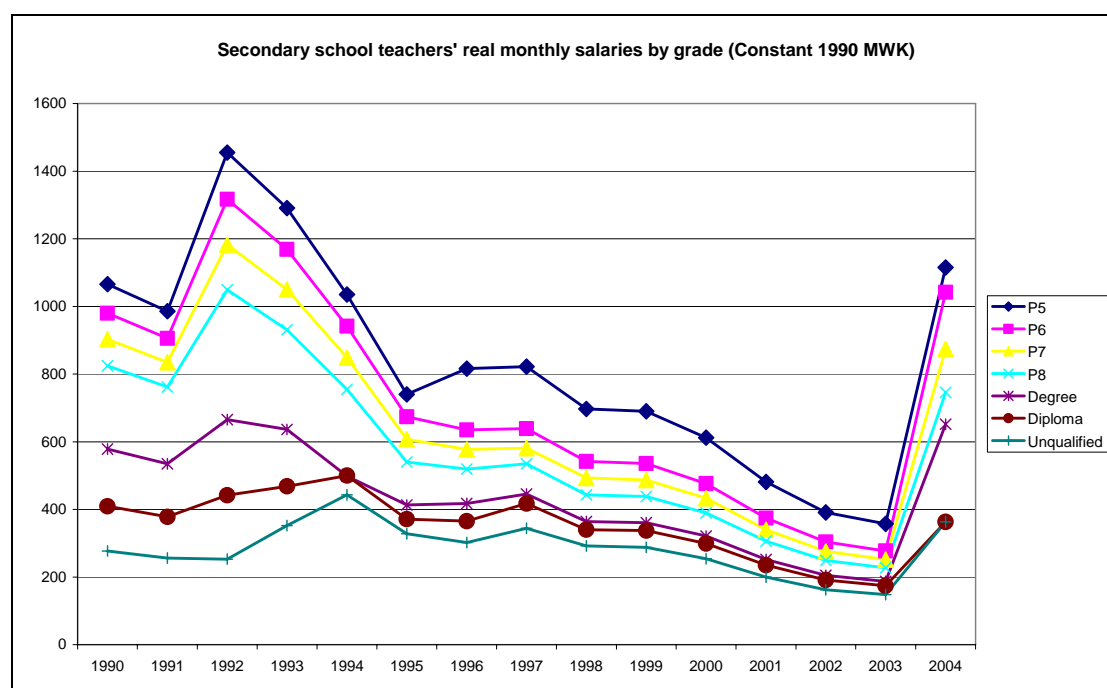
The government does not carry out cost of living surveys. However, there are some NGOs, which regularly collect information on the prices of essential food and non-food items from which unofficial cost of living indices are derived. Data collected by the Consumer Association of Malawi indicates that, in 2004, a family of six living in an urban area required about MK12,000 a month to meet its basic needs. The Teachers Union of Malawi also argues that the minimum monthly salary for teachers should be MK12, 000. Looking at the monthly gross salary for teachers in 2004, it is clear that their basic pay does not allow most of them to meet even the most basic household needs. The current cost of living is now even higher because of the large price increases of basic food items such as maize. The Centre for Social Concern's monthly 'basic needs basket' for a six-person household (which includes essential food and non-food items, and additional expenditures such as education and transport) was approximately MK15, 000 in March 2005.

Inadequate pay results in teachers being absent from school in order to search for food or look for loans. This is particularly the case at the end of the month before teachers receive their salaries, especially in rural schools where late payment of salaries is a major issue (see Moleni and Ndalama 2004).

Table 4.4: Secondary gross monthly real salaries 1990-2004 (in 1990 constant MK)

| Grade | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 |
|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Unq | 277 | 256 | 253 | 352 | 443 | 328 | 302 | 344 | 292 | 288 | 254 | 200 | 162 | 148 | 363 |
| Dip | 409 | 378 | 442 | 468 | 500 | 371 | 365 | 417 | 340 | 337 | 299 | 235 | 191 | 174 | 363 |
| Deg | 578 | 535 | 665 | 636 | 498 | 413 | 417 | 445 | 364 | 361 | 321 | 252 | 205 | 187 | 652 |
| P8 | 824 | 762 | 1049 | 931 | 755 | 540 | 519 | 535 | 443 | 438 | 389 | 306 | 249 | 227 | 746 |
| P7 | 903 | 835 | 1183 | 1050 | 849 | 607 | 577 | 581 | 493 | 487 | 433 | 340 | 276 | 252 | 874 |
| P6 | 980 | 906 | 1317 | 1169 | 942 | 674 | 635 | 639 | 542 | 536 | 476 | 374 | 304 | 277 | 1042 |
| P5 | 1066 | 986 | 1455 | 1291 | 1035 | 740 | 816 | 822 | 697 | 690 | 612 | 481 | 391 | 357 | 1115 |

Figure 4.2: Secondary school teachers' real monthly salaries by grade (constant 1990 MK)



Inadequate pay is not the only problem affecting teacher morale. Other key issues were mentioned by stakeholder respondents and have also been extensively discussed by various studies. The problem of salary arrears is a very thorny problem that has on occasion prompted the teachers' union to take industrial action. For example, the main reason for the teacher's strike in 1997 was because some teachers had not received their salaries and leave grants. And again, in 2000, teachers in rural districts went on strike (although without the blessing of the union) after government introduced new housing allowances, which were lower for rural teachers than urban teachers. This was later reversed and housing allowances were made uniform across the country. Salary administration has been another source of contention between teachers and the ministry. Both TUM and ministry officials agree that it takes far too long time to effect salary changes, especially after a teacher has been promoted. These delays are seriously de-motivating for teachers. At both primary and secondary school, unqualified teachers undergoing training through the MIITEP and the Secondary School Teacher Education Programme (SSTEP) have complained that, after graduating, it takes a long time for their salaries to be adjusted, and promotions to be effected in the case of SSTEP students. It also takes a long time for newly recruited teachers to be put on the payroll and, as a consequence, teachers become frustrated and de-motivated. A recent report in the national press quoted TUM claiming that the Ministry of Education owed teachers a staggering MK302 million of salary arrears that had accrued between 1999 and 2002 (Daily Times 18 May 2005).

4.2 CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

A major reason for the low current levels of job satisfaction and morale among public sector teachers frequently mentioned by stakeholders is the absence of any meaningful career paths for most teachers. Teacher morale is low because career paths are not long enough. While primary teachers can go as far as P8 and secondary

school teachers to P5, the career path is hierarchical such that not all teachers can be promoted to higher grades (e.g. PT3, PT2, PT1, P8 for primary) as there are limited posts. The number of higher posts also varies according to the category of the school. For example, the headship position of certain schools is P8. There is also no clear system for promoting teachers within the classroom. Too many teachers are lumped in the lower grades and relatively few are in the higher grades. In the Gender and Primary Schooling (GAPS) survey, it was noted that opportunities for advancement are more limited for teachers compared with similar professions within the civil service and, as a result, many teachers leave the profession to join other government departments where promotion prospects are better or engage in private business in order to supplement their income (Kadzamira and Chibwana 2000).

To compound these problems, promotion criteria are de-motivating as they are not based on performance, years of service, or recognition of professional qualifications. As such, they are not transparent. Interviews by the Teacher Service Commission determine whether or not a teacher is promoted. Most teachers interviewed for the VSO study highlighted the fact that promotions based on interviews were not the best method to assess teacher competency (Tudor-Craig 2002). The TSC is aware of the limitations of the current system and has proposed that inspection reports and performance appraisal system by head teachers and inspectors should be introduced when assessing teaching for promotions (Teaching Service Commission 2005).

Stakeholders generally agree that a major problem is that teachers are part of the general civil service so the government does not treat them differently. If teachers had their own salary structures, employment conditions would improve and teachers could have better defined career paths. This is especially needed for secondary school teachers. Currently, the TUM is advocating that teachers should have their own salary structure separate from the civil service. This issue has recently resurfaced when government announced implementation of new incentives for health personnel to curb the brain drain to Western countries. Many teachers are of the view that they need similar treatment from the government (although overseas migration of teachers is minimal).

Previous studies have also revealed great dissatisfaction among teachers with their conditions of service and the absence of any real commitment on the part of the MoE to improve their situation. (Kadzamira and Chibwana 2000, Kadzamira et al 2001). Six out of ten teachers interviewed in the teacher absenteeism and attrition study agreed that teachers have resigned from their schools because of poor conditions of service, specifically low pay and the lack of other monetary incentives often compounded by poor working conditions (Moleni and Ndalama 2004). Loans and advances are also not available for teachers.

Lack of continuous professional development was identified as a factor that contributes to the current levels of teacher morale and job satisfaction. In particular lack of opportunities for training and seminars (which afforded one opportunities for receiving allowances) were seen as factors affecting teacher performance.

4.3 WORKING CONDITIONS

The conditions in which most teachers are working are daunting and very challenging, especially in the most remote rural primary schools and the CDSSs. Lack of facilities such as staffrooms, classrooms, teaching and learning materials are clearly demotivating. The working environment in the majority of schools is deplorable with dilapidated school structures, insufficient teaching and learning materials. Poor housing conditions, lack of housing, large classes, undisciplined and unruly students have all added their toll on teachers' motivation. In addition in the hard to staff remote schools teacher usually have high teaching loads and it is not uncommon in such schools for teachers to handle more than one class. Teacher teaching lower classes are faced with large and unmanageable classes. Class sizes of more than 100 pupils per class are common in Malawi particularly in the first three grades. Understandably teachers in such school often seek a transfer to 'better' schools. MoE respondents mentioned that teachers can ask for transfers because of lack of teaching and learning materials and staff room facilities. High transfer rates are symptomatic of widespread teacher discontentment with working conditions and generally low motivation. Inadequate and ineffective supervision is also major factor. School leaders and management have not helped teachers to be positive about their schools and work. Where leadership is positive, teachers have higher morale.

HIV/AIDS is becoming an increasingly important determinant of teacher morale as it has created anxieties about their status as teacher mortality has increased and most teacher have become affected in one way or another by HIV/AIDS. While a possible link between HIV/AIDS and teacher morale was suggested in some schools in the HIV/AIDS study, other factors other than HIV/AIDS such as low pay and poor conditions of service were found to be more important determinants of teacher morale and motivation (Kadzamira et al 2001).

4.4 PROFESSIONAL STATUS

The perception of most of the stakeholders interviewed was that the teaching profession no longer commands high status and teachers are undervalued by society. Low salaries and poor working conditions have contributed to the eroding status of the teaching profession. In the past teaching was a much sought after profession, but teaching is now widely regarded as 'employment of the last resort'. The lack of vocation among the majority of teachers is quite evident. As a result, teachers leave the profession whenever opportunities for more prestigious and better paying jobs arise. This is true especially of graduate secondary school teachers who have wider opportunities for other forms of employment than primary school teachers. The low status of the profession has also meant that it is unable to attract better, qualified students to join teaching profession. However, some stakeholder respondents believe that the new political dispensation, which has brought in 'new freedoms' is partly responsible for the declining status of the teacher in the community. In particular, they point to teachers being improperly dressed and engaging in unprofessional behaviour (including drunkenness and sexual misconduct).

5. CONCLUSION

The study has established serious motivational problems affecting teachers in Malawi at both primary and secondary levels, which have been acknowledged by government officials, trade union leaders, and other key stakeholders. Teacher motivation and job satisfaction are strongly determined by both pecuniary factors, such as levels of pay and other material benefits, and non-pecuniary factors, in particular living and working conditions and conditions of conditions of service.

Teacher pay levels are low and have declined in real terms since the 1980s. As such, their pay is not adequate to meet minimum basic needs for food, housing, clothing, education and transport. Teachers, particularly those posted to remote rural schools, face very challenging working and living conditions characterised by chronic teacher shortages with large classes, heavy workloads, inadequate teaching and learning materials, and harsh living conditions. Though there is an oversupply of teachers in urban schools, there are other factors, which make working in urban schools challenging and demoralises the teachers. These include the acute shortage of affordable housing within reasonable commuting distance from most schools (which escalates transports costs), and overcrowded schools with very large classes. In addition, poor conditions of service seriously depress teacher job satisfaction and morale. The career path for teachers is too narrow and restrictive with very few opportunities for advancement. Graduate secondary teachers leave for better paying jobs in the private sector or join other government departments where promotions prospects are perceived to be better. Primary school teachers do not have as many options available to them and as a result they have increasingly become stressed and dispirited force.

The current levels of motivation have resulted in increased teacher absenteeism, high teacher turnover and professional misconduct which have affected performance and threaten to affect the achievement of quality education in Malawi.

To motivate and retain teachers there is need to pay greater attention to the terms and conditions of service. Some promising proposals have been made in the draft education sector plan as well as the national education conference. Most notable among these are:

- Giving priority to rural areas in the construction of teacher houses
- Hardship allowances for teachers working in the remote hard-to-reach rural schools in deprived areas
- The introduction of a new professional career path for teachers with transparent promotion criteria based on performance
- New deployment policies that would ensure that rural schools are not disadvantaged
- Increased provision of instructional materials and better support and supervisory services among others.

However, the problem in Malawi has always been the lack of financial and management capacity to implement these plans. If the proposed changes are not introduced very soon, teacher job satisfaction and motivation will continue to fall and

the prospect of attaining reasonable quality Education For All will become ever remoter.

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Mr M. Kalanda | Deputy Director Basic Education |
| Mrs Yambeni | Principal Education Officer |
| Mr Chigagula | Principal Education Officer |
| Mrs Anne Chalanda | Principal Education Officer |
| Mrs Kabuye | Director, Education Methods Advisory Services |
| Mr Chikadza | Teacher Union of Malawi |
| Mr Ken Longden | DFID Teacher Education Advisor |
| Mrs R. Ngalande Development | Director Department of Teacher Education and |
| Sr R Kumbilonje | Teachers Service Commission of Malawi |
| Mr Limbani Nsapato | Civil Society Coalition for Quality Basic Education |
| SCF USA Lilongwe | |
| Mr Norman Tembo Malawi? | Education Programme Manager, Care International |
| Mrs Julita Msanjama | Action Aid/ Commonwealth Education Fund |

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