

Every
CHILD
needs a
Teacher

Trained Teachers For All

CLOSING THE TRAINED TEACHER GAP

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



With thanks to

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ACRONYMS



ASO-EPT	Coalition of Union Associations and NGOs for Education For All, Niger
ASPBAE	Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education
BREDA	UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in Africa
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
CNT/EPT	Togolese National Coalition for Education For All
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSOiEFA	Civil Society Organisations' initiative for Education For All, Indonesia
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of the OECD)
ECCE	Early Childhood Care and Education
EFA	Education for All
EI	Education International
GCE	Global Campaign for Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
GMR	Education For All Global Monitoring Report
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IDA	International Development Association, the low-income country financing arm of the World Bank
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEG	Local Education Group
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SAQE	Society for the Advancement of Quality Education, Pakistan
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UPE	Universal Primary Education
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas



This report is written jointly by the Global Campaign for Education and Education International. It is independently published by the Global Campaign for Education (GCE).

GCE is a civil society coalition which calls on governments to deliver the right of everyone to a free, quality, public education. Operating in 96 countries with members including grassroots organisations, teachers' unions, child rights groups and international NGOs, its mission is to make sure that States act now to deliver the right of everyone to a free, quality public education. www.campaignforeducation.org

Education International represents organisations of teachers and other education employees across the globe. It is the world's largest federation of unions, representing thirty million education employees in about four hundred organisations in one hundred and seventy countries and territories. www.ei-ie.org

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Progress in realising the right to education worldwide since 2000 is undeniable – but it remains unfinished business. The total number of children missing out on primary and lower secondary school has fallen from more than 200 million in 2000 to 132 million in 2010; but the numbers remain high and have stagnated since 2008.

Even for those children who are in school, the right to education is only a reality if school provides them with a quality education, one that, as described by the World Education Forum in 2000, “includes learning to know, to do, to live together and to be”. Yet this is far from the reality in much of the world: on the contrary, up to three quarters of children in the lowest income countries have not learned to read and write after two or three years of schooling, let alone begun to develop more complex skills and knowledge. The gap in quality education is huge, and bridging it is essential to fulfilling the universal right to education.

The Global Campaign for Education (GCE) and Education International (EI) believe that a fundamental reason for this gap in quality education is the severe lack of well-trained, well-supported teachers. It is the presence of quality teachers that determines whether and how much children learn. There is ample evidence that having enough teachers to avoid large class sizes is a strong determinant of students’ learning; a meta-study of research published from 1990 to 2010 found that teacher presence and knowledge had by far the strongest and clearest impact on students’ test scores¹; in-depth assessments of high-quality education systems by the Education For All Global Monitoring Report found that “in the highest-performing education systems...[t]here are no concessions on teacher quality”²; and the OECD Programme of International Student Assessment reports that “successful school systems... prioritize teacher quality”³. These findings are not surprising: students and parents know that teachers determine the quality of education.

Investing in teachers is important for all students’ learning and for their well-being: well-trained teachers can better manage diversity in a classroom, can deal – for example – with the huge range of ages commonly found in schools in post-conflict countries, can reduce violence and manage

discipline in a positive way and, through gender training, can better support girls’ participation in class in a way that significantly increases their chances of success.

The scale of the global gap in trained teachers is, therefore, all the more shocking. At pre-primary level, the teacher gap is often matched by a gap in enrolment: whilst the ratio of teachers to children enrolled in pre-primary schools is not always high, the ratio of children in this age group to teachers reaches one to thousands in a number of African countries. Early childhood care and education is a right, and has a huge and lasting impact, but it cannot be delivered without a massive expansion in teachers. At primary level, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics calculates that 1.7 million additional teachers are needed to deliver Universal Primary Education by 2015. In total, 114 countries have primary teacher gaps, and the gap in Africa alone is nearly 1 million teachers. Poor transition rates from primary to lower secondary level again mean low student numbers as well as low teacher numbers. There are huge gaps in the number of teachers needed for every child to complete lower secondary school: seven African countries have just one lower secondary school teacher to more than 100 children of lower-secondary school age.

If we take training into account, the picture becomes less clear, but more worrying. Reporting of training levels to UIS is extremely patchy, and relies on very varied national definitions. Some countries count those who have completed primary school and a one-month training course as trained, while others require a three-year education degree. Even with these flexible and often low standards, a third of countries report that no more than half of their pre-primary school teachers are trained; at primary level, reported rates are slightly higher, but thirty one countries report that fewer than three quarters of teachers are trained (to any accepted national standard) and a number report falling levels of training. In Mali, where half of primary school teachers are trained, only a quarter have had training lasting six months or longer. Nearly half of countries reporting training levels at lower secondary level state that fewer than three quarters of teachers are trained. Niger had just 1,059 trained lower secondary school teachers in 2010 – compared to 1.4 million children of lower secondary school age.

Moreover, aggregate numbers of teachers often mask extreme disparities between regions – with poorer, rural areas generally faring worst – and do not reveal teacher profiles in terms of linguistic, ethnic or regional identity or disability. Women teachers are proven to have a positive impact for girls, yet in low-income countries women make up on average just 39 percent of teachers at primary level and 25 percent at lower secondary level.

Policies must be directed at filling these huge gaps in trained teachers, and specific recommendations are set out below. The overwhelming lesson is that high quality education requires sufficient recruitment of teachers who are trained, supported, paid and managed as professionals. The recruitment of low-skill, untrained teachers in recent decades has proved disastrous for education quality - and much current training provision needs improvement. Teachers are paid paltry amounts, for example just \$125 a month in Niger; many have to travel long distances to collect pay that is often days, weeks or even months late. A motivated, highly skilled teacher workforce produces the best education; yet too often teachers are treated as low-grade service delivery employees, expected to deliver classes and administer tests according to a script, and rewarded or punished on the basis of test scores. The de-professionalisation of teachers denies students the possibility of great teaching.

The right policies need sufficient funding. Low-income countries allocate, on average, 17 percent of their budgets to education, and 12 percent to basic education (pre-primary, primary and lower secondary); allocations are slightly lower but similar for middle-income countries. Yet for the poorest countries with the smallest budgets, this is not nearly enough. All countries need to expand revenues through progressive taxation, and many need additional donor support.

Donor financing is nowhere near commensurate with need, nor with the priority aid-recipient governments place on education. The 23 biggest bilateral donors gave less than three percent of their aid to basic education from 2005-2010 (even including a proportion of budget support). How they provide aid is also important: long-term, predictable budget support is best able to support recurrent costs like teacher training and salaries. Donor-supported macroeconomic frameworks must not restrict teacher recruitment.

If we are genuinely serious about fulfilling the right to education for all, about ensuring that every child, youth or adult learner develops the skills that a good education brings – from literacy and numeracy to creative and critical thinking – then the only solution is to ensure that every student has a well-trained teacher. This means putting in place policies and financing to produce a sufficient, well-trained, well-supported, equitably distributed professional teacher workforce. If we value education, there is no alternative.

1. P. Glewwe et al (2011) School Resources and Educational Outcomes in Developing Countries: a review of the literature from 1990 to 2010
2. C. Colclough et al (2004) Education For All Global Monitoring Report 2005: the quality imperative, UNESCO:Paris
3. OECD (2012) 'Does Money Buy Strong Performance in PISA?' PISA In Focus 13, February 2012

RECOMMENDATIONS

National governments should:

- Develop costed workforce plans, agreed with parliaments and civil society, to meet the full gap in trained teachers and deploy those teachers equitably. (In emergency or post-conflict situations, develop transition plans to move towards these targets, in agreement with national stakeholders).
- By 2014, measure and publish the Pupil-to-Trained-Teacher ratio, overall and in the public sector (according to standards of training as indicated above), including regional variations. This should be included in reports to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).
- Undertake a gender review of national Education Sector Plans, and develop long-term strategies to recruit, train, support and compensate women teachers.
- Develop and enforce high national standards of training, developed with the teaching profession and in reference to international standards.
- Ensure initial pre-service training for all new recruits to teaching that covers subject knowledge, pedagogy and training in diagnosis of students' learning needs, with sufficient time to develop these skills; raise the ISCED level of teacher training by at least one level over the next three years.
- Provide ongoing in-service training and professional development for all teachers, making use of communities of practice and following up on training given.
- Ensure that all teachers are being paid a decent, professional wage; negotiate and agree pay scales with teachers' unions; do not use pay as a system of individualised punishment and reward based on high-stakes testing or other "merit" pay.
- Strengthen school leadership and promote the establishment of school management committees that include students, teachers, parents and local community members.
- Promote adult literacy programmes that also empower newly-literate parents to take part in school management and support teachers.
- Support the establishment of Teaching Councils to develop and enforce professional standards and ethics.
- Allocate a minimum of 20 percent of national budgets, or 6 percent of GDP, to education, and ensure that at least 50 percent of this is dedicated to basic education, with a much higher percentage where necessary.
- Focus a considerable proportion of financing for post-secondary education on the development of high quality teacher training programmes.
- Progressively expand the domestic tax base, for example through setting a fair rate of corporation tax and not offering unnecessary tax holidays.
- Pursue expansionary macro-economic policies which allow greater investment in quality public services, resisting the imposition of austerity policies by the IMF or other advisers.
- Open planning and budgeting processes to civil society organisations, including teachers' unions, for example through participation in official government-partner groups in the education sector (e.g. Local Education Groups).
- Report regularly and transparently on budgets and spending in education, making clear the allocations to district/province and local level, so that spending can be tracked by communities and civil society organisations.

Bilateral donors should:

- Meet their commitment to spend at least 0.7 percent of GNI on aid.
- Realign ODA to commit at least 10% to basic education, including contributions to the GPE and a proportion of budget support.
- Provide a greater proportion of ODA as general or sectoral budget support.
- Ensure all aid for education is aligned with national education plans by providing financing through a pooled fund that supports the national education plan.
- Develop and publish a plan setting out contribution to tackling the teacher crisis and lowering Pupil-to-Trained-Teacher ratios, and report annually on progress against this plan.
- Engage with and support the International Task Force on Teachers for EFA.

The GPE should:

- Provide coordinated financing and other support to the expansion of a well-trained, professional teacher workforce, explicitly recognizing the significance of this for learning outcomes and quality education.

The World Bank should:

- Meet its original 2010 pledge of additional funding for basic education, by providing at least \$6.8 billion for basic education in IDA countries between 2011 and 2015, and an increase in funding for sub-Saharan Africa.
- Refrain from providing advice or conditionality that limits the professional status, training, pay or unionisation of teachers, or that encourages high-stakes testing.
- Publish its intended contribution to tackling the teacher crisis and lowering Pupil-to-Trained-Teacher ratios, and report annually on progress against this plan.

The IMF should:

- Work with governments and other key education stakeholders such as teacher organisations and other civil society groups to develop macro-economic frameworks that support the significant expansion of investment in teachers.
- Expand its work on social spending floors to include support for governments on tracking investment in teachers.

Private donors should:

- Support national strategies to develop the professional teacher workforce for public education by, for instance, contributing to pooled funds that support national education sector plans.



INTRODUCTION



Worldwide, 132 million children of primary and lower secondary school age are out of school, and hundreds of millions more are missing out on pre-primary education. This compares to around 200 million missing out on primary and lower secondary school in 2000. Worldwide, over 127 million young people aged 15 to 24 cannot read and write (more than half of them women), compared to 170 million in the early 1990s.

These figures give reason for both hope and anger. There is hope, in that the number of children missing out on school has dropped significantly, even as populations have grown. An unprecedented global focus on getting children – particularly girls – into school and on tackling barriers to enrolment like school fees has meant that the vast majority of children, both girls and boys, now go to primary school, and more of them progress to lower secondary school.

But there should also be anger, particularly when we look at the most recent trends. The number of children missing out on primary school has not shifted since 2008, and it grew in sub-Saharan Africa. Transition to secondary school remains weak and, globally, there were more children missing out on lower secondary school in 2010 than in 2008, fuelled in particular by sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia. Pre-primary enrolment continues to grow, but from a very low base and at a slowing rate. And inequalities in educational access are persistent: girls are more likely to be out of school than boys; rural children are twice as likely to be out of school as urban children; and children from the poorest fifth of households are four times more likely to be out of school than children from the richest fifth¹.

Moreover, even when children start school, it is far from certain that they will finish school, or get a good education – too often, children find themselves in huge classes, taught by untrained teachers, with very few learning materials, minimal facilities and where, as a result, little learning takes place. The expansion of enrolment without proper attention to creating the right conditions for education has often contributed to these problems, particularly in poorer areas. Yet the right to education cannot be realised just by being present in a classroom, but rather – whether in a school

or in a non-formal education programme – by receiving an education that, as described by the World Education Forum in 2000, “includes learning to know, to do, to live together and to be”. The right to education – recognised in multiple international treaties and agreements – is not a right to schooling, nor a right for some only; it is the right of everyone to participate in a process that provides the skills, abilities and knowledge that allow us to develop intellectually, creatively and emotionally, that helps us transform our own lives as well as those of our communities and societies. This right is not realised when learners are not even learning to read and write, or mastering basic problem-solving skills.

So what has gone wrong? Why has the massive rise in the numbers of children in school not led to a leap forward in education on quite the same scale? Drawing on the experiences of our member coalitions, unions, organisations and networks in 170 countries, the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) and Education International (EI) believe that the crucial gap is the failure to focus on providing and retaining well-trained and properly supported teachers, as much as on getting children into school. If governments and all stakeholders do not develop, implement and properly finance the right policies to value and support teachers and teaching, then we can never achieve Education For All.

The vital importance of teachers is recognised by parents, by learners, by education specialists and is acknowledged by governments; and yet huge gaps in the trained teacher workforce remain. Despite the efforts of some governments, in the south and the north, and the existence of important initiatives such as the International Task Force on Teachers for EFA – established in 2009 in recognition of the teacher crisis and its impact on quality education – we are still millions of teachers away from guaranteeing sufficient trained teachers for all children. For every child to access primary education by 2015 – a target to which the world’s governments committed twice over, in the Dakar Framework for Action on Education For All, and in the Millennium Development Goals – the UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimates that more than 1.7 million additional primary school teachers are needed.

Moreover, this number does not include the need to replace teachers who retire, the gaps at pre-primary

and lower secondary level, nor – crucially – the need to train and develop the huge numbers of untrained and under-qualified teachers who are already in post. The trained teacher gap is perpetuated and made more serious by policy and funding gaps that hinder the recruitment, development and retention of teachers, and by approaches to management and oversight of teachers that treat them as low-skill service providers, rather than professional educators. The results are huge gaps in trained teachers, and huge gaps in quality teaching.

These gaps matter. In the lowest income countries today, between one quarter and three quarters of children, far from developing complex skills and knowledge, cannot even read after two or three years of schooling²; these are also the countries where recruitment, training, development and support of teachers are the weakest. In Mali, for example, where a recent assessment suggests that around 90 percent of children in grade 2 cannot read at all³, only seven percent of teachers in public schools have completed secondary education, nearly half of all teachers have had no training at all, and barely a quarter have had training that lasts more than six months⁴. The quality gap in education will never be overcome without investing in teachers.

This is not an insoluble problem. Indeed, many countries have made a lot of progress in addressing the trained teacher gap, and others are on the path to do so. Indonesia, for example, has both expanded its teacher workforce in recent years, and raised training levels (although low teacher pay threatens the effectiveness of some reforms: see page 9). With the right financing, frameworks and policies in place, with structures that allow citizens to hold their governments to account for their responsibilities and commitments on education, we can ensure that every child has a well-trained and supported teacher.

We must be clear that there is no trade-off between getting every child into school and ensuring these children get a good education. There is no trade-off between ensuring universal, free and public education, and ensuring quality education. The only trade-offs are about money and political attention. There is a trade-off between governments being accountable for their promises on Education For All by employing enough well-trained and qualified teachers, or restricting spending to meet very low deficit targets. There is a trade-off between donors supporting governments' investments in public basic education over the long term, or funding their own pet projects. There is a trade-off

between governments and donors taking the views and expertise of parents, learners, teachers and others in civil society into account, or operating in a bubble. There is a trade-off between developing and supporting teachers as professional educators, or treating them as low-status, low-pay employees to be blamed for poor performance without having been given the tools to ensure high performance. If governments and their partners are really serious about providing a quality education for all, one that guarantees learning and well-being, then the choices should be clear.

That is not to say that there are not significant obstacles to overcome: governments must be able not only to recruit on the scale needed but also to train, develop, pay, manage and value teachers in a way that attracts the best possible candidates, provides them with the right skills and knowledge, allows them to focus on teaching, and maintains their motivation and commitment. This requires significant funding, and the right policies. The resource needs are huge, and the international community has so far not committed to meeting them on anything like the scale needed. But the path to take is not mysterious.

This report tackles this issue in four parts: examining, firstly, why it is so important to have trained, high quality teachers; secondly, the crushing extent of the gaps in trained teachers; thirdly, the policy framework needed to remedy this situation; and lastly, the financing necessary to deliver the right policies. We include all levels of basic education (pre-primary, primary and lower secondary) with a focus on the formal education sector, for which most data is available. The same problems, however, apply to non-formal youth and adult education, which is a crucial source of learning and education for those who have missed out on formal schooling, and where the gap in trained and professional teachers is even greater. We draw on the expertise and experience of GCE and EI members in more than 170 countries worldwide, as well as partners and allies, and data from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). We conclude with recommendations for governments, bilateral donors and multilateral funders.

The right to education necessarily implies both equity and quality: everyone has a right to education, and that education must amount to something substantial. The only way to guarantee this is to ensure that there are enough well-trained, well-supported teachers for every child and every adult learner: if the right to education is to mean anything at all, it must at least mean this.

1. VALUING EDUCATION, VALUING TEACHERS

High quality education is not possible without high quality teachers. We can define – and measure – the quality of education in different ways⁵, and debate continues over which different approaches to measurement genuinely capture what they are trying to track, and what impact these approaches have on the quality they are trying to assess⁶. But what is not debatable is that teachers are absolutely necessary to high quality education, however we define and measure it.

That teachers are critical is true whether we are talking about developing abilities to read, write and do simple mathematics, or acquiring a set of complex analytical, social and emotional skills. If an education system is going to ensure, for instance, that children can read and write in their early years of schooling, that youths develop problem-solving skills, that girls and boys understand sexual and reproductive health, and that adult learners can unlock the greater autonomy that comes with literacy, then that system must – categorically – have sufficient, high quality teachers.

VALUING LEARNING, VALUING TEACHERS

It is crucial to have enough teachers – at pre-primary, primary and lower secondary levels – so that every child can go to school, in a class that is not too big for them to learn. Influential studies have found clear evidence⁷ that large classes are harmful for students, and an education system that regularly entrusts 40, 50, 60 or even 100 students to one teacher is not going to guarantee that those students are genuinely learning to the best of their ability. Very large class sizes are often found in marginalised areas such as slum or poor urban areas, or sometimes in rural areas that have difficulty recruiting teachers: this can perpetuate disadvantage for those who are living in poverty.

This is not just about numbers. There is very strong evidence of the impact of teachers and teacher characteristics on the quality of education whether defined narrowly in terms of student test scores, or more broadly. For example, a recent ‘meta-study’ by leading economists of education (which assessed evidence from the studies they judged to be the highest quality, from a total of 9,000 published between 1990 and 2010) concluded that the two factors – out of a possible 19 – which were shown to have the strongest and clearest impact on students’ test scores were teachers’ level of knowledge of what they are teaching, and teachers being present in the classroom⁸. (Teachers’ knowledge came out as extremely important, more than their level of education: this reflects the importance of the quality of teacher training, and the fact that this can vary considerably, meaning that the impact on teacher knowledge is not constant.) The impact of teachers and teacher knowledge was far stronger and more consistent than that of infrastructure, books, school meals or a number of other inputs.

Box 1: INDONESIA – A GAP BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Indonesia's 'Law on Teachers and Lecturers' (Undang-Undang Guru Dan, or UUGD), introduced in 2005, aims to improve teaching and learning by setting much more stringent standards for teacher education and certification, recognising teacher competencies and professionalism, and providing incentives for teachers to upgrade qualifications and work in remote areas. It states that all teachers should have the equivalent of a bachelor's degree by 2015, and should demonstrate pedagogical, social, personal and professional competencies. Yet, despite some improvements, the current situation is still far from the ideal envisaged in this law: poor policy implementation, insufficient teacher training, and the very low wages still paid to teachers are keep teaching as a low skill job regardless of the law.

According to UIS figures, Indonesia has enough teachers to ensure a primary education for every child by 2015. In 2010, it had almost 1.9 million teachers at primary level and more than 900,000 in lower secondary, allowing for pupil-teacher ratios of 16:1 and 12:1 respectively. There are, however, concerns about the nature and level of training: in 2006, only 60 percent of lower secondary school teachers, and just 16 percent of primary school teachers, had the level of education stipulated by the 2005 law. There is an impact on quality, which is also seen in international tests: although Indonesian students' performance in maths and language tests has improved in recent years, they are still low overall, and below expected levels given income and other development indicators. Recent results show fewer than half of Indonesian students attaining functional literacy by grade 9. The World Bank has pointed to poor teaching methods and "a high proportion of unqualified teachers" as reasons for this.

Of all the countries reporting in the UNESCO World Education Indicators, Indonesia reports the lowest teacher salaries: in purchasing power parity terms, teachers at the very top of the salary scale earn less than \$200 a month in primary schools, and just over that in secondary schools. UNESCO reports that teachers' salaries are twenty percent lower than those of other professions requiring the same qualifications, and that many teachers are also working on other jobs, or see teaching as a stepping stone to careers that pay a living wage. The Civil Society Organisation Initiative for Education For All (CSOiEFA) in Indonesia points out that many teachers cannot meet the minimum needs of life on their salaries, and that this makes teaching less professional and keeps the quality of education low. They recommend improvements in pay, much greater investment in teacher education (through different forms of training) and greater equity in distribution of teachers, avoiding the current concentration of volunteer teachers (and male teachers) in rural areas.

Sources: UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS), Civil Society Initiative for Education For All Indonesia (CSOiEFA), UNESCO World Education Indicators (WEI), UNESCO/IBE World Data on Education 2010/11 – Indonesia

The essential impact of teachers is even clearer when we look at evidence from studies that attempt to evaluate successful education systems in depth and in context (as opposed to statistical correlations which often do not capture well what happens in schools). The EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) 2005, which focused on the quality of education, analysed extensive evidence including case studies examining high-performing and less well-performing education systems. It found that teachers and teacher characteristics were crucial, concluding that "in the highest-performing education systems... [t]here are no concessions on teacher quality, even where teacher shortages exist."⁹

This finding about the crucial importance of the quality of teachers is true across a range of countries. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)'s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) finds that "the strongest performers among high-income countries and economies tend to invest more in teachers" and that "successful school systems... prioritize teacher quality"¹⁰. The GMR finds that the impact of having high quality teachers is even more important outside the richest countries, reporting that factors such as smaller class sizes, teachers' training levels and teaching methods are particularly significant in poorer countries, as well as for less able students¹¹.

Box 2: MEASURING LEARNING, MEASURING TEACHING

The Learning Metrics Task Force has been convened by UNESCO and the Center for Universal Education at the Brookings Institute in an attempt to develop systematic approaches to measuring learning outcomes, broadly understood. The rationale is that political attention tends to go to what is measured, such that promoting measurement of learning outcomes will lead to the improvement of learning outcomes.

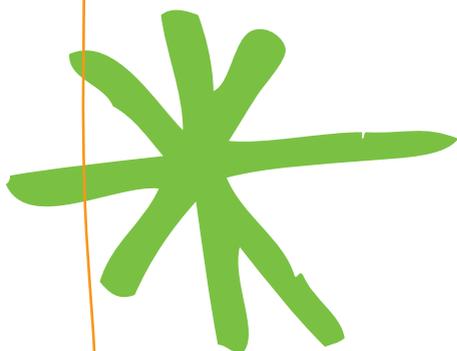
Of course, measuring learning achievement in practice is extremely challenging, especially if there is an attempt to do justice to the full spectrum of skills and knowledge acquired through a quality education. The Task Force's initial draft list of competencies, produced in mid-2012, was broadly inclusive, covering a range of cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes, including social and emotional development and even approaches to learning. It is extremely important to keep this breadth, and avoid the temptation of a hierarchy of competencies, or a focus just on those that are easily measurable. Prior to establishment of the Task Force, some of the recent donor-led discussion of learning outcomes had focused very narrowly on reading skills in early grades, leading to fears of an approach that, however unintentionally, would incentivise schools to become mechanical factories for churning out just one or two skills, rather than the means to realise the right to education. The Task Force seems to be aware of this risk, and should be applauded for avoiding falling into the easy measurement trap.

This does not, of course, make the task simpler. Maintaining a necessarily broad definition of learning means that the Task Force will need, for example, to include social and emotional outcomes, and skills including learning how to learn, showing initiative, and being cooperative, throughout the educational cycle.

The task of coming up with an international framework to measure learning is also complicated by huge differences in context. For example, expected results at any given age are affected by the age at which school starts; expected progress in literacy is greatly affected by the challenges posed by different languages and scripts that can vary enormously in complexity, as well as by non-mother-tongue teaching; and outcomes in schools are hugely affected by factors outside those schools' control, such as nutrition, parental literacy, and child labour in and out of the home. Moreover, much of what it is valuable for children to learn can be greatly influenced by the local and national environment, culture and economy.

Crucially, we must never divorce our expectations of learning from our expectations of teaching. Setting out what we value in terms of learning outcomes must inform policy on teacher competencies and training; and conversely it is only by development of teacher competencies that we can ensure children are learning. Unpacking the complexity of learning makes it all the more clear that we need well-trained, professional teachers to guide that learning. The teacher competencies that EI and GCE consider crucial to learning – in terms of developing the skills and knowledge that a quality education should provide – are set out in the box on teacher training on page 28. The conversations about learning outcomes and about teacher competencies – and hence about teacher training and development – must come together to reinforce each other.

See also: <http://www.globalcompactonlearning.org/global-learning-metrics/>



VALUING STUDENTS, VALUING TEACHERS

This is an argument both about teachers and about teaching. There is extensive evidence that how teachers teach – what methods they use, how they manage time in the classroom, how they manage the class – have a significant impact for students¹². These skills and competencies are acquired through high-quality teacher training (see Chapter 3), and the impact is seen in students' acquisition of knowledge and learning of new skills, including critical and creative thinking, as well as in their well-being, personal development and social engagement.

Among the critical teaching skills that teachers develop through high-quality training is the management of diversity in the classroom. This can include, among other things, diversity in terms of language and ethnicity, in terms of the inclusion of students with disabilities, and in terms of age. Gender training of teachers, along with training in children's rights and in positive discipline, has been shown to have a crucial impact in terms of girls' educational outcomes, as well as preventing violence and sexual harassment in and around schools (see page 26)¹³. In countries that have had huge numbers of children and youth missing out on an education, over-age students are a common phenomenon, and this can be even more acute in conflict-affected and post-conflict countries. During the civil war in Liberia, for example, an entire generation of children missed out on school; when schools reopened after the war, between 40 and 50 percent of children in primary school were five years or more over-age, meaning that first grade teachers regularly had to deal with classes of students whose ages ranged from 6 to 15 or older¹⁴ – making training in how to manage these classes particularly important. If we want to ensure that all children in a classroom are learning, we need well-trained teachers.

This claim about the importance of well-trained teachers should not be read as a plea to value one particular input to education over the need to transform education systems. On the contrary,

ensuring that there are enough high quality teachers – through recruiting, training, retaining, developing and maintaining their commitment – is a systemic issue. We in fact argue that it is the systemic issue that is of most importance if we are to guarantee that every child, and every youth and adult learner is to realise their right to learn, as part of a quality education.

In some ways this seems obvious. The idea that a child's teachers can transform their ability and willingness to learn would seem uncontroversial to parents and to learners. Yet some of the strategies that have been proposed and implemented to scale up education around the world in recent years have either ignored or undermined the crucial need to guarantee the presence of high quality teachers – through undermining the training, standards and status of the profession – with a catastrophic impact for learning and education. The recruitment of untrained or under-trained contract or para-teachers in much of Africa, for example, has categorically failed to bridge the learning gap. If children have a right to education, and to learn, then they have a right to a trained educator who has the professional skills and knowledge to facilitate that learning. The following chapters will examine, firstly, how far off we are from having enough trained teachers, and, secondly, the policies that are required in terms of recruitment, training, pay and management in order to make up this deficit.

There is a crisis in education. There are 132 million children out of school at primary and lower secondary levels, millions more are not receiving an education of the quality to which they are entitled, and youth literacy rates have – for the most part – only crept up in the last 30 years¹⁵. If we are to address this crisis, we must focus on the startling gaps in one element that we know, incontrovertibly, to have a dramatic impact on ensuring access to quality education: that is, the enormous gap in well-trained teachers. If we value education, we must value teachers.

2. ASSESSING THE GAPS

Achieving Education For All – including Universal Primary Education by 2015, to which the international community has committed twice, in the Dakar Framework on Education For All, and in the Millennium Development Goals – is about more than getting children into classrooms. It is also about having well-prepared and supported teachers for those children. Yet by any measure, more than a decade after these goals and frameworks were agreed, we are far from achieving this target. The gap in trained teachers can be measured not in the thousands, nor in the hundreds of thousands, but in the millions.

In this chapter, we ask three questions that can help us to understand the teacher gap in terms of availability, equity and quality – all of which are crucial to assessing the real gap:

- **On a country-by-country basis, are there enough teachers to provide universal basic education at pre-primary, primary and lower secondary level?**
- **Are these teachers trained, and to what level and standard?**
- **Are there enough teachers for every child, taking into account disparities in income and location?**

Note:

Throughout this section, we use data from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). Teacher numbers include all public and private schools, including community schools, as long as the government in each case tracks these numbers.

THE HEADLINE TEACHER GAP

PRE-PRIMARY LEVEL

Pupil-Teacher Ratios (PTR) at pre-primary level range from one teacher for every 6 children in Belarus to one for every 57 in Tanzania. All but 11 of the 111 low- and middle-income countries that provide data on pre-primary teachers have a ratio of one teacher to no more than 30 children, and the median is just over 19. However, this apparent success, at least in comparison to primary level, is very closely connected to the fact that, as examined in GCE's recent report *Rights From the Start*, enrolment rates at pre-primary level are often extremely low. Of the 101 non-OECD and non-western European countries that report net enrolment figures at pre-primary level, almost half have enrolment rates of 40 percent or lower¹⁶.

To better illustrate the teacher gap, therefore, we can calculate the number of teachers per child of pre-primary school age, rather than per child in pre-primary education. On this basis, the most successful country, Belarus, still has one teacher to every six children (having succeeded in full enrolment as well as providing sufficient teachers) – but at the other end, Chad has just one pre-primary teacher for every 1,815 children of this age group, and one third of the countries with data have more than 100 children per teacher.

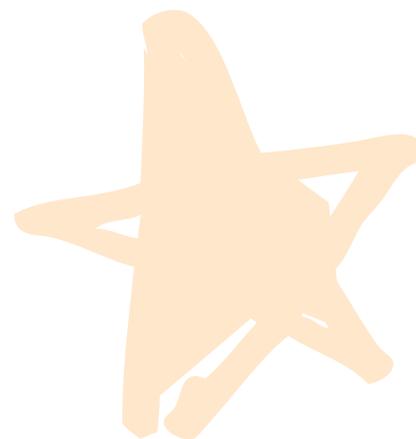
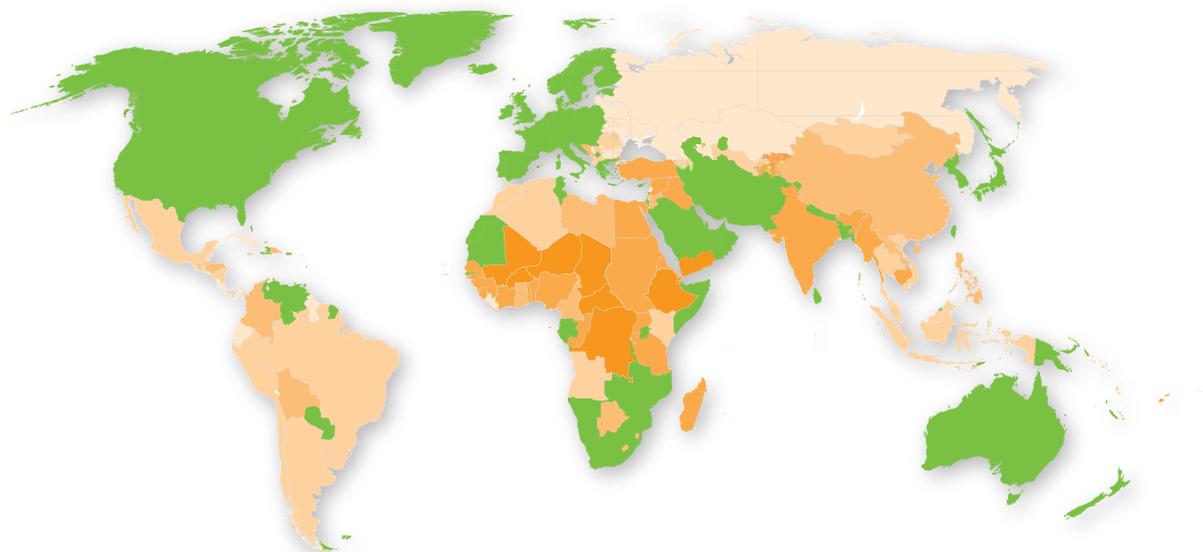


FIGURE 1: NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER PRE-PRIMARY TEACHER LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME COUNTRIES

This is the number of children, not enrolled students, per teacher for countries where sufficient data is available.



COUNTRIES WITH ONE TEACHER FOR NO MORE THAN 20 CHILDREN	COUNTRIES WITH ONE TEACHER FOR 21 TO 40 CHILDREN	COUNTRIES WITH ONE TEACHER FOR 41 TO 100 CHILDREN	COUNTRIES WITH ONE TEACHER FOR 101 TO 500 CHILDREN	COUNTRIES WITH ONE TEACHER FOR MORE THAN 500 CHILDREN
23 countries	33 countries	18 countries	27 countries	9 countries
Antigua & Barbuda	Albania	Bolivia	Benin	Burkina Faso
Belarus	Algeria	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Bhutan	Central African Republic
Bulgaria	Angola	Botswana	Burundi	Chad
Costa Rica	Argentina	Cameroon	Cambodia	Djibouti
Cuba	Armenia	China	Congo	DR Congo
Dominica	Azerbaijan	Colombia	Côte d'Ivoire	Ethiopia
Ecuador	Belize	Dominican Republic	Egypt	Mali
Georgia	Brazil	Ghana	Eritrea	Niger
Grenada	Cape Verde	Honduras	Fiji	Yemen
Guyana	Chile	Jordan	Guinea	
Kazakhstan	El Salvador	Lao PDF	Guinea-Bissau	
Latvia	Guatemala	Lesotho	India	
Lebanon	Indonesia	Libya	Iraq	
Liberia	Jamaica	Montenegro	Kyrgyzstan	
Lithuania	Kenya	Palestine	Madagascar	
Maldives	Macedonia FYR	Philippines	Myanmar	
Mauritius	Malaysia	Sao Tome & Principe	Nigeria	
Republic of Moldova	Mexico	Swaziland	Rwanda	
Russian Federation	Mongolia		Senegal	
Saint Lucia	Morocco		Sierra Leone	
Saint Vincent & the Grenadines	Nicaragua		Sudan (pre-secession)	
Seychelles	Panama		Syrian Arab Republic	
Ukraine	Peru		Tajikistan	
	Romania		Tanzania	
	Samoa		Togo	
	Serbia		Turkey	
	Solomon Islands		Uganda	
	Suriname			
	Thailand			
	Uruguay			
	Uzbekistan			
	Vanuatu			
	Viet Nam			

GCE and EI are calling on governments to recognise not only the immense and lasting benefits of providing early childhood care and education – to individuals, communities and nations – but also to acknowledge that young children have a right to care and education in early years. Realising this right and accessing the transformative power of early childhood care and education cannot be achieved without sufficient numbers of teachers and other early childhood professionals.

PRIMARY LEVEL

The focus of international debate about teacher gaps is often on the primary level, in large part because of the international commitments made in 2000. The latest data and calculations from the UIS show that, globally, 1.7 million more teachers are needed to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015¹⁷. This is in addition to recruitment of 5.1 million teachers that UIS calculates as necessary to replace retiring teachers. The gap in sub-Saharan Africa is particularly striking, with nearly 1 million additional teachers needed across 36 countries. Some countries – such as Guatemala – have made impressive recent efforts to reach the teacher numbers they need, and others are on track. But many more have further to go: in total, 114 countries need to expand their total number of teachers by 2015 if they are to ensure at least one primary teacher for no more than 40 pupils, with full enrolment¹⁸. This is the headline expansion needed before we take into account training levels and distribution of teachers (see below).

The gaps vary considerably between countries: from relatively low numbers in some countries to more than 75,000 in DR Congo, Tanzania and Ethiopia, and more than 200,000 in Nigeria. In proportional terms, both Chad and Eritrea need to

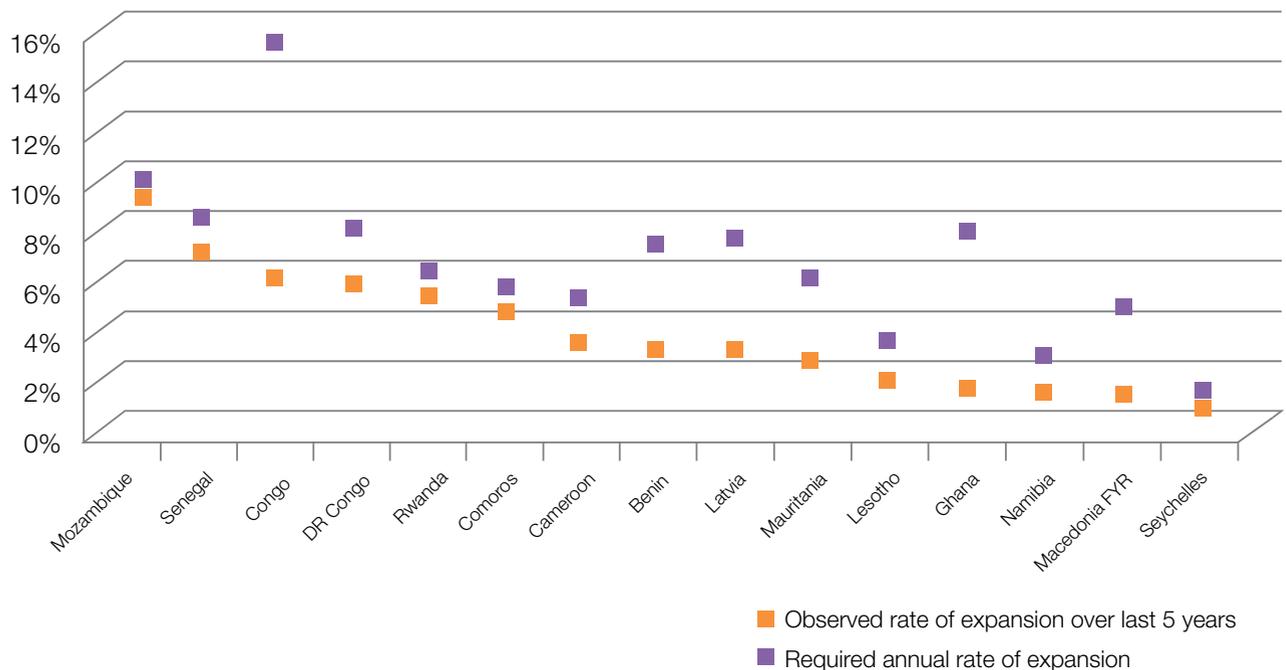
more than double their number of primary school teachers from 2010 and 2011 (respectively) to 2015, in order to provide at least one teacher for every 40 children. Eritrea needs to almost triple its primary school teacher numbers in the same period.

The latest available data suggests that, of countries that need to expand their teacher numbers, fewer are on track to meet the target than are off track. Of the 114 countries that UIS reports as needing to expand teacher numbers to ensure every child has a primary school teacher by 2015, 51 have reported sufficient data to enable us to compare the scale of the challenge they face to the progress they have displayed over the last five years, and of these, 47 are low- and middle-income¹⁹ countries²⁰. Among the countries with this detailed data, around a third (16 countries) have expanded their teacher numbers over the last five years at at least the rate they will need over the next five (see Figure 2 below), while the remaining 31 (see Figure 3 below) are off track. [Of the remaining 95 LIC and MIC countries in the UIS database, 51 have sufficient teacher numbers, 39 – including India – do not have sufficient data to set a national target, and five need to expand teacher numbers, but have not provided enough data to compare recent progress.]

Some of the on-track countries have shown huge expansions of the teacher workforce in the last five years, in some cases at an average rate of more than 10 percent a year (Congo) or close to that (Mozambique, Senegal). However, as discussed in the next section, these rapid expansions are very often at the expense of the training necessary for quality teaching and learning: countries need to be able to expand teacher numbers whilst guaranteeing that those teachers receive sufficient, high-quality training.



FIGURE 2: 15 LOW-AND MIDDLE-INCOME COUNTRIES EXPANDING THEIR NUMBER OF PRIMARY TEACHERS AT OR ABOVE THE RATE REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE UPE BY 2015



Source:

Calculated on the basis of data from UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), <http://stats.uis.unesco.org>
 ‘Observed annual rate of expansion’ is annualised rate based on most recent 5 year period available.
 ‘Required annual rate of expansion’ is annualised rate needed from to reach UIS target for teachers needed for UPE by 2015.²¹

Other countries, however, need to increase the rate of expansion of their primary teacher workforce. In some cases, this is despite very rapid progress over the last five years. Niger, the Central African Republic and Burkina Faso, for example, expanded their teacher workforces at an annual rate of 12 percent, 10 percent and 9 percent respectively between 2006 and 2011. Yet they need even more dramatic annual growth of 15 percent, 25 percent, and 16 percent respectively from 2012 to

2015. These countries are making strong efforts, and should be supported to build on them. It is important to ensure that this expansion also takes account of teacher training and development. Nigeria, on the other hand, needs to expand primary teacher numbers at around 6 percent a year, but its teacher numbers shrunk from 2005 to 2010. Algeria is an example of a country that needs more minor expansion, closer to equilibrium, but also needs to make stronger efforts.

Even those countries that need to expand their teacher workforce only slightly (or not at all) need to take care to maintain their workforces, through careful planning to replace teachers who leave the profession. It is worrying that some countries which need some expansion actually reported that they had fewer teachers in 2010 than in 2005²⁴. Tajikistan and Cambodia are examples of countries that currently have sufficient teachers, but are currently losing more teachers than they hire, and need to be careful to ensure that recruitment is sufficient to maintain enough teachers for all primary school children²⁵.

LOWER SECONDARY LEVEL

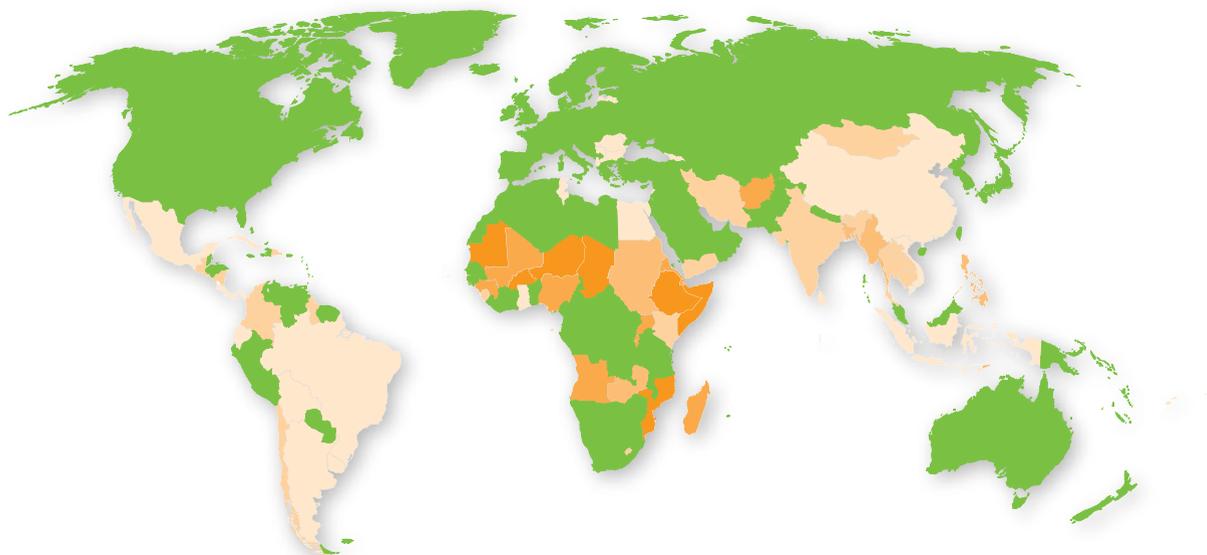
Pupil-teacher ratios at lower secondary level tend to be lower than at primary level – in large part because so many students do not continue from primary school to lower secondary – but this does not necessarily mean that the problems are fewer. Lower secondary school teachers are often also teaching in upper secondary school, and the need to have subject specialists mean that there can be considerable shortages not captured in the headline ratios.

Moreover, the number of teachers available for children actually enrolled in school (the Pupil-Teacher Ratio) does not reflect the extent of the shortage many countries face in trying to ensure that every child can continue in school until at least 15 or 16 years old; that is, the total number of children in this age group per teacher. Of low- and middle-income countries, 82 report enough data to UIS to enable us to look at this ratio. Of these, one quarter report having more than 40 children of lower secondary school age for every teacher. Fifteen countries have more than 70 children per teacher, and seven African countries – Burkina Faso, Chad, Ethiopia, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger and Somalia – have more than 100. When we take into account the greater range of specialised teachers needed in post-primary education, and that completion of lower secondary school by every child and young person would require the enrolment of many over-age students, it is clear that the scale of the problem is even greater.



FIGURE 4: NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER LOWER SECONDARY TEACHER LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME COUNTRIES

This is the number of children, not enrolled students, per teacher for countries where sufficient data is available.



LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME COUNTRIES				
20 OR LESS	21 TO 40	41 TO 60	61 TO 100	101 AND ABOVE
Maldives	Yemen	Timor-Leste	Madagascar	Ethiopia
Georgia	Guyana	Zambia	Rwanda	Burkina Faso
British Virgin Islands	Iran	Gambia	Nigeria	Mozambique
Latvia	Mongolia	Philippines	Afghanistan	Chad
Serbia	Chile	Bangladesh	Djibouti	Mauritania
Uruguay	Samoa	Sudan (pre-secession)	Mali	Somalia
Cuba	Thailand	Myanmar	Uganda	Niger
Romania	Sao Tome & Principe		Guinea	
Republic of Moldova	Palestine		Burundi	
Macedonia FYR	Bhutan		Eritrea	
Lebanon	Guatemala		Angola	
Montserrat	Colombia			
Antigua & Barbuda	El Salvador			
Argentina	Lesotho			
Costa Rica	Sierra Leone			
Dominica	Dominican Republic			
Tunisia	Kenya			
Indonesia	Nicaragua			
Albania	India			
Bulgaria	Lao PDF			
Saint Vincent & the Grenadines	Cambodia			
Saint Lucia				
Sri Lanka				
China				
Mexico				
Kiribati				
Suriname				
Cape Verde				
Brazil				
Bolivia				
Panama				
Ecuador				
Viet Nam				
Fiji				
Ghana				
Egypt				

TRAINING

The headline statistics on teacher numbers – whilst striking enough in themselves – only tell a part of the story about what is needed in terms of teachers for Education For All. As discussed in the first chapter, if we want to ensure that every child can realise their right to learn, we need to ensure that there are not just teachers, but teachers who are properly trained and supported, who have the skills and knowledge to ensure that children learn and develop. The next chapter will discuss the policy approach to training: our first question here is to ask what is the situation we are trying to remedy – that is, what is the actual gap in trained teachers, globally and for individual countries?

Unfortunately, even though UIS asks countries to report on the proportion of their teachers that are trained, at each educational level, the data available doesn't allow us to paint a full picture. The first problem is that many countries simply do not report on this indicator: of the 209 countries in the UIS database, fewer than half (93 in total) have reported on their trained teacher workforce at primary level in at least one of the last three years (fewer still at pre-primary or secondary levels), and just eight countries – Andorra, Cuba, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Rwanda and Uzbekistan – have reported on this in all three of the past three years. Many countries have constraints with data collection, but it is nevertheless a troubling indication of the lack of political focus on trained teachers that so few countries are able to report progress on this.

Moreover, even when countries report, the lack of a global consensus on standards of training means that they can set their own definition. Standards thus vary hugely between countries, and even within countries over time, meaning that the data is not comparable, and in many cases not particularly meaningful. One country might count teachers as “trained” if they have achieved a minimum level of basic education (say, lower secondary school or even primary school) and completed even one day's training. Others might only count as “trained” those teachers that have successfully completed a three-year post-secondary degree, and are benefiting from ongoing development. In the next chapter, we outline what we think should be the minimum requirements for training, in terms of both initial and in-service training. In the meantime, the variable use of the term “trained”, combined with poor reporting, makes it impossible to calculate the real extent of the global gap. Nevertheless, those data that are available, and information from specific countries, highlight some stark trends.

PRE-PRIMARY LEVEL

Reported rates of training for pre-primary teachers vary hugely between countries. Low requirements for training for pre-primary teachers – which in some cases consist simply of a few days of training, or of a process of ‘certification’ rather than substantive training in developing young children's cognitive, emotional and social skills – mean the gap is understated by the data. Even so, of the 63 low- and middle-income countries which have reported to UIS on the training levels of their pre-primary school teachers, one third (20 countries in total) report training rates of 50 percent or lower. Four countries – Antigua & Barbuda, Belize, Senegal and Tanzania – report that fewer than one in five of their pre-primary teachers is trained²⁶. A number of sub-Saharan African countries report numbers of trained pre-primary teachers that would allow just one trained teacher to many hundreds or – in the case of Burkina Faso, Chad or Mali – thousands of children of pre-primary school age²⁷.

Much of the provision of early childhood care and education is non-formal, often privately run. In Arab states, 79 percent of the children enrolled in pre-primary education are in private institutions, and for the Caribbean it is 90 percent. Globally, the figure is 31 percent²⁸. This means that a large proportion of pre-primary school teachers – and possibly the majority of all early childhood care providers – is employed in private or non-formal settings. This leads to a highly varied skill base, with negligible rates of qualification or access to professional development. Some countries have no qualification framework for pre-primary teachers (let alone other care providers), and most teacher training colleges have no distinct curriculum for early childhood. Some countries, however, including South Africa and Jamaica, have policies to upgrade and formalise their existing early workforce for early childhood care and education, and to gradually qualify within a new framework that recognises prior learning & experience²⁹.

Given the massive impact of care and education during these early years in determining children's future wellbeing, as well as the fact that the right to education does not suddenly begin at age six or seven, governments must take seriously their responsibility for providing pre-primary education, and for ensuring that teachers and care-givers for very young children have professional training and accreditation, whatever the setting in which they work.

PRIMARY LEVEL

Again, under-reporting and huge variations in standards make the extent of the trained teacher gap impossible to assess. Among low- and middle-income countries that have reported to UIS in recent years on the proportion of their primary teacher workforce that is trained, the variation is significant. Guinea Bissau, Ethiopia, Liberia and São Tomé and Príncipe each report that 40 percent or fewer of their teachers are trained; at the other extreme, a group of countries including Cuba, Colombia, Côte D'Ivoire, Palestine and Vanuatu reports that every one of their primary school teachers is trained.

Yet it should not be assumed that the countries reporting higher training rates are necessarily doing better: some countries reporting low rates may be doing so precisely because they are aspiring to a high standard of what it means to be trained, whilst high rates can mask a severe problem of very low standards of qualification. Niger, for example, reports that 96

percent of its primary school teachers are trained, yet this refers to the proportion of teachers who are formally 'qualified': 82 percent of teachers were recruited on limited term contracts, often without any initial training³⁰.

If a high reported rate of training is not a guarantee of a well-trained workforce, a low reported rate is always a cause for concern. Thirty-one countries report that less than three quarters of their primary school teachers are trained. Most of these are in sub-Saharan Africa, but the group also includes Belize, Bangladesh, Guyana, Kyrgyzstan and Nicaragua. For some countries, such as Benin, Ghana, Lesotho and Swaziland, the proportion of primary teachers who are trained has dropped by more than 10 percentage points – or more than 20 percentage points in the case of Benin – from 2000 to 2010 or 2011. For some countries, this may indicate a shift towards more rigorous standards, but very often these trends instead point to a gradual erosion of training requirements, and a move to recruitment of untrained, unqualified teachers.

Box 3: TOGO – A TRAINING GAP

Togo has made clear progress on education spending, and on the recruitment of teachers – but in terms of improving teachers' training levels, it still has a long way to go. The latest financing data show education has grown to 17.6 percent of the total budget – or more than 20 percent of the recurrent budget. Two thirds of this goes to pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education, representing a welcome focus on basic education.

Overall teacher numbers could be improved, but are not very bad: the number of teachers in Togo's primary schools reached 31,712 in 2010, with a Pupil-Teacher Ratio of just over 40:1. (Data are not available for lower secondary.) Togo's teacher training programme was almost wiped out during the programme of "structural adjustment" imposed from 1983 to 1994 by the World Bank and IMF, with the support of other donors, which led to the closure or suspension of teacher training colleges. Training institutions reopened in 1995, but the withdrawal of much donor aid from 1994 to 2007 meant that budgets were extremely constrained. From 1983 until 2010, teachers were recruited without any pre-service training, and often with very limited academic backgrounds. At the same time, qualified teachers left in huge numbers in response to poor pay and conditions. The impact on teacher profiles was dramatic: in 1990, more than three quarters of Togolese teachers had received pre-service training or had a professional diploma; by 2007, Togo reported that less than 15 percent of its primary school teachers were trained. (This proportion has increased considerably since; this is likely to be a reflection of the number of teachers who have received in-service training, often of just a couple of weeks or a month.)

More recently, some teacher training colleges have reopened and others are being built. In 2010, 510 teachers were trained and deployed, and a further 1750 completed training in August 2012. All new teachers taking up posts in Togo must benefit from good quality initial training, and more support is required for those teachers in post who did not benefit from this.

Currently, teachers are unequally distributed throughout the country – in rural and urban areas, in rich and poor areas – and there is a lack of incentives for teachers to live and work in remote, rural areas. The shortages of science teachers are particularly acute in these areas. There are more male than female teachers (except in pre-primary), and again, the disparities are greater in the sciences and in remote areas.

The collective effect of these shortages, and the lack of training, can be seen in low learning outcomes, high levels of repetition of grades, and the high level of school drop-outs, particularly among girls. The government has made a strong effort with financing, and has some support from external donors. Much more focus is needed on reinforcing the skills, training and professional status of teachers. The Togolese National Coalition for Education For All is calling for a focus on the quality of teachers and teacher training, which also requires better pay and more secure employment, and a focus on equity in training and distribution of teachers.

Sources: CNT-EPT, IEB-UNESCO Données mondiales de l'éducation 2010/11, Programme Sectoriel de l'Education

LOWER SECONDARY LEVEL

Very few countries report to UIS on the level of training for teachers at lower secondary level – even fewer than report on this at primary level, and the same problems with standards apply. However, even with the data that is available, some serious problems are evident.

Niger, for example, reports having just 1,059 trained lower secondary school teachers in the entire country in 2010 – 13 percent of the teachers – despite having 267,975 pupils enrolled in lower secondary school, and a total of 1.4 million children of lower secondary school age. That means that there was only one trained teacher for every 253 lower-secondary pupils, or one for every 1,318 children. Niger is one of the countries caught in a trap: with so few trained

teachers, education quality is poor, and with poor quality education, it is hard to attract and prepare sufficient good candidates for teaching. But this should not be reason to tolerate a vicious circle of low standards. Dramatic action focused on the need for more trained teachers needs to be at the heart of improving the education system.

Of the 47 low- and middle-income countries reporting on training levels to UIS, a little under half (21 countries) report that fewer than three quarters of their lower secondary school teachers are trained. But as stated above, even those with higher reported rates may not be meeting the standards of training that – as we will set out in the next chapter – we think are a necessary condition of quality teaching and learning.

Box 4: NIGER – GAPS IN EXTERNAL SUPPORT

Niger is one of the poorest countries in the world, one that has made considerable investments in education, but the system still faces huge challenges in terms of access, quality and equity.

Niger began implementing its 10-year Education Development Plan (PDDE), focused on access, quality and management, in 2003. It has been investing fairly heavily in education: in 2010, for example the government allocated 17 percent of the total budget to education, of which 80 percent (or 13.4 percent of the total budget) went to basic education. It has hugely scaled up the number of teachers at primary level, from fewer than 16,000 in 2001 to nearly 49,000 in 2011, which represents an impressive annual rate of expansion of 12 percent in the last five years. There has also been a growth in the proportion of female teachers, up to 45 percent at primary level in 2011.

Yet even these impressive efforts do not put Niger where it needs to be: problems with the scale of the challenge, the quality of teachers and the comparative lack of focus at secondary level mean that the remaining gaps are enormous. At primary level, UIS estimates that Niger would need 86,100 teachers in order to provide universal primary education, with one teacher for every 40 pupils. This would mean expanding the teacher workforce by 15 percent a year from 2012 to 2015. Moreover, the professional standards for teaching have been steadily eroded. Since the 1990s, there has been an explosion in the recruitment of teachers on limited-term contracts, often without any training, who have little job security and are paid just \$125 a month (although even this is an improvement on the \$70 a month previously offered). By 2010, these contract teachers made up 82 percent of the teacher workforce. Teachers are often unable to support themselves, are under-trained and under-motivated. There is a clear impact on quality: of 1,000 children starting primary school (noting that many other children do not have access to school), just 429 obtain their primary diploma, of whom only 311 do so without repeating a year. Moreover, there are stark disparities, mirroring the disparities in availability and training levels of teachers: there is a gap of almost 30 points in primary completion rates between rural and urban areas.

At secondary level, problems are arguably even greater, and are aggravated by a lack of donor support. The Coalition of Union Associations and NGOs for Education For All in Niger (ASO-EPT Niger) points to problems with large class sizes, violence, poor completion and exam success rates and the lack of training in life-skills for young people. In 2010, Niger had just 1,059 trained teachers (including through accelerated training), at lower secondary level, despite having more than 1.4 million children of lower secondary school age. According to the latest figures, only just over one third of young people in Niger (aged 15 to 24) can read and write, and fewer than a quarter of young women.

Donor support to education in Niger belies the promise that no country will fail to achieve Education For All goals because of a lack of funding. Niger has huge needs, a 10-year plan and a demonstrated commitment to use of domestic finances, yet has never had adequate donor support. A study by ASO-EPT in 2010 showed that, despite Niger's poverty and lack of resources, donors had contributed only around 11 to 13 percent of the education budget over the previous decade. Much more aggressive support is needed for Niger to meet its challenge of providing high quality trained teachers for all.

Sources: Coalition of Union Associations and NGOs for Education For All in Niger (ASO-EPT Niger), UIS

EQUITY

The need to ensure that every child has a trained teacher is not, of course, met by ensuring that there are enough teachers available at an aggregate national level. On the contrary, an apparently acceptable pupil-teacher-ratio at the national level can mask inequalities in distribution and standards that mean that many children are crammed into over-crowded classrooms with under-trained teachers. Disparities can be huge between wealthier and poorer communities, between urban and rural areas, between areas with different ethnic compositions, between the private and public sector – and often these inequalities reinforce each other, creating a ‘perfect storm’ for the most disadvantaged children.

In Malawi, for example, the number of pupils per teacher ranges from an average of 36 in some districts to more than 120 in others. In Uganda, the number ranges from 32 to 93³¹. The challenge of guaranteeing teachers for all is therefore greater than the headline number would suggest. This is not an isolated problem. The 2011 EFA GMR observes that fairer distribution of qualified teachers is a “near-universal requirement.”³²

Equitable distribution of teachers is also about ensuring that all children have the right teacher – for example, ensuring that experienced and highly-trained teachers are equitably deployed, including teachers for mathematics, sciences and other specialist subjects; that the teaching workforce reflects diversity in terms of ethnicity and disability; and that all schools have teachers with relevant language skills. (Teachers need to be able to make themselves understood, regardless of whether the curriculum requires mother-tongue instruction.)

Moreover, there is considerable evidence demonstrating the positive influence of women teachers: there is an impact both in terms of girls’ likelihood to enrol and stay in school, and also in terms of improved learning outcomes³³. Female teachers can act as role models for girls, increasing girls’ self-esteem, encouraging them to participate in class and helping to develop a supportive learning environment³⁴. Whilst having more women teachers is not a simple panacea for ensuring high quality education for girls (see also the box on page 26), the evidence shows that it brings important benefits. Yet women still make up a low proportion of the teacher workforce, particularly at higher levels of education, where the status of teaching is generally higher. The average proportion of teachers who are women across low-income countries is 81 percent at pre-primary level, 39 percent at primary level, and just 25 percent at lower secondary level³⁵. The shortage of female teachers is often particularly acute in disadvantaged rural areas – often also where the largest gender gaps in learning outcomes are reported³⁶. Recruiting more women into teaching can create a virtuous circle: as more girls get through school, more girls are available to enter the teaching profession.

Tackling inequity in the education system requires coordinated action including, crucially, through the distribution of resources: incentives and support mechanisms are important in attracting and retaining teachers in remote areas. Specialised training must be provided to teachers serving disadvantaged groups. Governments must promote a more diverse teaching workforce, in order to help schools provide inclusive education: female and disabled teachers as well as teachers from excluded minorities can provide role models and help reduce levels of prejudice and discrimination. Recruitment of women, teachers with disabilities, or those from particular ethnic groups may require targeted recruitment drives and ongoing support structures.

WHAT NEEDS TO HAPPEN

What this data – or the lack of data – should make clear is that there remains a vast challenge in terms of guaranteeing that every child has a well-trained teacher. We should not be surprised that getting so many millions more children into school has not led to the learning and development that we expect – because, simply, not enough has been done to ensure that those children have the well-trained, well-supported teachers necessary to provide a quality education. When countries have one trained teacher for hundreds, even thousands, of pupils, or when governments are not even monitoring the training level of their teachers, when standards for training are so weak as to barely mean anything, when women account for only a small fraction of teachers, when the distribution of trained teachers repeatedly marginalises the poorest and most disadvantaged communities, then we cannot expect that all children are getting a real education.

However, many countries have made progress. Some of it is across the board: for example, Guatemala has managed to improve teacher numbers while maintaining fairly high training standards. Other progress is uneven: Niger has hugely increased teacher numbers, but without guaranteeing high quality training; Pakistan has improved standards of training, but still has huge gaps to fill. Even when they are partial, these achievements – often in response to citizen action, and with the support of other partners – should give us hope.

But alongside these signs of progress are worrying cases of stagnation, or even reversal. Almost two million additional teachers are needed in primary school alone, and many countries that need to expand their teacher workforce to meet the target by 2015 are not on track to do so. And while data on standards of training and distribution are too weak to enable us to calculate precisely the gap in trained teachers for all, we know enough to state that the challenge is massive. In Africa overall, for example, half of all teachers have no or low qualifications³⁷.

GCE and EI believe that much more political attention needs to be paid to these issues. The next chapter explores the necessary policy actions; but this must also include far more robust monitoring and reporting. It is not good enough to report a Pupil-Teacher-Ratio without indicating whether those teachers are trained (to a high standard – see the next chapter on training standards) and how well those ratios represent the actual school experience of the most disadvantaged children. Governments should be held accountable for the Pupil-to-Trained-Teacher-Ratio, and should report not only average levels, but also the lowest and highest district ratios: these disparities are often greater than those between countries. Without knowing their progress on this, governments themselves and their citizens cannot begin to judge their progress towards delivering Education For All.

3. POLICY FRAMEWORK



The previous discussion indicates the nature and the scale of the challenge to be faced, in terms of guaranteeing sufficient, well-trained teachers who are reaching every child. Meeting the challenge requires having the right systems and policies in place to guarantee that governments and schools can attract high quality candidates into teacher training and teaching, keep them in schools, and support them to deliver the kind of high quality education that all learners need and deserve. These need to be policies that ensure high quality teachers, and high quality teaching and learning.

At the heart of the solution is the need to treat teaching as a high-status profession, with training, standards, salaries and conditions of service set accordingly. This is the overwhelming lesson from high quality education systems³⁸. In this section, we explore the different elements – in terms of recruitment, training and development, pay, and management and oversight – that need to be in place to make this vision a reality, giving examples of successful policies as well as describing some current policy failures.

WORKFORCE PLANNING AND TEACHER RECRUITMENT

PLANNING

Education planning must be planning for quality, not simply access. Rapid expansion of enrolment will not lead to the expansion of quality education if teachers are facing huge, diverse classes, without proper training or support. What is required is ambitious, detailed planning of the teacher workforce.

Education ministries, working with local government, need to identify the gaps in trained teachers, region-by-region, district-by-district and school-by-school, identify imbalances between men and women in the teacher workforce, note skills gaps and gaps in terms of linguistic and ethnic groups (particularly

where teaching in a number of mother tongue languages is needed), consider workforce diversity including people with disabilities, calculate the needs in terms of replacement of teachers who retire or leave the profession, and develop a costed plan to fill these gaps.

The starting point for these plans should not be an assessment of the resources currently available, with plans – and ambitions – fitted to this. This is an approach that lets governments and donors off the hook, and that leads to situations in which children are in school, but not being taught. Rather, education and planning ministries must start with a rigorous assessment of what is needed to ensure that every school has sufficient, well-prepared teachers with the right skills and knowledge – and then calculate what this will cost. Governments need this in order to make informed decisions about budget priorities and mobilise internal resources, as well as to make the case to donors for external financing and support. Citizens need this to hold their governments to account for progress towards Education For All, rather than towards schooling for some. And citizens in donor countries need this in order to hold their governments to account for their 2000 promise that “no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by a lack of resources”³⁹. This is the only way to know what is required to ensure that all children access their right to education.

Assessing – and costing – the need does not of course mean that filling it becomes simple. The scale of the challenge in some countries is much greater than in others; countries may need to plan for different scenarios in which they do not fully fill the gaps in the short to medium term. But an emergency plan of this sort must clearly be presented as such, as an interim step towards the totality of what is needed. The danger otherwise is that pressure is taken off, and governments and donors reassure themselves they are doing what is possible, whilst losing sight of what is necessary to ensure a genuine education for all.

RECRUITMENT STRATEGIES

Recruitment on the scale needed may be a significant challenge for some countries, particularly in terms of the equitable distribution of teachers. Some countries may need to undertake recruitment drives, perhaps including decentralised recruitment within particular districts, with targeted incentives for teaching in some regions, including housing for teachers in rural areas.

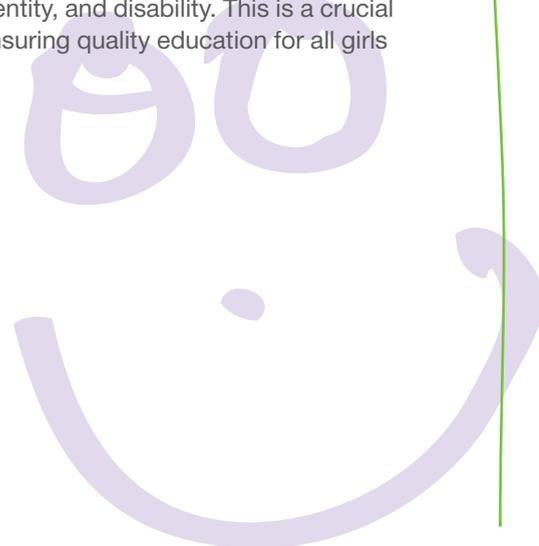
As well as recruiting and training new teachers (discussed below), there should also be an emphasis on bringing back into teaching those who have been trained but are now either unemployed or working in other jobs. This is partly a matter of pay and conditions (also discussed below): in many countries, people who have trained as teachers prefer to work for NGOs, donor agencies and in government in preference to poorly-paid jobs in schools. But it can also be a matter of economic or other policies: an EI survey in 2007 found 40,000 trained teachers in Kenya who were unemployed, a situation which the Kenyan government described as being due to “pressure from donors” to restrict teacher recruitment⁴⁰. Meanwhile, the number of teachers in Kenya was stagnating and the Pupil-Teacher Ratio in primary schools was rising to an average of 47:1, with ratios much higher in some areas and schools⁴¹. It is crucial that all donors – particularly the IMF and World Bank – are working to support strategies for greater recruitment of teachers, not hindering recruitment of those who are available.

Even so, creative strategies may be needed to find the necessary recruits into teacher training. High quality alternative pathways and programmes that encourage non-teachers to make the transition into teaching mid-career are an option that can be agreed by governments and teachers’ unions, as long as they include sufficient, high-quality training (see below).

SELECTION

Selection for teacher training needs to take account of both standards and diversity. Successful education systems are often characterised by rigorous and highly selective processes – as, for example, in Canada and Finland⁴² – but this also requires teaching to be a sufficiently attractive profession. At the very least, teacher recruitment must be based on merit and the needs of the education system, and not on the basis of relationships or politics. For example, until 2009, 25 percent of teacher recruitment in Senegal was through the “*quota securitaire*”, which was entirely at the discretion of the Education Minister. Teaching jobs that were filled through the *quota securitaire* were often handed out as political favours, in contrast to the competitive entry system through which other teachers were recruited. This meant that many teachers were not being selected on merit, in a country where the huge education needs can be demonstrated by the fact that barely half of young people aged 15 to 24 can read and write⁴³. After considerable lobbying by the Senegalese education campaign coalition, COSYDEP, and the teachers’ unions, this procedure was abolished⁴⁴. A similar situation has been reported in Nepal where teaching positions were reportedly being sold⁴⁵; a lack of transparency around the standards, processes and decision-making in teacher recruitment can allow such situations to continue⁴⁶.

Attention should also be paid to gender balance and to diversity and inclusivity in teacher recruitment, including in terms of linguistic, ethnic, religious and regional identity, and disability. This is a crucial condition for ensuring quality education for all girls and boys.



Box 5: TEACHERS MAKING THE DIFFERENCE FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION

Girls and women have been, and are, disproportionately likely to be denied their rights to education. This is strikingly demonstrated in the fact that almost two thirds of the world's 775 million non-literate adults are women. A strong focus on girls' education by many stakeholders – governments, civil society, international partners – has made significant inroads into girls' disadvantage in primary school enrolment: girls now account for 53 percent of the children missing out on primary school, as opposed to 60 percent in 2000.

This should not, however, mask how far we have to go to true gender equality in education. Girls are still far more likely to drop out before completing primary education, have markedly worse experiences in school – often characterised by violence, abuse and exploitation – and have scant chance of progressing to secondary school and tertiary education. In a 2012 GCE survey of gender in schools, focused in Latin America and South Asia, more than one fifth of girls in secondary schools expressed unhappiness with their gender, and nearly two fifths reported being made fun of at school for being a girl – far higher than the number of boys reporting such feelings and treatment. In sub-Saharan Africa, there is a 10 percentage point gap between girls' and boys' primary school completion rates, and girls have a greater than 50% chance of going to secondary school in only seven of the 54 countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

As with every aspect of education, teachers are crucial in determining girls' educational experiences and outcomes. In order to improve girls' educations, there is a need to address teacher profiles, teacher conditions, and teacher preparation.

More women teachers: recruitment of more women teachers is proven to have a strong association with better rates of enrolment, retention and academic achievement for girls. Teachers can act as role models for girls, and can help to provide supportive learning environments and encourage girls' participation. However, the proportion of teachers who are women averages only 39 percent at primary level in low-income countries, and 25 percent at lower secondary level. It is much higher – 81 percent – at pre-primary level.

Better working conditions and incentives for teachers in remote areas: ensuring that those women teachers who are recruited stay in teaching, and teach the most disadvantaged girls, requires good working conditions for women teachers, opportunities for professional development, job-security and promotion. Widening employment opportunities for women in teaching and other social sectors must include improving teachers' status, training and employment conditions. Research reveals the positive impact of such measures for girls' success in school and learning outcomes. It is particularly important that recruitment of more women teachers does not become a route into the erosion of status of teaching.

Gender-equality training for all teachers: GCE's survey shows that gender stereotypes still prevail in schools, particularly around male and female aptitudes, as do unequal power relations, as shown in, for instance, the fact that girls are far more likely to perform classroom chores. This perpetuates gender inequalities within the education system and society as a whole. A forthcoming report by GCE member Plan International presents further evidence that gender training of all teachers is important to ensure that teachers have high academic expectations of girls, ensure their equal participation in classrooms and ensure classrooms are safe and inclusive for all. Indeed, it is imperative that through training and accountability mechanisms, all teachers – male and female – are supported and encouraged to provide all learners, irrespective of age, sex, ethnicity, caste, religion or learning ability, with an inclusive and supportive child-friendly learning environment that caters to all needs. Better trained teachers – whether they are male or female – are more likely to have the ability to create a learning environment in which girls are willing to voice their concerns about the obstacles they face.

Ministries of education should address these issues as part of a gender review of national Education Sector Plans, and should develop long-term strategies to recruit, train, support and compensate women teachers.

GCE members worldwide are campaigning for better educational opportunities for girls, including through the 2011 Global Action Week on "Make it Right for Girls". GCE member Plan International will be launching its Because I Am A Girl global campaign in late 2012, which aims to increase the proportion of girls that complete a minimum of nine years of education and receive a quality learning experience in the world's poorest countries. Given the central role of teachers, the campaign calls for, among other things, an increase in well-supported, appropriately compensated and well-trained female teachers.

With thanks to GCE member Plan International for contributions to this text.

Sources: GCE (2012) Gender Discrimination in education: violation of the rights of women and girls – a report submitted to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); Plan International (forthcoming 2012) Because I am a Girl: Learning for Life; GCE & RESULTS Educational Fund (2011) Make it Right: ending the crisis in girls' education; C. Postles (2012) Girl Friendly Teaching: Investigating the classroom practices that promote girls' learning, Plan UK: London.

TEACHER TRAINING: PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR A PROFESSIONAL WORKFORCE

The evidence on the importance of high quality teachers makes clear that the key to quality education is to have well-trained, well-prepared and well-supported teachers. Strategies that have relied on unqualified teachers, often called “para-teachers”, or those given minimal training and recruited on short-term contracts, have failed to deliver the education to which children have a right. They have often, on the contrary, led to discrimination against poor children, given that the under-qualified teachers are often employed in rural and poorer areas, leading to a stark divide in educational quality. Teacher training is crucial not simply to improve children’s chances of learning, but also in order to develop teacher skills and behaviours that can promote diversity, prevent violence, and support children’s wellbeing.

Employing untrained teachers has often been used as a strategy in place of increased investment (untrained teachers are less expensive) or reform of the education system (untrained teachers are employed on short-term contracts which puts them outside the traditional system of teacher management)⁴⁷. In Guinea, for example, the government attempted to expand access to primary education without increasing investment by recruiting unqualified teachers on fixed-term contracts, paid around one third of the salary of fully trained teachers. Yet after concerns about the impact of this policy on the morale of teachers and the quality of education (which are closely linked), it is now being reversed⁴⁸. In India, the Right To Education Forum reports official figures showing that 21 percent of all teachers in 2010-11 were not professionally trained: in total, more than 670,000 teachers did not have the minimum qualifications required by the Right to Education Act⁴⁹.

Such strategies have often had the encouragement of the World Bank or other international actors. Mali, for example – where almost all teacher training institutes were closed down as a result of World Bank structural adjustment policies in the 1980s and 1990s – subsequently moved to employing all teachers on a contract basis with little or no training. Recruits were admitted with very low educational backgrounds – barely one in 10 Malian primary school teachers have completed secondary school – and given minimal preparation. Even though new

teacher training institutes have now opened up, half of all primary school teachers in Mali today have no training, and a further quarter were recruited via an “accelerated strategy” which trained teachers for 90 days (now 6 months)⁵⁰. Mali is one of the countries regularly cited as having the worst learning outcomes⁵¹. World Bank advisers in Mali would admit that the strategy of recruiting untrained teachers was not working, but claimed there was no alternative⁵². But creating systems that almost guarantee poor quality education should never be an option: even in the poorest countries there must always be the alternative of greater donor support for more ambitious plans. Indeed, if we are serious about Education For All, there should be no alternative to this.

INITIAL TRAINING

All future recruits into teaching should receive high quality pre-service training at a higher level. As described by the OECD PISA project, what is needed is “teacher education that helps teachers to become innovators and researchers in education, not just civil servants who deliver curricula”⁵³. There are two important aspects of this: the level of training, and the quality of training. Both can vary hugely between and within countries.

Many countries continue to have low standards of entry, particularly at lower levels of the education system, or allow a number of alternative routes into training, some of which demand far lower pre-training levels of education than others – without a rigorous system to ensure quality⁵⁴. In many African countries, for example, all that is needed to enter teacher training – or even teaching – is a certificate of completion of basic education (lower secondary) or even primary education. This means that teacher training is then at the equivalent of secondary education level – with the result that in a number of countries, it then ends up focusing on general education, and not in fact on pedagogy or teaching skills at all⁵⁵.

Ideally, all training should be at a higher level, that is, at least post-secondary education. In some countries this is a greater challenge than in others. But governments can in the meantime drive the level of training upwards, by raising by at least one level (as defined by ISCED, the International Standard Classification of Education) the majority of their teacher training intake. In other words, teacher education programmes that accept mostly primary school-educated candidates should begin reserving increasing parts of their admissions for lower secondary school graduates; those with

majority lower secondary graduates should move to upper secondary and eventually post-secondary. This is consistent with a drive to expand secondary education, and by accepting trainees with a higher standard of basic education, it will allow teacher training programmes to spend more time on supporting prospective teachers to master their content areas, hone their practice and develop their methods. (Teachers already in schools who do not have these levels should receive support for upgrading; see below.)

Moreover, the quality of teacher training is crucial, and in many cases needs significant improvement. Training must be of sufficient length linked to enable the trainees to acquire essential competences, knowledge and skills related to content and practice of teaching. And it must be linked to curricula and to the latest understanding of pedagogy. This is often far from the case: in Mali, for example, the fraction of teachers that go through formal teacher training institutes – in theory, the most advanced level of training – are not trained in the core competencies,

skills or even the languages required by the current primary school curriculum. Most are not familiar with the curriculum or the textbooks used in schools (which often themselves may need improvement)⁵⁶. In post-independence Timor-Leste, where Portuguese has been adopted as the language of instruction although it is spoken by a minority of the population, teacher training has often focused on Portuguese language skills rather than pedagogy: schools have been temporarily shut down, sometimes for up to four months, so that teachers with no or low Portuguese language skills would be able to work in Portuguese⁵⁷. In India, low quality training is evidenced by the small proportion of candidates who pass the national Teacher Eligibility Test – below 10 percent in a number of states⁵⁸.

Teacher training must be designed to build the knowledge, skills and understanding that are crucial to teaching – the set of core competencies for teachers – and should include practical experience in the classroom. Minimum elements of this are explored in the box below.

Box 6: TEACHER TRAINING AND TEACHER COMPETENCIES

Teacher training must be based on an understanding of core teacher competencies, including knowledge, teaching skills and attitudes. Training must therefore, at a minimum, include training in the subject areas to be taught, in pedagogical methods including “positive discipline”, and in diagnosis of students’ needs so as to determine how best they will learn: these are the skills that distinguish high quality teachers and improve learning outcomes. It must also include training in child rights, gender sensitivity and respect for diversity. This is particularly important where inequality is marked; teacher understanding of gender and diversity is crucial to ensuring respectful, equitable treatment for all children, and to furthering social goals. Teachers’ roles are broader than transmitting knowledge to individuals. Moreover, teachers at lower secondary level have specific training needs, which must – alongside specific subject knowledge – address issues that lead to children dropping out of school. This would include training for teachers on sexual and reproductive health rights and child marriage.

Teacher training must align with what is expected in the classroom, reflecting the curriculum in use. The best teacher training programmes include a practical, classroom-based element, where trainee teachers move from observation through increasing levels of responsibility for teaching and classroom management. This does not mean throwing trainee teachers into classrooms unsupervised: teachers learning to teach must never be at the expense of students.

Standards for teacher training must be clear. Governments need to work with teachers – preferably through professional bodies such as Teachers’ Councils – to establish national standards that, where necessary, raise both the level and the quality of training and are applied consistently to the whole cycle of teacher development and management. It is not enough just to set these standards, there must also be a communication strategy to ensure they are known and understood by teachers: a recent survey by EI and Oxfam found that very few teachers had seen standards.

UPGRADING UNTRAINED TEACHERS

Given the problem of untrained teachers set out above, particular attention must be given to upgrading the skills and professional qualifications of untrained or under-trained teachers, including those teaching in community schools: these teachers should always be given a chance to upgrade their skills to the professional level, providing they can meet minimum requirements. They should be given access to quality education courses and school-level mentoring and support, leading to certification and integration into the professional workforce. It may be possible to provide some of this through distance learning, as long as it is backed up by face-to-face training, for example during school vacations. Studies by EI, and a pilot programme in which EI and Oxfam have been working with the education ministries, teacher unions, teacher training colleges and others in Uganda and Mali, yield some lessons about upgrading programmes for under-qualified teachers. They can be a very effective way to improve teacher competence and raise standards, and are particularly successful when there is strong and active engagement from mentors, including mentors and teachers being engaged in programme design⁵⁹.

ONGOING TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

Beyond upgrading programmes, all teachers and school leaders should have access to good quality professional development courses and ongoing in-service training. This is crucial both for ensuring the quality of teaching and for maintaining teachers' commitment, thus contributing to retention. Often these are present, but of poor quality or occurring on a one-off basis to respond to immediate needs, rather than as part of structured development. Some are driven by a checklist approach rather than being tailored to the needs of teachers – let alone being designed by (or at least with) teachers. Some are created in a rather ad hoc fashion by donors and partners outside country systems, without real sustainability or links to initial training or professional development needs⁶⁰.

Countries with high-performing education systems are most likely to use a 'communities of practice' approach, which involve ongoing programmes, with opportunities for follow-up and reflection after specific training. In Cuba, for example, the "colectivo pedagógico" – a system whereby teachers of the same subject meet frequently both to learn from each other, and to work together on developing materials, methods and curricula – is central to maintaining and improving standards of teaching and learning.⁶¹ In-service training should also be designed together with structures for career and

professional development, and school principals and school inspectors should have a responsibility to ensure the development and mentoring of teachers.

All of this of course requires investment in the architecture of training: trainers, institutes and curricula. The government must take responsibility for ensuring the availability, quality and content of teacher training: a proliferation of private teacher training will not secure this. This is a huge challenge, which donors and other partners must support: in West, East and Central Africa, for example, UNESCO is working with governments on establishing a task force on teacher qualifications⁶². In Uganda and Mali, EI and Oxfam have been working with the government to develop a framework for upgrading under-qualified teachers in community schools⁶³. Ensuring high quality training and openness to a diverse workforce also means investing in teacher training institutes in both rural and urban areas.

PAY AND CONDITIONS

The reality of pay for most teachers in low- and middle-income countries is that it is paltry, late and inaccessible. There is evidence from all over the world that standards of pay for teachers are crucial to retention and to quality. The 2005 EFA Global Monitoring Report, for example, found that "higher teacher salaries in [the] sample of fifty-eight countries were associated with a significant increase in test scores."⁶⁴ Repeated studies have shown the disastrous impact of low pay in destroying teachers' motivation, ability to teach, and willingness to remain in teaching⁶⁵.

Yet the realities about teachers' pay levels can be shocking. A 2010 essay on the African Development Indicators by the World Bank⁶⁶ put blame for poor standards of education not on systems that fail both students and teachers, but on teachers themselves, describing them as part of a network of "silent corruption", and as "insiders" profiting from the system at the expense of poor people. This misrepresents completely the reality that in far too many countries, teachers are themselves poor people. In Niger, for example, teachers recruited on fixed term contracts (who account for 82 percent of the workforce) earn just \$125 a month – just enough to support a childless couple on \$2 a day each, although this is an improvement on previous salaries of \$70 a month⁶⁷. In Lebanon, teachers' pay has not risen in 10 years, despite inflation of 100 percent over that period – meaning that the value of teachers' salaries has halved. The government is

only now agreeing to remedy this situation because of protests organised by teachers' unions⁶⁸. The 2012 Results Report of the Global Partnership for Education found that teacher poverty was one of the major constraints on quality education, and stated that teachers were often unable to pay even for basic needs⁶⁹. When teachers are unpaid (and often untrained), it can be damaging for education and for families trying to educate their children: teachers may be more likely to be working elsewhere, or to seek additional fees from students' families.

The problem of pay being set far too low, or stagnating in comparison to other wages and prices, is compounded by the fact that teachers all over the world are not being paid in full or on time. This, inevitably, leads to strikes, absenteeism, demoralisation and teachers quitting the teacher profession; what is perhaps more startling is the number of teachers who remain in work and at school even without pay. From late 2011 to August 2012, for example, the Ghana Education Service has been making payments to up to 36,000 teachers whose pay was in arrears, with some of the payments dating back more than two years; this included 15,000 teachers newly recruited in 2010, who had still not been properly paid since the start of their service⁷⁰. In Nepal in 2012, teachers recruited under the "Per Child Funding" mechanism went on strike after going unpaid for months⁷¹. Other studies⁷² find teachers repeatedly experiencing delays of days, weeks or months for their pay. Teachers on fixed term contracts often have far worse pay and conditions than teachers employed as civil servants, even when they have the same education and qualifications, worsening the demotivation.

Moreover, teachers can often only access their pay by travelling to district or province capitals – or even to national capitals – leading to teacher absence⁷³. Experiments with, for instance, paying teachers via mobile phones – using, for example, the large-scale mobile payment networks already in place in East Africa and elsewhere – can help to reduce some of these logistical problems, even if the level of pay remains a problem.

But whilst overall standards of pay are crucial, affecting recruitment, retention and the status and self-esteem of teachers, there is no evidence that using pay rewards and sanctions ("merit pay") is effective in improving the performance of teachers. A study by the OECD, for example, found no systematic relationship between performance-based pay systems and student outcomes overall⁷⁴, whilst the EFA Global Monitoring Report cites an isolated example of the success of merit pay alongside

many other examples of its failure, and warns of the "perverse effects" of such schemes – including the incentive for teachers and schools to manipulate exam results, making real student achievement even harder to judge⁷⁵. Yet despite these warnings and the dearth of evidence of the value of such schemes, they continue to be promoted – including by the World Bank advisers through the Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) programme. Governments need to be aware that these are potentially costly and complicated schemes that, far from guaranteeing improvements, can introduce serious distortions into education systems.

Pay can be used to reward higher standards of training or to incentivise teachers to work in remote or underserved areas. A pilot project in Gambia, which offered teachers in remote areas a basic salary increase of up to 40 percent was successful in attracting teachers to these areas⁷⁶. But it should not be used as a personalised system of punishment and reward. Above all, if teaching is to be the attractive, high-status profession that is needed for a high-quality education, then teachers must be paid and treated as professionals. This means setting pay levels – determined according to international labour standards and through existing national mechanisms for social dialogue and collective bargaining – that allow teachers a decent standard of living, so as to attract, keep and motivate high-quality candidates. Teachers' salaries and conditions of service should not be below those of professionals with comparable qualifications in the public and non-state sectors. This is a long way from the current situation of teacher poverty in many countries.

TEACHER OVERSIGHT AND EVALUATION



There is a growing tendency towards seeing teachers as low-grade service delivery employees, who should follow directions in delivering a curriculum and administering tests, being ranked and evaluated according to test outcomes and rewarded or punished accordingly. This approach seems to assume that teaching can be reduced to a formula or a script, easily measured and assessed, and delivered through low-skill workers who are motivated by very small carrots and large sticks relating to pay and job security. This leads to an approach to teacher oversight, monitoring and evaluation that involves test-based teaching, teachers' (already very low) pay fluctuating with students' test scores, and teachers being monitored by cameras in classrooms.

The problem is that there is no evidence that such an approach produces – or could ever produce – quality education. Recruiting low-skill, untrained, low-paid workers, evaluating them according to a checklist and providing them with incentives to “teach to the test”, should never be an acceptable alternative to having professional, well-prepared and well-motivated educators with the tools, knowledge and skills to create a plan based on learners’ needs. Yet in countries such as Ecuador, these approaches are being implemented, despite public concerns. High-performing education systems rely not on sanctions and high-stakes evaluation through standardised tests, but on high esteem for the teaching profession and investment in teacher training and development, as is consistently shown in research by the EFA Global Monitoring Report, the OECD and others⁷⁷. Why should low- and middle-income countries be expected to put up with less?

TEACHER ACCOUNTABILITY AND ENGAGEMENT, AND TEACHER COUNCILS

Teachers must be accountable to their students, parents and local communities, and communities and teachers should work together in their quest to deliver high quality public education. Teachers should be part of school management committees, along with parents and students. It may take specific training and support to help teachers and communities work together, particularly where teachers are from outside the community, or community members are largely non-literate, without experience of education. Whilst being accountable to the community through these committees, teachers should be recruited and deployed through transparent, consistent, nationally-determined processes, to avoid bias and conflicts of interest.

Clarifying the relationships and processes can also help relieve the pressure that teachers can feel from local communities, to act almost as social workers at times. Systems such as better systems for reporting violence, and better links with local services can help teachers to be part of a network of services, without forcing them to take on responsibility alone.

The status and engagement of teachers nationally also needs to be addressed. Teachers should establish and enforce their professional standards and ethics, for example through Teacher Councils, just as doctors, lawyers, accountants and others have professional councils. Moreover, teachers should be brought to the table in education sector policy development, planning and monitoring: at present, teachers’ unions are members of the groups in which the government and its partners

discuss and review the education sector (often called Local Education Groups) in very few countries – indicating that their contribution to education planning is valued below that of donor agencies.

TEACHER PRESENCE AND ABSENCE

Implicit in all this discussion of the necessary characteristics and management of teachers is of course the assumption that teachers must be present in the classroom. Much of the discussion of the teaching profession focuses not on how to best develop teachers, as the crucial input to improving learning outcomes and the quality of education, but rather on blaming teachers from being absent from the classroom – without investigating the structural causes of absence. Some high-profile studies in India and elsewhere have contributed to a picture of largely absent teachers, although other evidence has challenged the extent of this⁷⁸.

If we want to ensure that children have access to education, the key response to teacher absence should not be to blame teachers but to investigate why absence – both unauthorised and authorised – happens, and develop appropriate remedies. The approaches to oversight and punishment described are not based in any investigation of why teachers may not be present in the first place. Studies by quite different stakeholders – unions, civil society organisations, UN agencies and independent academics – find repeatedly that working conditions, including but not limited to pay, and their impact on morale, status, are highly significant, as are out-of-school official duties, illness, and common government policies such as requiring teachers to travel to national or regional capitals to collect pay – which becomes even more problematic when pay is delayed⁷⁹. The evidence cited above about poor teacher pay is therefore very relevant to this discussion. A study commissioned by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) in Peru, for example, found that the causes of absenteeism were poor working conditions, insecure jobs in the form of contract teaching, and the difficulties of teachers working in remote areas without personal and family links – and that increased monitoring of teachers had no impact⁸⁰. An EI study in Zambia in 2007 discovered that illness – particularly related to HIV and AIDS – played a significant role, but also highlighted the impact of pay and financial problems. Rural teachers, paid \$200 a month at primary level, had to travel to the nearest town to collect pay, where they would not infrequently find that their pay had not yet been processed. Often they were left without money to pay for lodgings or for transport back to school while they waited for their pay.

These findings provide further grounds, therefore, not just for treating teaching as a profession, but also for treating teachers as professionals. Factors which drag down the status and motivation of teachers – poor pay, poor working conditions, poor training and low entry requirements – also contribute to absence. Moreover, the evidence suggests that tackling teacher absence also requires strong school leadership and bonds between teachers and communities – for instance through engagement in school management and community planning. These proposals are entirely in line with findings of the 2005 EFA GMR, that “high esteem for the teaching profession” is a critical quality of high-performing systems, and it is characterised by strong training and learning opportunities for teachers⁸¹.

GCE and EI are calling for a clear diagnosis of the causes of teacher absence – and for remedies that directly respond to these. This should include considerations of pay levels and mechanisms, teacher accommodation, teacher-community links, and antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) and support services for teachers living with HIV and AIDS.

At the same time, at least equal attention must be paid to the other forms of absence that are harming the education system: the absence of political will to manage and reform the system – to ensure that there are enough teachers, to invest in teacher training, to pay teachers appropriately – is arguably far more harmful to education and learning over the long term.

Box 7: INTERNATIONAL TASK FORCE ON TEACHERS FOR EDUCATION FOR ALL

“No education is possible without an adequate number of qualified and motivated teachers. Teachers are the key to meaningful learning and education.”

International Task Force on Teachers for EFA

In December 2008, the High Level Group on Education For All (EFA) – a group of 30 ministers of education and international cooperation, tasked with maintaining political momentum for achievement of the EFA goals set out in the Dakar framework – held its annual meeting in Oslo. Recognising that vastly increased primary enrolment had not been matched by recruitment and training of teachers, and that this was leading to a huge quality gap in education, the meeting made a number of resolutions and recommendations aimed at addressing the teacher deficit.

The Oslo declaration included recommendations to national governments that they “map out their short- and medium-term needs for recruitment, deployment, training and retention of teachers”. It also called on development partners – bilateral and multilateral donors and other institutional and private partners – to support these national efforts to fill the teacher gap “and to provide predictable support to cover the associated costs.”

A specific initiative endorsed by the Oslo declaration was the creation of an International Task Force on Teachers for EFA – the only international platform dedicated to addressing the teacher gap in order to achieve the EFA goals. The Task Force has identified three major challenges for countries in addressing the teacher deficit, and has structured its work around them:

- policy gaps, related to the development or reinforcement of policies, strategies and planning;
- capacity gaps, related both to capacity for the collection, management and use of data for development of policies, policy implementation, and monitoring, and capacity for planning and management of the teacher workforce;
- financing gaps, related to the “unmet need for increased spending on teachers at national level” and also to the need for greatly increased financing from international partners for the recurrent costs involved in ensuring that each country has sufficient teachers for EFA.

The Task Force Secretariat provides direct support to governments related to these areas, including by establishing high level teams in-country on teacher issues: so far, it is working with eight African countries. It also conducts and collaborates on research of practical use to governments in trying to address the teacher deficit, and organizes international policy dialogues to support collaboration, provide focus and increase momentum on the crucial issues of teachers for EFA.

The Task Force has more than 70 members, including governments, civil society organisations, UN agencies and international NGOs. It is hosted by UNESCO and has a steering committee including governments from different regions; donor representatives; international and regional intergovernmental organisations; and international NGOs/civil society organizations. EI holds one of the civil society seats, representing teachers, and GCE and VSO share the other, representing other civil society groups and NGOs.

Source: <http://www.teachersforefa.unesco.org>

VALUING AND INVESTING IN TEACHERS

Unquestionably, an education system succeeds or fails with the quality of its teachers. For a system to guarantee learning and skills development for all children, youth and adult learners, it must have sufficient, quality teachers. Those teachers must have high quality initial training, ongoing professional development, pay that recognises their professional status and is actually paid on time, evaluation that contributes to development, and responsibility in the school and the community. This means that governments, with the support of civil society and other partners, must develop and implement comprehensive teacher policies, addressing issues of training, recruitment, deployment, induction into the profession, continuing professional development, support, salaries, incentives and conditions of service. Such teacher policies should be developed and implemented in consultation with teacher organisations and teachers, as stated in the ILO/ UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers (1966).

The idea that education systems in low- and middle-income countries can get by without investment in teachers and teaching is a violation of human rights; it seeks to deny children, youth and adults from developing countries the same opportunities as those from developed countries. It points to a poverty of ambition that suggests that the lessons of high-performing education systems are not valid, that untrained, unqualified teachers are good enough for India, Senegal or Mozambique, even if they are not good enough for Finland or Canada. But the children in India, Senegal and Mozambique have the same rights, and their parents have the same aspirations. If we truly believe in a quality education for every student, then this investment in teachers must be made.



4. FINANCING

Recruiting and developing a professional teacher workforce with the skills and support to deliver quality education is not possible without the right financing, which requires a focus on all the following elements:

- **a government financial commitment commensurate with the scale of the problem, with equitable distribution of resources;**
- **more and better-aligned support from donors;**
- **a macroeconomic framework that does not limit investment in teachers;**
- **transparent and accountable budgeting and spending, so that citizens can hold governments to account.**

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING

How much and how well governments invest in teachers for basic education (pre-primary, primary and lower secondary) depends on a few different factors: their overall commitment to investing in education, in basic education, and – specifically – in teachers; the resources they have available and freedom to spend those resources; and the relevance, equity and effectiveness of that spending.

On the first question, of commitment, average levels of investment indicate that governments in low- and middle-income countries typically place a significant priority on education, and particularly basic education (pre-primary, primary and lower secondary) in national budgets. Education is typically the biggest single item in national budgets, and many governments are spending close to the recommended target of 6 percent of GDP. UIS data shows that, on average, low-income and lower-middle income countries are allocating 16 percent of their total national budgets to education overall, and

just under 11 percent to basic education. If we look at just low-income countries, the average allocation for all education rises to 17 percent, and for basic education to just under 12 percent⁸². Governments should allocate a minimum of 20 percent of their budgets for education, and at least half of this (a minimum of 10 to 12 percent of budgets overall) should go to basic education – though much more than this is needed in some cases.

Of course, not all spending on teachers for basic education is part of the basic education budget: pre-service training in teacher training institutes, for example, will be part of tertiary and vocational training, and should make up a substantial proportion of this. But the critical need to expand the number, the professional status and the ongoing in-service development of teachers in basic education means that significant investment in basic education is crucial.

The averages do mask some variation: Tanzania, for example, reports spending more than 20 percent of its total government budget on basic education, and Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Burundi, Gambia, Belize, Vanuatu and Mexico all report spending more than 14 percent. At the other end of the spectrum, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sri Lanka, Georgia, Mauritius and Serbia all devote less than 5 percent of total government spending to education.

There is not enough past data to judge whether governments of low-income and lower-middle income countries are increasing or decreasing the focus on basic education; in upper middle-income countries, there are some trends towards slight decreases in allocations to basic education. Brazil is one notable exception, having steadily increased the proportion of the budget going to basic education from 7.7 percent in 2000 to 11.9 percent in 2009, through increases in both the overall education budget, and the allocation to basic education within that.

Box 8: BRAZIL – PUBLIC MOBILISATION FOR GREATER INVESTMENT IN TEACHERS AND EDUCATION

Education activists in Brazil, including teachers, have recently achieved important successes in terms of protecting investment in education, and guaranteeing a minimum wage for teachers.

There has been a minimum wage law in place in Brazil since 2008, but it was often not being applied to teachers. Brazilian teachers' union *Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação* (National Confederation of Education Workers, CNTE) reported that teachers in at least 17 states were being paid at below minimum wage, often as low as two thirds of the legal minimum. Some reported taking on two jobs to provide for their needs, and there have been huge problems with teacher motivation. The OECD's Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) in 2008 found that average job satisfaction among Brazilian teachers was far below average. Many teachers leave the profession after just 3 or 4 years.

At the same time, civil society organisations, led by the Brazilian Campaign for the Right to Education, wanted to ensure continuing investment in education, in order to improve quality and ensure every Brazilian child gets a good education. The Campaign for the Right to Education ran a campaign called *PNE para valer!*, which called for a minimum of 10 percent of GDP to be spent on education; it has been lobbying the government directly and mobilising communities around this goal. In March 2012, the CNTE teachers organisation, which is also on the Board of the Brazilian Campaign, went on strike, calling both for implementation of the minimum wage for teachers and for the 10 percent of GDP minimum investment in education.

In April 2012, the Brazilian Ministry of Education announced a new minimum wage for teachers of 1,451 reais (around US\$820) a month. Brazilian Education Minister Aloizio Mercadante has emphasised the importance of this minimum wage and rejected calls by some municipalities to waive the minimum, saying that "We will not have quality education if the teaching does not offer more attractive salaries... We must create a culture where education is a priority." But in spite of the agreement of this minimum wage for teachers, the Federal Government has not made contributions to the states and municipalities to cover this minimum.

At a national level, however, there may be more financing available for investment in teachers over coming years. In June 2012, Brazil's National Congress took the historic step of agreeing that 10 percent of GDP must be invested in public education. This was agreed as part of the National Education Plan, which had been subject to 18 months of negotiations. Brazil currently spends just 5.1 percent of GDP on education; the new agreement stipulates that spending should reach seven percent of GDP in five years, and 10 percent in 10 years, amounting to USD 250 billion. The proposed law is now before the Senate for evaluation and voting, which means that are still some steps to be taken before this law is finally approved.

Previous drafts of the plan had suggested financing of around eight percent of GDP would go to education; public pressure including teacher strikes and significant public pressure helped secure greater investment. Daniel Cara, Coordinator of the Brazilian Campaign on the Right to Education stated that "There are two key factors that ensured the conclusion of this agreement: the Campaign's technical work that showed the need for 10%, and the advocacy that happened through popular mobilisation."

Sources: Education International; *Campanha Nacional pelo Direito à Educação*, Brazil; CLADE (Latin American Campaign for the Right to Education); <http://noticias.terra.com.br>

Within these budgets, salaries take up a significant proportion of spending. The proportion of education spending in public institutions that goes to salaries is very similar across income groups – a range of about 45 percent to 95 percent, with an average around 72 to 75 percent – although, of course, not all salaries in the education sector are for teachers. In the past, wage bill ceilings enforced by the IMF as part of loan conditions led to the freezing of teacher salaries and recruitment. More recent IMF agreements with explicit wage bill constraints – such as in Guinea and Malawi – exclude teachers from these limits, acknowledge the need to recruit more teachers⁸⁴. This is a positive development, and reflects in part the strong concern voiced by civil society over a number of years.

However, the absence of an explicit constraint does not guarantee a framework that allows the necessary expansion of the teacher workforce – including not just adequate salaries and working conditions, but also building a necessary training architecture. Many IMF-supported fiscal frameworks still build in cuts in government wage bills overall – which has a necessary limiting impact on teacher recruitment even when it is stated that the teacher workforce should not be cut – as well as strict deficit and inflation targets which can obstruct efforts to significantly increase teacher numbers and provision of training. Donor agencies, and particularly the IMF, need to be working with governments, through processes that are open to civil society including teachers' unions, on macroeconomic frameworks to allow for significant teacher expansion – and understand this as productive investment, rather than simply inflationary social spending.

Box 9: PAKISTAN – A FINANCING GAP

After a multiplicity of education policy frameworks – 15 since independence in 1947 – Pakistan’s National Education Policy of 2009 set out a framework of high standards for teachers and teacher training, standardisation of accreditation, merit-based progression and postings, and professional development. The teacher standards were developed through consultations throughout the country, and many elements of these policies are extremely welcome, as is support from some donor partners to reform teacher training in Pakistan. However, government spending remains far too low to guarantee the successful implementation of these policies, and a much greater focus on financing is needed.

The 2009 policy marks a step away from some elements of the Education For All ‘National Plan of Action’, adopted in 2000, which – although it attempted to recruit more teachers, improve teacher training institutions and scale up best practice in teacher training – recommended the relaxation of qualification requirements for teachers in remote areas, contributing to poorer quality education for children in these areas. The 2009 policy reform sets higher standards for teacher education, aiming at a minimum of a bachelor’s degree and phasing out of the current post-lower secondary and post-secondary certificates. It does, however, introduce a post-secondary diploma as an intermediate step until sufficient teachers with higher qualifications are available. These new National Professional Standards for Teachers in Pakistan also bring coherence to a number of reforms that were often being designed and funded – whether by the government, donors or NGOs – in different districts or regions in isolation. The Standards are now being used nationally as the framework for recruitment, deployment, promotions and professional development.

But there is still a long way to go in recruitment and in financing. At primary level, for example, according to UIS figures, Pakistan has a very significant teacher gap: in 2010, it had 463,674 teachers in primary school (out of an estimated 1.44 million teachers at all levels, including teacher training) – but it needs 525,757 to achieve UPE by 2015. This would require expansion at a rate of 3 percent a year, representing recruitment of more than 12,000 teachers extra each year from 2011 to 2015. Pakistan has not been expanding the teacher workforce at anything like this rate. Moreover, the need to replace teachers who leave the profession is likely to require recruitment of 122,000 replacement teachers over the five year period (assuming an attrition rate of 5 percent annually), and the higher standards of qualifications will require considerable focus on in-service training and upgrading. Pakistan has 184 teacher training institutes (of which 33 are privately operated) and 300 teacher training resource centres in the districts.

Financing is a significant worry. Some donors have shown strong support for teacher education; the US, for example, funds the Strengthening Teacher Education Project (STEP), which is working to build teacher capacity, including through teacher training that focuses more on pedagogy and on practical training. But more is needed, and domestic funding levels are still not high enough. In 2010, Pakistan spent just under 10 percent of its budget on education (at all levels), equivalent to about 2.4 percent of GDP. Data are not available on the proportion of this going to basic education, but clearly this spending level puts it far below international targets: GCE and EI are calling for at least 10 to 12 percent of the national budget to be spent on basic education alone, out of a total education allocation of at least 20 percent of the national budget, or 6 percent of GDP. With the current level of spending, it is hard to see how teaching can be established and maintained as a high quality, high status profession, with ongoing requirements around pay and in-service training.

In addition to greater investment, the Pakistan Coalition for Education, an initiative of Access to Quality Education is calling for innovation in teacher training that include equal access to ongoing training and the use of modern methods; recruitment based on merit and promotion based on performance; stronger incentives to retain teachers; and affirmative action to recruit more female teachers into primary education.

Sources: Pakistan Coalition for Education, an initiative of Access to Quality Education, UIS





On the second issue, of available resources, the picture is far from encouraging. Low-income countries, in particular, do not have anything approaching the scale of resources available to rich countries for education. Despite large allocations as a percentage of total budgets, spending per pupil in primary school averages just \$72 a year across low-income countries, compared to \$788 for middle-income countries (although the range here

is large) and \$7,609 for high income countries⁸⁵. The difference in the scale in available resources is huge: Liberia, for example, spent just \$11.64 per primary school pupil in 2008 (the last year for which data is available). But even if it had spent its entire national budget on primary education, that would still have amounted to just \$714 per pupil – less than one tenth of the average spending of high-income countries.

FIGURE 5: SAMPLE OF ACTUAL PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION PER PUPIL, US\$



In this context, finding and freeing the additional resources necessary to fill the trained teacher gap requires both domestic and international action. Domestically, countries need to do all they can to maximise public revenue, through progressive taxation to increase the revenue available for basic education (see box 10). Internationally, there needs to be a coordinated effort to clamp down on tax evasion and tax havens, to prevent the leakage of money from countries that desperately need that revenue to ensure that every child has a qualified teacher. Moreover, donor countries need to do much more to ensure that their support is of the level and the kind necessary to deal with this crisis, as discussed in the next section.

The final issue is about budget execution – that is, ensuring that the amounts that are available are spent equitably and effectively in the areas of greatest need. A survey of teachers’ unions in 2011 found that more than half thought that their governments had not implemented their policies to tackle inequity in resource distribution⁸⁶.

Planning processes that fully embrace questions of equity and distribution are important, but this is also an area where scrutiny and engagement by civil society is absolutely crucial. Relevant and effective spending requires transparency around the setting of budgets, active efforts to engage citizen representatives in debating and influencing these budgets, and openness about how money is being spent and what that should mean for education service. Citizens need to be able to influence how money is allocated, and track spending in their own communities. In Burkina Faso, for example, the National Coalition for Education For All has worked with parliamentarians to establish a budget line for inclusive education in the national budget. The Pakistan Coalition for Education is establishing a Budget Watch Group to track the execution of the public education budget in selected districts, and has been piloting this in four districts in 2012. The national education coalition in the Dominican Republic set up a Budget Watch initiative that produces newsletters and has mobilised nationally for an increased budget for education.

Box 10: TEACHERS AND TAX: A STRATEGIC ALLIANCE

Governments should be encouraged to expand the share of their budgets going to education, to reach and even surpass the 20 percent benchmark. But often even this is far from enough, and aid from donors is failing to fill the gap. National governments need not only to look at their budget allocations, but also significantly expand the revenue they collect, through progressive domestic taxation. The potential benefits are huge: in Africa, the value of tax revenue is already ten times that of foreign aid. Moreover, teacher salaries are almost always paid from tax revenue, which is more predictable than aid for covering recurrent costs.

Education campaigners need to engage actively in national and international campaigns for expanding the domestic tax base and promoting tax justice. This does not mean campaigning for ordinary people to pay more tax, but rather ensuring that more tax is paid by those who can afford it. In low-income countries, people pay value added tax on much of what they buy, even if they are unaware of it. Usually this is a profoundly regressive tax – meaning that the poor end up paying a larger share of their income than the rich. Meanwhile, some of the richest people manage to avoid paying tax altogether – as do the world’s biggest corporations. An unimaginably large sum of \$21 trillion dollars is thought to be hidden away in tax havens – almost \$10 trillion of it by just 100,000 individuals. The amount that multinational corporations avoid paying is equally staggering and they do this in many ways, including by negotiating tax holidays with governments that are unnecessarily fearful of losing investment or with corrupt political elites, or by “transfer pricing”, by which they declare their profit where tax rates are lowest.

In many low-income countries the education budget could be doubled overnight if the biggest companies and the richest individuals were paying fair taxes. In Uganda, just by ending the tax holidays that have been offered to companies, the national budget could increase by \$270 million a year. That could pay for tens of thousands of new teachers, or a massive expansion of teacher training.

Many GCE members are actively drawing attention to the strong link between tax justice and increasing financing for education. For example, EI has produced a report on “Global Corporate Taxation and Resources for Quality Public Services” (2011) and ActionAid’s campaign on Progressive Taxation Progressively Spent will use girls’ education as the public face for tax campaigning in the coming years. With ever more money disappearing through tax cheating and tax havens, now is the perfect time for education campaigners to link with health campaigners and tax justice campaigners – to create formidable national campaigns that hold governments and big corporations to account on tax justice.

With thanks to GCE member ActionAid International for preparing this information

Sources: www.taxjusticenetwork.org; www.actionaid.org



DONOR FINANCING FOR EDUCATION

BILATERAL DONORS

If governments of many aid recipient countries are making significant commitments out of very small resource envelopes, the same cannot be said of donor countries. The total external financing gap for basic education in the poorest countries is estimated at \$16 billion – of which a wholly insufficient \$3 billion is currently being provided in aid. The total provided by all donors (bilateral and multilateral) to all low- and middle-income countries in 2009 was \$5.6bn, a slight increase over the previous year. However, much of this aid is in the form of loans from the World Bank, the biggest provider of finance for basic education (see box), and much of it is concentrated in just a few countries⁶⁷.

These contributions not only fall short of what is needed and what has been promised, but also of what is possible. The global economic crisis has clearly had an impact on aid budgets, and is likely to continue doing so – but even within the scope of current budgets, donors are clearly failing the test on commitment to basic education. Even if we assume that just under 12 percent of all general budget support from donors goes to basic education – a generous assumption based on the average budget allocation of low-income countries – still the 23 major bilateral donors that make up the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) collectively gave less than 3 percent of their total aid to basic education over the period 2005-2010⁶⁸. The World Bank, meanwhile, has been pulling back from the commitment it made on education spending in 2010 (see box).

This indicates a donor commitment to basic education that falls far short of the commitment of the low- and lower middle-income countries that have huge external financing needs. Among bilateral donors, the greatest commitment to basic education in recent years has been shown by the Netherlands and New Zealand, which each allocated between 8 and 9 percent of their total international cooperation

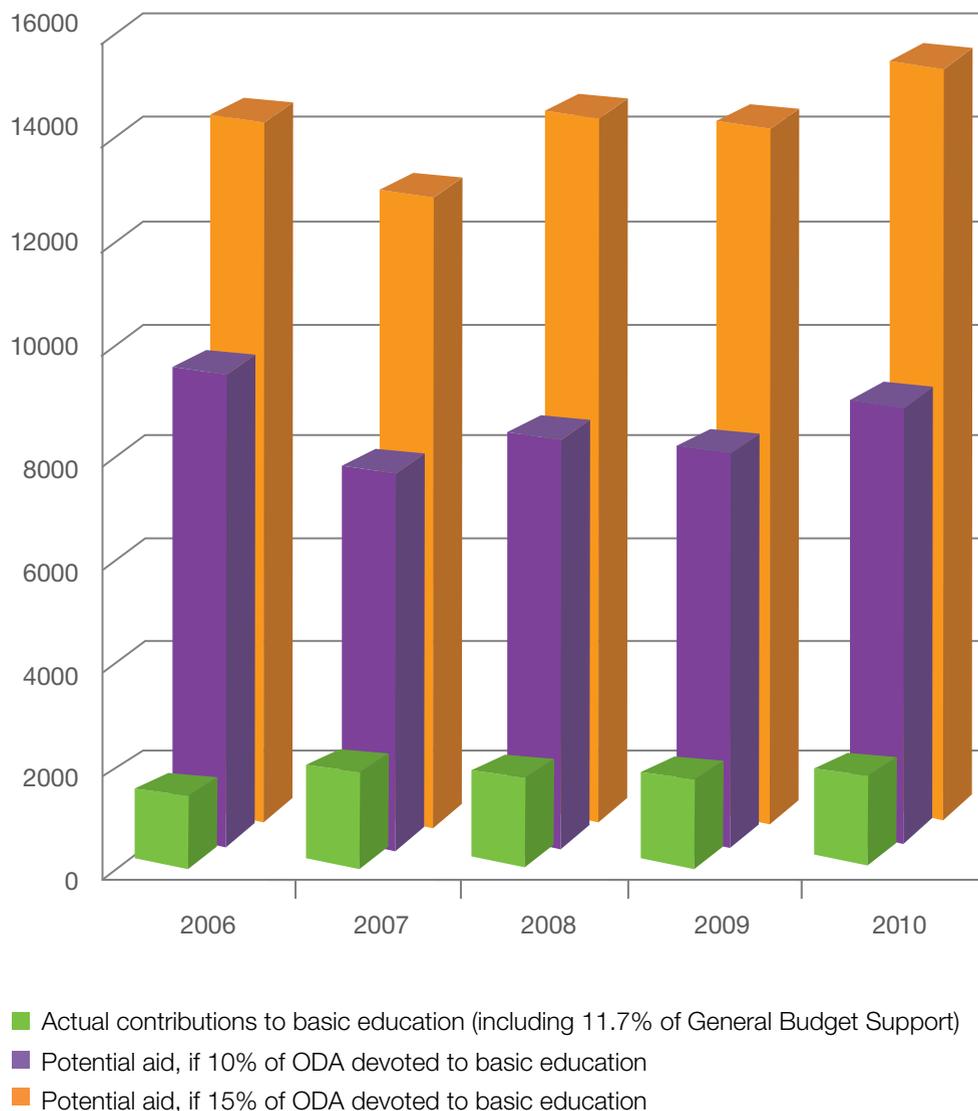
financing to basic education in this period. The Netherlands, however, is no longer prioritizing education in its bilateral aid, so this contribution will fall, although it continues to provide significant support to the Global Partnership for Education. Almost half the DAC bilateral donors, 11 countries in total – Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Korea, Japan, Belgium, Germany, Portugal, Finland and the United States – gave less than two percent of their total aid to basic education, even with a proportion of budget support included.

If all these 23 bilateral donors had given 10 percent of their total Overseas Development Assistance budgets to education over just the last five years, this would have delivered an additional \$35 billion – equivalent to almost quadrupling their support for basic education. Upping the contribution to 15 percent of total aid – which is not out of line with the importance of basic education for human rights and national development – would have an extra \$60 billion over actual levels. The scale of the difference is shown in Figure 6 below.

These allocations are all the more troubling given that total aid from DAC donors fell in 2010 for the first time in 14 years. Donors are giving less; and of what they are giving, a tiny proportion is going to basic education.

It is crucial not just how much donors give, but also how they give it. Financing that is short-term, unpredictable, tied to spending in the donor country or given through off-budget projects cannot be meaningfully and reliably used to fund major recurrent costs like teacher salaries or expansion of teacher training institutes. Long-term budget support is one of the best ways to fund these kinds of costs: here, New Zealand and the UK do best, having given 7.5 percent and 8.3 percent respectively of their total aid as budget support in the five years up to 2010.

FIGURE 6: CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE 23 OECD DAC BILATERAL DONORS TO BASIC EDUCATION COULD HAVE BEEN DRAMATICALLY HIGHER IF THEY HAD MET THE TARGET OF DEVOTING 10 (OR 15) PER CENT OF AID TO BASIC EDUCATION (US\$, MILLIONS)



The biggest donors to basic education also vary in how much emphasis they place on teachers in setting and communicating about their aid programmes. Some are explicit about support for teachers, and report progress on a specific target; others do not publicise work to support teacher

training and recruitment at all. GCE and EI are calling for all donors to monitor and report on their progress towards supporting the target of a trained teacher for every child. More bilateral donors should also join and provide active support to the International Task Force on Teachers for EFA.

GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR EDUCATION

The Global Partnership for Education (GPE, formerly the EFA-Fast Track Initiative) is an innovative element of international support for education in low-income countries: established in 2002, it is a partnership of southern governments, bilateral and multilateral donor agencies, teachers, other civil society groups, private foundations and the private sector, with the stated aim of realising education for all through coordinated support. GPE's real strength is its coordination function and focus on national plans: it pools funds from a number of bilateral donors, which it then provides to countries on the basis of their national education sector plans, rather than for specific projects. Plans need to be approved by a local coordination group of the government and donors: it is encouraged that civil society, including teachers, joins this group, but GCE and EI are calling for this to be a minimum requirement for GPE funds.

The GPE approach can, in theory, reinforce democratic ownership and strengthen education systems. The GPE is not a huge donor in terms of quantity – a historical average of around \$200 million a year over the last decade – but it is significant as a forum where many stakeholders come together for discussion of education in low-income countries. One of civil society's major concerns about the GPE is about the extent to which national level processes really reflect the principles articulated by the GPE Board and Secretariat: GPE funds at country level are managed by one of the GPE members – the World Bank, for 90 percent of the funds – and civil society colleagues in a number of countries (most recently in Uganda, Cameroon and Ethiopia) report exclusive processes which sideline civil society and sometimes even government priorities. The GPE must function as a real partnership at all levels.

At its June 2012 meeting, the GPE Board took the welcome step of adopting as one of the objectives of its new Strategic Plan the improvement of teacher effectiveness by training, recruiting and retaining teachers and supporting them to provide a good quality education. The GPE Secretariat is currently preparing a strategy paper on implementation of this objective, for consideration by the Board. This strategy needs to be rooted in the objective of expanding the professional, trained teacher workforce, and understanding how crucial this is to guaranteeing learning outcomes.

PRIVATE DONORS

Private donors can and should also put much greater focus on investment in basic education; the importance of education warrants much greater support. However, it must be borne in mind that the core need in improving teacher quality is investment in public systems for training, accreditation, deployment and support. Privately-funded initiatives outside these national systems risk undermining national efforts or contributing to inequality. Private donors should instead find ways to support national plans and systems, such as through contributions to pooled funds. In Liberia, for example, the Open Society Institute contributes to the pooled fund for education, and has found it to be an important means for private donors to strengthen state capacities – which would include for teacher preparation and management⁶⁹.

The need to invest in teachers is central to building education systems, and supporting education is central to supporting human rights, reducing poverty, empowering individuals, developing economies and building democracy and peace – indeed, to any of the purposes that people might describe for international aid and cooperation. Given this, donor governments must take immediate action to improve their performance on aid for basic education – including for teachers – which is woeful both in relation to what is required, and in relation to what is possible.



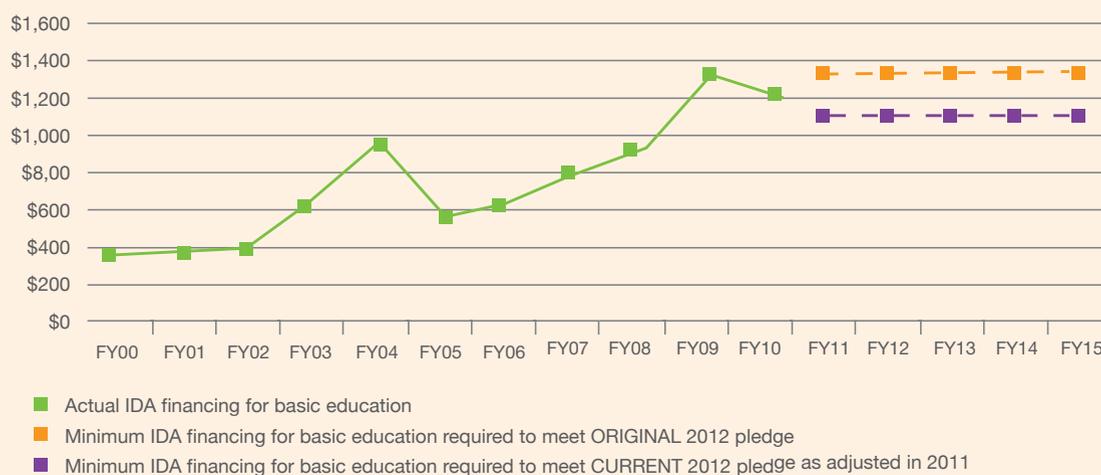
Box 11: WORLD BANK FINANCING OF EDUCATION AND TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

In recent years, the World Bank has succeeded in increasing the support it provides to basic education; however, due to the uneven nature of this support, countries most off-track from reaching the education Millennium Development Goals, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa, were not particularly benefiting from this additional financing. From 2001-2010, support to basic education from the International Development Association (IDA), the arm of the World Bank servicing the poorest countries, tripled while the share which went to sub-Saharan Africa actually decreased by 9%.

In efforts to address this, the World Bank made a pledge in 2010 to increase basic education support to low-income countries by \$750 million over the 2011-2015 period, stating that this would represent a 40% increase in basic education lending from the previous five years (2006-2010). With IDA support to basic education totaling almost \$4.9 billion from 2006 to 2010, this pledge meant that about \$6.8 billion would be delivered for basic education from 2011 to 2015.

The scale of the promise, however, has since become controversial. A year after announcing the pledge, the World Bank stated that the \$750 million increase would be measured against an annual baseline of \$742 million, as opposed to the \$1.2 billion baseline implicit in the original statements. This instantly cut the pledged total education funding by \$2.3 billion, from \$6.8 billion to \$4.5 billion. These figures have been recalibrated to be so low that meeting the World Bank's pledge would now represent not a 40% increase in basic education support but actually a 9% decrease. With its current calculations, the World Bank is anticipating the fulfillment of the pledge by the end of the 2013 fiscal year, effectively completing a five-year pledge in three years, even when one of those three years (2011) saw the lowest delivery of basic education financing in almost a decade (\$403 million).

IDA Support for Basic Education and Pledge Differences

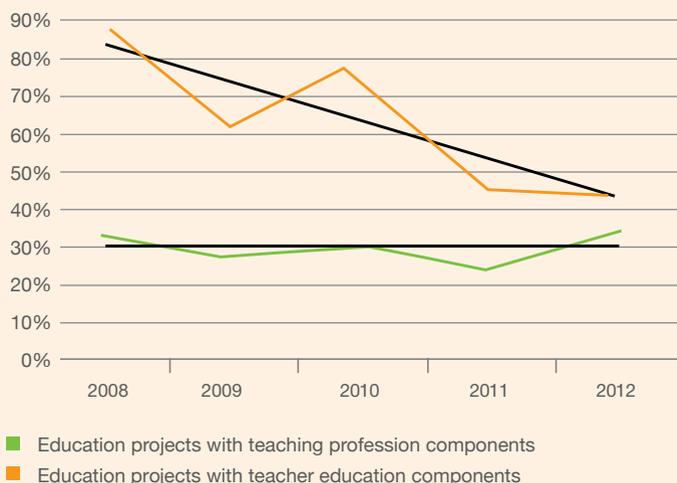


Moreover, the fulfillment of the pledge – whether original or revised – at aggregate level should not distract from the need to provide support for basic education in the countries which are most off-track on the EFA goals, notably sub-Saharan Africa, where Bank support for basic education has been falling.

Nevertheless, over the last five years the World Bank has increased the number of its education projects from 21 in 2008 to 38 in 2012. These projects impact teachers primarily by supporting the teaching profession (including teacher certification, recruitment, deployment, retention, standards, and performance assessment) and teacher education (including pre- and in-service training, restructuring of teacher education, and teacher networks). On average from 2008 to 2012, nearly a third of education projects had components addressing the teaching profession while two-thirds had teacher education activities. While the proportion of education projects with teaching profession components has remained relatively constant over the last five years, the increase in World Bank education projects has not translated into increased support to teacher education. In 2008, 18 of the 21 (86%) education projects had features supporting teacher education; in 2012, less than half (17 of 38, or 45%) featured teacher education.

Box 11: WORLD BANK FINANCING OF EDUCATION AND TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

World Bank Education Projects with Teaching Profession and Teacher Education Components



Not all World Bank support to developing the teacher workforce is positive. Whilst it is welcome that the Bank recognizes the crucial role of teachers in education, it has in the past often been behind drives to de-professionalise the teaching profession through recruitment of untrained teachers or para-teachers on short-term contracts – with a disastrous impact on quality. Its Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) initiative promotes the use of teacher pay as a means of personalised punishment and reward (“merit pay”), despite (as discussed elsewhere in this report) there being a complete lack of strong evidence for the benefit of this, considerable opposition from experts and plenty of evidence of the harm it does. It also recommends the suppression of teachers’ voices through anti-union efforts, despite teachers’ right to organise.

GCE and EI are calling on the Bank to provide support for basic education in IDA countries of at least \$6.8 billion in 2011 to 2015, to ensure a growth of support in sub-Saharan Africa, and to abandon both support for merit pay and opposition to teacher unions.

With thanks to GCE member RESULTS Educational Fund for preparation of the text on World Bank funding and projects.

Sources: World Bank Project Database; www.worldbank.org; Results Educational Fund (2012) *The World Bank and Basic Education: the \$750 million pledge and IDA/GPE substitution*.

1. Excluding Ethiopia as an extreme outlier as it received nine times the average basic education IDA support of other sub-Saharan African countries over the same period of time.
2. All projects approved by the Education Sector Board and operations approved by other Sector Boards with education activities totaling more than USD \$10 million or 20 percent of the total project. All education project figures are from the World Bank Education Projects Database.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Every child should have a well-trained and well-supported teacher - yet this is far from the case. We are millions of trained teachers short of what we need, and the impact on the quality of education systems is devastating. Moreover, far too often the proposed response is to sacrifice quality and equity in order to deliver some form of schooling. But there is no short-cut to quality education and learning. If we are genuinely serious about fulfilling the right to education for all, about ensuring that every child, youth or adult learner develops the skills that a good education brings – from literacy and numeracy to creative and critical thinking – then the only solution is to ensure that every student has a well-trained teacher.

There is no reason why students, parents and teachers in low- and middle-income countries should be expected to give up on the right to education, and be satisfied instead with a low quality, inequitable education system that accepts low status and poor results as the best they can afford. The world community pledged, 12 years ago, that no country should fail to achieve the Education For All goals because of financial shortfalls. And yet, not only are the majority of countries off-track with these goals, many are also being told that they should pursue strategies – such as limiting teacher numbers, recruiting unqualified teachers, sacrificing training but relying on punitive evaluations – that mean they can never achieve these goals, and that poor quality education is the most they should hope for. It is impossible to provide good education without good teaching. But in many countries, donors claim untrained, unsupported, non-professional teachers are a satisfactory response because they are all that can be afforded. If expense is the factor that is limiting ambitions, then the poor quality of education is more a function of the insincerity of the international community than anything else.

Yet the international community has shown that, with sufficient attention and investment, it can overcome huge problems: reduce by 40 million the number of children out of primary school, halve the number of people living on less than \$1 a day, halt the spread of HIV and AIDS. Now is the time to ensure that those children in school are there for a reason, by guaranteeing them a trained teacher. The key to this is the political recognition of the importance of teachers and of teaching, and the implementation of policies, financing and reporting accordingly.

National governments should:

- Develop costed workforce plans, agreed with parliaments and civil society, to meet the full gap in trained teachers and deploy those teachers equitably. (In emergency or post-conflict situations, develop transition plans to move towards these targets, in agreement with national stakeholders.)
- By 2014, measure and publish the Pupil-to-Trained-Teacher ratio, overall and in the public sector (according to standards of training as indicated above), including regional variations. This should be included in reports to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).
- Undertake a gender review of national Education Sector Plans, and develop long-term strategies to recruit, train, support and compensate women teachers.
- Develop and enforce high national standards of training, developed with the teaching profession and in reference to international standards.
- Ensure initial pre-service training for all new recruits to teaching that covers subject knowledge, pedagogy and training in diagnosis of students' learning needs, with sufficient time to develop these skills; raise the ISCED level of teacher training by at least one level over the next three years.
- Provide ongoing in-service training and professional development for all teachers, making use of communities of practice and following up on training given.
- Ensure that all teachers are being paid a decent, professional wage; negotiate and agree pay scales with teacher unions; do not use pay as a system of individualised punishment and reward based on high-stakes testing or other "merit" pay.
- Strengthen school leadership and promote the establishment of school management committees that include students, teachers, parents and local community members.
- Promote adult literacy programmes that also empower newly-literate parents to take part in school management and support teachers.
- Support the establishment of Teaching Councils to develop and enforce professional standards and ethics

- Allocate a minimum of 20 percent of national budgets, or 6 percent of GDP, to education, and ensure that at least 50 percent of this is dedicated to basic education, with a much higher percentage where necessary.
- Focus a considerable proportion of financing for post-secondary education on the development of high quality teacher training programmes.
- Progressively expand the domestic tax base, for example through setting a fair rate of corporation tax and not offering unnecessary tax holidays.
- Pursue expansionary macro-economic policies which allow greater investment in quality public services, resisting the imposition of austerity policies by the IMF or other advisers.
- Open planning and budgeting processes to civil society organisations, including teachers' unions, for example through participation in official government-partner groups in the education sector (e.g. Local Education Groups).
- Report regularly and transparently on budgets and spending in education, making clear the allocations to district/province and local level, so that spending can be tracked by communities and civil society organisations.

Bilateral donors should:

- Meet their commitment to spend at least 0.7 percent of GNI on aid.
- Realign ODA to commit at least 10% to basic education, including contributions to the GPE and a proportion of budget support.
- Provide a greater proportion of ODA as general or sectoral budget support.
- Ensure all aid for education is aligned with national education plans by providing financing through a pooled fund that supports the national education plan.
- Develop and publish a plan setting out contribution to tackling the teacher crisis and lowering Pupil-to-Trained-Teacher ratios, and report annually on progress against this plan.
- Engage with and support the International Task Force on Teachers for EFA.

The GPE should:

- Provide coordinated financing and other support to the expansion of a well-trained, professional teacher workforce, explicitly recognizing the significance of this for learning outcomes and quality education.

The World Bank should:

- Meet its original 2010 pledge of additional funding for basic education, by providing at least \$6.8 billion for basic education in IDA countries between 2011 and 2015, and an increase in funding for sub-Saharan Africa.
- Refrain from providing advice or conditionality that limits the professional status, training, pay or unionisation of teachers, or that encourages high-stakes testing.
- Publish its intended contribution to tackling the teacher crisis and lowering Pupil-to-Trained-Teacher ratios, and report annually on progress against this plan.

The IMF should:

- Work with governments and other key education stakeholders such as teacher organisations and other civil society groups to develop macro-economic frameworks that support the significant expansion of investment in teachers.
- Expand its work on social spending floors to include support for governments on tracking investment in teachers.

Private donors should:

- Support national strategies to develop the professional teacher workforce for public education by, for instance, contributing to pooled funds that support national education sector plans.



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