



International  
Task Force on Teachers  
for Education 2030



# A review of the use of contract teachers in sub-Saharan Africa

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# Foreword

Decades of research on the determinants of student achievement make it clear that high-quality teachers matter for educational success. The broad consensus that teachers are central in the provision of quality education for all was confirmed in the creation of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4.c in the 2030 Agenda (“by 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small-island developing States”).

In sub-Saharan Africa, tens of millions of children are enrolling in school systems every year across the continent, creating a tremendous demand for teachers. But with low-resource countries under pressure to increase access to education under the constant tightening of education budgets, many governments have resorted to hiring contract teachers with varying qualification levels who place less strain on their recurrent education budgets.

While the reliance on contract teachers may be a financial necessity allowing ministries of education to address the teacher gap quickly in areas where there is a high need and short supply, education policy environments and teaching policy have not evolved in ways that accommodate this new reality. Little systematic data and information have been collected on all categories of contract teachers within countries’ teaching corps (including private school teachers), enabling policy-makers, development partners and all education stakeholders to fully understand the presence, role, significance and challenges of contract teaching practices within national education systems.

The fast hiring of huge numbers of contract teachers around the world is now too big to ignore. Looking ahead, it is essential that we recognize and understand different types of contractual arrangements and what the implications are for teaching and learning, monitoring and accountability, at national, local and community levels. It is also critical to consider the full range of policy instruments that could be leveraged to create more joined-up policy environments in countries where contract teaching now dominates recruitment practices – including regulatory frameworks covering teachers’ employment terms, job security and working conditions, as well as innovative solutions to pre- and in-service training that empower contract teachers to teach to standards expected of the Education 2030 Agenda.

The work on this review was coordinated by the Secretariat of the International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030. It is intended as a contribution to the evolving dialogue around the role and challenges of employing contract teachers within national education systems and the implications for education policy in the 21st century within the framework of SDG 4.

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As part of this review, an international conference on the use of contract teachers was organized from 20 to 24 June 2016 in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia). The conference's main aim was to disseminate the findings from the review and to exchange knowledge of policies and practices related to the use of contract teachers with key stakeholders from other regions of the world. The conference was jointly organized by the TTF with the UNESCO International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (IICBA), the African Union Commission, the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF), the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) and Education International (EI), to whom the TTF secretariat extends its warm thanks.

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# Acronyms

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
AE	Education Academies (Mali)
BES	Basic Education Statistics (Kenya)
BOM	School Boards of Management (Kenya)
CA	Communauté d'apprentissage (Mali)
CAP	Pedagogical Support Centres (Mali)
CAPED	Cellules d'animation pédagogique (Niger)
CEART	Joint ILO–UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel
CNFC	Centre National de Formation Continue (Central African Republic)
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
CPR	Centre Pédagogique Régional (Central African Republic)
CRFPE	Regional Training Centres for Education Personnel (Senegal)
DNEC	National Directorate for Catholic Education (Burkina Faso)
EFA	Education for All
FAWE	Forum of African Women Educationalists
FPE	Free Primary Education
GTUCCU	The Gambia Teachers Union's Cooperative Credit Union
IICBA	International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa
ICTs	Information communication technologies
ILO	International Labour Organization
INEE	Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IPS	Government Integrated Pay Scale
MLA	Monitoring of Learning Achievement
MoBSE	Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education (the Gambia)
MOEST	Ministry of Education Science and Technology (Kenya)
MOE	Ministry of Education
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PTAs	Parent Teacher Associations
SABER	World Bank SABER-Teachers
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SMCs	School Management Committees
TEI	Teacher Education Institutes (Mali)
TMIS	Teacher Management Information System
TSC	Teachers' Service Commission
TTF	International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNTM	National Union of Workers (Mali)
UPE	Universal Primary Education



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# Executive summary

Various types of contracted teachers are now active in national education systems around the world, even in high-income OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries. But the phenomenon has taken on more significant proportions in low-resource countries and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. While teaching contracts were initially drawn up to meet teacher shortages in the post-independence period, they have been increasingly called upon to respond to larger student enrolments and lower pupil/teacher ratios under universal primary education (Kingdon, Aslam, Rawal, Das, 2012). As a result, the teaching corps in sub-Saharan Africa is now composed of individuals with a diverse range of profiles, qualifications, types of preparation and professionalization.

Yet in spite of the rapid rise in the number of contract teachers, and with up to 65% of teachers at primary level hired on a contract basis in some sub-Saharan African countries, relatively little research has been carried out on contracting practices enabling decision-makers and stakeholders to better understand their impact and make informed choices in relation to education policy. This study was a first step in filling this gap by documenting contract teacher practices across 23 countries in sub-Saharan Africa: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Senegal, South Sudan, Sudan, Togo, Uganda and Zambia.

The executive summary of this synthesis report summarizes the findings of the review including implications for the policy environment.

## Summary of review findings

**Large cross-national variations exist in the application of the term ‘contract teacher’:** It would be easy to assume that all contract teachers are young, lacking in professional education and training or teaching experience. This could certainly be the case in the case of teacher volunteers in remote and rural schools where teachers can be as young as 18 with low academic credentials. However, this does not seem to be a generalized experience for the term ‘contract teaching’ across sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, the country reports collected for this review demonstrated the large variation in what is meant by ‘contract teacher’ and what different contract arrangements look like across the continent (and sometimes within countries). This includes the profile of people who become a contract teacher, their education and teacher qualification levels, hiring conditions, where they teach (government or private school), their salary terms and status. It also includes different types of pre- and in-service training and the extent of accountability pressures faced by contract teachers.

Many countries use the contract teacher route to hire young people with university qualifications, teacher education diplomas, student teachers and those just coming out of national service. In anglophone countries such as Eritrea, Ethiopia, the Gambia, Kenya and Uganda, retired teachers

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<sup>1</sup> Of note, the unevenness or absence of data did not allow for a substantial gender analysis of the profile of all categories of contract teachers. Statistical data were available from only a few participating countries and, even then, the data were only occasionally gender disaggregated.

with considerable years of service are also hired on a contract basis, as are expatriate teachers. Added to this is the category of private school teachers who, in most cases, are hired on a fixed-term basis but under considerably different terms and conditions.

In the francophone countries, differing subcategories of 'contract' teachers are also in employment with qualifications and preparation ranging from teaching diplomas, tertiary-level education and university degrees (hired within or without a contract) to community-based unqualified volunteers. The variation is reflected in the sheer range of terms used to refer to contract teachers, including but not limited to *vacataire*, *volontaire*, *auxiliaire*, *agent contractuel de l'État*, *enseignant communautaire*, *maître communautaire* and the *maître parent* or *maître villageois*.

Of note, and across all categories of contract teachers, the country studies seemed to confirm the existence of gender differences in contract teacher hiring policies. As with civil service appointments, teaching opportunities can be limited for educated women, perhaps because men have easier access to training opportunities and potentially because of gender bias in job postings and promotion procedures.<sup>2</sup>

**The context for hiring contract teachers has evolved dramatically:** The practice of hiring contract teachers is not a new phenomenon in many African countries and was observed well before the 2000s in the private sector. In the public school system, this practice dates back to post-independence years and sometimes before, stoked by the departure of expatriate teachers and the reconfiguration of national education systems as well as the need for flexible responses in countries affected by revolutions, crises and conflicts.

What is new over the past 20-25 years is the massive growth in the number of contract teachers recruited within public education systems, especially in francophone Africa (TTF, 2019). With governments under pressure to reduce their public-sector budgets<sup>3</sup> and, at the same time, respond to larger student enrolments and lower pupil/teacher ratios following the introduction of Universal primary education (UPE), countries have resorted to hiring contract teachers thereby reducing the wage bill to as low as one fifth of that of civil service counterparts.

In several countries, the rise in the number of contract teachers reflects hiring freezes and the non-replacement of retiring teachers and others leaving the profession, as well as the general decline in status of the teaching profession, which has made it harder for governments to recruit and retain the best talents in the profession (ILO, 2007). Governments are unable to fill vacancies in specific subject areas and to replace teachers when official vacancies are not filled (Diaz and Saavedra, 2002, cited in Duthilleul, 2005). With newly qualified teachers resisting deployment to remote and rural locations, massive teacher shortages have opened up.

In many of the review countries, a large number of contract teachers were hired at the local level as opposed to the central government level. Aside from cost considerations, the practice of hiring teachers by school management committees (SMC) and parent teacher associations (PTA), and from within the community, has been driven by a desire to reduce the 'social distance' between teachers and learners (Rawal and Kingdon, 2010) and to increase teacher accountability

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2 Let Women Teach. Africa is the only continent where education is a male-dominated profession – an imbalance that perpetuates gender-based inequality. Alia Wong. Nov 19, 2015. <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/11/let-women-teach/416304/>

3 This includes the forced retirement of cohorts of civil servants having reached a certain age or number of years of service, a freeze on recruitments of civil servants and the reduction in the number of pre-service teacher education institutions.

in countries where evidence of low teacher motivation and 'time-on-task' has raised concerns (Guajardo, 2011).

**A large variation exists in qualifications levels and training across countries:** Across the review countries, a fair amount of variation was noticed in contract teachers' minimum academic qualifications. However, in certain countries, such as Congo, Kenya and Senegal, similar qualifications are required from all teachers regardless of their contract status or the type of school (public or private).

In nearly all review countries, contracted teachers are expected to receive pre-service training, and in countries such as Eritrea, Congo and Mali, centralized or decentralized teacher education policy applies to all categories of teachers – even if this provision was seen to vary across urban and rural areas and in relation to its nature, intensity, regularity and quality. Some promising national practices were witnessed. Nevertheless, the availability of funding constitutes an important limiting factor as this means that participants must be selected. The state simply does not have enough resources to set up pre-service or continuous professional development (CPD) activities for the entire teacher workforce and civil service teachers are given priority over their contract teacher counterparts. In certain cases, the review suggests that the requirement for pre-service training can be limited or entirely foregone (e.g. in community appointments in remote areas) – perhaps due to cost considerations and the time it takes to organize teacher training in low-resource contexts when teaching needs are immediate.

**There are variations in remuneration and social benefits between contract and civil service teachers:** Information about contract teachers' salaries was uneven across countries. Nonetheless, the country reports indicate important variations in salaries and social benefits between fixed-term teachers and those with open-ended appointments, as well as the source of remuneration.

Like all civil servants, teachers are usually remunerated using a government integrated pay scale (IPS). Individual remuneration is based on qualifications and status/responsibility. Regular government school teachers are usually hired on open-ended appointments with salaries linked to the IPS, while contract teachers are hired on fixed-term appointments (renewable annually or made permanent after an interim period).<sup>4</sup> Private schools determine their own salaries depending on their level and their financial resources.

In general, contract teachers receive lower pay than their civil service counterparts and are paid either by central government, local education offices, school management committees, parents or the community, which offer varying employment conditions compared with teachers on the regular government payroll. The lowest salaries tend to go to contract teachers hired directly by the school or community who may experience additional hardships when the school or the community fails to raise the necessary funds to pay them. The types and scale of community assistance for contract teachers hired locally by PTAs also vary widely within countries and are not always recorded formally.

There are also important differences in benefits and other perks that contract teachers receive. For instance, locally hired contract teachers may not receive travel allowances or payments for additional work or additional qualifications. At the other end of the scale, expatriate contract teachers in Eritrea receive a salary plus transport costs from their home countries to Eritrea and back, and

<sup>4</sup> While fulfilling the same duties as colleagues with permanent state employee status, a primary school contract teacher may spend many years without any career advancement at all.

assistance with house rental and household furniture. In some anglophone countries, national service teachers receive free medical care from the government and assistance (financial and material) from schools and communities such as accommodation, food items and other in-kind benefits.

The common perception is that contract teachers do not have the support or social protection provided by unions to lobby for better conditions. There is, however, evidence in West African countries such as Benin and Mali that this situation is changing. In Benin, a very large number of teacher unions are active at primary (88) and secondary (52) levels, with repeated lobbying actions by the unions and social partners leading to an upward revision of contract teachers' salaries. In the Mali, teacher unions have lobbied for the regularization of contract teachers within the civil service. The decrease in the proportion of contract teachers in the teaching corps and associated increase in tenured teachers at all levels is the result of a decision made by the government of Mali in 2009, under pressure from teacher unions, to grant civil service status to 40,206 contract teachers (including community school teachers).

Finally, mention should be made of the growth in the private school sector in Africa, which has drawn renewed attention to teacher hiring practices. Such schools have traditionally relied on fixed-term positions with limited job guarantees and greater pressures for accountability. A number of review countries reported exploitative practices including: the failure to provide teachers with formal appointment letters and reliance on verbal contracts; excessive workloads; late payment of salaries or other agreed financial benefits; providing fewer opportunities for in-service training and professional development; and terminating contracts with limited or no justification.

**There are different pathways out of contract teacher status:** The review revealed the diversity of pathways for teachers to move into, and out of, different types of contractual situation. Employment terms can shift from contract to civil servant status through employment laws, minimum terms and conditions and professional training pathways set by countries. For example, the review noted:

- a) Contract teachers enjoying a legally set period of service: 90 consecutive days in Eritrea, 6 months in Ethiopia, and 2 years in Mozambique.
- b) Competitive applications to a different contract status (Benin, Burkina Faso up until the end of 2015, Kenya, Mali, Senegal and Togo).
- c) Degree-granting courses e.g. in Eritrea, the Gambia, Niger, Senegal and Togo.
- d) Governments terminating a specific type of teacher contract to integrate contract teachers into the civil service (Mali).

Some pathways coexist within the same country.

In a number of francophone countries (e.g. Benin, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Togo) contract teachers working under fixed-term appointments may be transferred into the public sector under open-ended appointments associated with the status of civil servant (*fonctionnaire*). This is normally after a set period of service.

The option of professional training and/or accreditation has also been noted as a pathway for contract teachers to transfer into the regular teacher corps. In certain countries, the review noted that it was not uncommon to find a contract teacher undergoing training on the same teacher training course as their primary school students from years before. However, such opportunities are often unavailable to all contract teachers owing to their cost.

Another trend worth noting is the introduction of blanket policies in francophone countries (e.g. Burkina Faso and Mali) to grant civil servant status to large numbers of contract teachers.<sup>5</sup> Recognizing the difficulties that contract teachers face, teacher unions in countries such as Mali played a role in the creation of such policies by putting pressure on ministries of education to grant civil service status to contract teachers, including community school teachers. In the same country, the decision to progressively convert all community schools into public schools contributed to the decrease in the official proportion of contract teachers in the teaching corps.

### **Equity, quality and accountability issues: mixed evidence with relation to contract teachers:**

There is general consensus that the policy of hiring contract teachers across Africa has helped to expand access to education, especially at primary level in rural, remote areas and crisis-affected areas, to ensure that minority and disadvantaged populations in remote areas enjoy their right to an education. At the same time, the employment of certain categories of contract teachers (especially community-hired teachers with low academic qualifications) has raised concerns about the allocation of resources to the most marginalized children (e.g. child labourers, tribal children or ethnic minorities). Education stakeholders and teacher unions have especially raised major concerns about a loss in the quality of education due to academic levels of candidates and their lack of pre-service preparation.

The differing status, salary and working conditions experienced by many contract teachers also raise concerns about the impact on their motivation levels and therefore teaching practice in the classroom. Again, the category of contract teachers cited as the most problematic is the young, inexperienced, untrained teachers often hired by parents and the community. These young teachers neither are prepared for the complex task of teaching nor receive adequate remuneration and support from the communities that rely on them.

An over-arching fear is that social inequality may be perpetuated if contract teachers are found to be less effective than regular teachers in imparting learning (Teacher Task Force, 2019). In effect, the children who often end up with younger, inexperienced and untrained contract teachers are the children who are most in need of high-quality teaching.

On the other hand, concerns about the quality of education do not necessarily hold true for all categories of contract teachers. Randomized experiments in Kenya have demonstrated that certain teachers who are hired directly by the school on short-term contracts can improve student test score outcomes (Duflo et al., 2011, 2012). Because contract teachers may face stronger incentives to deliver quality teaching relative to their civil service counterparts, they are more likely to be at school, to be in the classroom teaching, and to deliver similar learning outcomes compared with civil service teachers (Mbiti, 2016). In countries such as Mali and, to some extent, in Togo, where the contract teacher system works more through the local communities, local recruitment may also lead to closer monitoring and more effective hiring of contract teachers (Mbiti, 2016).

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<sup>5</sup> As a reminder, in the case of Burkina Faso, all state contract teachers hired during close to two decades became civil servants as of 1 January 2016.

In the context of the present review, the country reports nevertheless confirmed stakeholder concerns about the performance of contract teachers in relation to quality and equity issues.

**Improving the policy environment for contract teachers:** The final part of the synthesis report looks at the gaps and implications for the policy environment of the contract teacher phenomenon. It suggests that any benefits to be teased from the introduction of contract teacher policies are conditional upon joined-up, evidence-based decision-making within education systems and teacher policy environments. The policy guidance within the different areas below draws from the review findings and research evidence, and takes inspiration from the teacher-related work of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), to suggest areas where contract teacher practices may be strengthened in the African context.

### **Clarify the status and employment rights of contract teachers, including :**

- Providing an employment and regulatory framework for contract teachers in different countries which clarifies their status in the teaching corps.
- Developing national policy frameworks that consider the rights and responsibilities of contract teachers.
- Establishing a code of conduct setting out clear standards of behaviour for all teachers in any given country (including teachers hired on a fixed-term, contract basis).

### **Improve data and information on contract teachers, including:**

- More systematic data and information collection on the different categories of contract teachers and their recruitment, deployment and training needs to guide policy-making and to effectively monitor the stock of contract teachers in the teaching corps by educational level in each area.
- Further research looking at the impact of regularization policies giving contract teachers' civil service status, especially related to teaching and learning quality, the achievement of equity targets and the performance of contract teachers both before and after regularization.

### **Review training and support modalities, including:**

- Clear quality assurance guidelines in relation to minimum exposure to subject content knowledge, pedagogy, familiarization with the curriculum and teaching approaches.
- A protocol for training contract teachers in post-crisis and resource-poor environments with limited infrastructure, energy and connectivity constraints where teachers are being recruited rapidly.
- Coordination of pre- and in-service training with education authorities and accreditation/certification for training, making it easier for contract teachers and paraprofessionals to transition into regular teacher training systems and be compensated.

### **Support teachers' preparedness for classroom practice in other ways, including:**

- Empowering contract teachers to cope with the physical and psychological demands of teaching in low-resource contexts, including post-crisis situations, and in meeting the psychosocial needs of different population groups.
- Support to teachers' own psychosocial needs and well-being, including the need for physical security in schools and the classroom through adherence to safe schools protocols and professional codes of conduct.



- Consider support to teachers through effective school leadership and mentoring, especially in managing large classrooms and transforming existing resources into effective aids for teaching and content knowledge.
- Empowering communities to support teachers through closely monitoring and engaging in decision-making around their children's schooling, exercising their right to accountability and the provision of different types of in-kind support.

**Rationalize and coordinate contract teacher salaries and compensation, including:**

- Coordinating contract teachers' salaries within national education systems to ensure that they are paid consistently and receive a minimum living wage.

**Incentivize and motivate contract teachers, including:**

- Ensuring access to information and opportunities for career advancement, allowing for progression and CPD throughout a teacher's career.
- Considering the merits of regularizing contract teachers through civil servant status, including the utility of incentives related to performance (and/or training) for progression and salary increases.

# Introduction

The background features several overlapping, organic, teardrop-like shapes in various shades of teal and green. A prominent dark teal shape is on the left, overlapping a medium teal shape, which in turn overlaps a light teal shape on the right. The overall composition is clean and modern.

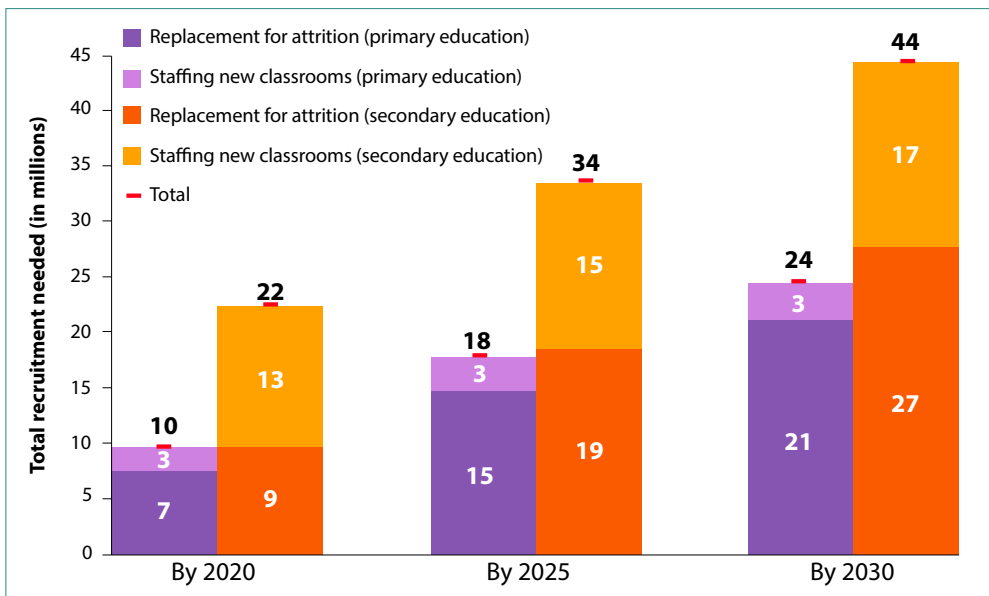
# Part I. Introduction

## I.1 Context

Countries around the world have dramatically increased access to universal primary education (UPE) over the past 20 years, beginning with the impetus created by the Education for All (EFA) goals in 2000. Between 1999 and 2011, the number of children out of school fell by almost half (UNESCO, 2014) generating an unprecedented demand for schooling and for qualified teachers to which many countries have been unable to keep pace.

Teacher shortages have become a global challenge, however. 'By 2030, countries must recruit a total of 68.8 million teachers: 24.4 million primary school teachers and 44.4 million secondary school teachers' (UIS, 2016, p. 1). The challenge is particularly daunting in sub-Saharan Africa where 'more than 70% of countries face shortages of primary school teachers, rising to 90% for secondary education' (UIS, 2016, p. 2). This region 'needs a total of about 17 million teachers to achieve universal primary and secondary education by 2030' (UIS, 2016, p. 2). The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) rightfully argues that "[w]ithout urgent and sustained action, the situation will deteriorate in the face of rising demand for education." (UIS, 2016, p. 2)

**Figure 1. Global numbers of teachers needed to achieve universal primary and secondary education by five-year intervals: 2020, 2025 and 2030**



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2016).

Attracting and retaining suitably qualified candidates in teaching is a major challenge. The world of work is now a much different place for school leavers and university graduates. Societal perceptions about the status of teaching have changed dramatically, while a substantial number of

teachers report feeling unrespected and undervalued in their work. Teaching as a career pathway is not as attractive as it once was, and the prospect of higher salaries and better professional development opportunities in other sectors frequently lures potential candidates elsewhere.

Keeping young teachers in the profession in lower-middle-income countries poses a further set of hurdles for governments. Estimates from the UIS indicated that attrition accounted for 65% (2.6 million) of the 2015 gap, and 88% (23.9 million) of the 2030 gap (O'Meara, 2014). In 2018, as many as 71% of teachers unions in the Africa region reported high attrition rates according to the report on the global status of teachers and the teaching profession (Stromquist, 2018).

Motivation and satisfaction seem to drop over time due to factors including insufficient pedagogical preparation for teaching large classes with limited teaching-learning resources, scarce opportunities for continuous professional development (CPD) and precarious employment terms and conditions. This is added to the considerable problems faced by teachers related to housing, safety and work conditions. Both men and women (in particular the latter) worry about their isolation and lack of family connections, social ties and support frameworks in rural and remote areas. As a result, teaching posts in rural schools are often hard to fill, with young teachers (both male and female) resisting deployment or leaving their post after a short time.

## ***1.2 Addressing the global teacher gap: The emergence of contract teaching***

Various types of contracted teachers are now active in national education systems, even in high-income OECD countries. But the phenomenon has taken on more significant proportions in developing countries and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. While initially these contracts were drawn up to meet teacher shortages in primary schools in rural areas and remote locations, they are increasingly used to respond to larger student enrolments, to substitute teachers on leave and even to replace teachers when official vacancies are not filled (Diaz and Saavedra, 2002, cited in Duthilleul, 2005). As a result, the teaching corps is composed of individuals with a diverse range of qualifications, types of preparation and professionalization.

There are numerous implications for learning processes and outcomes, the teaching profession and its management and the societal perception of the teaching profession more generally. A principal concern of rights bearers (families and communities) and many education sector stakeholders is that not all learners are being taught by teachers with the appropriate level of training, professional qualifications or motivation.

To address issues related to the challenges posed by contract teaching in French-speaking African countries, a conference was organized by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), in partnership with the World Bank and Education International in Bamako, Mali, in 2004.<sup>6</sup> Conference participants recommended the development of a policy framework, the Bamako Consensus, to assist governments in gradually integrating and providing professional development for contracted teachers in French-speaking countries.

In 2009, a follow-up Conference on Contract Teachers (Bamako +5) was organized to learn about the scale of the phenomenon in Africa as part of overall efforts to respond to the teacher gap

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<sup>6</sup> See [www.adeanet.org/fr/activites/conference-sur-les-enseignants-non-fonctionnaires-du-primaire](http://www.adeanet.org/fr/activites/conference-sur-les-enseignants-non-fonctionnaires-du-primaire).

on the continent. The conference provided opportunities to share good practices relating to the recruitment, training, professional development and career management of contract teachers (ADEA et al., 2009).

These two conferences reflected the commitment of education stakeholders in the region to explore ways for reconciling quantitative recruitment needs and quality imperatives in relation to the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals. Five years on after Bamako +5, it appeared pertinent to revisit the situation concerning contract teaching in Africa to understand the evolving policy environment and the challenges foreseen as countries planned for their post-2015 education agenda.

### **I.3 Study goals**

The global education community has underscored the right of all learners to be ‘taught by qualified, professionally-trained, motivated and well-supported teachers’ (UNESCO et al. n.d., p.30). But in sub-Saharan Africa, under-resourced education systems are struggling to find the budgets to meet the exponential rise in the demand for qualified teachers created by UPE.

The employment of contract teachers has emerged as a potential solution to the teaching gap in numerous countries of the region. To understand its impact, the International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030 (TTF) undertook a stocktaking review in selected African countries in 2016. The review specifically sought to address the following:

- a)** What is the current state of the practice of hiring teachers on a contractual basis in sub-Saharan Africa?
- b)** What are the issues raised by the use of contract teachers in the region?
- c)** What solutions have countries put forward or envisaged?
- d)** What does this review suggest to improve the policy environment?

Twenty-three countries took part in the review, including Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Senegal, South Sudan, Sudan, Togo, Uganda and Zambia.<sup>7</sup> The participating countries were either members of the TTF, or have significant experience relating to the employment of contract teachers that could be useful for other countries.

The synthesis of the findings are presented in this report. It is hoped that the review will be of interest to policy-makers and education stakeholders considering whether or not to expand, or limit, contract teacher schemes in their own countries.

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<sup>7</sup> Liberia was initially part of the review but withdrew after the international conference.

## 1.4 Study methodology

The stocktaking review had two components:

**Country research and synthesis report:** For each country, a national expert was tasked to:

- Produce a synthesis of relevant publications and reports on teacher issues in the country.
- Complete a questionnaire on various teacher issues, plus a set of statistical data gathering tables on teachers.
- Conduct semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders, including teachers themselves.
- Analyze the data gathered and produce a national report.

The report was expected to cover the following items, among others:

- The mapping of the employment status of teachers by type of contract.
- The effects of using contract teachers on: a) policies; b) public perception regarding contract teachers; c) teachers' working conditions, motivation, satisfaction, professional identity and the social status of the teaching profession; and d) finance.
- Good practices in terms of the professionalization of contract teachers and opportunities for professional development.
- National strategies or reforms implemented or considered by decision-makers and stakeholders in relation to the professionalization of the teaching force.
- Feasible policy options that could promote: a) the professionalization of unqualified or untrained teachers for effective learning; b) the social status and professional identity of the teaching profession; and c) social dialogue to ensure decent working conditions for all teachers.

A three-member team of international experts was asked to provide inputs at the design phase and feedback on the national reports, in addition to contributing to this regional synthesis report.

**International conference:** An international conference was then organized in Addis Ababa in June 2016 to share the conclusions of the reports among decision-makers, practitioners and researchers from the region and beyond, as well as development partners supporting teacher policy and education more generally.

## 1.5 Study limitations

This study was groundbreaking in its country coverage, but its analytical reach was subject to a number of limitations. The first was the lack of systematic, national records on contract teachers – including their gender, professional qualifications, levels of education and types of school in which they work and comparative information related to differences in learning outcomes between contract and civil service teachers (typically measured by learning assessments at the appropriate grade level). The information was also weak on the number of contract teachers in the public school system versus civil service teachers, especially those with an ‘unspecified type of contract’ relating to community and volunteer teachers.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> An obvious reason is perhaps that community-hired or volunteer teachers are not regularised in national education planning systems and hence there is no systematic data gathering.

The unevenness of the data within country reports, and the fact that information was not always disaggregated by level of education (primary versus secondary) and/or school type (public versus private) hindered the capacity to generate a comprehensive and comparative synthesis. Establishing a uniform working definition of contract or non-contract teachers for this review also proved problematic. The country research uncovered a fair amount of variation in what the term ‘contract teacher’ applies to within and across countries, and indeed who is considered to be a contract teacher due to context-specific hiring conditions. This made international comparisons somewhat difficult.

In noting all of this, the synthesis report has drawn on additional research and nonetheless brings together a set of useful information on a phenomenon that has generated broad debate in the education community. The opportunity for The TTF for Education 2030 to contribute to this debate and offer guidance on developing a more coherent policy framework is an important outcome of this review.

## ***1.6 Structure of the report***

In addition to this introduction, this report comprises a further five parts.

**Part II** takes a look at the profile and presence of contract teachers in the review countries including the varying applications of the terms ‘contract teachers’ and ‘contract teaching’ and the historical rise of the contract teacher phenomenon.

**Part III** takes a look at the main differences between contract teachers versus regular teachers in relation to qualification requirements and pre- and in-service training, salaries/remuneration, entitlement to social security benefits, education quality and equity issues.

**Part IV** takes a look at employment conditions, teacher motivation and relationship with teacher unions with a closer look at recruitment, deployment, teachers’ working conditions and teacher motivation.

**Part V** looks at different pathways out of fixed-term status and career advancement.

**Part VI** takes a look at various elements that may contribute to strengthening the policy environment including: clarifying the status and employment rights of contract teachers; the need for teacher management information systems (TMIS); and the need to review modalities for training contract teachers and ensure adherence to professional standards. This chapter also looks at incentives and motivation frameworks, certification and recognition of qualifications, contract teacher salaries and compensation and ensuring safe schools and environments for contract teachers.

## Part II. Profile and presence of contract teachers in the study countries

### II.1 Definitions

The main focus in this review is on the recruitment of contract teachers in government and private schools at the level of primary and lower and upper secondary level where data are available. The working definitions of contract and non-contract teachers used in this review have been taken from the World Bank SABER-Teachers survey instrument.<sup>9</sup>

- **Contract teacher** refers to teachers who agree to work outside an employment relationship. As such, they receive a salary for the work they do, but have no other benefits (such as paid leave, pension or health insurance) unlike those who apply under public-sector employment laws and those who apply under private-sector employment laws.
- **Open-ended appointment teacher** refers to a teacher who has an employment contract that has no expiry date. The contract terminates when the employee leaves the job or retires, or when valid reasons (usually serious incompetence or misconduct) allow the employer to terminate the contract.

### II.2 Application of the terms ‘contract teacher’ and ‘contract teaching’

The following section does not aim to exhaustively capture country situations with respect to contract teachers, but rather to provide a glimpse of how the term ‘contract teacher’ has been applied to different teaching arrangements.

**Application of term ‘contract teacher’:** The country reviews demonstrated a large variance in how the terms ‘contract teacher’ and ‘contract teaching’ are distinguished and applied across, and within, countries with regard to the profile of who becomes a contract teacher, their contract terms and status within the teaching profession, and at what level of education and in which types of teaching environment they work (government or private school).

In several anglophone countries, retired teachers are referred to as ‘contract teachers’ due to the nature of their recruitment; however, they are, in effect, on open-ended contracts and draw salaries and retirement benefits. This is certainly the case in Kenya. In Uganda, contract teachers also include retired teachers on two-year contracts, teachers with special skills and student teachers. In the Gambia, the types of individuals and arrangements are varied and the contract teacher category includes volunteers with no teacher qualifications, retired teachers, non-Gambian teachers (most often from Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone) and student teachers. Again in Kenya, the term ‘contract teacher’ also refers to volunteer parents, community teachers and community helpers.

<sup>9</sup> Teachers – Resources & Tool. <http://saber.worldbank.org/index.cfm?indx=8&pd=1&sub=4>



In Eritrea, contract teachers are often retired teachers who taught in Eritrean schools during the Ethiopian administration. There is also reliance on expatriate teachers recruited from India and other Asian countries (the duration of contract is normally two years, but it can be extended by mutual agreement). Contract teachers also come from institutions of higher education, initially as national service participants. For example in South Sudan, contract teachers may be graduates of colleges of education completing their national service. According to the National Service Coordination Unit, Ministry of Defense, from 2001 to 2013 there were between 6,000 and 10,000 contract teachers annually in general education to address the teacher shortage.

In Francophone Africa, certain countries make clear distinctions in what they mean by contract teacher. In countries such as Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo, Senegal and Togo, the terms *vacataire*, *volontaire*, *auxiliaire*, *agent contractuel de l'État*, *enseignant communautaire* and *contractuel du privé*, all designate contract teachers at different educational levels and from one employer to another (Table 1).

Congo Brazzaville has four types of contract teachers, for example. The *enseignants volontaires* usually hold teaching diplomas or have a tertiary-level education and agree to teach in public primary or secondary schools. They sign a volunteer contract with the state and receive a lump sum with the hope of being integrated into the civil service. Next are the *enseignants bénévoles*, who are individuals with (or without) the required professional qualifications who sign a contract with the Ministry of Education, the local community or the parents association to serve in public primary and secondary schools with no expectation of being integrated into the civil service.

The third type of Congolese contract teacher category consists of the *enseignants prestataires*, who may be holders of a university degree and teach subjects for which there is a shortage of tenured teachers in both public and private secondary schools. They sign a contract with the state or the private school owner and are paid by the number of hours worked. Finally, the *enseignants vacataires* are unemployed graduates or employees in other public administration units with or without the required teaching qualifications. They teach part-time in public secondary schools and are remunerated by the Ministry of Education according to the number of hours worked and based on a signed contract.

In a similar way, there are now three types of contract teachers in Senegal within the emerging teaching forces: a) primary school contract teachers; b) lower secondary temporary/part-time teachers (*vacataires* in French); and c) secondary school contract teachers. Primary school contract teachers are recruited among national education volunteers who have served in schools for at least two years, as well as among graduates of the Regional Centres for Training Education Personnel created in 2011. The latter are recruited among university graduates with a *licence* (three-year bachelor's degree) or a *maîtrise* (four-year master's degree), but with no initial professional education. They become secondary school contract teachers after two years of service.

Finally, Togo has four categories of non-permanent teachers: a) assistant/substitute teachers (*auxiliaires* in French); b) private school contract teachers (bound by one-year contracts); c) national education volunteers recruited by the national volunteering agency (for both primary and secondary schools) on one-year contracts renewable five times; and d) volunteer teachers who serve in both private and public schools and in community-initiated schools<sup>10</sup> with no contract.

10 The French terms for these initiatives are *Jardins d'enfants*, *Écoles*, *CEG* or *Lycées d'initiative locale* (known by their acronyms JEDIL, EDIL, CEGIL, LYDIL).

**Table 1. Categories of contract teachers in French-speaking sub-Saharan African countries**

Country	Part-time teacher	Volunteer	State contract teacher	Community teacher	National service	Private school contract teacher
Benin			✓	✓		
Burkina Faso	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Cameroon			✓			✓
Central African Republic	✓			✓	✓	
Chad	✓			✓		✓
Congo Brazzaville	✓	✓				
Gabon	✓		✓			
Guinea			✓	✓		✓
Mali			✓	✓		✓
Niger			✓		✓	
Senegal	✓	✓	✓			
Togo		✓	✓	✓		✓

Notes: As the information was not provided uniformly in the country reports and incomplete in some, this table may not accurately portray the situation across all the review countries. The French term for part-time teacher is 'enseignant vacataire.' This category is probably present in most, if not all, review countries, particularly at secondary level.

Source: This table is based on information available in the country reports (see Introduction on page 21).

**The age, education and qualifications of contract teachers:** The conventional wisdom seems to suggest that contract teachers tend to be very young, lacking in professional teacher education, training and experience. This can certainly be the case in rural schools where community teachers can be as young as 18 with no professional qualifications and low academic credentials. However, this is not a generalized experience for the practice of contract teaching across Africa, and with application to both public and private school systems.

### **Box 1. Analysis of the age and experience of the teaching force in Eritrea**

In terms of age, the majority (47%) of open-ended appointment teachers in public primary schools fall within the 20–29 age range, followed by 28% for the 30–39 age range. Within the 20–29 age group, only 7% of the teachers have civil service status, suggesting that the majority are likely to be national service teachers without civil service status. The proportion of teachers with civil service status increases substantially in the cases of the 30–39 and 40–49 age ranges.

In private primary schools, the majority of the open-ended appointment teachers (38%) are aged 30–39, followed by 26% for the age group 40–49 and 23% for the age group 20–29. Similar patterns can be shown for contract teachers within the private school system, but the numbers in this case are too small to warrant any meaningful comparison.

The majority of open-ended appointment teachers in public lower secondary schools are also young (45% in 20–29 age range; 30% in 30–39 age range). Within the 20–29 age group, 29% of the teachers have civil service status, again suggesting that many of the open-ended appointment public school teachers at this level could be national service teachers.

In public upper secondary schools, the combined percentage of open-ended appointment teachers aged 20–29 (32%) and 30–39 (31%) amounts to 63%. Within the 20–29 age group, 48% of the teachers with an open-ended contract do not have civil service status. The proportion of open-ended appointment teachers aged 40–49 (9%) and 50–59 (3%) shows a sharp decline, but surprisingly increases to 25% for those aged 60 and above.

The majority of contract teachers (65%) in public secondary schools are aged 20–29, followed by 24% for those aged between 30 and 39. In private secondary schools, most of the open-ended appointment teachers (42%) are aged 30–39, followed by 30% for the 40–49 age group. The number of contract teachers in private secondary schools is very small, but available data show that the majority tend to be young and middle-aged.

To summarize, most of the teachers working in public primary and lower secondary schools tend to be younger, a situation linked to the deployment of a considerable number of national service teachers at these levels. Many of the teachers working in private primary and lower secondary schools fall within the 30–49 age range. A similar pattern of middle-age teacher deployment exists in upper secondary schools (both public and private).

In terms of work experience, a sizeable segment of open-ended appointment teachers and contract teachers deployed in public primary schools in urban areas (39%) have taught for more than 16 years. This is followed by those who have taught for less than five years (26%) and by those who have taught for between 11 and 15 years (19%). In rural primary schools, the proportion of open-ended appointment and contract public primary school teachers with teaching experience of less than five years is 61%. The

figure for those with teaching experience of 6–10 years and 11–15 years is 15% in both cases.

A different pattern of work experience exists in urban private primary schools. The percentage of teachers who have taught for less than five years is 44% while the figure for those who have taught for more than 16 years is about 30%. In private rural primary schools, the majority of open-ended appointment and contract teachers have taught for less than five years. This is followed by those who have over 16 years of teaching experience (20%).

In urban public lower secondary schools, more or less an equal proportion of teacher experience coexists (i.e. 38% with less than five years and 36% with more than 16 years of work experience). In rural public lower secondary schools, the majority of open-ended appointment and contract teachers have teaching experience of less than five years.

The situation in urban private lower secondary schools is similar to the situation in primary schools indicated above. The proportion of the teachers who have taught for less than five years is 41%, whereas the figure for those who have taught for more than 16 years is 30%. In private rural lower secondary schools, the majority of open-ended appointment and contract teachers have teaching experience of less than five years.

As far as urban public upper secondary schools are concerned, there are slightly more contract teachers (53%) than open-ended appointment teachers (47%) who have taught for less than five years. But this situation is reversed in rural public secondary schools with 56% of open-ended appointment teachers and 44% of contract teachers having less than five years of teaching experience.

There are no private upper secondary schools in rural areas. Within this context, there are more than twice the number of open-ended appointment teachers (69%) compared with contract teachers (31%) with less than five years of teaching experience in urban private upper secondary schools.

In sum, the majority of teachers deployed in rural public primary schools have less than five years of teaching experience. More experienced teachers tend to work in urban public primary schools. The same pattern emerges in the case of private schools, suggesting that younger and less experienced teachers are assigned to teach in rural areas. Almost an equal proportion of more or less experienced teachers co-exist in urban public lower secondary schools, but this balance is not maintained when it comes to rural lower secondary schools (both public and private). There are slightly more teachers with less experience in rural upper secondary schools compared to urban schools, once again reinforcing the observation that rural schools are being disadvantaged in terms of teacher deployment.

Source: Based on Habtai (2016).

It should be noted that, as with much of the African continent, the limited country data confirmed that females are under-represented in the teaching profession, accounting for 20% or fewer of the primary-school educators in half a dozen African countries including Central African Republic, Liberia and Togo. Data still indicate that Africa is the only continent where female under-representation in the teaching force is common (UIS).

**Status, hiring policy and contract terms:** Contract teachers enjoy different statuses and levels of stability across the continent according to countries' hiring policies and contract terms. Two broad statuses for teaching contracts were found in the review countries: open-ended appointments and fixed-term contract teachers. In the case of the latter, one may find several types of teachers within the fixed-term status (e.g. state contract teachers, community teachers and private school contract teachers all operating under fixed-term contractual arrangements, usually one-year renewable) which are further differentiated according to the level of hiring (national, decentralized, local level, etc.)

In countries such as Kenya, teachers are recruited on contract as a temporary arrangement in the government system to replace teachers on sick or maternity leave. If the concerned teachers do not return to work by the stipulated time (normally three months) then the contract teacher can be considered for an open-ended appointment. But it is the Employment Act, rather than the Ministry of Education, that determines staff movement within or across types of teacher contracts.

Employers, including those in the education sector, are expected to follow the revised Employment Act and issue written contracts describing employees' demographic data and the terms of service being offered. Where employment is not intended to be for an indefinite period, then the date of the end of the contract is indicated. Hiring bodies include the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC), which hires short-term relief teachers and retired teachers on three-year extended contracts. School Boards of Management (BOM) also hire contract teachers for public schools; however, their salaries are paid by schools through parental contributions. These teachers are often high school leavers in transit to join teacher training institutions. Contract teachers hired by the TSC can be fired without notice and can also leave the school without notice for better-paid positions.

In noting these different arrangements in Kenya, it should be underlined that contract teachers mostly serve in private schools, which make up 23% of all schools in the country and typically recruit 83% of their staff on a contract basis (MOEST, 2014).

In Eritrea, if teachers on sick leave or maternity leave do not return to work within the stipulated time (normally three months), a contract teacher can be considered for an open-ended appointment. At the same time, there is a legal framework protecting contract teachers on probation; they can remain contract teachers for no more than 90 consecutive days. This legal provision is strictly followed by private schools. This practice facilitates the route from contract to open-ended appointment and offers those benefiting from the transition job security within the framework of better working conditions.

In Ethiopia, the Ministry of Education promotes open-ended appointment of teachers in government schools as a policy and advises that contractual employment should be temporary. The country report indicated that any individual who has served on a contract basis for more than six months is eligible for permanent status. While this steers away from a long-term contract system for the country as a whole, there are nevertheless variations by subject area and region.

Contract teachers who have been hired to fill teacher shortages in areas such as science and information and communication technologies (ICTs) (who have normally completed at least grade 10) occasionally do not want to shift their employment status to open-ended status as these subjects are marketable. They may have the chance to negotiate their salary and prefer to keep the possibility of accepting other job offers. Normally, however, they would be on contract for a year before becoming open-ended appointees through accelerated career promotion.

In the Gambia, the Public Service Act of 1991 defines a contract 'as an appointment for a specified period at the end of which the person appointed shall be entitled to a gratuity', whereas a person on a permanent appointment means 'an appointment which entitles the person appointed to a pension'. Since teachers in public and grant-aided schools are covered under the Public Service Act and under the scheme of service, the definitions of 'contract' and 'permanent appointment' also apply to teachers.

In the review countries, contract teachers are quite often hired at the local as opposed to the state level. Research suggests that locally recruited teachers are more likely to be socially and culturally similar to the students and parents in the schools where they teach. This reduction in 'social distance' between the teacher and the taught has been argued to have a positive impact on student learning (Rawal and Kingdon, 2010). In Uganda, contract teachers in public schools are recruited and paid for by the school management committees and other administrative units as determined by the level of education. Contract teachers are also recruited through non-governmental organizations (NGOs), missionary organizations and the Peace Corps. In Mozambique, contract teachers at the beginning of their careers are hired for a period of two years.

In a number of francophone countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Togo) an 'open-ended appointment' is usually associated with the status of civil servant (*fonctionnaire*). In Burkina Faso, contract teachers may have permanent status (civil servants and open-ended contract teachers), be part-time (paid by hours worked) or enjoy fixed-term contracts. Up until December 2015, all public school teachers with permanent status were open-ended contract teachers and were called state contract teachers. As of 1 January 2016, they were transferred to civil servant status.

In Gabon, contract teachers are divided into two subcategories: nationals (hired in the country) and expatriates (hired abroad). The terms 'permanent' and 'open-ended appointment' are reserved for civil servants only. State contract teachers on the other hand are revocable employees who can become civil servants only by passing competitive tests. Law 3/88 defines them as 'State employees hired individually with essentially no job security and a revocable appointment. In no case can they claim the status of civil servants. [...] State employees on contract with Gabonese nationality may, on the terms laid down in the general and specific regulations for civil servants, be integrated into the civil service by way of competitive examinations' (Ibouanga, 2016, p. 10).

In Mali, as in Gabon, open-ended appointments are attributed only to civil servants. Basic education teachers (6+3 years) with this status are hired and managed by the state or by local authorities. The state and local authorities also hire and manage fixed-term contract teachers, as do private school boards or owners.

In terms of hiring policy, Benin has a position-based contract teacher recruitment system in place. Primary school state contract teachers are recruited annually by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Administrative Reform via an external test. It is open to Beninese citizens aged 18 to 40 and holding an end-of-lower or upper secondary diploma (*BEPC* or *Baccalauréat*).

**Education levels where contract teachers generally work:**<sup>11</sup> The country reports suggest that the greatest recruitment of contract teachers is at primary level in the government system. However, the increasing number of contract teachers in private schooling reflects the growing share of the private sector in the provision of education in Africa, a sector where hiring teachers on a contractual basis is the norm. In countries such as Ethiopia, contract teachers are also increasingly hired at secondary level in regions where subject areas are facing noticeable teacher shortages in the sciences, ICTs and technical drawing, with some regions heavily depending on recruiting contract teachers for these subject matter.

In the Gambia, contract teachers are predominant at upper secondary level and are mostly non-Gambian. In the Central African Republic, the *maître communautaire*, *maître parent* or *maître villageois* is hired by the community to work at the primary level. The *maîtres communautaires* are recruited mostly in rural schools and by parents. The contract agreement between teachers and community members is informal and based on mutual understanding. At the secondary level, in both public and private sectors, it is the *vacataires* who teach subject areas that are difficult to find teachers for.

### **II.3 Main reasons for the historical rise of the contract teacher phenomenon**

The practice of hiring contract teachers is not a new phenomenon in Africa and was observed well before the 2000s. Indeed, this practice dates back to independence years, particularly in the private school system. What is new is the mass recruitment of contract teachers within the public sector and the increasing share of the private sector in the provision of education in African countries, a sector where hiring teachers on a contractual basis is the norm. Some of the reasons for the emergence of ‘contracting’ teachers as a recruitment phenomenon are evoked below.

**Major political changes and crisis:** Revolutions, armed conflicts or major changes in the educational system have been milestones in the emergence of a teaching corps increasingly constituted of contract teachers. During periods of crisis, formal teacher training institutes may not be functioning or may not have capacity to train large numbers of new teachers. This applies to Eritrea since independence in 1991, in Ethiopia since the 1974 revolution, in Kenya since 1985 when the 8-4-4 education system was adopted, in Mozambique since independence in 1975, and in Zambia after independence in 1964.

Burkina Faso also resorted to recruiting volunteer teachers in the wake of the 1983 revolution by creating the People’s National Service (*Service national populaire*) which later became the National Development Service (*Service national pour le développement*), a compulsory one-year service for all individuals seeking a job for the first time, regardless of educational attainment. Most of the recruits were put at the disposal of the public school system.

In Ethiopia, contract teachers were largely employed to solve critical teacher shortages following the 1974 revolution, even if their employment can be traced back even further to 1908 and the reign of Emperor Menelik II when the first Menelik School was established. According to Azeb (1990), remote and rural schools were staffed in the early 1970s by teachers with eighth-grade education and no pedagogical training. They helped the government respond to political develop-

11 See also Section II.3.

ments in remote and peripheral parts of the country and ensured that rural schools stayed open (see Ethiopia's national report).

In Chad, the recruitment of contract teachers, especially at primary level, can be traced back to the civil war that ensued from the 1979 events. The resulting climate of insecurity led many teachers to leave Chad and to settle in other countries, thus increasing demand. Several communities decided to recruit volunteers among young, unemployed lower or upper secondary school graduates to teach their children in existing primary schools. Community schools were thus born and, by extension, community teachers. Initially their contracts with the communities, represented by student-parent associations, were verbal. Nowadays the contracts are formalized and signed for one school year.

### **Box 2. Rapid recruitment of contract teachers in crisis situations**

In Kenya in the north-eastern counties of Garissa, Mandera and Wajir, more than 2,000 teachers have left their posts due to the attacks by Al-Shahaab in Mandera County and the desire of teachers to be deployed to 'safer' areas. Around 400,000 children were affected by this exodus. In zones left with very few teachers, schools closed down completely and around 250,000 children were left out of school altogether.

In response to the teachers' rapid flight, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology decided to recruit teachers locally and provide in-service training. Candidates for secondary education postings were drawn from a pool of high school graduates with a minimum college entrance grade of C and C+. As there is currently no in-service training programme in Kenya, the Ministry of Education and the Kenyan Institute for Curriculum Development joined forces to elaborate a school-based teacher training programme considered as equivalent to the pre-service training.

Locally recruited teachers receive one month of face-to-face training and two months of school-based training. Employed in schools in the north-east counties, these teachers will be required to work during term time and attend training over the school holidays for two months. The government's response is widely appreciated as a measure needed to address the huge teacher shortage.

*Source: Salzano (2016).*

**Reconfiguration of national education systems:** Hiring regular civil service teachers in a centralized way can be rigid and slow to respond to changes in student enrolments (ILO, 2007). Changes to national education systems, uneven teacher deployment in remote areas of countries and shifting teaching standards are also partly responsible for the increase in need for contract-based teachers.

In Kenya, the implementation of the 8-4-4 system of education in 1985 made explicit the need for more teachers. More recently, landmark decisions such as Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003 and the need to reach the Education for All pupil/teacher ratio target (1:40) accelerated student enrolments and underlined a growing teacher gap, thus increasing the reliance on contract teachers.



In the Gambia, the rise in enrolment at lower secondary level as a result of successful universal primary education (UPE) policies increased the need for trained subject-specific teachers, a gap which has been filled by contract teachers. The challenge of teacher shortages, in the form of regional mismatch in teacher deployment and poor teacher retention, were already apparent, however. In Uganda, a shortage of teachers in specific subjects, such as mathematics, science and specialized vocational subjects, has also been an important factor in contracting teachers to address teacher shortages at secondary level in remote areas.

In 1965, the education system of Congo Brazzaville was nationalized and the management of all private and religious schools was taken over by the government. The shortage of trained teachers became apparent during the 1971–1972 academic year when the government began recruiting national volunteers among students who failed the *Baccalauréat* exam at the end of the upper secondary level. In 1974, students with the *Baccalauréat* were recruited as contract teachers and the trend has continued ever since.

Even though Guinea hired its first batch of (1,000) contract teachers in 1994, Senegal is considered a pioneer in this regard, starting with the Volunteers of National Education project launched in June 1995.<sup>12</sup> Benin and Mali followed in 1997, Niger in 1998, Burkina Faso in 1999 (as part of the general reform of public administration), and Cameroon in 2006 (under the impetus of the World Bank).

**Post-independence labour market challenges:** In several countries, reliance on contract teachers showed a marked increase following independence as teaching staff from the former colonial powers left the country. For example, Mozambique has been relying on contract teachers since independence in 1975 when all the teachers from Portugal (who formed the majority of the teaching force) left the country. Later, during the 1980–1992 civil war, almost all school infrastructures were destroyed and this had a tremendous impact on the development of education and the recruitment of teachers. For Eritrea, it was the departure of teachers of Ethiopian origin in 1991 that led to an increasing reliance on contract teachers.

In Gabon, the practice of hiring contract teachers can be traced back to 1948–1955. Indeed, colonial archives on human resources and labour mention the existence of contracts in the public sector as early as those years when the colonial administration had to resort to personnel from other African colonies (besides European expatriates) in order to mitigate teacher shortages owing to the small size of the country's population.

Benin resorted to contracting expatriate teachers to fill vacancies for the first time towards the 1970s. These were primarily Ghanaians, Chadians, Ivoirians and Togolese, among others, who were hired to teach English and other subjects in secondary schools. They were followed by Beninese returning from the diaspora for whom contract teaching was a pathway to becoming a teacher with civil service status. More recently, in 1997, the government of Benin was instructed by the Bretton Woods institutions to hire the first cohort of state contract teachers. This has continued with the 12th cohort recruited in 2015–2016.

In the Central African Republic, the recruitment of contract teachers started officially in 1985 when the government faced challenges of integrating young university graduates from the University of Bangui and teacher training colleges into the education system. In response, a decision was made

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12 The hiring of part-time teachers for the first time in 1992, to mitigate teacher shortages in lower secondary schools, can be considered the beginning of the use of contract teachers in Senegal.

to hire these young people as contract teachers. Mali and Niger are other countries that have seen the proliferation of community schools with, beginning in the 1980s, the employment of local unemployed youth with limited formal education and little to no professional preparation.

**Disease:** In Africa in the 1990s, and particularly in countries such as Zambia, post-independence growth and instability were compounded by the loss of large numbers of teachers from AIDS-related diseases. Teachers were dying faster than new teachers could be trained. The need to handle large numbers of children of AIDS-affected families, orphans or simply the impoverished who could not afford to stay in the government system required new solutions.

**Reaching equity and quality targets in the context of constrained education budgets:** The exponential increase in access to universal primary education since the EFA goals were agreed in 2000 has created massive financial demands on education systems. Teacher salaries absorb the largest percentage of annual recurrent education sector budgets. To meet the ever-increasing demand for education, governments have been forced to look at ways to reduce their recurrent expenditures, including teacher salaries and benefits.

For many low-resource countries, the rationale for introducing contract teachers has thus been to achieve equity and efficiency aims in an affordable way: hiring a larger number of teachers with limited budgets resulting in alleviation of teacher shortages in under-served communities; relieving multigrade teaching; and reducing high pupil/teacher ratios. It is subsequently hoped that the alleviation of teacher shortages or reduction in class sizes will improve student outcomes (such as learning, grade progression, participation).

Through contract teaching, ministries of education are able to provide a relatively more flexible response to urgent schooling needs which cannot be met through the slow-responding teacher deployment systems. On the one hand, contract teachers are generally deployed to, or hired within, hard-to-staff areas where significant teacher gaps and difficulties in filling posts are experienced. This is doubly the case for emergency situations where education systems may experience a massive displacement of teaching staff as teachers and other education workers attempt to reach safety or refuse to work under unstable or hostile conditions.

### **Box 3. What led Niger to adopt its contract teacher policy?**

In 1998, Niger adopted a law laying down the roles and responsibilities of various actors in the educational system (Loi d'Orientation du Système Éducatif au Niger or LOSEN). The government at the time opted for a new teacher recruitment strategy commonly known as 'contractualization'. Severe economic and demographic constraints had seriously hampered the development of the education and teacher deployment systems.

The Government of Niger was forced to find a way to balance its ever-growing education budget (86% on teacher salaries and benefits and a mere 4% on investment) while meeting the ever-increasing demand for teachers (2,000 to 3,000 per year in 2002–2003). It thus opted to hire teachers on two-year renewable contracts at a salary lower than teachers with civil service status but with the same academic qualifications.

In 2008, the ministries jointly responsible for education took stock of the contract teacher policy. In their report they highlighted that, following the adoption of LOSEN, Niger was facing a very weak fiscal capacity. 'For the ministries in charge of the National Education sector, "[...] hiring [contract teachers] allowed the State to free up [such] resources". For many stakeholders at the time, the question of the quality of teaching and learning seemed secondary, as the main concern was to make sure the growing numbers of children were schooled'.

According to the author of the Niger country report, the contract teacher policy has reached such scope that it has become a major issue for social dialogue within the education sector and reviews of teacher policy.

Indeed, contract teachers accounted for 77.7% of the total 66,750 primary school teachers (public and private) in 2015 from 51.6% in 2002–2003. The corresponding figure for secondary schools was 66.8% of a total of 14,285 teachers.

Source: Halilou (2016), pp.7-8.

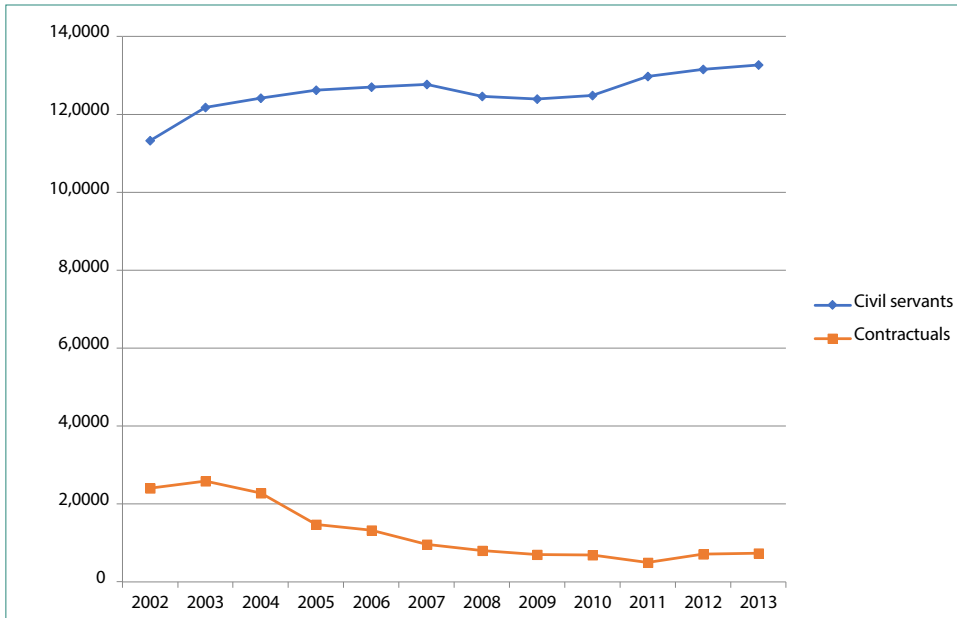
## **II.4 Proportion of contract teachers in the teaching corps**

Few country reports contained the full range of information requested on the proportions of contract teachers in the teaching force. However, the data available reveal the depth of the contract teacher phenomenon in West Africa. Below, the data available for a sample of countries are presented.

In Kenya, data provided by the Basic Education Statistics (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2014) indicate that there are 317,477 primary school teachers, of which 76% work in public schools and the rest in private schools. In public schools, 17% of the teachers are on contract. In private schools, the majority of the teachers are hired on a contract basis. More specifically, at the primary level, 37% of all teachers are hired on a contract basis. According to the country report, the proportion of teachers hired on contract has been increasing over the years as school enrolment at primary and secondary levels continues to grow, as well as in the private sector with more private schools registering to operate.

In Ugandan public schools at primary level, the percentage of contract teachers was 5% in 2013 (from 18% in 2002). The figures for Ethiopia and Zambia are not available. Although in Zambia, according to the country report, the proportion of contract teachers in public schools seems to hover around 15%, and the majority of these teachers are teaching in lower grades. Figure 2 below shows how the situation has evolved in Uganda over the last 15 years.

**Figure 2. Public primary school teachers by status in Uganda (2002–2013)**



Source: Balyogera (2016): created for this publication based on the country report data

In Sudan, the country report indicates that 9% of teachers at primary level and 17% at secondary level in public schools are hired on a contract basis. In Sudan, the proportion of contract teachers in private schools is higher, at 50%. In Eritrea, precise numbers are not available, but the national report indicates that the proportion of contract teachers hired from the pool of retirees has been declining due to attrition. However, the number of national service contract teachers has been increasing in line with the number of vacancies in the school system.

In the Gambia, the proportion of contract teachers has declined, or alternatively, the commensurate proportion of qualified teachers has steadily increased in the last 20 to 25 years. In 2015, the number of qualified teachers increased to 89% compared with 1992 when almost half of the teachers were unqualified contract teachers. In fact, since 2012 the proportion of unqualified teachers (across primary and secondary) has gone down from 39% to 20% in 2016.

As shown below in Table 2, there was a massive recruitment of contract teachers from the mid-1990s in francophone countries.

**Table 2. Start years of massive recruitment of contract teachers in selected French-speaking sub-Saharan African countries**

Year	Country	Year	Country
1994	Guinea	1998	Niger
1995	Senegal	1999	Burkina Faso
1997	Benin, Mali	2006	Cameroon

Source: This table is based on information available in the country reports (see Introduction on page 21).

In Chad, the *maîtres communautaires* constituted approximately 64% of the primary teaching force in 2013–2014 according to the national report. At the secondary education level, contract teachers (*vacataires* or civil service volunteers) represented 36% of the teaching force in the same year. Cameroon has hired five different cohorts of contract teachers (numbering 10,000) since the introduction of the contract teacher policy in 2006. In the Central African Republic, contract teachers (*enseignants vacataires*) represented 45% of the upper secondary teaching force in 2005.

In Congo Brazzaville, there were 2,247 (28%) primary school contract teachers (known as *enseignants bénévoles*) in 2013–2014 out of a total of 7,944 teachers. For the lower secondary level, out of a total of 2,677 teachers, there were 262 (10%) part-time teachers (*vacataires*), whereas at the upper secondary level there were 109 (6%) *vacataires* out of a total of 1,789 teachers. In technical and vocational institutions, out of 1,988 teachers, there was a combined total of 835 (42%) contract teachers (726 *vacataires* plus 109 *prestataires*) in 2014–2015. These figures suggest that it is at the primary level and in technical and vocational schools that one finds sizeable numbers of contract teachers compared with general secondary schools.

In Benin, one can notice a number of concurrent trends: the quasi-disappearance of teachers with civil service status due to retirement and limited recruitment, and a constant increase in the number of contract teachers at both primary and secondary levels. Yet this still does not suffice to respond to demand, leading parents to hire teachers from within the community. In 2016, contract teachers accounted for 40% of the country's public primary teaching force, including 8,500 community teachers who converted to state contract teachers in 2007 after receiving in-service training.

In relation to the gender distribution of the contract teaching staff in Benin, at primary level there was almost double the number of males with open-ended, fixed-term and non-specified contracts within the public system and this trend is reversed within the same contract type within private teaching. At lower secondary level, the same trend exists for both public and private schools, meaning more male teachers are being hired, or seeking recruitment, across the board. The Uganda country report noted that a majority of private school employers prefer to hire male teachers because it is believed that they are more reliable in terms of availability. They do not request maternity leave and can work extra hours, unlike female teachers, who might leave early to attend to family matters.

Tables 3, 4 and 5 show the distribution of contract teachers in Benin by level of education, type of school and gender in 2015/16.

**Table 3.** Distribution of primary school contract teachers by type of school and gender in Benin (2015/16)

	PUBLIC SCHOOLS				PRIVATE SCHOOLS			
	Open-ended contract	Fixed-term contract	Unspecified type of contract <sup>13</sup>	Total	Open-ended contract	Fixed-term contract	Unspecified type of contract	Total
Male	6 139	6 138	1 595	13 872	262	262	26	550
Female	3 194	3 195	547	6 936	1 220	1 220	122	2 562
				20 808				3 112

Source: Tchitchi (2016): created for this publication based on the country report data.

**Table 4.** Distribution of lower secondary school contract teachers by type of school and gender in Benin (2015/16)

	PUBLIC SCHOOLS				PRIVATE SCHOOLS			
	Open-ended contract	Fixed-term contract	Unspecified type of contract	Total	Open-ended contract	Fixed-term contract	Unspecified type of contract	Total
Male	5 166	5 180	9 132	19 478	1 500	2 000	–	3 500
Female	766	781	5 041	6 588	850	650	–	1 500
				26 066				5 000

Source: Tchitchi (2016): created for this publication based on the country report data.

**Table 5.** Distribution of upper secondary school contract teachers by type of school and gender in Benin (2015/16)

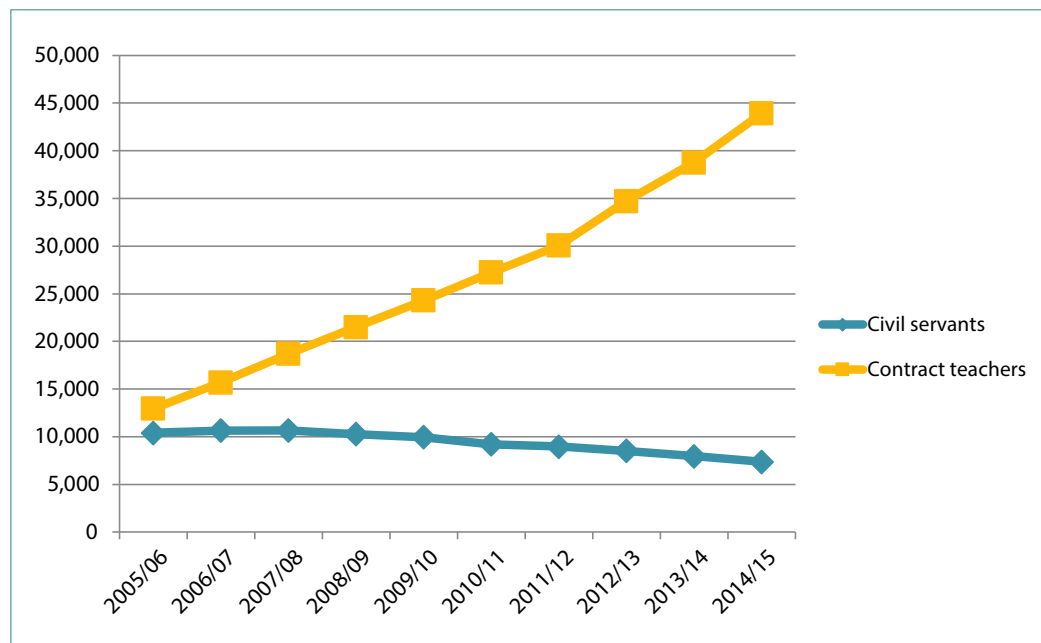
	PUBLIC SCHOOLS				PRIVATE SCHOOLS			
	Open-ended contract	Fixed-term contract	Unspecified type of contract	Total	Open-ended contract	Fixed-term contract	Unspecified type of contract	Total
Male	4 825	4 826	4 565	14 216	2 500	2 400	00	4 900
Female	764	783	2 283	3 830	400	200	00	600
				18 046				5 500

Source: Tchitchi (2016): created for this publication based on the country report data.

13 The high number of public school contract teachers with unspecified contract type at both lower and upper secondary levels suggests that there may be a certain disorder in the implementation of the contract teacher policy in the public sector.

In Burkina Faso, the proportions of open-ended appointment public school teachers in 2015 were as follows: 81% (primary), 45% (lower secondary) and 46% (upper secondary). Available data suggest that they represented only 0.6% of the public primary teaching force in 2002/03. Figure 3 shows how the situation has evolved at that level from 2005 to 2015.

**Figure 3. Public primary school teachers by status in Burkina Faso (2005–2015)**



Source: Based on Kayelem (2016).

In Mali, the percentages of public school contract teachers constantly increased between 2000/01 and 2005/06 from 37% to 77% and from 13% to 49% at primary and lower secondary levels, respectively. Starting in 2009/10, these trends were progressively reversed as the following table shows.

**Table 6. The percentages of public school contract teachers in Mali (2009–2014)**

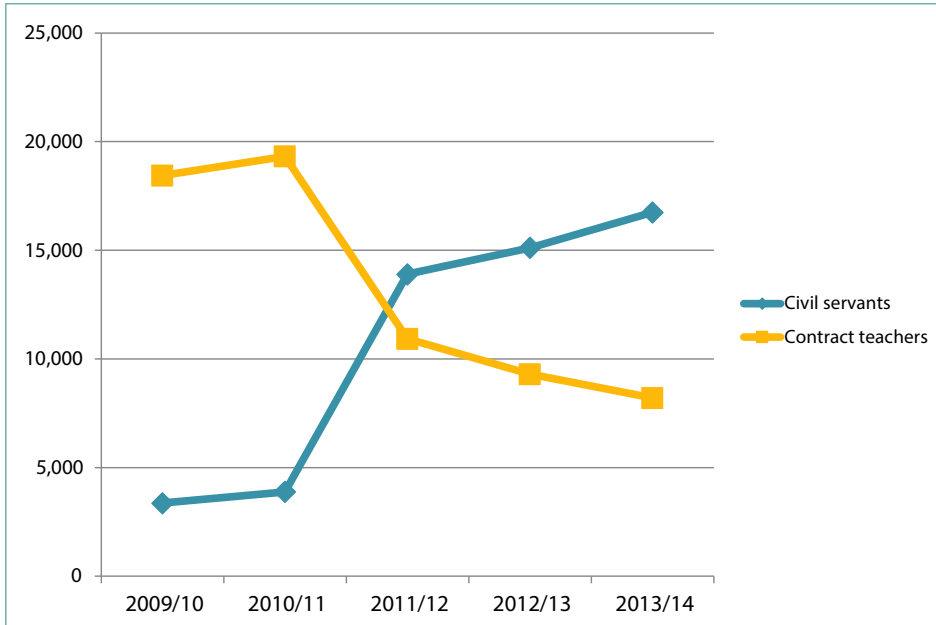
	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14
<b>Primary</b>	79%	77%	40%	34%	29%
<b>Lower secondary</b>	71%	67%	34%	29%	22%
<b>Upper secondary</b>	61%	–	7%	10%	7%

Source: Based on Sidibé (2016).

The decrease in the proportion of contract teachers and the associated increase in tenured teachers at all levels is the result of a decision made by the government of Mali in 2009, under

pressure from teacher unions, to grant civil service status to 40,206 contract teachers, including community school teachers.<sup>14</sup> Figure 4 helps visualize the trends at primary level.

**Figure 4. Public primary school teachers by status in Mali (2009–2014)**



Source: Sidibé (2016).

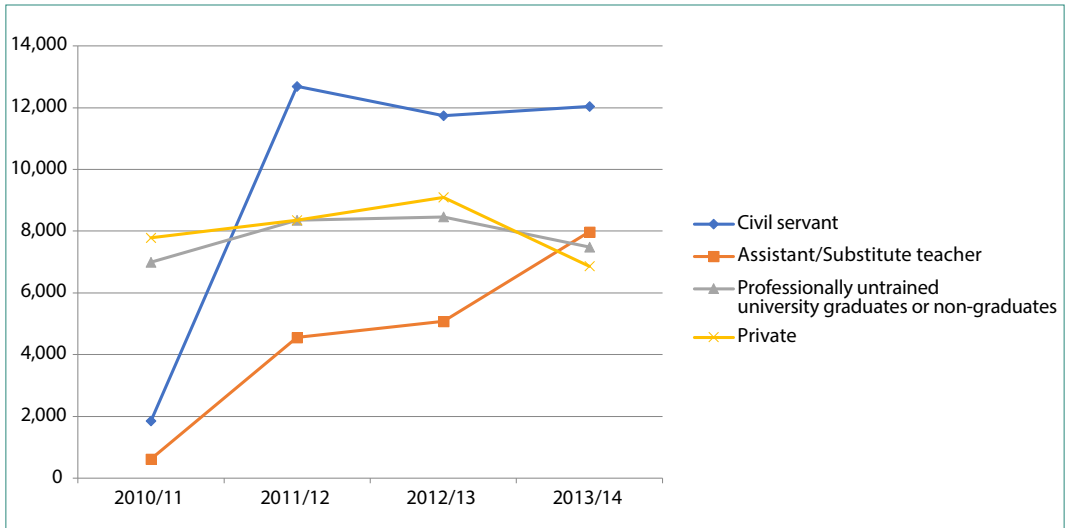
In Guinea, contract teachers (with fixed-term and open-ended contracts) represented 20% of the public primary teaching force in 2014/15. This is due to the transfer of open-ended contract teachers to civil service status between 2006 and 2008.

In Togo, contract teachers accounted for 53% of the teaching force in 2015/16. How the situation has evolved in the primary subsector in previous years is illustrated in Figure 5.

<sup>14</sup> It is important to note that the principle of contract hiring was integrated into the community school model at its inception in the 1980s. Success created the need to add a lower secondary level which, in turn, created the need to hire more teachers. The government's decision to progressively convert all community schools into public schools contributed to the decrease of the proportion of contract teachers in these schools, from 92% in 2009/10 to 52% in 2013/14 (a drop of 40 percentage points in five years).



**Figure 5. Public primary school teachers by status in Togo (2010–2014)**



Source: Based on Amivi Komlan (2016).

The first noticeable aspect of this figure is the sharp increase in the number of teachers with civil service status in 2011/12 followed by a progressive decline. The second point of note relates to the sustained increase in the number of *auxiliaries*. These teachers are initially granted an open-ended appointment and must serve for five years before being integrated into the civil service and granted tenure.

In Senegal, the Volunteer of National Education project permitted the recruitment of a total of 45,000 pre-school, elementary and community school teachers by the time it was terminated in 2010. Most, if not all, of these recruits eventually became contract teachers, a category created as a vertical mobility mechanism for volunteers.

## **Part III. Main differences between contract teachers and regular teachers**

### **III.1 Qualification requirements and pre-service education**

Across the review countries, a fair amount of variation was noted in contract teachers' academic qualifications. Contract teachers hired by the community (e.g. Board of Management (BOM) teachers in Kenya or community school teachers in Zambia) were the least educated with high school or 12th grade educations. At the other end of the spectrum, contract teachers had teacher education diplomas in Sudan for example, or at least a bachelor's degree qualification as was the case for national service teachers in Eritrea.

The amount of pre-service professional training also varied across countries. In South Sudan, national service teachers can enter teaching with only 120 hours of orientation and 3 months of military service. In Eritrea, most contract teachers have a minimum qualification of bachelor's degree although they may lack training in pedagogy and classroom practices.

In Ethiopia, there are differences between private and public schools in terms of qualifications and preparation for teaching practice. The qualification of public primary school teachers is, at most, a diploma in some rural areas. But it is nonetheless common for contract teachers to be bachelor's degree holders in both public and private primary schools.<sup>15</sup>

In Kenya, the education policy requires that all schools, whether they are private or public, have only trained teachers. The basic qualification requirement for teaching is registration with the Teachers Service Commission (TSC). This applies to all teachers, including contract teachers. To be registered, one is required to meet the minimum professional qualifications of a trained teacher: the P1 certificate for primary schools, a diploma certificate for secondary and special education primary schools, and a degree in education or a postgraduate diploma in education for secondary schools.

In the Gambia, a professional unqualified primary school contract teacher must at least be a holder of General Certificate of Education (GCE) O Level certificate/West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) Certificate with two or three credits, including English language. To be appointed as a qualified teacher, an applicant must have a professional certificate from the Gambia College or any other recognized institution with an 'O' Level certificate or WASSCE. Teacher education is free and students are paid a monthly stipend of GMD500. Upon graduation from the Gambia College, they are employed directly by the ministry. The entry qualification to teach in private schools is no different from the requirement for public schools. This is stated in the guidelines on the opening of private schools.

In Mali, until 2009, there were significant differences between basic education teachers with civil servant status and contract teachers. While the former had to have undertaken two- or four-year

<sup>15</sup> The country report indicates that 55% of teachers at primary level are certified.

pre-service teacher education, depending on their entry academic qualification (lower or upper secondary diploma), SARPE<sup>16</sup> recruits had, in general, completed two or four years of general or technical secondary education. They were deployed upon completing a 90-day pedagogical training programme. Their community school colleagues were generally end-of-primary school graduates. Rarely had they pursued their studies until the end-of-lower secondary school diploma and they typically received a 15-day pedagogical training before being deployed.

**Nowadays, with the integration into the civil service of a large batch of contract teachers hired by the state and local authorities following the agreements between teacher unions and the government in 2009, one can say that there are no longer differences in the qualifications required to be a teacher in Mali. Among both teachers with civil servant status and contract teachers, one can find individuals who have the required qualifications and some who do not but have gone through zero to six months of pedagogical training before being deployed. (Sidibé, 2016, p. 24)**

In Senegal, the academic qualification requirements are the same for all teachers: a secondary education diploma for primary schools, and a secondary education diploma and a bachelor's degree equivalent or master's degree for lower secondary schools. All teachers at all levels are required to have a professional certificate. But tenured teachers tend to have more years of teaching experience than contract teachers. To become a tenured teacher, one must go through a period of contracted service regardless of the education level where the teacher is practising. The process can take many years due to administrative delays.

In Congo Brazzaville, the academic and professional qualifications required to enter the teaching profession are the same for all teachers, be they open-ended appointment teachers or contract teachers in both public and private schools. However, with the shortage of teachers and the employment of various categories of contract teachers, the government is no longer able to respect the rules and standards put in place. There are instances when teachers who neither are trained to teach nor hold the necessary qualifications are called upon to teach so that children, especially in rural schools, will not be left without teachers. This is generally the case in other countries. In Togo, for instance, of the 10,833 public school *enseignants auxiliaires* recruited between 2001 to 2010, only 509 had gone through pre-service teacher education. In such circumstances, in-service education and training and professional support become critical factors to ensure teacher quality.

## **III.2 In-service training and continuous professional development**

Regardless of academic qualifications prior to recruitment, all teachers need to continue developing their knowledge and skills to keep abreast of shifting learning goals and teaching approaches and better serve students. In the case of contract teachers, the need is even greater for those whose general education is below nationally recognized minimum qualification levels or have not received adequate professional preparation. This can be the case for contract teachers in community schools in rural areas and the growing number of (low-fee) private schools.

<sup>16</sup> Stratégie alternative de recrutement du personnel enseignant (SARPE).

In all review countries, practising contract teachers received some form of in-service education and training. The country reports reveal, however, that provision varies from one country to another in terms of access, nature, intensity, regularity and quality and can depend on the amount of government funding available and the teacher's status (which influences priority training allocation). For example, civil service teachers are usually prioritized over all categories of contract teachers. In circumstances where a training programme leads to a qualification (e.g. diploma in education), retired national and expatriate contract teachers may not be eligible for a place on the programme.<sup>17</sup> This is not necessarily a denial of entitlement but rather a more rational and efficient use of scarce resources. Priority is given to those who are expected to stay in the teaching service for a long time.

In Eritrea, the content of in-service training programmes for all teachers (including contract teachers) offered at national level is planned and prepared by the Human Resources Division of the Ministry of Education. All contract teachers in public and private schools are eligible for free in-service training, continuous professional training and other long-term courses. The duration of in-service training programmes varies from a few days to a few weeks. Some of the long-term training programmes are delivered over two or three consecutive summer sessions.

This does not necessarily mean that all contract teachers are offered places on in-service training programmes, however. This process is normally based on needs assessment and covers areas such as subject matter, pedagogy, assessment, classroom management and inclusive education issues.

Regional and local education offices also organize training programmes for teachers in their respective areas of responsibility. The content covered in such programmes could differ from area to area, but typically includes curriculum (particularly textbooks) and pedagogy issues. School-based in-service training is encouraged, but it is the larger urban schools (mainly due to the presence of more experienced school personnel) that tend to organize such events.

In-service training for primary school teachers in the Central African Republic is taken care of by the *Centre National de Formation Continue* (CNFC) and the *Centre Pédagogique Régional* (CPR), and other groups. Its target audience includes mostly teachers who are insufficiently or not professionally trained. Besides training sessions, in-service training and education can also take the form of class visits and observations to address teachers' pedagogical gaps.

In Congo, all teachers (both civil service and contract) are entitled to continuous professional development (CPD) from the primary level to the upper secondary level. To be eligible for such training, contract teachers must be classroom teachers. In-service training is conducted through seminars, workshops and in-service training sessions, which are often organized by international organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank and many others. The training is conducted by heads of schools, pedagogical advisers and school inspectors, and usually covers the content knowledge of certain subject areas, methodology, curriculum, methods and techniques, assessment, and so on. The private missionary schools also provide in-service training based on their own education project.

In Chad, the in-service education and training of public, private and community primary school teachers is handled by the Directorate of Teacher Education through the regional centres for in-service training of primary school teachers. These structures are created specifically to take the responsibilities of in-service training for primary teachers and are found in regional administrative

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<sup>17</sup> These categories of contract teachers have the required basic qualifications anyway.

offices, allowing teachers to benefit from intensive in-service training. For the professionalization of community teachers, a three-level (0, 1 and 2) training package has been put in place for them.

In Benin, primary school contract teachers are recruited with a junior or senior high school diploma and receive on-the-job training to help them pass the appropriate professional exams (*Certificat élémentaire d'aptitude pédagogique* or *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*). Thereafter, they are entitled to continuing professional education and training. The country report notes that at the secondary level, fixed-term male contract teachers have significantly upgraded their qualifications compared with their female counterparts. Most of them have, through continuing education and training, obtained an academic or professional bachelor's or master's degree. The lack of advancement for women is reportedly related to maternity or other factors yet to be studied.

In Niger 'opportunities for training and capacity-building offered to permanent teaching staff are available to contract teachers via the activities of the local teacher development units (*Cellules d'animation pédagogique* or CAPED)' (Halilou, 2016, p. 18). To these one must add 'short refresher courses in the pre-service teacher education institutions, teacher development activities led by the Pedagogical Advisors through the Pedagogical Units at secondary level, and instructional supervision by school principals and the heads of pedagogical sectors at primary level' (Halilou, 2016, p. 18). This package of continuing professional development opportunities does not seem to be working as effectively as hoped, however. Indeed, 'most of the teachers surveyed during this review, both permanent and on contract, considered that the CPD system and regular instructional supervision needed to be improved, both in terms of methods and form, with more means deployed in order to make it perform better' (Halilou, 2016, p. 19). Box 4 portrays the situation in Burkina Faso and Mali.

#### **Box 4: Continuing professional development policy: Mali and Burkina Faso**

##### ***Basic education teachers in Mali***

In Mali, a national policy for teachers' CPD was drawn up and adopted in 2003 (Ministry of National Education, 2003). It aimed at improving overall school performance following the guidelines of the 10-year education development programme (known by its French acronym, PRODEC). The policy can be summed up as:

- a) Choice of school as the favored venue for CPD.
- b) Decentralization of CPD initiatives and actions and regular funding to regional and local structures.
- c) Conceptualization of CPD to foster a collective process involving teachers and school leaders as members of a school team; designing CPD student learning and success at the centre.

To implement this policy, a programme framework was drawn up. In this movement, the teacher is placed at the centre of his or her own CPD. Forming a learning community together with colleagues, teachers assess their professional development needs with the help of the school principal and pedagogical advisers. The resulting CPD activities, initiated at grass-roots level, do not exclude training activities initiated by the central level (top-down movement) and devoted essentially to national priorities, for

instance *pedagogie convergente*,<sup>18</sup> the curriculum, environmental education, health and HIV/AIDS education, peace and human rights education, or any other pedagogical innovations introduced into the education system by the ministerial authorities.

In this system, the decisive role is played by the teacher learning community (*communauté d'apprentissage* or CA) and balancing the convergence between bottom-up and top-down is the responsibility of the decentralized education structures, namely the Education Academies (AE), the Teacher Education Institutes (IFM) and the Pedagogical Support Centres (CAP).

The entire focus of the CA is on better learning and greater pupil success by enabling teachers to learn from one another and improve their practices. It helps to create a dynamic, cooperative culture of constant professional improvement and lifelong learning at the school level.

The CA is made up of all the teachers in a school (including contract teachers), their principal and other local resources persons. It is charged – with support from the CAP, the AE and the technical and financial partners – with mobilizing the human, financial and material resources needed to implement the desired CPD activities. It thus opens up the school to its local environment in order to mobilize the various resources available for teacher CPD activities.

Source: Based on Sidibe (2016).

### For secondary school teachers in Burkina Faso

At the secondary education level in Burkina Faso, two policy instruments regulate the pedagogical supervision and continuous professional development and support of the teaching staff: Decree No. 2011-2061/MESS/SG/DGIFPE of 7 September 2011 (for pedagogical supervision and support), and Decree No. 2011-506/MESS/SG/DGIFPE for CPD.

These texts stipulate that: a) class visits contribute to improving the quality of teaching; b) each teacher should receive at least one class visit during a school year; c) continuing professional development activities are opportunities for enhancing capacities and upgrading skills; d) each teacher is entitled to one training session per year; e) all continuing professional development activities should be subject to monitoring and evaluation; f) the *groupes d'animation pédagogique* or GAPs (i.e. teacher learning groups/communities) are the permanent vehicles for teachers' continuing professional development; and g) every teacher is automatically a member of the GAP in his or her subject area. These two decrees apply to public and private education alike.

<sup>18</sup> *Pédagogie convergente* is a bilingual education strategy whose experimentation started in Mali in 1987/88. Designed to foster functional bilingualism, it places a premium on the mastery of L1 (mother tongue) as a decisive step towards all other kinds of learning, including L2 (French in this case).

In the course of data gathering for this review, it appears that continuing professional development activities are open to all teachers. The periodic professional development meetings and the annual pedagogical conferences are supposed to bring together all public and private school teachers serving in a given zone (province or region). The same is true of the training sessions organized in the form of conferences, seminars or workshops. However, the availability of funding constitutes an important limiting factor as this means that participants have to be selected.

The state simply does not have enough resources to set up CPD activities for the entire teacher workforce. Most of the training seminars or workshops are organized in the framework of projects usually funded by external partners. In such circumstances, it is hard to respect the right to CPD, and public school teachers are given priority over their private school colleagues. Where the participation of the latter is possible, priority is given to teachers with open-ended appointment/permanent status. In the public sector, and more so in the private sector, fixed-term contract teachers are rarely enrolled in CPD activities. The GAPs operate in certain public-sector schools and when they do, contract teachers are included. These professional development groups are not set up in private schools.

Private non-denominational schools, and to a lesser extent private schools charging high fees, organize teacher development days before the start of a new school year and sometimes during the end-of-term breaks, thus giving all their teachers a chance to brush up on internal regulations and curricula, and adopt the teaching methods advocated in them. The content of CPD activities is mainly geared towards the mastery of the curriculum or teaching programmes, as well as teaching methods and innovations. But overall, the non-denominational private sector rarely contributes to the funding of CPD activities for its teachers and the latter are rarely visited by supervisory staff (pedagogical advisers and inspectors).

*Source: Based on Kyelem (2016).*

### **III.3 Salaries/remuneration**

The information available from the national reports suggests that, in the majority of review countries, the remuneration of contract teachers is much lower than that of teachers with civil service status and they usually lack entitlement to the same, if any, social benefits. The section below describes and compares the salary and benefits arrangements for all categories of teachers across anglophone and francophone countries and in the private school system.

#### **Anglophone countries**

In Eritrea, contract teachers enjoy differential salary scales. Teachers hired for a short time are paid directly by schools from funds raised by parent teacher associations (PTA). The expatriate teachers recruited to teach in government schools earn on average US\$900 per month, plus transport costs from their home countries to Eritrea and back, and assistance with house rentals

and household furniture. National service teachers, in addition, get free medical care from the government and assistance (financial and material) from schools and communities such as accommodation, food items and other in-kind benefits. The scale of this community assistance varies widely and is not always recorded formally, according to the national report. There are no benefits extended to retired contract teachers working in government schools.

In Ethiopia, the starting salary of contract teachers has been made two steps higher than other equivalent civil servants in government sectors. In addition, some regions have introduced their own regional incentive schemes to attract and retain teachers. For instance, there are secondary school teachers in the Somaliland region who are entitled to get up to an additional 70% of their gross salary depending on the remoteness and the environment in which they work. Despite these generous schemes, the salary scale of contract teachers working in public schools is comparatively lower than that of open-ended appointment teachers in the same public schools.

Contract teachers in Ethiopia are not entitled to the benefits and rights of civil servants. However, the national report indicates that the government has recently pledged the right to a pension for all contract teachers in both private and public schools. With regard to private schools, the salary scale of private school teachers is comparatively higher than the salary scale of those in public schools. However, there is no nationally set salary structure. Each private school sets its own salary scale and this varies from school to school and from region to region.

In Kenya, the same salary scale is used for permanent and contract teachers. According to the TSC guidelines, primary school contract teachers should be paid a minimum annual salary of KES 243,468 (US\$ 2,347,68) while for secondary school teachers this ranges from KES 449,080 to KES 670,080 (US\$ 4,330–6,461). The main difference between contract and open-ended teachers appointed by the TSC are in the benefits they receive. While open-ended teachers receive a pension, medical and other benefits above the basic salary, those on contract only receive a basic salary at the scale at which they joined the contract.

The Kenyan contract teachers that are hired by PTA/BOM are paid less than those hired by the TSC. The salary for these teachers is usually negotiated by the school and depends on the individual's qualifications and the parent's capacity to pay. Efforts by school boards to increase fees to manage these teachers have been resisted by parents and the Ministry of Education, which provides fee guidelines. Even so, most schools are unable to raise sufficient funds to pay teachers at the rates stipulated by the TSC. Also, due to the high unemployment rates of trained teachers in the country, coupled with the high shortage of teachers, remuneration for contract teachers is often negotiated downwards from TSC recommended minimum wages. The shortage of civil service teachers in Kenya has led to some schools hosting up to more than 50% of their staff as BOM teachers. In an effort to find better negotiated rates, these teachers move in and out of contracts as they search for higher remuneration.

In Sudan, salaries in public schools are determined by the Civil Servant Law of 2007. Contract teachers' salaries are not fixed and they are liable to change depending on the school location (urban/rural) and the school type (nomadic/displaced). In private education schools, open-ended contract teachers' salaries are subject to Private Education Law of 2015 and the Labour Force Law. The employer is entitled to increase the salary, taking into account the quality of the teacher and the school's needs.

In the Gambia, all government teachers are considered civil servants. Like all civil servants, teachers are remunerated using the government integrated pay scale (IPS). Individual remuner-



ation is based on qualifications and status/responsibility. Private schools determine their own salaries depending on their level and their financial resources. Some private school teachers receive salaries higher than that of public school teachers, while others receive the same or less. According to the Country Status Report 2011, ‘the average teacher’s monthly salary in lower basic is D 3,400, about 2.5 units of annual GDP per capita, and lower than the Education Fast Track Initiative benchmark of 3.5. Qualified teachers [...] are paid 1.5 and 1.7 times more than unqualified contract teachers in primary and lower secondary who earn D 2,343 per month on average’ (Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, the Gambia, 2011, p. 41).

Contract teachers remain on one salary scale for the period they are on contract. A contract teacher on grade 1.5 will remain in the grade 1 range as long as their professional status does not change. The same applies to retired contract teachers, non-Gambian teachers and volunteers. Apart from their salaries, teachers receive other allowances based on where they are posted and their status. Unqualified contract teachers in public schools receive other forms of remuneration, such as hard-to-staff allowances, government retention allowance, civil servant allowance and double shift allowance for teaching a double shift. Table 7 shows the salary grades for contract teachers and open-ended appointment teachers in public and grant-aided schools in the Gambia.

**Table 7. Salary scale for public school teachers in the Gambia**

Salary scale	Teachers	Amount in dalasi <sup>19</sup> per annum	Amount per month	Yearly increment
1.5	Unqualified contract teacher	11,076	923	288
6	Qualified open-ended appointment (primary teacher)	27,475	2,290	922
7	Qualified open-ended appointment (lower secondary teacher) and retired contract teacher	34,128	2,844	922
8	Volunteers (national and international volunteers contract)	41,256	3,438	
8.5	Qualified open-ended appointment (upper secondary teachers)	41,256	3,438	936

Source: Based on Ndow (2016).

In Uganda, contract teachers are again paid less than traditional teachers. In public schools a majority of contract teachers are not on government payroll but paid from funds contributed by parents under the PTA. In case the PTA funds are exhausted or insufficient, head teachers have to borrow resources from elsewhere to settle teachers’ salaries. This retards the progress of other school activities that require funding, and eventually leads to the provision of poor education services.

In Zambia, the national report indicates that there may not be a salary differential between contract-based teachers and regular teachers. However, the report is somewhat unclear on the

<sup>19</sup> US\$1 = 45 to 47 dalasi.

specific salary scales that apply to each type of teacher at primary, secondary and upper-secondary levels.

## Francophone Africa

In Benin, state contract teachers used to earn barely one-third of the salaries of their civil service colleagues. However, due to pressure from teacher unions, the teachers themselves and their influential social partners, their salaries doubled between 2006 and 2009 and today are about equal to the salaries of teachers with civil service status. In neighbouring Togo, state contract teachers earn a monthly wage of XOF 8,000 to XOF 15,000 (US\$ 15 to US\$29) compared with XOF 60,000 (US\$ 114) for their civil service colleagues.

Burkina Faso is a distinctive case with respect to teacher remuneration. Up until December 2015, state contract teachers earned more than their civil service colleagues from primary to upper secondary level. The situation has since changed as all state contract teachers were granted civil service status in January 2016.

In the Central African Republic, a tenured teacher in public primary school receives a monthly salary of about XAF 87,000 (US\$165.30<sup>20</sup>), whereas the contract teacher – whose salary is paid by parents in the same institution – would receive around XAF 8,000 (US\$15) per month, i.e. 15 times less. There are more extreme situations in deprived areas where the annual remuneration of a teacher is estimated at XAF 35,000 (US\$66.53) paid in kind by parents. Salary differences are also quite striking at secondary level. The net monthly salary of a tenured upper school teacher amounts to about XAF 100,000 (US\$190) for 18 teaching hours per week, while the *vacataire* colleague receives XAF 30,000 (US\$57) for 12 hours per week, i.e. 4.4 times less. It is important to note that while tenured teachers are paid all year round, contract teachers are only paid during the school year, i.e. nine months. Also worth noting is the fact that a monthly allowance of XAF 5,000 (US\$9.50) is given to open-ended appointment teachers, while contract teachers are not entitled to such allowances.

In Cameroon, as in some other countries, the salary of contract teachers is at a ratio of almost 1:5 compared with colleagues on open-ended appointments. At the end of her or his career, an open-ended appointment teacher earns up to or more than XAF 250,000 (US\$475) per month, while a contract teacher would earn only +/- XAF 52,632 (+/- US\$100). For private religious schools, contract teachers' salaries tend to be far lower than in public schools. These institutions pay between XAF 20,000 (US\$38) and XAF 50,000 (US\$95) per month and salary payments are very irregular and not paid on time. The worst-paid teachers are the ones with neither a contract agreement nor an open-ended appointment. They receive about XAF 30,000 (US\$57) monthly.

Unlike the Central African Republic, Congo Brazzaville has a different system in place in which both contract and open-ended appointment teachers in public schools receive the same salary, depending on their qualifications and their working conditions. The *enseignants bénévoles* with (or without) the required professional qualifications are in general remunerated well below government teaching salaries for their workload and conditions. For private schools, the minimum salary wage is pegged at XAF 64,400 (US\$122.43) for all contract teachers.

Tables 8 and 9 from the Mali and Togo country reports further illustrate the differences in remuneration.

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<sup>20</sup> Exchange rate: US\$1 = XAF 526.

**Table 8. Annual salaries of public school teachers in Mali (in XOF)**

Reference	Public servant	Contractual	Difference
<b>Category C</b>			
Career entry	1,331,748	912,384	419,364 (-37%)
15 years of service	2,115,840	1,542,180	573,660 (-31%)
End of career	3,063,924	2,624,112	439,812 (-15%)
<b>Category B</b>			
Career entry	1,754,316	1,410,984	343,332 (-22%)
15 years of service	2,868,168	1,838,772	1,029,396 (-44%)
End of career	4,190,364	3,537,708	652,656 (-17%)
<b>Category A</b>			
Career entry	2,772,684	1,948,980	823,704 (-35%)
15 years of service	4,118,556	2,782,656	1,335,900 (-39%)
End of career	5,642,544	4,804,512	838,032 (-16%)

Source: Based on Sidibé (2016).

According to the education sector Directorate of Human Resources and the Directorate of Teacher Education of the Ministry of National Education, contract teachers in community schools receive a monthly support of XOF25,000 from the state. The communities make up the rest, which is generally paid in kind (millet, rice, maize, etc.), the quantity of which varies from one village to the next. In addition, the teachers are housed and often allocated farmlands by the communities to grow crops. The majority of the community school teachers interviewed by the research team confirmed this assertion (Sidibé, 2016).

**Table 9. Management and remuneration of public school contract teachers in Togo (in XOF)**

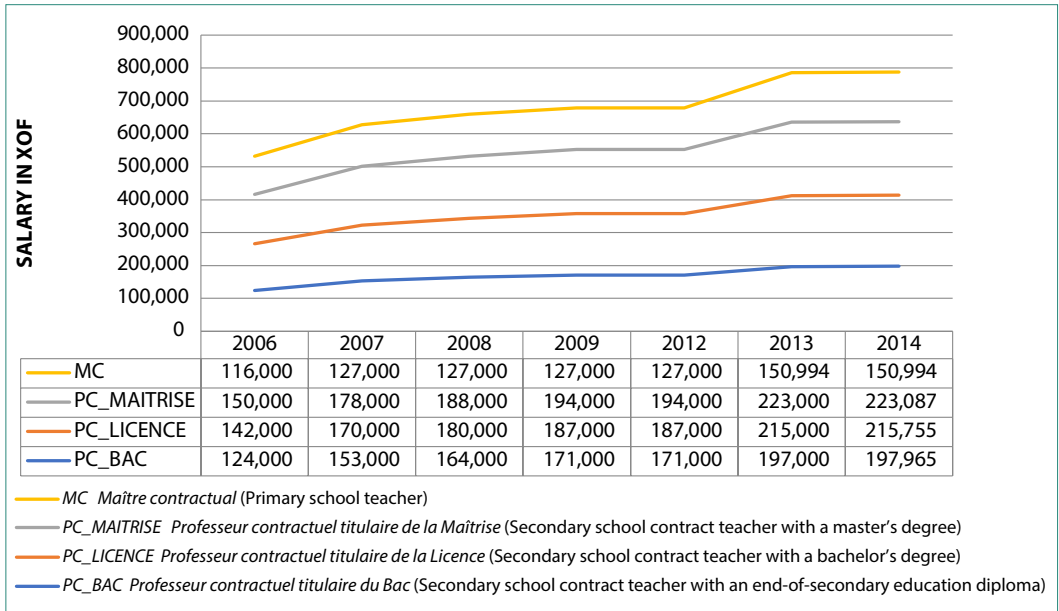
Status	Term of contract	Funding	Salary
<b>Assistant teacher</b> ( <i>Enseignant auxiliaire</i> or EA)	5 years as assistant	State	<p>Paid 10% less than civil servants with equivalent qualifications</p> <p>Regularization of their administrative situation upon appointment as civil servants is effective from the start date as assistant, which is why they are described as quasi-civil servants</p>
<b>Volunteer</b> ( <i>Enseignant volontaire</i> or EV)			

Status	Term of contract	Funding	Salary
<i>Pre-school and primary</i>	<p>Indefinite term: No expiry date</p> <p>The contract ends when the teacher leaves the post or when the student parents' association terminates it</p>	Parents of students	<p>Varies from XOF 8,000 to XOF 15,000</p> <p>Some parents also provide food to the teacher</p>
<i>Lower and upper secondary</i>			Varies from XOF 25,000 to XOF 70,000, depending on the size of the school and its financial capacity during the nine months of the school year
<b>National volunteer of education</b> ( <i>Volontaire national de l'enseignement or VNE</i> )	One year renewable five times, after conclusive evaluation each year	State/Agence nationale de volontariat au Togo (ANVT)	XOF 60,000 per month

Source: Based on Amivi Komlan (2016).

In Senegal, 'in the early 1990s, volunteers and part-time teachers were very poorly paid. For instance, an education volunteer received a monthly stipend worth 50,000 CFA francs. A part-time teacher earned 1,509 CFA francs per hour and was not paid during vacations. It took many years of negotiation between the government and teacher unions to achieve an improvement in salaries and to make progress on career plans' (Diatta, 2016, p. 28). The changes that took place from 2006 and 2014 are summarized in Figure 7.

**Figure 6. Trends in annual monthly salary of contract teachers from 2006 to 2014 in Senegal (in XOF)**



Source: Based on Diatta (2016).

## Private schooling

In private schools in Burkina Faso, secondary-level contract teachers' salaries range between 50% and 80% of the amount agreed upon by the stakeholders (teacher unions, the state and non-confessional private schools). At primary level, a contract teacher working in a non-denominational private school can earn as little as XOF15,000 (US\$29) per month. In 2015, state contract teachers and their civil service colleagues earned per month, respectively, US\$144 to US\$153 and US\$110 to US\$153, excluding allowances.

Denominational schools tend to comply with the agreed-upon salary scale, but the practices vary quite a bit. For instance, the National Directorate of Catholic Education had aligned its permanent teachers' salaries to the state's salary scale in effect until 2015, but had not adopted the public agents' allowances grid. Teachers in such schools did however receive salary increments of 1% (5% as of 2017).

Open-ended appointment teachers earn about US\$500 per month in Eritrea, whereas contract teachers earn less than that and receive no benefits. The open-ended appointment teachers receive a range of benefits. They get assistance with local transport costs, payment for additional responsibilities, an extra payment for additional qualifications, and bonuses and subsidies for recreational activities. Private schools are expected by law to contribute social security benefits for their teachers, which they can collect after their retirement. However, the review has revealed that not all private schools in Africa contribute social security benefits on behalf of their teachers. Moreover, because of the nature of their contracts, contract teachers can easily be laid off by private schools.

## Part IV. Recruitment, deployment, teacher motivation and relationship with teacher unions

Countries often leverage contract teachers to resolve teacher shortages in hard-to-reach, remote and unfavourable deployment locations where fixed-term teachers reject their posting. The country reports indeed indicate a high proportion of contract and community teachers working in rural and disadvantaged areas compared with urban areas in certain countries. There is general consensus that recruitment and deployment policies depending on contract teachers have helped to expand access to education, especially at primary level, and ensure that minority and disadvantaged populations in remote areas have access to an education. But while incentives are offered to attract new recruits, the working conditions for contract teachers in these areas are typically very difficult, which can lower motivation levels and increase attrition and staff turnover.

### IV.1 Recruitment

It is well accepted that the declining social image and status of the teaching profession in many countries across Africa, and its differential treatment in terms of remuneration coupled with unattractive employment and working conditions (including lack of career prospects, high pupil-teacher ratios, etc.), have reduced country capacities to attract qualified and talented candidates to the profession. There is low morale and motivation among those teachers who have already joined the teaching corps (see the discussion on teacher motivation below), leading to high staff turnover and levels of attrition and widening teacher gaps.

Regionalization policies appear to be a promising avenue to ensure an equitable distribution of teachers and teacher quality in an educational system. Burkina Faso has been implementing a teacher recruitment and deployment regionalization policy, described in Box 5. As stated in the Burkina Faso country report, 'improved general living conditions in the regions and the numbers of vacant teaching posts in rural areas are reasons that encourage young graduates to try their luck outside the urban areas (the regional capitals).

The same trend can be seen in the choice of regions in the competitive examinations organized by the State. Young people overlook their desires and apply to serve in regions where they have the best chance of being hired' (Kyelem, 2016, p. 25).

#### Box 5. Regionalization of teacher recruitment and deployment in Burkina Faso

Public sector teachers hired as state 'contractuels' until December 2015, whether they are in primary, post-primary or secondary education, are subject to the regionalization system: when applying to take part in the competitive pre-service teacher education entrance examination, the candidate must state the region in which he or she decides to work if hired by the state. They may not be assigned anywhere other than this region, and the head of the Directorate of Education in the region concerned will take

the necessary steps, together with the personnel management services, to assign them according to the needs underlying those posts.

The allocation of posts across the regions is based on teacher shortages, as reported by the regional education directorate to the ministry, on information provided by schools, school districts and the provincial education directorate. An intra- and inter-region teacher mobility system was put in place and gradually adjusted to take into account social constraints and teacher unions' criticism and claims. Once deployed, a teacher must spend three years in the same school before he or she can be transferred to another school within the same region. Transfer to another region is allowed only after serving six years in the initial region.

It is a fact that newly recruited teachers are assigned to schools in rural areas because the principle of fairness requires that those who have been there a long time should have the right to be transferred to urban areas if they so request. There are even cases where a newly recruited teacher or a recent graduate from training school is the first teacher or head of a school. Agreeing to serve in a rural area is a requirement to which all candidates must commit when registering for the competitive examination or integration test. Thus, a posting to a village or hamlet where the teacher is the sole recruit no longer raises any legal issues and cannot be deemed discriminatory, as the principle applies to everyone.

*Source: Based on Kyelem (2016) and Sirois (2017).*

## **IV.2 Deployment**

In Eritrea, teacher deployment in the public system is managed at national and regional levels. After completing initial training, teachers are assigned to one of the six regions in the country. The Regional Education Office then deploys teachers to specific schools. Although due consideration is given to teachers with special cases (health and/or family situation), newly recruited teachers do not choose their deployment area and take up the posts in the areas of their assignment. This is particularly so in the case of national service teachers, whether they are on contract arrangements (direct teachers) or open-ended appointments (with initial teacher education qualification).

National service teachers on contract appointment in public schools are normally assigned to teach in remote rural areas. The duration of the contract for national service teachers is typically 18 months. They can be absorbed into the regular teaching service provided they are accredited as professional teachers following prescribed teacher education courses.

In the Gambia, unqualified contract teachers are posted in the same schools as open-ended appointment teachers and there is no discrimination regarding the level at which a contract teacher may teach. Nevertheless, salary differences and concerns over stagnant incomes for contract teachers remain. The country report states that since contract teachers are hired after the posting of open-ended appointment teachers, they can be posted to schools where open-ended appointment teachers are unwilling to go which could be the remote, rural locations or hard-to-teach schools.

In the Mali report, one can see that contract teachers are generally posted in semi-urban and rural areas. Thus, the students they teach mainly come from these areas. This situation was depicted earlier by Fomba et al. (2004), which stated:

Out of a total of 19,187 State contract teachers found in primary and lower secondary schools back then, 12,633 were in rural areas or 66%, of which 43% held just a primary school certificate and 38% a lower secondary diploma; 74% of them had gone through a professional training programme that lasted three months or less; [... and] a large number of those who were surveyed had come to teaching by default because they did not have other employment opportunities. (Sidibé, 2016, p.31)

The following excerpt from the Burkina Faso country report most likely applies to several other countries.

According to human resource managers in the ministries in charge of education, no students are purposefully assigned to contract teachers. It is a fact that such a practice is not written anywhere. However, the fact that newly hired teachers are deployed to rural areas leads logically to a situation where the children of these areas are those that are predominantly taught by teachers with limited or no professional experience, usually on fixed-term contracts. The same goes for children in non-denominational private schools. They too are most likely to be taught by contract teachers. (Kyelem, 2016, p. 26)

This final issue raises other important points, including equity in the distribution of teacher quality and in the provision of education.

### **Box 6. Gender differences in deployment**

Data reveal far-reaching and continuing differences in the employment of women and men in rural areas. Studies have pointed to various factors behind the shortage of female teachers, primarily relating to lifestyle, health and safety in homes and schools. Attempts to engage more women as teachers have not made significant inroads to redress shortages.

According to Mitchell and Yang (2012), the intractability of these shortages is due to a general lack of understanding of women teachers' activities in schools and in the community. This in turn has led to shortcomings in policies linked to the deployment of women teachers, both in relation to rural education and to girls' education more broadly.

In a review of women teachers' attitudes towards working in rural areas, Mitchell and Yang report that women maintain that teaching in rural areas carries too many burdens. Besides having to cope with their domestic chores, more onerous because of poor facilities and services, they often carry responsibilities for male teachers who engage in additional economic activities. Poor housing, the lack of sanitary facilities and insecurity were high on their list of difficult working circumstances.

Source: Copyright © International Labour Organization (2016) pp.10-11.



### IV.3 Working conditions of contract teachers

In Kenya, contract teachers' working conditions (and especially those of the Boards of Management (BOM)) have been rated as poor in comparison with other professionals with similar educational qualifications. Even if they teach the same type of students and have similar workloads as open-ended appointment teachers, BOM teachers do not access the same salaries or benefits or have job security.

In Chad, the working conditions of contract teachers (*maîtres communautaires* and *professeurs contractuels*) are quite different from those of open-ended appointment teachers. Contract teachers do not benefit from the same rights and opportunities (such as housing, transportation allowance and pension) as their tenured counterparts. They receive less and have fewer resources, not least because they are mostly found in deprived communities where teaching, learning materials and teachers' pay are supplied by and dependent on financial and parental contributions. The level of motivation of the contract teachers, students and parents remains very low in these communities compared with schools where there are open-ended appointment teachers.

The multiple challenges faced by female teachers adds another layer of difficulty in rural areas. `Perhaps, as an umbrella to understand the range of issues that rural women teachers face, we might need to think of the double and triple shifts that they take on behalf of girls in classrooms and their families. Added to the issues of security, long distances of travel and the patriarchal structure of schools, then, it is easy to understand the burden of care imposed on women teachers` (Mitchell and Yang, 2012, p. 10).

There is some evidence of workload and working conditions being poorer for contract teachers in the private school system. In Ethiopia, for instance, close to 80% of the respondents agreed that the workload of teachers at private schools is excessive compared with those in public schools. In the Gambia, the teacher union receives many complaints from teachers in private schools, ranging from the issuance of appointment letters to the (non) payment of agreed-upon salaries, to terminations or dismissals with no justification. Similarly, in Uganda, all teachers in private schools are on contract. Yet, a majority of contracts are verbal, i.e. they are undocumented.

In instances where there is some form of documentation, teachers may not be given copies of the contracts, thus finding themselves in a weak position vis-à-vis their employers. Interestingly, the Uganda country report notes that a majority of private school employers prefer to hire male teachers because it is believed that they are more reliable in terms of availability. They would not request maternity leave and can work extra hours, unlike female teachers, who might leave early to attend to family matters. Such preference has not been reported in other participating countries but can probably be observed elsewhere. For sure, it may be an obstacle to increasing the number of female teachers, even though it is known to positively influence girls' education in terms of access, perseverance and completion.

## IV.4 Relationship of contract teachers with teacher unions

The common perception is that contract teachers do not have the support or social protection provided by unions to lobby for better conditions, although there is some evidence in West Africa that this situation is changing as a result of their regularization in the civil service. In Benin, there is a very large number of teacher unions, especially at primary (88) and secondary (52) levels. Repeated claims and actions by the unions and social partners led to a significant upward revision of contract teachers' salaries. Box 7 summarizes the assessment of two union officials of the situation in Benin.

### Box 7. Views of two union officials on the situation of contract teachers in Benin

Repeated claims and actions by unions and social partners led to a significant upward revision of contract teachers' salaries. [...] A K-6 union official, working on behalf of contract teachers, acknowledged the state's efforts in career advancement in the teacher cadre. However, he urged the state to undertake the massive recruitment of qualified teachers. Moreover, he deplores the fact that 1,509 contract teachers, of whom 22 are administrative staff recruited in 2014, still have not had their fixed-term contracts signed. As a result, they receive no salary but continue to work. This state of affairs is demotivating for teachers, who are already working under very tough conditions with a combination of overcrowded and multigrade classes. He suggests they be given special training for multigrade teaching so that they can handle the work effectively and efficiently. He stressed that, among the union's members, some have obtained bachelor's and professional master's degrees. Admittedly, over the years, this category of teachers has made a lot of advances, both pedagogically and intellectually.

For the Secretary-General of the Workers' Confederation of Benin, whose affiliated organizations include five contract teachers unions, the struggle must go on to improve the legal terms of service of these contract staff by stemming job insecurity, which is the breeding ground for mediocrity. In fact, without a calling, a stable situation, or a professional qualification the contract teacher will be unable to contribute towards the drive for quality education. The Secretary-General also wants the state to wield its sovereign power in the area of teacher education so that the various training institutions all follow the same programme for the development of general and professional skill sets. As certain teaching staff use their contract status as a springboard, those wanting to stay in the profession should be encouraged by granting them access to libraries to boost the intellectual content of their teaching.

Source: Tchitchi (2016), p.35.

# Part V. Pathways out of fixed-term status and career advancement

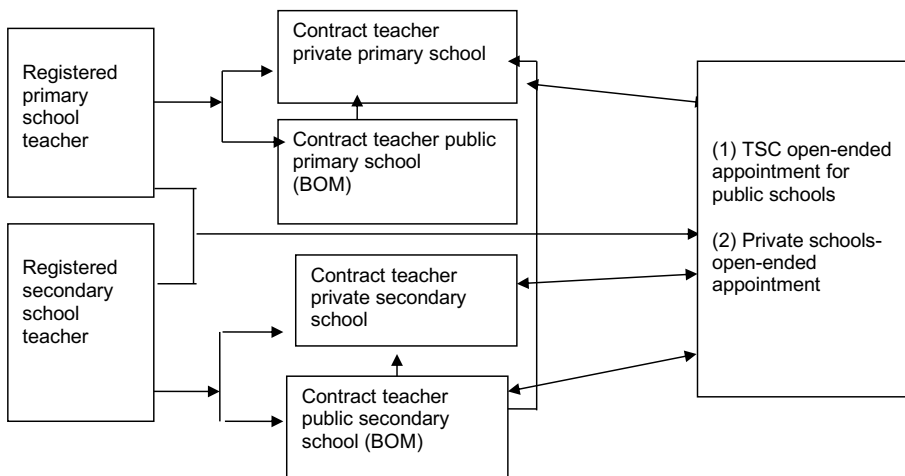
## V.1 Pathways out of fixed-term status

The review suggests that opportunities for contract teachers to move into, and out of, different types of contract situations can be initiated by either the employee or the employer. Pathways can also be based on a maximum period spent in a fixed-term position (Ethiopia, Eritrea), or be created as a result of competitive application to a different contract status or as a result of governments terminating a specific type of teacher contract.

Figure 7 presents existing possible pathways in and out of contract status in Kenya, as conceptualized by the author of the country report. According to her, pathways to move to open-ended contracts in public schools were terminated in 2010 when all teachers on contract at the time moved to Teachers Service Commission (TSC) open-ended appointments. The pathway out of Boards of Management (BOM) teacher status is only through a competitive application for available spaces in open-ended or contract teaching opportunities. Due to the high unemployment rate of trained teachers in the country, as well as the high shortage of teachers, BOM teachers who are poorly remunerated move in and out of contracts as they search for better terms of service or remuneration.

The TSC teachers in Kenya on open-ended appointments also have the opportunity to be recruited on a contract basis after retirement. Self-initiated movements across contracts exist where teachers wilfully terminate existing contracts to join open-ended appointments, or move out of open-ended appointments in favour of contract terms.

**Figure 7. Possible pathways between and within contract types in public and private schools in Kenya**



In Uganda, contract and/or license teachers can switch to open-ended appointments after going through in-service training. In private schools, contract teachers can change their status to civil servant teachers only when teaching vacancies are declared in public schools and calls for applications are advertised. Contract teachers in the private sector, who may not be trained teacher professionals, have to sponsor themselves to train before they can be allowed to join open-ended arrangements.

In Mozambique, according to the report (da Costa Alipio, 2016), a teacher of a given professional category moves horizontally and from the bottom to the top. That is, a teacher of (the lowest) N3 professional category moves vertically from C to A (promotion) and horizontally from grade 1 to 4 (progression). The move from one category to another is reserved only for open-ended appointment teachers. Both promotion and progression require up to three years of teaching experience, which means that an open-ended appointment teacher of N3 category can move from rank C to B after three years and progress from rank 1 to 2 in parallel.

In the Gambia, from the 1970s to the 1980s, almost all teachers entering the teaching profession would start as unqualified contract teachers. The only pathway to an open-ended appointment was to be trained as a qualified teacher, otherwise the individual maintained the same status. After teaching as a contract teacher for a number of years, the person could proceed to the Gambia College to be trained as a qualified teacher. In the 1980s and 1990s it was very common for a teacher who had taught as an unqualified contract teacher to find him- or herself in the same class at the Gambia College with the same students they taught in primary school undergoing the same training. Retired and non-Gambian teachers have no opportunity to become open-ended appointment teachers. They can obtain high positions but would still remain contract teachers.

In the Central African Republic, students who become contract teachers must meet all certification and training requirements, and proper planning in terms of the availability of State funds to pay teachers, to be integrated into public service. However, it must be noted that even though there is a pathway for contract teachers to move to open-ended appointed status, it can be a very long process.

In Congo, one way of moving out of contract teaching and becoming a permanent teacher is by taking a professional test organized by the Ministry of Public Service. In Cameroon, working as a contract teacher for 5 to 10 years is a pathway towards an open-ended appointment, on condition that the contract teacher is no more than 32 years of age. The situation in Burkina Faso is summarized in the Box 8.

### **Box 8. Pathways out of contract status in Burkina Faso**

Up until the end of 2015, contract teachers wishing to obtain permanent teacher status in the public sector had to either be competitively admitted into pre-service teacher education institutions or take an integration test. This depended on the degree held in their chosen disciplines as well as the age limit for entering the civil service. Teachers holding a professional certificate for general or technical post-primary education (CAP-CEG or CAET) or for upper secondary education (CAPES or CAPET) were sometimes integrated into the public education system on that basis. As of January 2016, all state contract teachers were granted civil service status, putting an end to their contract status in the public sector.

Access to a permanent post in the private sector is less regulated. According to the specifications laid down by the Ministry of National Education, private schools are required to have at least 30% of teachers with permanent status when they first open, and this percentage must rise progressively so that by the fifth year at least 50% of their teaching staff are permanent. If these provisions are complied with, the transition from contract teacher to permanent status in these schools is frequent and swift. In practice, the survey conducted showed that applications to open new schools reveal lists of permanent teachers who will not actually be working in the schools seeking ministerial authorization to open.

Curriculum vitae are compiled without the persons listed in the application being given a contract of appointment, and sometimes there are teachers working in other schools who are not seeking employment at the school in question. For various reasons – among them the lack of resources – the units in charge of monitoring private schools within the ministry rarely carry out checks on the staffing of these schools.

In the private sector, outside of schools falling under the National Directorate for Catholic Education (DNEC), no systematic use is made of competitions or tests in the recruitment of teachers. Teacher recruitment in this sector is based on a review of applications, though that usually occurs only for those applying to the post who have no social connections with the founder or manager of the targeted school. It is also easier to obtain a permanent teaching post when one is recommended than on the basis of the quality of one's application.

That said, recommendations are not always a sign of nepotism at work. In order for their pupils to have the best results, private school managers are often on the lookout for teachers with a reputation for good performance, especially in the end-of-cycle examination classes. They are therefore prepared to offer these teachers permanent posts if that is what it takes to secure their services.

*Source: Kyelem (2016).*

In Mali, according to the labour code, a fixed-term contract cannot be concluded for more than two years and cannot be renewed more than twice with the same employer. In reality, neither the state/local authorities nor the private sector respects these provisions. The country report states, 'In the private sector, migration from contract teaching to an open-ended contract or permanent status has always been, and still is, handled by negotiation, depending on the school board of governors or school owner's goodwill' (Sidibé, 2016, p. 28). Contract teachers hired by the state and local authorities may acquire permanent status by passing a civil service entrance examination.

The conditions for such integration for a contract teacher are set in Decree No. 09-515/P-RM of 24 September 2009, which gave effect to Law 09-035 of 10 August 2009. Respectively for teachers with and without the required professional qualifications, a condition to fulfil is to pass a control test or an aptitude test. Another condition for both groups is to have at least one year's teaching experience. These integration tests are held each year and it was provided that those contract teachers who did not pass would be maintained in their contract

status. Their capacities would be strengthened to improve their teaching practices and so that they might take part in future tests until there are no longer contract positions. According to the representatives of the Ministry of National Education and the National Directorate of Local Authorities, this measure is still in place. The implementation of Decree No. 09-515/P-RM of 24 September 2009 allowed the detection of a significant number of contract teachers who were using false qualifications. In the District of Bamako alone, at the time, the number of fake diplomas detected was estimated at 127 (Daou, A., 2010). The education authorities confirmed that these diplomas were fake but did not wish to comment on what happened to the contract teachers in question. From 2009 to the present, all contract teachers who have passed these various tests have been integrated into the civil service of the state or the local authorities. The number of contract teachers who have thus obtained civil service status was not available, but there are currently 18,244 contract teachers who have entered civil service in local authorities under this scheme. (Sidibé, 2016, p.27–28)

The following excerpt describes pathways from the status of teaching assistant and education volunteer to civil servant status in Togo.

According to Decree No. 2007-075/PR of 29 June 2007, setting up the category of teaching assistants (EA), after five years these EAs become civil servants. From 2015, however, the provisions applied are those of Law No. 2013-002 of 21 January 2013 on the general regulations for the civil service and its implementing Decree No. 2015-120/PR of 14 December 2015 on the common modalities for implementing the general regulations for Togo's civil service. That instrument provides that all teaching assistants are granted civil servant status. The volunteers (EV) sit the competitive recruitment examination to be admitted to the pre-service education institutions (ENI) to become civil servant teachers at primary level, and those destined to teach at secondary level sit the competitive recruitment examination to enter the Graduate Normal School (ENS) for initial training, and are hired upon completion. (Amivi Komlan, 2016, p.20)

Finally, in Senegal, having rapidly become a critical mass, the national education volunteers forced the creation of the category of 'contract teachers' in 1999. This category was initially accessible via a test after two years of service. Further pressure on the government led to the creation of a pathway to civil service status upon passing a professional exam.

Following the termination of the Volunteer of National Education project, 'Decree 2011-625 of 11 May 2011 setting up the Regional Training Centres for Education Personnel (CRFPE) redefined the conditions for entry, training and evaluation. Graduates of the CRFPE are called student-teachers. The required academic level is the *Baccalauréat* (end-of-secondary education diploma), and the final evaluation entitles candidates to a certificate of completion of student-teacher training, which corresponds to the theoretical part of the *Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique* and confers the status of contract teacher (cf. Decree 99-908 of 13 September 1999, p.14–15). After one year, they can claim integration in the ranks of full-fledged teachers once they pass the practical part of the CAP' (Diatta, 2016, p. 21).

Here again, inter-country variation is something that stands out; so does intra-country variation in relation to contract type (fixed-term or open-ended), sector or employer (public vs private, state vs private school owners/managers vs local communities), and level of education.

## V.2 Career advancement

Around the world, not many teachers and school leaders perceive a correlation between teaching effort and attractive career outcomes (Guajardo, 2011). Rewarding excellent teaching is not done at all, or is done superficially without any increase in professional responsibilities (Abbott, 2008).

Table 10 presents the career trajectory of contract teachers in Benin compared with their civil service colleagues.

**Table 10. Trajectories of primary school permanent and state contract teachers in Benin**

	Permanent state employee	Contractual state employee
<b>Legislative and regulatory frameworks</b>	Law 86-013 of 26 February 1986	<p>Labour Code of the Republic of Benin on the individual employment contract</p> <p>Law No. 2004-27 of 31 January 2005 amending and supplementing Article 2 of Law No. 86-013 on the general regulations for permanent state employees</p> <p>Decree No. 2004-627 of 10 November 2004 on transferring certain functions from the civil service minister to the education minister or ministers in Benin with responsibility for the management of teaching staff</p> <p>Decree No. 2007-592 of 31 December 2007 on the legal regime for the employment of state contractuels</p> <p>Decree No. 2008-377 of 24 June 2008 on the legal regime for the employment of contract staff by the state</p> <p>Ministerial order No. 124/MTFP/DC/SGM/DGFP/DRSC/SA of 23 March 2009 on setting the implementation modalities of Articles 100, 101 and 113 of Decree No. 2008-377 of 24 June 2008 on the legal regime for the employment of state 'contractuels'</p>
<b>Management system</b>	Career (statutory)	Employment (contractual relationship)

	Permanent state employee	Contractual state employee
From recruitment to seventh year	Serve wherever needed	Openings (position)
	18 to 40 years old	18 years old
	Competitive examination to enter the pre-service primary teacher corps, grade B3-1, index 250	Competitive examination to enter the pre-service primary contract teacher corps, grade B3
	<b>First year</b>	
	Pre-service TE in an École normale d'instituteurs (ENI)	One month's initial training, classroom teaching
	<b>Second year</b>	
	Pre-service TE (continued), leading to the award of the Certificat d'aptitude profession (CAP)	Classroom teaching (continued), continuing on-the-job training
	<b>Third year</b>	
	Tenure as grade B1 teacher, index 300	Tenure as grade B1 teacher, index 300, contract renewed*
	<b>Fourth year</b>	
	Advancement on the career ladder (ranks and scales)	Professional training leading to CAP qualification, signature of open-ended contract
	<b>Fifth year</b>	
	Advancement and promotion according to the system	Promotion (contract revised) grade B1-1
<b>Seventh year</b>		
Advancement to B1-3	Advancement to B1-2	

Source: Based on Tchitchi (2016).

The table suggests that while fulfilling the same duties as colleagues with permanent state employee status, a primary school contract teacher spends four years without any career advancement. According to the country report (Tchitchi, 2016), this state of affairs would not be a problem if the state offered possibilities for materializing their integration into the civil service after two



contracts and after successfully taking a direct recruitment test in line with a disposition in Decree 97-562 of 11 November 1997. The author of the report goes on to deplore this situation as follows:

The possibility of being integrated into the civil service seems to have been increasingly hampered by inconsistencies orchestrated by the administration itself, which has confused the original approach by failing to open up enough places in competitions to become permanent employees. At the same time, contract teachers are being hired almost every year, and their numbers are growing from year to year without the authorities showing any concern for their future. The result is that the failure to implement (in the required form and according to the prescribed methods) the practical measures promised to contract teachers in order to make them part of the civil service only further heightens their almost constant state of anxiety and nervousness. Contract teachers say this is why they abandon their classes to attend meetings and gatherings to examine their situation. Class schedules are no longer properly followed, study programmes are no longer executed according to schedule, and the result is a crisis. In such circumstances, all sorts of claims are brandished on all sides and the ensuing confusion fuels instability in schools. All these factors are undermining the quality of education. (Tchitchi, 2016, p. 15)

## Part VI. Normative challenges

### VI.1 Teacher motivation

Low motivation and absenteeism of teachers have been cited as key factors contributing to low student outcomes. The declining status of the teaching profession in Africa and the differing salary and poor working conditions experienced by teachers impact strongly on their motivation levels.

It is important to recognize that the same factors leading to low effort among civil service teachers also impact negatively on the effort of contract teachers. The review indeed revealed that contract teachers appear to be working in challenging circumstances, in addition to the lack of training and generally lower salaries, thus creating a difficult work environment that leads to lower teacher motivation and higher turnover. The section below offers findings from the review in both anglophone and francophone countries.

#### Anglophone countries

Research in Eritrea has shown that teacher motivation is adversely affected by work overload, poor salary/remuneration, lack of upward mobility and excessive administrative control (Habtemariam, 2008). A separate study indicates that secondary school teachers in Eritrea are more demotivated than motivated. The most prominent demotivating factors include low fixed salary, lack of career progression, lack of welfare entitlements (e.g. medical/life insurance), large class sizes, stress related to working in double-shift systems, and the low social status accorded to teachers in the wider society (Kumar, 2008).

In Ethiopia, similar challenges of low teacher motivation have been noted and many teachers are unwilling to continue in the teaching profession. According to the country report, the teaching profession in Ethiopia used to be a desirable occupation, but low remuneration, challenging working conditions, the low status of teachers and low work satisfaction have changed the attractiveness of the profession. The number of teaching staff who annually quit the profession is significant and is considered a long-standing problem.

Mulugeta (2012) in his study on the working conditions of teachers in Addis Ababa reported that about 37% of teachers are studying other disciplines such as engineering and accounting (during weekends, summer courses and evening programmes) for the purpose of changing profession. In 2013/14, the country had a total of 438,976 primary and secondary school teachers. In that year alone, 17,860 (4.07%) of them dropped out. Still, in 2013/14, the Ministry of Education planned to recruit 10,000 candidates to join the postgraduate diploma programme to train for teaching positions in secondary schools. However, fewer than 3,000 students applied with only 1,780 candidates taking the entrance exam, and at the end of the process fewer than 1,000 joined the programme. A year later more than 35% had left the programme. Supplying the educational system with professionally qualified teachers thus appears to be quite a challenge for the country.

In the Gambia, as in many other countries, not all those who are admitted into the teacher preparation programmes offered by the Gambia College School of Education are really interested in making teaching their career. Some are there simply because there are no other job opportunities,

while others use the certificate to look for other jobs. Some students also use the training as a stepping stone to gain work experience before moving on to other jobs.

In Uganda, the competition to join teaching is not considered as serious as other professions, such as law and medicine, especially for people wishing to join primary teaching. This is because teaching is not lucrative. It is rare to find young people indicating teaching as their first choice of career. A majority of people having trained as teachers are keen to switch professions. Consequently, the teacher attrition rate is high as teachers become dissatisfied with teaching and look to start new careers.

## Francophone countries

Interviewees in Burkina Faso unanimously deplored the precarious situation of fixed-term contract teachers, in addition to the way contract teachers are perceived as having lower status. The author of the country report goes on to say:

It is remarkable that the two main reasons given by those running private schools for hiring contract teachers are the fact that they cost less and that their lack of job security drives them to work harder. The union representatives interviewed even stated that such teachers avoid contacting the teachers' organizations (unions, among others) so as not to give the school founder or head a reason to terminate their contract. The teachers themselves recognized that, besides the obligation to work beyond the call of duty and perform well, the need to be on good terms with their employers often leads them to adopt servile behaviours or sometimes accept tasks that are not part of their teaching duties. It is thus not unusual for a teacher to be asked by the school head to provide information about his or her colleagues. (Kyelem, 2016, p. 28)

Education sector stakeholders are well aware of the low level of motivation of contract teachers and how they are always on the lookout for something better elsewhere.

But these are secondary considerations: the main concern for the teachers is to have enough to live on until something better comes along and, for school heads, the main concern is to reduce their financial burden as much as possible. Students' parents know little about the professional situation of the teachers looking after their children. Of those interviewed, the only parents of pupils who were really au fait with the issues surrounding contract teachers came from the education sector (one teacher and one primary level pedagogical supervisor). Some parents saw no problem in having contract staff, as all public servants are 'contractuels', and others could clearly not see the difference between a part-time teacher and a contract teacher. As for the pupils, they had no idea of the existence of categories among those teachers they designate as permanent teachers. The category of part-time teachers is better known, because these teachers tell their pupils openly, in many cases to justify some of their absences or delays, and persuade them to accept remedial lessons. (Kyelem, 2016, pp.28–29)

In Mali, too, all stakeholders interviewed thought – though to varying degrees – that the working conditions of contract teachers were difficult. They contended that contract teachers were less well

paid than their civil service colleagues and mostly sent to work in the most remote and austere areas where teachers are hard to find. Occasionally their meagre salaries did not arrive on time or were misappropriated by representatives of the local authorities or decentralized education services. As for the reform, allowing the integration of contract teachers into the state or local authorities' civil service pursuant to the Agreement of 18 July 2007 between the National Union of Workers of Mali (UNTM) and the government, the Secretary-General of the National Union of Secondary Teachers in State and Local Authority Schools (SY.N.ES.EC) stated,

We are satisfied, because this has removed a thorn from the side of contract teachers. Imagine, a few years ago, when a contract teacher died, it might as well have been a donkey. His beneficiaries did not have even the bare minimum death benefit. We had to negotiate one, two or three months' salary for them. And that was it. With integration into the civil service, this problem is solved. Contract teachers have access to training. They will be eligible for appointment to positions with responsibilities and many benefits like those of civil servants. Now we can say that we are at home in our own country. Before, we were like foreigners coming to look for work in Mali. [Comments posted on 10 January 2011 on the website [ousmane.over-blog.net](http://ousmane.over-blog.net)] (Sidibé, 2016, p. 34)

These comments are troubling, but unfortunately they depict a harsh reality of many contract teachers in other countries. In Togo, for instance, the living conditions of contract teachers, and particularly volunteer teachers, are said to be far from encouraging potential candidates to enter this noble profession. They regard it as a transitory job, something to do while waiting to find a 'real job'.

The way this category of workers is perceived socially is also illustrated by this anecdote: a mother, whose daughter had become pregnant, cried out in horror when told that the guilty party was a teacher. 'A teacher! At least if it was a Zemidjan man,<sup>21</sup> he would look after you!' Many comments that emerged from the focus groups as well as from pupils and members of the community reflect this perception of poverty, which is damaging to the profession. [According to a member of one community], 'in some villages they call them "chicken teacher", in other words a teacher paid with chickens or sometimes corn, or else a teacher who gets his farm ploughed by way of salary.' 'Maitkolgkouka', 'maitkpatoul' and 'maitbig' are some of the terms used locally in Moba to describe this category of teachers. (Komlan, 2016, p. 28–29)

Cutting across both anglophone and francophone countries, it should be noted that many women on teaching contracts resist working in the areas where there is greatest shortage due to the same challenges facing teachers on open-ended contracts. Qualified female teachers are available, but they refuse to move because of the lower quality of life in rural or poor areas. Housing, safety and transportation constitute top concerns (Mulkeen, 2010).

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21 Slang term for a motorbike taxi driver.

## VI.2 Education quality and equity issues

The country reports confirmed stakeholder concerns about the performance of contract teachers based on the assumption that low levels of preparation and motivation of contract teachers in rural areas will have a negative impact on the quality of teaching and, by extension, that of student learning. The category of contract teachers cited as the most problematic is the young, inexperienced, untrained teachers often hired by parents and the community. These young teachers neither are prepared for the complex task of teaching nor receive adequate remuneration and support from the communities that rely on them.

The employment of community contract teachers has raised concerns about the allocation of resources to the most marginalized children (e.g. child labourers, tribal children or ethnic minorities). The fear is that social inequality may be perpetuated if contract teachers are found to be less effective than regular teachers in imparting learning. In effect, the children who often end up with younger, inexperienced and untrained contract teachers are the children who are most in need of high quality teaching.

Recent research by Chudgar (2015) using PASEC data from five francophone countries lends credibility to these perceptions. Her research suggests that students of contract teachers may systematically underperform compared with those of permanent teachers. In Eritrea, for example, in all three Monitoring of Learning Achievement (MLA) surveys conducted by the Ministry of Education so far (2001, 2009 and 2014), and involving primary grades 3 and 5, rural students were outperformed by urban students. The results of these surveys do not provide causal evidence, but the underperformance of rural students was attributed potentially to the high proportions of national service teachers among their schools' teaching staff. With no pedagogical training or practical experience in the classroom, such teachers are normally deployed to rural areas.

In Ethiopia the country report noted that, when compared with trained open-ended appointment teachers, contract teachers are perceived to be less capable by communities and parents. The perception is that teachers with open-ended appointment status are more responsible and professional and better than contract teachers as far as learning outcomes in government schools are concerned. The same perception exists in other participating countries.

On the other hand, concerns about the quality of education do not necessarily hold true for all categories of contract teachers and research has also shown the opposite to be true in terms of learning achievements for children taught by contract teachers.. Randomized experiments in Kenya have demonstrated that certain teachers who are hired directly by the school on short-term contracts can improve student test score outcomes (Duflo, Dupas, and Kremer 2011, 2012). Because contract teachers face stronger incentives to deliver quality teaching relative to their civil service counterparts, they are more likely to be at school, to be in the classroom teaching and to deliver similar learning outcomes compared with civil service teachers. In countries such as Mali and, to some extent, in Togo, where the contract teacher system works more through the local communities, local recruitment may also lead to closer monitoring and more effective hiring of contract teachers (Mbiti, 2016).

In all cases, it should also be underlined that differences in teacher performance, where they exist, are greatly mediated by the country context, the ways in which contract policy is implemented, and by the characteristics of the contract teachers in terms of age, personality, experience and gender. Moreover, research on teacher quality has highlighted the difficulty in identifying specific characteristics of an effective teacher (Rivkin et al., 2005) while rigorous evaluations on the impact of contract teachers on learning outcomes are scarce.

## **Part VII. Improving the policy environment**

The final part of the synthesis report looks at the gaps and implications for the policy environment of the contract teacher phenomenon. It suggests that any benefits to be teased from the introduction of contract teacher policies are conditional upon joined-up, evidence-based decision-making within education systems and teacher policy environments.

The policy guidance below draws from the review findings and research evidence, and especially takes inspiration from the teacher-related work of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), to suggest areas where contract teacher practices may be strengthened in the African context.

### **VII.1 Clarifying the status and employment rights of contract teachers**

This review suggests that, as with teachers recruited in crisis and emergency situations, minimum efforts must be made to provide an employment and regulatory framework for contract teachers in different countries which clarifies their status in the teaching corps. Teachers and other education personnel must be employed under clear contractual arrangements which spell out their entitlements (salary or incentive, working days and hours, working conditions, etc.), their responsibilities and duties and – equally important – protects new recruits against the flouting of local labour laws (INEE, 2004, 2009).

New contract recruits will need familiarity with codes and conventions including:

- The joint ILO/UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the Status of Teachers which ‘sets forth the rights and responsibilities of teachers and international standards for their initial preparation and further education, recruitment, employment, teaching and learning conditions’ (ILO/UNESCO, 2008, p. 3).
- UNESCO Conventions on Academic Recognition (Arusha Convention) (1981) which promotes (1) greater mobility of students and professionals throughout the African continent; (2) effective use of resources through improving academic mobility of students and teachers; and (3) better recognition of academic and professional qualifications, stages of study and experiential learning.
- ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration (2006)<sup>9</sup> ILO Equality of Treatment (Social Security) Convention (1962, No 118)<sup>10</sup> and Maintenance of Social Security Rights Convention (1982, No 157)

The Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol offers further elements that could be useful in developing national policy frameworks that consider the rights and responsibilities of contract teachers.

### Box 9. Example of Teacher Recruitment Protocol (CTRP)

- ‘Ensure the establishment of a complaints mechanism and procedure in regard to recruitment to be known to the teacher at the start of the process’ (p. 10, [Para 3.6]).
- ‘Maintain a quality assurance system to ensure adherence’ to the protocol and fair labour practice by recruiting agencies. ‘Where agencies do not adhere, they should be removed from the list of approved agencies’ (p. 11 [Para 3.7]).
- ‘Recruitment should be free from unfair discrimination and from any dishonest or misleading information, especially in regard to gender exploitation’ (p. 12, [Para 3.9]).
- ‘Provide detailed programmes to enable [recruited] teachers to achieve fully qualified status in accordance with any domestic requirements of the recruiting agency’ (p. 12, [Para 3.10]).
- ‘Ensure that the newly recruited teachers are provided with adequate orientation and induction programmes, including cultural adjustment programmes, with a focus on the school and its environment’ (p. 13, Para [3.14]).

Source: Penson and Yonemura (2011).

A code of conduct should set out clear standards of behaviour for all teachers in any given country (including teachers hired on a fixed-term, contract basis) and all recruits must be made familiar with these professional standards and ethics during their recruitment process and training. The consequences for persons who do not comply with these standards should also be specified. This is especially so in relation to protecting the rights and security of all children and school staff in fragile crisis or post-crisis situations.

The importance of sensitization of contract teachers to gender issues cannot be overstressed. Simply employing female contract teachers in schools is never a complete answer to countering gender bias and the impact of cultural norms and poverty that hinder female students from completing even the most basic level of schooling. Female teachers can reinforce gender stereotypes if they do not receive gender sensitivity training (UIS, 2010 in Stromquist, Klees, and Lin. [eds.]. 2017).

## VII.2 Improving data and information on contract teachers

The review revealed the lack of systematic data collection to inform policy, perhaps because the official stance of governments is towards the hiring of formally trained, civil service teachers. However, the practice of hiring contract teachers is now too widespread and significant in proportion to ignore.

For the purposes of forward planning and the monitoring of contract teacher policies and practices, data must be more systematically collected by ministries of education. The Meeting of the Commonwealth Working Group on Teacher Recruitment suggested that “emphasis should be

placed on strengthening existing data management systems and monitoring data and information at country level to address issues relating to tracking teacher turnover, recruitment, deployment and relevant information about each foreign recruited teacher” (Ochs and Jackson, 2009, p. xi).

Similar calls for such systems are made in several country reports with recommendations made with respect to having reliable and up-to-date data on contract teachers in order to guide policy-making and effectively monitor the stock of contract teachers by educational level in each area. Data are needed on teachers’ socio-demographic profile and professional characteristics, employment and working conditions, movement within and out of the educational system and so on and ought to be disaggregated by gender. This is crucial for national systems even to make the most basic decisions on the allocation of human and financial resources.

There is also a need for research looking at policies which foresee giving contract teachers civil service status. More long-term rigorous data are needed on before and after when contract teachers are regularized within education systems. This means following up on these teachers and in particular examining the impact they have on students when they are given civil service status.

### **VII.3 The need to review education, training and support modalities**

Given widespread stakeholder concerns around education quality issues posed by the contract teacher phenomenon, pre- and in-service teacher education, training and support programmes for contract teachers must involve the same considerations as for civil service teachers and especially the socio-economic, cultural and psychosocial contexts of school environments. The main elements are outlined below.

#### **Quality assurance in teacher education and training**

Within clear quality assurance guidelines in relation to exposure to subject content knowledge, pedagogy, familiarization with the curriculum and teaching approaches, ministries of education need to provide professional development to (sometimes) inexperienced recruits with limited education so that they, in turn, can provide quality instruction in the formal system. Admittedly, this is a careful balancing act. While a rapidly recruited contract teacher will not master everything related to his or her discipline at the end of his or her initial education and training, he/she must attain a certain minimum level of proficiency to be able to implement the basics of teaching in the classroom (INEE, 2004).

The rapid training of inexperienced contract teachers can be challenging in resource-poor environments with limited infrastructure, energy and connectivity constraints. In such situations, the experience of education in emergency situations suggests that a protocol for the training of contract teachers is needed. If previously trained teachers are available, INEE recommends taking advantage of their knowledge and experience to help develop methods and materials that are suitable for the context, and to mobilize support from community members and para-professionals. The examples below may also offer inspiration from emergency situations on different types of training modalities that may be appropriate for contract teachers.



## Box 10. Potential training and CPD modalities for contract teachers

### Training for contract teachers through peer learning communities

If funds are available, education authorities should consider establishing support for new contract recruits through learning communities and clusters of schools, where senior staff are trained to act as mobile trainers/mentors for junior staff within the school cluster.

In Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Uganda and several other countries, various forms of teacher learning communities have been leveraged as centrepieces for teachers' continuing professional development (CPD) and school improvement. This professional development strategy has been or is being implemented in several other countries in sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Senegal). Its effectiveness in supporting teacher development and school improvement has been amply documented in various national contexts (see for instance Altricher, Posch & Somekh, 1993; Anderson, 2002; Dembélé, 1999; Dembélé & Schwille, 2007; Featherstone, Pfeiffer, Smith et al., 1993; Fernandez & Yoshida, 2004; Hopkins, 2001; Paine & Ma, 1993; Schwille & Dembélé, 2007; Schwille, Diallo & Dembélé, 2001).

### CPD support through distance learning

Benin, Niger, Senegal and several other francophone countries have also experimented with distance/online teacher continuing professional development, namely through IFADEM,<sup>22</sup> an initiative designed to support participating countries in 'defining continuing training strategies for primary school teachers in order to improve the skill sets of those teaching French and teaching in French. This works by putting innovative practices in place and using new didactic tools in the teaching of French, by developing distance training sessions that integrate Information and Communication Technologies' (Tchitchi, 2016, p. 34).

In Benin, the country report noted that at the secondary level, fixed-term male contract teachers have significantly upgraded their qualifications compared with their female counterparts. Most of them have, through continuing education and training, obtained an academic or professional bachelor's or master's degree. The lack of advancement for women is reportedly related to maternity or other factors yet to be studied (Tchitchi, 2016).

Eritrea has introduced a continuing and professional development system that appears well designed. In particular, the country's experience with an open and distance learning (ODL) programme has demonstrated the possibility of training a large number of teachers within a relatively short period of time. Thanks to this intervention the number of qualified lower secondary schools increased by almost 100% between 2007 and 2012. However, the country report suggests that the effectiveness of this programme in terms of the quality of teaching and learning at the classroom level should be evaluated.

22 *L'Initiative francophone pour la formation à distance des maîtres (IFADEM)*. See: <https://www.ifadem.org/fr>.

## Training of contract teachers as a school-led and community responsibility

It is also important that the training be linked to the wider institutional environment. School leaders, teachers, local education officials and education policy-makers must collaborate closely to make teachers feel welcome and supported in their work (Asimeng-Boahene, 2003; Bennell & Akyeampong; Kirk & Winthrop, 2007).

The value of investments in school-level leadership and local support frameworks should not be overlooked. In a qualitative study of 35 beginning teachers in southern Zambia, researchers found that the lack of school-level mentoring and support for new teachers, combined with their deployment to rural schools, adversely impacted their job satisfaction (Thomas et al., 2014). Finally, rapid entry into service also requires a greater role for communities in supporting teachers and generating meaningful links between teachers, parents, students and community members.

*Source:* Based on information available in the country reports (see Introduction on page 21).

## Standardization and certification

Where possible, pre- and in-service teacher education and training should be coordinated with education authorities to enable standardization and certification. Certification/accreditation of any teacher education and training will make it easier for teachers and para-professionals to be compensated and access regular teacher training systems. In emergency situations, INEE (2010, p. 76) has pointed out that official recognition of teachers' qualifications and certification of teachers can also help to convince parents/communities that the schooling their children are receiving in emergency contexts has value, in spite of the conditions under which they might be receiving it (in Watson, 2015).

In areas with acute teacher shortages, INEE suggests that teachers who have not completed established certification processes but who possess 'alternative qualifications' should be formally recognized. This is especially important for promoting access to education in early reconstruction contexts (INEE, 2005, p. 21 in Watson, 2015). As an example, the Commonwealth Secretariat has, with the South African Qualification Authority, developed useful tools on the recognition of teacher qualifications and professional registration status across Commonwealth member states (Morrow and Keevy, 2006; Keevy and Jansen, 2010 in Penson, Yonemura. [eds.]). In relation to career prospects, there is also a call in several country reports for taking into account professional degrees obtained after recruitment in career advancement mechanisms.

## VII.4 *The need to support teacher preparedness for classroom practice*

As the discussion on teacher motivation suggests, many young people who sign up as contract teachers may not have chosen teaching as a vocation but were asked by their communities and education administrations because of their relatively good level of education. There is a critical need to support and motivate these new recruits for the task ahead, instilling the passion of being a teacher and accompanying them to a level of preparedness that allows an untrained teacher to become a competent, knowledgeable and confident teacher in the classroom (Penson and Yonemura).

Beyond knowledge of subject contents and classroom management approaches, newly recruited contract teachers may need other types of preparedness to cope with the physical and psychological demands of teaching. Recruits may be coming into service in resource-limited schools in hard-to-reach areas characterized by sparse populations, high levels of child poverty, displaced and nomadic populations, limited infrastructure and strong cultural practices (Frisoli, 2013). Dilapidated school buildings, alongside the lack of desks and furniture and staff rooms and absence of toilet facilities will no doubt affect their morale over time, as may the availability of teaching and learning materials, school leaders' management styles and access to teacher support services and general school culture (Fullan, 2001).

Adequate preparation also involves meeting the psychosocial needs of children in schools where violence and the exploitation of female teachers may have taken place, awareness of the barriers to girls' education, and the importance of inclusive education for population groups of special concern – such as young people with disabilities (including injuries from war and landmines), children separated from their families, child soldiers and ex-combatants.

Teachers themselves also have psychosocial needs and their sense of well-being is impacted by their working conditions (Asimeng-Boahene, 2003; INEE, 2010 and IRC, 2011 cited in Boahene, 2003). Questions related to working conditions and job security are thus raised, including providing physical security in schools and the classroom where large numbers of contract teachers have been recruited rapidly, ensuring safe passage to the recruiting school and protection from violence.

In short, school contexts, classroom management and security issues pose challenges to all teachers and must be considered in the design of pre and in-service support programmes for contract teachers.

### **Support to safe school environments through effective school leadership and mentoring**

If a teacher experiences the classroom as a safe, healthy, happy place with supportive resources and facilities for optimal learning, he/she tends to participate more than expected in the process of management, administration and the overall improvement of the school (Ofoegbu, 2004). Shriberg's (2007, 2008) research in Liberia added a gender dimension to the influence of the school environments on teachers' experiences, reinforcing the findings of qualitative study in Botswana and Ghana (Dunne, 2007) which concluded that schools are extremely gendered places – everything from differences between female status, roles and responsibilities and those of their male colleagues, to use of space and decision-making (cited in Stromquist et.al., 2017).

These lessons learned in Nigeria and Liberia are important in the discussions around motivation and well-being for all categories of teachers, and how to address vulnerabilities and keep motivation at healthy levels. In low-resource environments, school leaders play a particularly important role in managing the school context, mentoring new teachers and showing them how to transform existing resources into effective aids for teaching and content knowledge. This includes nurturing the learning environment through classroom management approaches and generating relationships with the community that support teaching and learning, using different types of information to monitor learners' progress and setting improvement targets (Gustafsson, 2005; Hoadley and Ward, 2009; Taylor et al., 2012; Tavares, 2015). The school leader also acts as the medium for new teachers to raise concerns on their teaching and working conditions, or prod decision-makers towards qualitative improvements.

These assertions are reinforced by international research which suggests that many of the practices, behaviours and competencies of effective school leaders have a positive impact on teacher morale and efficiency (Day & Sammons, 2013; Robinson et al., 2009). Unfortunately, there is often little training or preparation enabling head teachers to play this pivotal role. Most school leader's preparation is informal and practical and happens within the workplace (Bush and Oduro, 2006; DeJaeghere, Williams and Kyeyune, 2009; Ibrahim, 2011).

**Box 11. Gender sensitive training in the Gambia, Kenya, Namibia, Rwanda, Senegal and United Republic of Tanzania**

Underlining the need for safe school environments, free of insecurity and threats of violence that both female (and male) teachers often encounter, affirmative action has been taken in certain review countries to attract and protect female teachers through gender-sensitive teacher training run by associations such as the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE).

The establishment of gender-focused 'best practices' schools in five countries by FAWE saw real results in recruiting girls for schools, retaining them, and providing them quality educational experiences (Nsubuga, 2006). But teachers and other stakeholders – including all students – also received gender sensitivity training, and teachers received in-service training on gender-responsive pedagogy. These schools further trained school managers on gender responsiveness.

FAWE reports that teachers in these schools are more responsive to gender issues in school processes, and that girls in the schools reported receiving more support from their teachers. Training in gender-responsive teaching methodologies has increased girls' participation in class, led girls to interact more with their teachers and improved girls' academic performance.

*Source:* Salzano (2016).

## Community support to contract teachers

Community participation in the life of the school is integral to supporting all teachers, monitoring the quality of the learning environment and improving teacher performance. This review has suggested the importance of communities in providing in-kind benefits to contract teachers such as accommodation, food items and other in-kind benefits, especially in rural and remote areas requiring self-reliance in finding solutions to the remuneration issue. However, community members can also provide support to teachers through closely monitoring and engaging in decision-making around their children's schooling, at the same time exercising their right to accountability. The performance of school management, teachers and other education personnel should be constantly monitored and assessed to ensure quality and the continued support of the affected population (INEE, 2004). However, parents, village leaders, school management committees and local government officials may also need training in how to monitor and support schooling in their areas.

## VII.5 The need to rationalize and coordinate contract teacher salaries and compensation

Much needs to be done to rationalize and coordinate salaries of contract teachers within national education systems and ensure that they are paid consistently, especially in contexts where contract teachers are recruited rapidly (INEE, 2009). Here, the Joint ILO/UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel (CEART) states that:

**Compensation in the form of monetary and non-monetary rewards for teachers in fragile states, emergency or displacement situations and in post-crisis recovery periods is inadequate or non-existent'. (CEART, 2009, p.23 in Education International, 2009)**

Baxter and Bethke (2009) have called for both a minimum living wage for teachers and greater harmonization in teacher incentives. Both would contribute to a more stable institutional framework encouraging teachers to remain in the teaching profession.

Although not a sufficient condition, the importance of remuneration in attracting and retaining individuals in any profession is consensual, and teaching is no exception.

**The basic principle driving the supply of teachers is the following: Individuals will become or remain teachers if teaching represents the most attractive activity to pursue among all activities available to them. By *attractive*, we mean desirable in terms of ease of entry and overall compensation (salary, benefits, working conditions, and personal satisfaction). These elements of attractiveness are the policy levers that can be manipulated at the school, district, or state levels to bring supply in line with demand. [...] The labour market for teachers is nested within and continuously influenced by a larger labour market that includes the markets for all other occupations requiring roughly similar levels of education or skill. [...] In choosing teaching over other available occupations, an individual will**

lose the opportunity to experience the rewards, in terms of overall compensation, of those other occupations. These lost rewards are considered the ‘opportunity costs’ of teaching. Individuals who would incur high opportunity costs by choosing teaching will be less likely to make this choice. In constructing policies that promote recruitment, the goal of policymakers would be to increase the rewards of teaching relative to those of the competing occupations available to the types of people they wish to attract. (Guarino, Santibanez and Daley, 2006, p. 175)

For individuals with the levels of education or skill required to become teachers, there may not be large competing occupational labour markets in most of the participating countries, especially at primary level. Yet this does not justify the wide differences in remuneration according to status (relative to fixed-term contract versus open-ended appointment/civil service) observed in many countries. Attraction may not be a major challenge in such contexts but professional commitment, effort and retention may not be optimal owing to very poor remuneration and the feeling of being unfairly treated. Moving towards equity in remuneration therefore stands as a priority line of action. As C.E. Beeby argued 50 years ago:

**It is hardly necessary to add – though it is sometimes forgotten – that the reformer’s effort will be largely wasted if the salaries and conditions of service of the primary teachers are not such as to retain good people in the profession. (Beeby, 1966, pp.129–130)**

In relation to the salaries of contract teachers, a number of lessons can be learned from the rapid recruitment of contract teachers in emergency situations. Both the *IIEP Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction* and the *INEE Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-crisis Recovery* contain advice on compensating teachers (INEE, 2009).

## **VII.6 The need to incentivize and motivate contract teachers**

Last but not least, and as stated earlier in this synthesis, the same factors leading to low effort among civil service teachers also impact negatively on the effort of contract teachers who often appear to be working in challenging circumstances, in addition to the lack of training and generally lower salaries, thus creating a difficult work environment that eats away at teacher motivation.

In virtually all the review countries, interviewees acknowledged the contribution of contract teachers to widening access to education, but lamented their limited or lack of career prospects. Indeed in countries where the system of using contract teachers has become a channel to regular appointments, education systems have ended up with large numbers of non-professional teachers with the same weak performance incentives as regular teachers.

Another related concern is that, in the long term, contract teacher policies are creating two-tier systems, with fixed-term teachers increasingly demanding their regularization in countries where they make up a large percentage of the public education teaching corps. However,

performance-related incentives may be lacking to drive efficiency, thus undermining the instilling of any longer-term benefits of the contract teacher policy.

### **Incentives through career advancement**

For all new contract recruits who come into teaching and who decide to stay in the profession, information is needed on prospects for career advancement, understood within the UNESCO Teacher Policy Development Guidelines as allowing for progression and continuous professional development throughout a teacher's career.

**A career path should provide meaningful rewards and financial and non-financial incentives to motivate teachers to progress; be linked to significant TPD options; and be equitable, allowing equal opportunities in career progression. (UNESCO, 2019, p.58)**

Having career prospects constitutes a critical factor in this respect. It is otherwise difficult to envision a long-term professional project. As Dembélé and Mellouki (2013, p.52) argued, '[c]ontractualization without career prospects ought to be considered as a dead end'.

A trend worth noting is the decision made by certain francophone countries (e.g. Burkina Faso and Mali) to grant civil servant status to large numbers of contract teachers.<sup>23</sup> This is a step in the right direction. Whether or not several other countries will follow suit remains to be seen. At any rate, it will be important to monitor the effects of regularization on various indicators, namely the quality of teaching and learning in the classroom, teacher attrition and retention and the attractiveness, dynamics and social image of the teaching profession.

### **Performance and CPD-related incentives**

To avoid the danger that effort and motivation tail off after regularization, a progression to regularization and promotion could be related to performance (and/or CPD). Where contract teachers are centrally hired, one option for governments to stimulate effort is by tying contract hiring more closely with performance-related renewal, or to combine the renewal aspects of contract terms with incremental increases in salaries and benefits. But this can be effective only if the incentives and disincentives are credible and effectively enforced.

In relation to 'CPD as incentive', research studies have suggested the need for a single professional development ladder for contract and regular teachers. Building in-service training and career advancement incentives into teacher contracts may be a useful way of raising teacher effort and motivation while simultaneously reducing professional differences within existing dual systems. This would entail rigorous professional development programmes that develop skills of contract teachers to ensure they meet future learning and teaching needs.

### **Financial incentives**

Salary top-ups have been used as a policy instrument in countries such as the Gambia. In hard-to-reach areas, the government is reported to pay incentives of between 30 and 50% of their salary to all teachers. In addition, in very difficult areas, staff quarters are provided for public school teachers so that they have decent accommodation and do not need to struggle to find housing.

<sup>23</sup> As a reminder, in the case of Burkina Faso, all state contract teachers hired during close to two decades became civil servants as of 1 January 2016.

In addition, almost all teachers with an open-ended appointment can apply for a study leave with salary to undertake further education and training. There are two Gambian innovations and a further one in Ethiopia that are worth highlighting and presented in Box 12.

### **Box 12. Incentives to improve teachers' financial situation in Ethiopia and the Gambia**

#### **Ethiopia**

'The Ethiopian government has devised a career development scheme for teachers working at all levels of education. According to informants from the MOE, in order to make teaching attractive the starting salary of teachers has been made two steps higher than the salary of other equivalent civil servants in government sectors. [...] But this incentive scheme still seems not capable of attracting and keeping teachers in their profession.

To this end, some regions have introduced their own regional incentive scheme [...]. For instance, there are secondary school teachers in the Somali region who are entitled to get up to 70% of their gross salary as a top up depending on the remoteness and environment in which they are working. According to the Somali RSEB [Regional State Education Bureau] experts, this modality has attracted many secondary school teachers from other regions as well. Relatively speaking, there is less shortage of secondary teachers because of the incentive scheme in place. The Addis Ababa city administration education bureau and Harari RSEB, for instance, are paying housing allowance to all open-ended appointment teachers in their respective regions from their regional budget by way of attracting and keeping teachers.'

*Source: Kassa (2016), p.22.*

#### **The Gambia**

To improve teachers' financial situation conditions, the Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education (MoBSE) in the Gambia has been working with the Gambia Teachers Union's Cooperative Credit Union (GTUCCU), an arm of the Gambia Teachers' Union. The MoBSE has given the GTUCCU the responsibility to pay teachers' salaries. At the end of each month, the GTUCCU paymasters would travel the length and breadth of the country to pay teachers' salaries. This not only helps to minimize the movement of teachers, it also reduces the costs of travelling long distances to receive salaries.

Another innovation is the autonomy given to teachers to have their own credit union, where they can save money and have access to credit without being looked down upon. Traditionally, teachers were commonly seen at the doorsteps of banks taking bank drafts in the form of advance salary payments, which incurred high interest rates, leaving teachers bankrupt at the end of the month or turning them into perpetual debt



slaves. With the GTUCCU, they can now proudly save and take cash from their savings or loans at low pegged interest rates.

In addition, the introduction of a teacher register for all teachers is reported to be another step in the professionalization of teaching in the Gambia. The MoBSE has recently started working on the registration of all teachers in the education sector, which will help to identify teachers and even deregister those found not suitable for the profession.

*Source:* Based on Ndow (2016).

## VIII. Conclusion

Pragmatic solutions to the teacher shortage in Africa are needed. There are tens of millions of new children enrolling in school systems every year across the continent, creating a tremendous demand for teachers. Teacher preparation institutions in many countries are unable to graduate and launch teachers into service at the rates needed. The recruitment of contract teachers has allowed ministries of education to address the teacher gap quickly, at reduced cost, where there is a high need and short supply.

Given the magnitude of the teacher shortage, it is very likely that the category of contract teachers will continue to be employed in the majority of the review countries. Looking ahead, it will be critical to consider the full range of policy instruments that could be leveraged to create more joined-up policy environments around contract teaching, including recruitment and employment practices, job security and working conditions and especially innovative solutions to pre- and in-service education and training that empower contract teachers to teach to standards expected at different education levels, and to fulfil the quality and equity goals of the Education 2030 Agenda.

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## **A review of the use of contract teachers in sub-Saharan Africa**

In sub-Saharan Africa, tens of millions of children are enrolling in school systems every year across the continent, creating a tremendous demand for teachers. But with low-resource countries under pressure to increase access to education under the constant tightening of education budgets, many governments have resorted to hiring contract teachers with varying qualification levels who place less strain on their recurrent education budgets.

Yet in spite of the rapid rise in the number of contract teachers, relatively little research has been carried out on contracting practices enabling decision-makers and stakeholders to better understand their impact and make informed choices in relation to education policy. This study was a first step in filling this gap by documenting contract teacher practices across 23 countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

The work on this review was coordinated by the Secretariat of the International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030. It is intended as a contribution to the evolving dialogue around the role and challenges of employing contract teachers within national education systems, and the implications for education policy in the 21st century within the framework of SDG 4.

