

The commitments made by the international community at the Jomtien Conference (1990) and reiterated at the World Education Forum in Dakar (2000), marked a decisive turning point in the dialogue on development policies by placing education at the heart of the debate, especially through the goal of universal primary

Chapter 3

New teachers and progress in enrolments

education. Nevertheless, most African countries have found it difficult to address this challenge and provide schooling in accordance with the growing demand this represents, particularly in terms of teacher recruitment. This has led them to totally rethink both the recruitment process and the profile of teachers.

Chapter 3

*New teachers and progress
in enrolments*

The previous chapter underlined the central role of teacher salary costs in educational policy trade-offs. Taking this constraint into account and with the aim of generalising primary schooling and so of massively recruiting teachers, new teacher management policies, adapted to national contexts, were devised at the end of the 1990's.

The purpose of this chapter is to go over the contextual elements that gave rise to these new initiatives, and take stock of the steps taken at country level for the expansion of teacher recruitment; as already seen, this issue has been addressed in many different ways. The second section will look into how these reforms have been implemented (status categories, staff training, etc.) and their impact on enrolments.





1. Political context of the reforms in teacher recruitment

1.1. An enabling context for changes in the composition of the teaching profession

1.1.1. *Impact of structural adjustment plans and budget constraints on education systems*

As seen in Chapter 2, sub-Saharan African countries were faced with a serious economic crisis in the 1980's. Under pressure from international financial institutions, the African economies, which were suffering from significant structural financial deficits, were then obliged to adopt measures with a view to more rigorous budgeting, by reducing government expenditure in the first instance, and especially the payroll, where the teaching profession was high on the list. This tendency became more pronounced in the 1990's when the International Monetary Fund (IMF) set new terms for granting loans, concerning not only the traditional area of monetary and tax policies but also the management of the public sector. While agencies such as the World Bank encouraged African governments to reform their education systems with the aim of ensuring an education for all, the IMF obliged many governments to reduce the level of their public expenditure with a view to ensuring some macroeconomic stability and to solving problems related to the economic crisis. In 1999, it set up the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF), an instrument that enables the access of low-income countries to concessional loans for supporting poverty reduction programmes and strategies as developed in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP). The latter are the reference for any IMF or World Bank loan or debt relief transaction.

Since the PRGF was adopted, the governments concerned have had to limit their public expenditure and ensure sounder management of the public sector. In this framework, ceilings were introduced for the overall civil service payroll and, in some cases, these may be part of the conditions for granting an IMF loan (ActionAid International, 2007). This measure had for direct effect a freeze on the recruitment of teachers and consequently a reduction in the teacher workforce.

Chapter 3

*New teachers and progress
in enrolments*

1.1.2. Teachers recruited directly by the communities: people's response to public authority failings

- Priority is often given to macroeconomic issues...

The freeze on civil servant teacher recruitment and training further to the drop in public funding had two major consequences initially: a rise in pupil-teacher ratios in the classroom on the one hand and the emergence of teachers recruited and paid by parents on the other hand. Concerned about offering their children an education, the communities have indeed attempted to address teacher shortage by recruiting community teachers. Many communities have had recourse to this category of teachers since the 1990's, in French-speaking, English-speaking and Portuguese-speaking countries alike.

What community teachers in the different countries have in common is that they respond to a need for schooling, which the public authorities have been unable to satisfy. They have generally been selected amongst the most qualified people available locally and have often had no professional training. They may have been recruited to teach in schools resulting from local community initiatives or else in under-allocated public schools. In Mali, for example, the relative fall in the number of teachers in the public sector in the early 1990's (from 7 720 in 1990-1991 to 7 301 in 1994-1995) explains why the weight of enrolments in public schools dropped from 80% to 63% between 1996-1997 and 2004-2005. As a result, the share of non-public schools (private, community and *madrassahs*) has risen and community teachers alone represented 30% of primary school staff in 2004. In Zambia, in spite of the availability of a high number of qualified teachers, the government and parents have, over recent years, recruited teachers (known as volunteers) who do not have the academic qualifications traditionally required.

- ... which are sometimes combined with considerable political instability

The emergence of community teachers is not only linked to economic difficulties but also to periods of political instability that have directly affected normal operation of the education systems in some countries. This is the case for example in Sierra Leone or in Chad. Eleven years of civil war (1991-2002) have had serious consequences on the education system in Sierra Leone and in particular on teacher supply. At the end of the civil war, the considerable expansion in primary school enrolments, resulting more particularly from the free education policy introduced by the government, gave rise to a growth in the number of teachers recruited locally by parent associations, especially in public schools. Thus, in 2003, teachers who were not paid by the government represented 20% of the teaching profession in government-financed primary schools (UNESCO, 2005). This phenomenon is particularly visible in public primary schools in rural areas where community teachers generally represent more than half of the teaching force. In Chad, the emergence of community teachers is also



part of a particular national context, that of the socio-political crisis experienced by this country between 1975 and 1990, when interruptions prevented education services from operating properly. So, “spontaneous schools” started to appear as of 1985, at the end of the civil war, and have continued to develop over the years.

In Central African Republic (CAR), the education system has been severely affected by the different socio-political crises experienced by the country since 1996. This context of political instability partly explains the decline in expenditure devoted to education. Representing 28% of public expenditure excluding debt in 1996, this expenditure was estimated at only 14% in 2005 (CSR-CAR, 2007a). These difficulties were conducive to the emergence and development of community teachers recruited locally and paid exclusively by the communities. Today, they represent a sizeable proportion of the teaching profession: in 2005 in basic education 1 (public primary education), community teachers represented over 40% of all teachers (CSR-CAR, 2007a).

- **A single denomination for a wide variety of status categories**

While the reasons for the emergence of community teachers seem to be relatively similar from one country to another, this phenomenon does nevertheless conceal different country realities, and a wide variety of legal situations surround this issue.

When the first community teachers came on the scene, these initiatives were considered with some suspicion in the vast majority of African countries. This is easily explained by the fact that the public authorities had no direct control over the recruitment and management of these teachers, since the management committees of the public or community schools asserted these prerogatives. Thereafter, the development of the phenomenon prompted some governments to admit that community teachers were of use and so to supervise this practice. Even so, the issue was addressed differently from one country to another. In some countries, such as Mali and Togo, governments encouraged and supported the emergence of these teachers by creating a statutory framework for their activities. Mali is indeed one of the few African countries where the government drew up a set of legal and statutory texts aimed at providing a framework for community school practices, which were considered as belonging to the field of private education. This legal framework, adopted in 1994, recognises the existence of community schools and their right to self-management. The process of community school recognition was initiated at the same time in Togo. As of 1995, the Togolese government introduced a set of measures providing an administrative and pedagogic framework for schools originating from local initiatives (EDIL), which had been officially recognised by the government in 1994. The public authorities wanted the EDILs to be integrated into the national education system while maintaining their community management. In this framework, the government participated in the assignment of permanent teachers to the largest EDILs and financed some EDIL teachers on the national budget. As a result, by 1999, 16% of all EDIL teachers were paid by the Togolese government (Marchand, 2000).

Chapter 3

New teachers and progress in enrolments

Unlike Mali and Togo, some countries did not introduce a legal framework designed to control the teachers recruited by parent associations. This is the case in Chad where, in spite of the legal framework for private education in force since the 1971 decree, few measures have been set up in terms of an administrative and pedagogic framework for community teachers. In Cameroon, even if the government seems much more tolerant than in the past, it has not however introduced a specific legal status for community schools, nor consequently for teachers working in these schools but also in public schools. Now, it is important to point out that community teachers constitute a significant proportion of primary school teachers, especially in the public sector: in 2002, they represented 30% of all teachers in public primary schools in Cameroon. If we take the teachers paid *de facto* by the users in private primary schools (23% of primary school enrolments are in the private sector which is only very slightly subsidised), over 40% of primary school children have a teacher paid by parents (CSR-Cameroon, 2003).

1.2. Transformation and restructuring of the teaching profession in sub-Saharan Africa

Though stringent budget measures have harshly affected the conditions of teacher recruitment and salaries, recent initiatives by governments and the international community to support the development of primary education have fostered a second phase in restructuring the teaching profession in Africa around aggressive policies for the reduction of salary costs. In this context too, government response has greatly varied, yet with a distinct difference between policies implemented in French-speaking and in English-speaking countries.

1.2.1. Adjustments made via the level of qualifications in non-French-speaking countries

In order to address the challenges of universal primary education (UPE), non-French-speaking countries have generally recruited teachers with no professional training, and with lower qualifications than those usually required, at lower salary levels.

Many governments found it extremely difficult to effectively address the massive arrival of children in primary school, especially following the abolition of tuition fees. This was the case in Malawi where the government introduced short accelerated teacher training further to tuition fees being abolished in 1994. Before then, the majority of primary school teachers received an initial two-year training or three years of distance training³³. Both these types of training were done away with after introducing free primary education. Between 1994 and 1997, thousands of teachers were sent to schools after only a two-week training session. Starting 1997, a programme named MIITEP³⁴ was set up, consisting of training over a period of two years, including theoretical lessons and practice *in situ* in the classroom.

33 Malawi Special Teacher Education Program.

34 Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Program.



Over 23 000 teachers benefited from this programme between 1999 (first teacher cohort) and 2005. The government did away with MIITEP training in 2005 due to strong criticism as to the quality of education delivered by the teachers coming out of the programme. It was reintroduced in a new form, under the name of IPTE³⁵ lasting two years including one year of theoretical training and one year in the classroom. So, although the relatively low levels of salary of primary school teachers in the 1990's did not oblige the Malawi government to create a new category of teachers, apart from the category of civil servant teachers, it had nevertheless to think up new solutions in order to rapidly address the growth in enrolments while at the same time limiting public expenditure.

Similar measures were adopted in Mozambique and Uganda. The periods of political instability during the 1970's-1980's and the economic difficulties that continued into the following decade had harsh effects on these countries' education systems. In Uganda, during the 1990's, it was not possible to attract trained teachers to the profession due to the low level of salaries and irregularities in salary payments, all the more so in rural areas. As the supply of trained teachers was inadequate to address the needs, the government, being obliged to reduce its public expenditure, then recruited untrained teachers on two-year contracts. Thus, while teachers in Uganda as a whole come under the civil service payroll, salaries differ according to the level of training. An untrained teacher receives a monthly salary of 121 366 Uganda Shillings while a trained teacher has a salary that gradually increases from 200 000 Uganda Shillings per month in the first years to 229 181 Uganda Shillings ten years later (World Bank, 2007e). When the Primary Education Reform Program (PERP) was launched in 1993, primary school teachers with little or no training represented around 50% of the teaching force. They represented 32% of the teaching force in 2006. In Mozambique, in 2007, 44% of primary school teachers had received no pre-service training and are therefore considered as untrained (Mulkeen *et al.*, 2008).

Governments have sometimes had recourse to less-trained teachers even when an adequate number of students were available with the necessary qualifications for teaching. This contradiction can be explained simply by the fact that it was financially impossible for some governments to recruit teachers coming out of the national institutes of education. Zambia and Kenya are emblematic of this situation. Caught up in the trap of budget austerity and debt, and lacking the resources needed to hire more teachers and address the expansion of the education system, the Zambian government has not been in a position to hire enough teachers under standard conditions in recent years. Thus, although a considerable number of trained teachers are available, the government has recruited teachers who do not have the academic qualifications usually required and who earn 40% less on average than trained teachers (Education International, 2007). At present, the Zambian teaching force is made up of teachers who have received pre-service training and of untrained teachers, the latter representing 6.6%³⁶ of all primary school teachers in 2006 (World Bank, 2007f).

³⁵ Initial Primary Teacher Education.

³⁶ The low proportion of untrained teachers in Zambia is explained by the fact that most teachers initially recruited in this category have qualified as a result of in-service training.

Chapter 3

*New teachers and progress
in enrolments*

1.2.2. The emergence of non-civil servant teachers in French-speaking Africa

Unlike most other countries where adjustments were based on the level of training, the former French colonies for the most part and a very few other countries such as Guinea-Bissau have had recourse to a new teacher category, non-civil servant teachers who are managed and paid by the government.

As indicated in Chapter 2, the fact that civil servant salaries were initially linked to those practised in Metropolitan France during the colonial period explains the high teacher salary levels in French-speaking countries compared to those in English-speaking countries at the time of independence. In spite of the considerable erosion in teacher salaries in French-speaking Africa since then, there was still a significant gap on relaunching the development of the education systems towards the end of the 1990's.

As they were unable to recruit additional civil servant teachers due to the high costs associated with this teacher category, and as they had to address the democratisation of education, these governments had to find a model more adapted to the needs but also to available public resources. These reforms, implemented under pressure from demand and from local initiatives, but also under pressure from technical and financial partners, gave rise to new teacher categories as of 1990-2000—non-civil servant teachers—who were paid significantly lower salaries than civil servant teachers.



Box 3.1: The example of Senegal: a pioneer in the reform of the recruitment of primary school teachers

Like many sub-Saharan African countries, starting in the early 1990's, Senegal was confronted with the problem of financing the development of its education system. In spite of a large share of the national budget being allocated to the education sector, the gross enrolment rate (GER) had been continually on the decline, falling from 58.1% in 1989 to 54% in 1994. The Senegalese government's financial incapacity to pay the salaries of the teaching staff needed for this expansion was the major barrier for the development of primary education at that time: in the early 1990's, the average salary for Senegalese primary school teachers represented 7.2 times the country's GDP per capita.

It was in this context, marked by financial difficulties and problems for developing the education system that the body of **Education Volunteers** came into being. This innovative initiative launched in 1995 aimed at providing a tangible response to a dual problem: that of unemployed qualified individuals and that of the shortage of primary school teachers. Upper secondary education students were called on to become "volunteer" teachers. Out of the 32 595 candidates who took the "mobilisation" test in July 1995, 1 200 volunteers were selected to benefit from three months training before leaving to teach in remote areas of the country³⁷. The young volunteers thus accepted to teach in isolated communities for a period of two years, renewable only once, in exchange for a monthly scholarship of 50 000 FCFA on a 12 month basis.

The recruitment of these volunteers, far removed from the standards and criteria in force in the civil service, was a particularly controversial issue with the teaching profession. Considerable effort had then to be deployed to explain this policy to trade unions and parents in order to allow for its implementation. Finally, it enabled the authorities to give new impetus to education. Education Volunteers already represented 19% of all teachers by 1998 (UNESCO, 2000).

This initiative, which, in the beginning, aimed at supplying 1 200 education volunteers per annum over a period of four years, has lasted. Education Volunteers now benefit from career prospects in public education. Demands from the volunteers that were supported by the unions have thus given rise to a permanent status via the new category of **contract teachers**. After two years of activity, the volunteer teacher can indeed be recruited as a contract teacher (non-civil servant) by signing a contract with the government. Afterwards, if he/she passes the CEAP or CAP³⁸, the contract teacher can join the civil service, according to the recognised procedure, as a primary school teacher or a primary school teacher assistant. The new statutory framework offers contract teachers a level of salary that, while lower than civil servant teacher salary, is still higher than what was initially set for Education Volunteers. While the salary for volunteers represented only 1.9 times the country's GDP per capita in 2002, the level of salary for contract teachers is 3.4 times GDP per capita.

Since the category of Education Volunteers came into being, Teacher Training Schools (EFI) have trained around 25 000 volunteers over 13 cohorts. Projections indicate that contract and volunteer teachers will represent 56% of total teachers by 2010 (ME/ADEA, 2001); these categories already represented almost half of all teachers in primary schools by 2003. This policy is to be looked at in the light of the progress in schooling coverage in Senegal; the GER has risen from 54% in 1995 to 83% in 2006.

While Senegal was the first country to employ a new category of teachers in great numbers, comparable measures have been adopted in many sub-Saharan African countries. The emergence of alternative status categories has thus modified the make-up of the teaching profession throughout the continent. Recourse to non-civil servant teachers is nevertheless linked to specific national contexts. The policy for the recruitment of these new teachers is not at the same stage of development in each country and is implemented differently from one country to another. While in some countries, such as Niger and Guinea, the government has decided to recruit only contract teachers, other countries have had little or even no recourse to these non-civil servant teachers.

37 According to the Education Volunteer Project director, Ministry of National Education, Senegal.

38 CEAP: elementary teaching qualification, giving access to the rank of primary school teacher assistant; CAP: teaching qualification, giving access to the rank of primary school teacher.

Chapter 3

New teachers and progress in enrolments

In Niger, the status of non-civil servant teachers has changed since the reform on the recruitment of these teachers was adopted. Like Senegal, in the 1990's, the government of Niger's initial strategy was to recruit individuals who had recently qualified from tertiary education, under the form of a "civic service," in return for a salary set at about 40% less than that of civil servants (Mingat, 2004). Taking inspiration from practices initiated in neighbouring countries, Niger introduced the recruitment of a new category of teachers in 1998, "volunteers," whose salary corresponded to around one third of what civil servant teachers received.

What was originally presented as a temporary, ad hoc situation, has gradually changed the make-up of the teaching profession in Niger. This policy could not last as such, since it relied on external financing (World Bank), which was as a result volatile and uncertain over time, and did not offer any particular status to ensure sustainable employment. Further to negotiations between the unions and public authorities, an agreement was found that gave rise to a new category of teaching staff in 2003: contract teachers. Although not benefiting from civil servant status, this new category of teachers does have some of its advantages and receives a higher salary than the former "volunteers": 42 000 FCFA per month, i.e. 3.7 times GDP per capita (Mingat, 2004). Initially financed on a World Bank project, contract teacher salaries are now covered on the ordinary state budget.

The Niger government has recruited no further civil servant teachers in primary education since the programme introducing contract teachers was adopted. A similar situation is to be found in Guinea. This country has also recruited contract teachers in large numbers, the only category to be recruited since the reform was implemented in 1998. In Mali, although the government has had less recourse to contract teachers since 1992 than Niger and Guinea, this phenomenon has considerably blossomed since the end of the 1990's. The government of Mali has indicated a clear determination to employ contract teachers rather than civil servant teachers: in 2002, 5 800 contract teachers were recruited compared to a little over 200 civil servant teachers.

These new categories of teachers are not so present, and even completely absent, in other countries. This is the case in Mauritania where the level of civil servant salary was already the lowest of all French-speaking African countries (3.1 times GDP per capita in 2004), but also in Côte d'Ivoire. In the 1980's, teachers in Côte d'Ivoire were paid on a more favourable salary scale than that of other civil servants. The measures introduced starting in the year 2000 to limit this advantage and address budget constraints, were done away with in 2001, when teachers in Côte d'Ivoire returned to their privileged position on the civil service salary scale.



1.2.3. Assuming responsibility for community teachers: a response specific to French-speaking countries

While the emergence of teachers paid by parents in the 1990's can be said to have had a noteworthy impact on access to education for children until then excluded from the system, it did nevertheless raise questions in terms of equity. In countries like Cameroon, Congo, Madagascar and Chad where community teachers represent a high share of teaching staff, it is clear that the financing burden is transferred from the government to the communities and first and foremost to the pupils' parents who have to bear the additional costs of education. At a time when free access to primary school is promoted everywhere, many families, often in the most disadvantaged areas, are obliged to pay the teachers themselves. The way the government and families share responsibility here for the recruitment and financing of teachers goes against the concept of equity in access to school.

As limited leeway prevents them from recruiting more teachers on the usual criteria, some African governments have made the deliberate choice of covering all or part of community teachers' salary and, sometimes, of providing in-service training for these teachers. In addition to restoring the traditional role of the government in the provision of schooling, these measures also correspond to an objective of equity. Thus, in recent years, a number of African governments have set up subsidies for community teachers via the parent associations. This has been the case for example in Mali since 2001, in Madagascar since 2004 and in Benin since 2006.

In Central African Republic, community teachers receive a very low salary: 0.4 times GDP per capita compared to 1.1 GDP on average for the same category of teachers in the other African countries (CSR-CAR, 2007a). The national strategy for the education sector for 2008-2020 takes into account government responsibility for community teachers and an improvement of their situation. The Central African government does indeed envisage recruiting a category of "school masters" in the coming years. These primary school teachers must have passed the general certificate of lower secondary education (*Brevet*) and will receive two years of initial training, including one year in the classroom, after passing a selective examination. In this framework, it is anticipated that those individuals currently working as community teachers will also have access to the status of so called "school masters" after going through two six-week in-service training sessions followed by one year as a trainee. These school masters should receive a monthly salary of 60 000 FCFA, i.e. higher than that currently granted to community teachers by the parent associations. The government of Central Africa thus envisages taking over from the communities in financing and training community teachers but is keen for the communities to maintain their commitment towards the school. The school masters recruited amongst the community teachers, will be able to stay on in the schools where they were initially recruited. If they sign a contract with the government who will be fully responsible for their salary, the community who has entrusted them with a class should be involved in the contract and in the management of these teachers.

Chapter 3

New teachers and progress in enrolments

While taking over the responsibility for community teachers has still to be implemented in Central African Republic, similar measures have already been fairly widely introduced in Madagascar and Chad where, unlike many other French-speaking African countries, the governments do not officially recruit non-civil servant teachers but employ teachers initially paid by the parents.

In this respect, new teachers in Madagascar are mainly "FRAM"³⁹ teachers, recruited directly by parents via Parent Associations. They are omnipresent in the Malagasy teaching force: their numbers have more than doubled between 2000-2001 and 2003-2004 and have been continually on the increase over the years. They thus represented almost 50% of all teachers in 2005-2006, compared to only 18% in 2000-2001. At the outset, the communities were responsible for recruiting and paying this type of teachers. Even so, the Malagasy government introduced a system of subsidies for this category of teachers in 2004. In 2005-2006, 25 803 teachers, i.e. 92% of them, received a subsidy from the Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research (MENRS, 2007).

As far as Chad is concerned, this country is experimenting with a dual education system consisting in a public primary education system on the one hand and a system that is controlled and financed by local communities on the other. The public system, made up mostly of civil servant teachers, also has recourse to a fairly significant proportion of community teachers whose salary level is less than one third that of civil servant teachers (Mingat, 2004). This duality is also to be found in community schools with a large majority of community teachers this time. In the face of the overwhelming commitment by parents toward their children's schooling, the government of Chad organised a national seminar in the year 2000 on the promotion of community initiatives in education; this gave rise to a National Federation of Parent Associations (FENAPET). In the framework of this initiative, the government provides the Parent Associations with training on management and also finances the professional training of teachers recruited by those associations. A partnership agreement was signed between the government and FENAPET in 2001. Since then, the government has established a subsidy to pay community teachers via the Parent Associations. This means that every year the government subsidises at least 1 500 community teachers, on debt reduction initiative resources (HIPC) (CSR-Chad, 2005b). In 2001, this subsidy amounted to 25 000 FCFA per month, paid over 12 months, i.e. 1.7 times the country's GDP per capita.

39 "FRAM" comes from the name given to parent associations in Madagascar.



1.2.4. Much challenged reforms

Bringing in new categories of teachers, independent of the civil service teacher corps, has been the simplest way for many African countries to lower the salary costs of primary school teachers. Nevertheless, civil society stakeholders have often challenged this reform in spite of its importance in terms of attaining UPE. Many teacher unions, in the north and south alike, have expressed their reluctance vis-à-vis a policy that could jeopardise the quality of education by encouraging the recruitment of new teachers at lower salaries and levels of training: “Children cannot be enrolled in good conditions. School performance is closely connected to the level of teacher qualification. All this is favourable to the government withdrawal sought by the World Bank who, in order to justify its policies, publishes studies indicating that untrained teachers succeed better. Don't go too far” (De Ravignan, 2007).

The National Teacher Syndicate of Niger (SNEN) also denounces the impact on the quality of education and on the reconsideration of traditional teacher status and protests against the recruitment of contract teachers underway since 1998 to the detriment of civil servants: “Not replacing civil servant teachers is catastrophic. They alone, with their level of training, can supervise and support their young contract colleagues who have entered the education system with no, or hardly any, training. There are too many new teachers who do not have the required level and who are unable to handle their class” (De Ravignan, 2007).

While the coexistence of two categories of teachers with significantly different salary levels is contested by a fair number of stakeholders, efforts were undertaken at the Conference on non-civil servant teachers held in Bamako in November 2004 to confront the different points of view and build a consensus. However, discussions are tense and the consensus is fragile.

Chapter 3

New teachers and progress in enrolments

Box 3.2: Conclusions of the Bamako Conference on non-civil servant teachers, November 2004

The Bamako Conference, organised by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), World Bank, Education International and the Ministry of National Education of Mali, was the opportunity to bring together a large number of participants around the topic of non-civil servant teachers. The Ministers of Education and Finance, Union representatives and parent association representatives from 12 French-speaking African countries⁴⁰ as well as members of civil society, met to discuss the challenges concerning the recruitment and activity of these new teacher categories. While there was manifest opposition at the conference between the partisans of traditionally trained teachers on the one hand and those supporting temporary teachers, volunteer teachers and other new teacher categories on the other hand, the discussions made it possible to arrive at a series of recommendations and measures with a view to improving the working conditions of these teachers.

This resulted from all participants recognising the fact that these new teachers were recruited in a context of transition when the African governments were prevented from recruiting teachers on traditional criteria due to limited resources. The following recommendations were adopted with a view to professionalizing non-civil servant primary school teachers and improving their career prospects:

- Ensure that the level (*Brevet* or higher) and conditions of recruitment (selective tests) guarantee the standards pertaining to the primary school teacher profile.
- Provide at least six months of pre-service training followed by a professional development plan to include in-service training and teaching support of various types targeted on the needs in a classroom situation.
- Offer a contract of indefinite duration including career plans, provision for promotion, social welfare guarantees, rights and duties according to the legislation in force.
- Find an equilibrium salary that guarantees a decent livelihood and is compatible with the country's resources and the obligation of equity and thus of education for all.
- Manage the coexistence of the different teacher categories by standardising recruitment, pre-service training and in-service training in such a way as to gradually reduce the disparities while making allowance for derogatory measures to take contextual constraints into account.
- Structure and regulate the strategic planning of transition according to improvements in internal and external resources in order to reduce the salary gap between the different categories, taking rigorously into account the immensity of recruitment needs and financial sustainability in the framework of the achievement of universal and complete primary education for all children.
- Promote social recognition and merit of the teaching profession at both national and international levels.

It was recognised at the conference that additional resources and better allocation of these towards the education sector, particularly for primary education, would be necessary, in the same way as an increase in external aid, in order to implement these recommendations.

Source: Final communiqué of the Bamako Conference

In order to reconcile the expansion of primary education with strong budget constraints, many African countries have embarked on new policies of recruitment and remuneration. Without going into too many examples, these new policies are seen to adopt a different angle in English-speaking countries where the accent is on the recruitment of teachers with less training, and in French-speaking countries with the introduction of a category of non-civil servant teachers. The following section presents the current situation in terms of distribution of status categories resulting from these reforms and an analysis of their contribution to the expansion of schooling.

⁴⁰ Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Togo.



2. Recruitment of new teachers in Africa: current situation and impact on enrolments

The restructuring of the teaching force was articulated around status categories in French-speaking countries and around the level of training in other countries, both strategies aiming at lowering average salary costs. In this section, we shall look at how recruitment has been implemented, the distribution of teachers per status category or per qualification and the corresponding salary. We shall then go on to study teachers' professional characteristics, their professional training and level of academic qualification. The third and last part of this section will focus on the impact of teacher diversification on enrolments.

2.1. Recruitment of new teachers: current situation

The status of teachers in the different African countries can generally be broken down into three categories: civil servants or assimilated (e.g. contract teachers in the Congo are considered as civil servants), non-civil servant teachers under contract with the government and community teachers. Non-civil servant teachers who are under contract with the government are managed and paid directly by the government and are called, depending upon the country, "contract teachers," "temporary teachers," or "volunteers." Community teachers are teachers recruited and paid by the parents and/or the local authority, and are subsidised by the government in some countries.

While recruitment policies have some features in common from one country to another, the distribution of teachers according to status and level of salary (in GDP per capita) varies widely as indicated by the data for 14 African countries (of which 13 French-speaking and 1 Portuguese-speaking country) presented in table 3.1. On average in the 14 countries presented, 51% of primary school teachers are civil servants and 26% are non-civil servant teachers. The remaining 23% are community teachers. The average salary for civil servant teachers is 6 times the GDP per capita compared to 3.1 times GDP per capita for non-civil servant teachers and once GDP per capita for community teachers.

Chapter 3

*New teachers and progress
in enrolments*

Table 3.1: Distribution (in %) of primary school teachers according to status and level of salary per status in 14 African countries

Country	Distribution per status in %			Salary per status in GDP per capita		
	Civil servants	Non-civil servant teachers	Community teachers	Civil servants	Non-civil servant teachers	Community teachers
Benin (2006)	45	19	36*	6.3	1.9	1.2
Burkina Faso (2006)	42	58	0	6.6	4.2	-
Burundi (2004)	93	7	0	6.9	4.7	-
Cameroon (2002)	35	20	45	5.3	1.4	0.8
CAR (2005)	60	0	40	6.8	-	0.4
Chad (2003)	38	0	62*	7.2	-	1.7
Congo (2005)	55	14	31	2.0	0.9	0.6
Guinea (2003)	43	51	6	3.4	1.9	1.2
Guinea-Bissau (2006)	71	29	NA	4.7	3.4	NA
Madagascar (2006)	49	0	51**	4.8	-	0.9
Mali (2004)	35	35	30*	7.5	4.8	1.0
Niger (2003)	46	50	4	8.9	3.5	NA
Senegal (2004)	44	56	NA	7.5	2.5	NA
Togo (2007)	49	15	36	6.6	4.5	1.3
Average	51	26	23	6.0	3.1	1.0

Source: CSRs, financial simulation models for different countries, authors' calculations

* Community teachers are subsidized by the government.

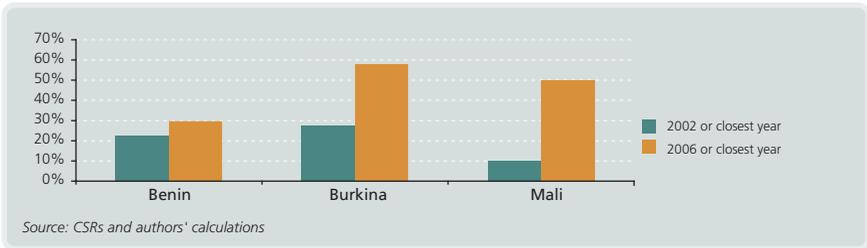
** 17% of the 51% community teachers are subsidised by the government.

These general situations conceal considerable disparities: while representing 93% of teachers in Burundi, civil servants only constitute 35% of teaching staff in Cameroon and Mali. In Burkina Faso, Niger and Guinea, there is a majority of non-civil servant teachers, while community teachers are virtually nonexistent. So it appears interesting to observe the evolution of teacher recruitment in terms of the different status categories taking a country where non-civil servant teachers are now in the majority and where there are no more community teachers (Burkina Faso, for example) and a country where non-civil servant teachers are still a minority but where there is a high proportion of community teachers (Benin, for example). Mali, with almost equivalent proportions of the three categories of teachers, is also featured on graph 3.1, which shows the progression of the share of non-civil servant teachers managed directly by the government compared to the number of total teachers managed by the government (i.e. excluding community teachers) between 2002 and 2006 (or closest years⁴¹).

41 Between 2000 and 2004 for Mali.



Graph 3.1: Progression of the proportion of non-civil servant teachers compared to the total number of teachers managed and paid by the government in 3 French-speaking African countries between 2002 and 2006 (or closest years)



The three countries presented in graph 3.1 have chosen to recruit primarily non-civil servant teachers over the past few years, in varying proportions. Thus, Mali and Burkina Faso have essentially recruited non-civil servant teachers resulting in an increase in the proportion of these teachers from 10 to 50% in Mali and from 27 to 58% in Burkina Faso in recent years. Benin has chosen to continue recruiting civil servant teachers during this period and so the proportion of non-civil servant teachers has increased to a lesser extent, from 23 to 30%. On average, the proportion of non-civil service teachers in the three countries has risen from 20 to 46% in four years, reflecting the political determination, variable depending on the country, to reduce average teacher salary costs and be able to face up to the growing demand for schooling.

Table 3.2 shows the distribution between teachers who have followed standard professional training and those who have benefited from very short training or no training at all⁴² and corresponding salaries for seven African countries (five English-speaking, one Portuguese-speaking and one French-speaking) who have not introduced a new non-civil servant teacher status.

⁴² They are called untrained here insofar as they have not benefited from standard professional teacher training.

Table 3.2: Distribution (in %) of primary school teachers between trained teachers and hardly trained or untrained teachers and salary level in 7 African countries

Country	Distribution in %		Distribution in GDP per capita	
	Trained teachers	Untrained teachers	Trained teachers	Untrained teachers
Ethiopia (2002)	97	3	6.9	4.8
Gambia, The (2006)	68	32	2.7*	1
Lesotho (2006)	60	40	6.3	1.5
Mozambique (2001)	48	52	4.5	2.8
Rwanda (2003)	85	15	3.9	3.5
Sierra Leone (2004)	93	7	4.3	2.5
Uganda (2006)	68	32	5.4**	3.1
Average	71	29	4.9	2.8

Source: CSRs, financial simulation models for different countries, World Bank and authors' calculations
 * Trained teachers are paid between 2.4 and 3.0 times GDP per capita in The Gambia. The value indicated here is the simple mean of these two values.
 ** Same remark for trained teachers in Uganda who are paid between 5.0 and 5.8 times GDP per capita.

Chapter 3

New teachers and progress in enrolments

On average for the 7 countries presented, 71% of primary school teachers are trained teachers and 29% are untrained. The average salary for trained teachers is 4.9 times GDP per capita compared to 2.8 times GDP per capita for untrained teachers. Once again, these general characteristics conceal considerable disparities. Trained teachers represent 97% of all teachers in Ethiopia compared to only 48% in Mozambique. Just as for status categories in French-speaking countries, recruitment policies do nevertheless greatly vary in this respect from country to country.

2.2. General profile of teachers on the African continent: a variety of levels of recruitment and professional training

Until the 1990's, virtually all primary school teachers on the African continent had qualified from standard training institutes and consequently had a similar level of academic qualifications. However, later on, in view of the massive needs for new teachers, some governments reformed teacher recruitment and training. While the emergence of new teachers clearly indicates the determination and the need to adequately address the massification and democratisation of education, the terminology used covers a teaching profession with many and varied status categories, academic qualifications and levels of professional training. We shall explore here the academic level and professional training of teachers, two key aspects in the ongoing renewal of the African teaching profession.

In order to examine this topic, we shall refer to data available on teachers within the framework of learning assessment analyses conducted by the CONFEMEN Programme for the Analysis of Education Systems (PASEC) or Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ). These data, from diagnostic or thematic evaluations focused on pupil learning, may differ from those that could have been obtained from national teacher census reports.

2.2.1. Teachers' academic qualifications

On this basis and regarding academic qualifications, the vast majority of primary school teachers in the countries concerned by these two programmes are seen to have at least passed the general certificate of lower secondary education (*Brevet*) (cf. table 3.3): 78% of teachers in Mali, 53% of teachers in Guinea, 50% in Togo, 79% in Kenya and 47% in Botswana. Mauritania is different with a relatively high academic level: 62% of teachers in the PASEC sample have the general certificate of



upper secondary education (*Baccalauréat*) or more. PASEC and SACMEQ data do however reveal that the highest percentage of pupils whose teacher has only been through primary education are to be found in Lesotho (51.1%), South Africa (30.2%), Togo (18.4%), Namibia (17.7%) and Tanzania (16.5%). As for Malawi, Kenya and Guinea, they have the lowest percentage of pupils with a teacher who has only benefited from primary education, 0.8%, 0.5% and 0.6% respectively.

Table 3.3: Academic level of teachers in 6 French-speaking countries and 8 English-speaking countries (as a % based on samples)

Country	Lower secondary level	General certificate of lower secondary education (<i>brevet</i>)	Upper secondary level	General certificate of upper secondary education (<i>baccalauréat</i>)
Chad	13.1	17.6	38.7	30.6
Guinea	0.6	5	52.8	41.5
Mali	3	8.1	78.2	10.7
Mauritania	5.1	31	0.8	62.3
Niger	3.2	35.6	37.2	24.1
Togo	18.4	14.8	49.8	17
PASEC average*	7.2	18.7	42.9	31
Botswana	8.2	47.4	30.1	14.2
Kenya	0.5	2.3	78.4	18.9
Lesotho	51.1	11.7	15.5	21.8
Malawi	0.8	35.7	63.4	0.2
Namibia	17.7	8.9	46.1	29.5
South Africa	30.2	3.6	18.9	47.3
Tanzania	16.5	79.4	1.9	2.3
Uganda	2.4	1.1	59	37.7
Zambia	10.2	6	71.6	12.2
SACMEQ average**	10.8	16.6	45.3	27.3

Source: Bonnet (2007)

* PASEC studies were conducted between 2001 and 2004. For Mali, Niger, Togo and Guinea: thematic evaluations on a sample of teachers. For Chad and Mauritania: diagnostic assessments on a sample of pupils.

** SACMEQ evaluations are dated 2000-2001.

Nevertheless, over and above this overall vision, requirements for joining the teaching profession vary, not only from one country to another, but also within the same country according to teacher status (cf. table 3.4). Community teachers have very different academic profiles from one country to another and within the same country. No minimum qualifications are required as a general rule to become a community teacher. While in Mali, the level of recruitment for these teachers is generally below the basic education certificate, in Guinea community teachers have a higher academic standard on average: 40% have the general certificate of lower secondary education, 30% the general certificate of upper secondary education, 10% a professional diploma and 20% have no qualifications (CIEP, 2007). This is also the case in Madagascar where the vast majority of community teachers have the general certificate of lower secondary education.

Chapter 3

New teachers and progress in enrolments

While community teachers have very different levels of qualification, the academic level of non-civil servant teachers financed by the government is comparable to, and often higher than, that of civil servant teachers. This is the case in Niger, Guinea and Mali. In Niger, the government recruits contract teachers from those coming out of teacher training institutes (individuals qualifying from these schools are automatically admitted) and professional training, and holders of the general certificate of lower or upper secondary education. These teachers have therefore similar academic levels to their civil servant counterparts. Contract teachers in Guinea must also have at least the general certificate of upper secondary education; this used to be required in order to join the civil service. However, according to PASEC data, the academic level of contract teachers appears higher on average than that of civil servants in Guinea (Bonnet, 2007). Data available for Mali leads to the same conclusions.

Table 3.4: Academic level of teachers according to status in 5 French-speaking countries

Country	Categories/designations	Academic level required
Congo	Civil servants	<i>Baccalauréat</i>
	Contract teachers	<i>Baccalauréat</i>
	Volunteers	<i>BEMG or Baccalauréat or equivalent diploma</i>
Guinea	Civil servants*	<i>Baccalauréat*</i>
	Contract teachers	<i>Baccalauréat</i>
Niger	Civil servants*	<i>Brevet or Baccalauréat*</i>
	Contract teachers	<i>Brevet or Baccalauréat</i>
Senegal	Civil servants	<i>Brevet or Baccalauréat**</i>
	Education volunteers	<i>Brevet</i>
	Contract teachers	<i>Brevet + 2 years voluntary service</i>
Togo	Civil servants	<i>Baccalauréat</i>
	Auxiliaries	<i>Baccalauréat</i>

Source: CSRs, PASEC, and Senegalese Ministry of Education

*Niger and Guinea have recruited no further civil servants since 1998.

** Primary school teachers must have the Baccalauréat, teacher assistants must have the Brevet.



2.2.2. Different kinds of professional training according to status

While academic level does not seem to be a determining factor in distinguishing between the different categories of teachers, the type of professional training does on the other hand vary significantly from one status category to another (cf. table 3.5). Not all teachers, other than civil servants or assimilated, have benefited from previous professional training. This is generally the case of community teachers, especially in Chad, Guinea, Mali and Togo. This is also the case for Djibouti where non-civil servant teachers were recruited by the Ministry of National Education with no previous training, unlike their civil servant counterparts (CIEP, 2007), and in Togo where auxiliaries (50% of all primary school teachers) were directly recruited by the government after their studies.

When non-civil servant teachers have had pre-service training, this differs from one country to another and can sometimes be very short. The recruitment of non-civil servant teachers has indeed often gone hand in hand with the introduction of accelerated pre-service training, shorter than the training delivered to civil servant teachers. In Mali, while 6.3% of contract teachers in the PASEC sample have received no training, most of them (72.5%) have followed a training course lasting from one to three months. In fact, applicants for contract teaching positions who have no professional qualifications benefit from a 90-day training course. In Senegal, Education Volunteers benefit from six months of theoretical training before being assigned to a class.

While some countries have opted for accelerated training, others have chosen to provide training of one year or more for contract teachers. In Guinea, since the reform of pre-service training in 1998, contract teachers currently in teaching jobs have received training of 18 months (9 months of practical training in an institute punctuated by 3 periods of work experience and 9 months of practice with responsibility for a class) or 15 months (3 months of theory in an institute, 9 months of practice with responsibility for a class then back to the institute for 3 months of theoretical training). Thus, 99.4% of contract teachers in the PASEC sample in Guinea have benefited from more than one year of professional training. In Niger, a large share of contract teachers have received the same initial training as their civil servant counterparts, that is one year training or more. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this training was not originally provided to contract teachers and that it is now part of an overall trend with a view to providing contract teachers with professional training.

Chapter 3

*New teachers and progress
in enrolments*

Table 3.5: Duration of initial professional training according to status on the basis of PASEC samples (in %)

Country	Duration of training*	Civil servants	Non-civil servant and community teachers	Teachers as a whole
Guinea	No training	0.8	0.0	0.3
	1 year or more	98.5	99.4	99
	Other	0.8	0.6	0.7
Mali	No training	0	6.3	3.3
	< 1 month	0	7.7	4.1
	1-3 months	0	72.5	38
	1 year or more	100	13.4	54.6
Mauritania	No training	4.3	55.6	7.5
	< 1 month	1.4	11.1	2
	1-3 months	15.7	7.4	15.2
	3-6 months	3.4	3.7	3.4
	6-9 months	44.2	7.4	42.0
	1 year or more	30.9	14.8	29.9
Niger	No training	3.8	19.8	9.8
	< 1 month	0.0	17.7	6.7
	1-3 months	0.0	19.8	7.5
	1 year or more	96.2	42.7	76
Chad	No training	0	74	42.1
	< 1 month	0	4.9	2.8
	1-3 months	1.1	9.8	6
	3-6 months	0	1.6	0.9
	1 year or more	98.9	9.8	48.1
Togo	No training	31.1	82.4	50.9
	1-3 months	51.1	4.7	33.2
	1 year or more	17.8	12.9	15.9

Source: Bonnet (2007), PASEC data

Note: The PASEC studies were conducted between 2001 and 2004.

* This means the total duration of training, including theoretical lessons and practical training in the classroom. Thus, in Guinea the first year of teacher practice is still considered as training and the teacher benefits from support.

When the analysis is extended to all countries on the African continent, the length of professional training for the different categories of teachers as a whole appears longer on average in the SACMEQ countries. According to Bonnet (2007), a little over 90% of pupils in the sample analysed on SACMEQ countries as a whole have a teacher who has benefited from more than one year training, compared to only 54% for the PASEC countries. This observation is to be looked at alongside the noteworthy differences between French-speaking and non-French-speaking countries in the implementation of reforms concerning the teaching profession.



In English and Portuguese-speaking countries, alongside teachers with the level of qualifications required by the Ministry of Education for teaching, there are a fair number of teachers without that level (cf. table 3.6). In Eritrea, Lesotho, The Gambia and Malawi, governments have recruited a second category of teachers in recent years. While the government of Eritrea provides a three-month introductory training course for these teachers, the majority of teachers in this category in other countries have received no initial training. Nevertheless, distance training is sometimes implemented to compensate for this failing. This enables teachers without the required diplomas to follow theoretical and practical training while working. This also enables them to obtain, in some cases, a diploma equivalent to that obtained by their counterparts in traditional training institutes and, as a result, to make progress in terms of salary.

Table 3.6: Duration of initial professional training in 10 non-French-speaking countries based on SACMEQ samples (in %)

Country	Duration of initial training					
	No training	< 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	> 3 years
Botswana	4.8	1.3	0	74.4	10.5	9.0
Kenya	1.3	0.8	0.5	87.3	7.9	2.1
Lesotho	10	3.5	4.2	8.7	44.4	29.2
Malawi	6.3	20.9	22.4	41.0	6.5	3.0
Mozambique	21.9	14.2	3.3	23.2	31.0	6.4
Namibia	3.5	2.3	4.3	26.3	44.9	18.8
South Africa	0.5	0.0	2.8	15.8	42.4	38.5
Tanzania	0.0	1.3	5.1	67.9	23.2	2.5
Uganda	4.1	4.4	3.4	56.8	12.7	18.6
Zambia	2.3	0.8	1.8	91.6	1.3	2.3
SACMEQ	4.7	4.7	5.2	48.9	22.7	13.9

Source: Bonnet (2007)

Note: The SACMEQ evaluations were conducted in 2000-2001.

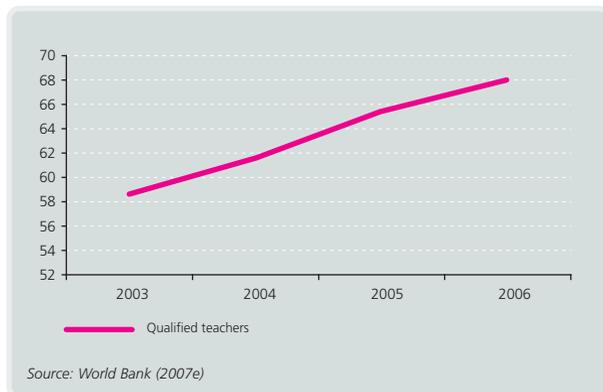
The governments of Uganda, Eritrea, Lesotho and Zambia have set up this type of professional in-service training. In Uganda, where many untrained teachers were recruited as early as 1997, there has been a continual increase in the share of trained teachers in recent years thanks to the introduction of training for untrained teachers while working (cf. graph 3.2). This training is spread over a period of three years for a qualification equivalent to that of teachers coming out of national training institutes. 1 005 teachers have benefited from this training in 2003-2004 and this number has risen to 4 173 by 2005-2006. Eritrea is in a similar situation. The proportion of trained teachers has increased rapidly over the last few years. It is estimated besides that all unqualified or under-qualified teachers should be trained in the near future (World Bank, 2007a). In 2007, Zambia also brought in this type of

Chapter 3

New teachers and progress in enrolments

training, which is intended for community teachers. It enables untrained teachers in community schools to benefit from distance training while continuing to teach. There seems to be a clear interest for this training on the part of teachers. The initiative aims at improving teacher retention in community schools. Nevertheless, the sustainability of this initiative, based on external financing (USAID) is questionable.

Graph 3.2: Progress in the proportion of trained primary school teachers in Uganda (%), 2003-2006



These initiatives as implemented in some English-speaking countries seem to indicate a direction to follow, which could be extended to all countries on the continent, particularly those with a high number of community teachers. Providing in-service training to community teachers does indeed favour greater equity within the education systems. While equity generally concerns the financial aspects through the costs borne by the families, the issue of equity is also raised in terms of quality of education delivered and, as a result, of teacher training.

Some French-speaking countries, such as Chad and Madagascar have taken advantage of local initiatives by including community teachers in an overall national system and by providing them with continuous training. The Malagasy government in fact envisages providing continuous training over a period of between two and four years to ensure certification of the 30 600 FRAM teachers present in their teaching workforce (MENRS, 2007). On a parallel to this initiative, it also plans to recruit 2 000 new FRAM teachers per year and to integrate them in this intensive continuous training process. Nevertheless, these initiatives remain limited and it would be worth extending them to the scale of the continent in order to ensure training for all teachers. Overall, the trend observed in terms of teacher training is clearly positive insofar as training devices are gradually being introduced with the aim of providing professional training to each teacher, whatever his/her status.

2.3. Impact of the recruitment of new teachers⁴³ on enrolments

The introduction of new teacher status categories and the recruitment of less-trained teachers have most probably had a noteworthy influence on primary school enrolments in the countries that have developed these policies. The impact of this diversification of the teaching profession is nevertheless more or less significant according to the country, depending on the weight of these new teacher categories and of their salary levels. Table 3.7 indicates an "enrolment benefit equivalent," in

⁴³ "New teachers" here means non-civil servant teachers managed by the government, community teachers subsidised by the government and also less qualified teachers recruited in English-speaking countries.



terms of enrolments that can be associated with the recruitment of these new teachers, for 20 countries. This enrolment “benefit” was obtained for a base year for which precise information on teacher payroll is available, by comparing the actual number of pupils enrolled to those that could have been enrolled if the payroll had been exclusively devoted to the recruitment of teachers with the most favourable status and salary (i.e. civil servants in French-speaking countries and qualified teachers in English-speaking countries). The purpose of this calculation is of course only to give an order of magnitude of the impact of the reforms undertaken by the countries since, over a longer period, a deterioration in pupil-teacher ratios or a reduction in expenditure excluding teacher salary would have enabled an increase in enrolments even if the most favourable conditions of recruitment had been maintained. Graph 3.3 indicates the “benefit” per country in relative value.

Table 3.7: Estimation of annual enrolment “benefit” resulting from diversification of recruitment in 20 African countries

Country	Actual enrolments	Estimated enrolments if the most favourable recruitment conditions had been maintained	“Enrolment benefit equivalent”
Benin (2006)	1 356 818	856 984	499 834
Burkina Faso (2006)	1 590 371	1 293 214	297 157
Burundi (2004)	968 488	962 381	6 107
Cameroon (2002)	2 723 371	2 419 654	303 717
Chad (2003)	1 139 042	1 028 905	110 137
Congo (2005)	611 679	580 561	31 118
Ethiopia (2002)	5 725 954	5 676 604	49 350
Gambia, The (2006)	182 055	146 028	36 027
Guinea (2003)	1 163 126	947 326	215 800
Guinea-Bissau (2006)	269 287	256 068	13 219
Lesotho (2006)	422 268	294 917	127 351
Madagascar (2006)	3 698 906	2 462 667	1 236 239
Mali (2004)	1 505 903	1 335 228	170 675
Mozambique (2001)	2 555 975	1 267 645	1 288 330
Niger (2003)	857 592	607 497	250 095
Rwanda (2003)	1 636 563	1 611 597	24 966
Senegal (2004)	1 382 749	924 170	458 579
Sierra Leone (2004)	1 134 815	1 102 999	31 816
Togo (2007)	1 208 605	1 077 604	131 001
Uganda (2006)	7 224 761	6 392 233	832 528
Total	37 358 328	31 244 282	6 114 046

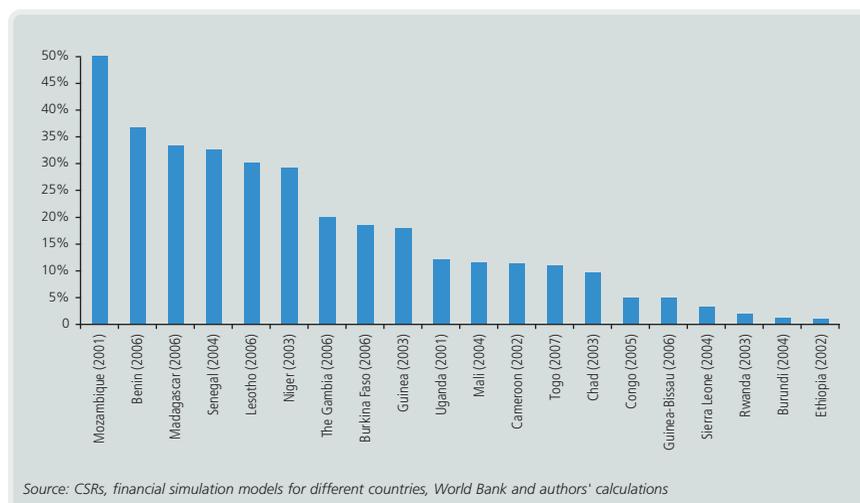
Source: CSRs, financial simulation models for different countries, World Bank and authors' calculations

Chapter 3

*New teachers and progress
in enrolments*

On average, for the 20 countries as a whole, changes in the structure of teacher recruitments are estimated to have resulted in an increase in enrolments of 16%, i.e. over six million children. Mozambique, Benin, Madagascar, Senegal, Lesotho and Niger are the countries with the most significant “enrolment benefit equivalent”: between 29 and 50% of potential increase in enrolments as a result of recruiting or subsidising these new teachers. Nevertheless, potential benefits are low for countries such as Ethiopia, Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and Congo.

Graph 3.3: Estimation of increase in enrolments (in %) due to the recruitment of non-civil servant teachers paid by the government, for 21 African countries





To conclude, the goal of universal primary education poses serious challenges for countries in Africa. Amongst these, one of the most delicate is the recruitment of a sufficient number of teachers. Over the last ten years, many African countries have set up new policies designed to bring down teacher salary costs by lowering the requirements in terms of pre-service training and/or by developing programmes for recruiting and managing teachers outside the civil service.

These policies, as analysed throughout this chapter, have resulted in an in-depth modification of the make-up and structure of the teaching profession to the extent that these new teachers are now in the majority in many countries. The current situation is characterised by the coexistence of a variety of status categories and levels of training in each country. This heterogeneity and the variety of salary situations have enabled considerable progress in the expansion of primary education. These policies are questioned today and are potentially unstable.

One of the principal criticisms is to do with the quality of education delivered. Does the massive recruitment of contract teachers signify a deliberate trade-off in favour of enrolling the greatest number of children to the detriment of educational quality? This will be the subject of the following chapter, which will explore the relationship between teacher characteristics and the quality of education.

