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## **Joint ILO–UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel (CEART)**

**Changing employment relationships in the teaching profession**<sup>1</sup>  
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Background paper for discussion at the 12th Session of the CEART  
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<sup>1</sup> The paper's scope is pre-primary through general secondary education. It does not cover early years, technical and professional nor higher education.

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## Basic principles in teacher employment relationships

1. Historically, public sector teachers in primary and secondary education, and to a lesser extent in pre-primary schools, have enjoyed relatively secure employment relationships once they have been confirmed through the established recruitment process. Private sector teachers have enjoyed similar provisions, though guarantees of renewed, especially permanent employment, have never been as universally applicable as in the public sector.
2. International standards address the question. The ILO/UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers, 1966, affirms the importance of stability of employment and security of tenure in the teaching profession in the interests of educational stability, as well as that of the teacher. The Recommendation sets out that employment stability and tenure should be safeguarded even when changes in the organization of or within a school system are made. Teachers should be adequately protected against arbitrary action affecting their professional standing or career. Once in the profession teachers may also lose their jobs due to restructuring of a system or school for demographic or economic reasons. Where the teaching position is abolished for one of the above reasons, all efforts need to be deployed to reassign the affected teacher to another job in the education system or institution commensurate with their qualifications and experience, accompanied by retraining programmes where necessary.
3. The ILO has adopted an international standard on employment relationships, the Employment Relationship Recommendation, 2006 (No. 198). The Recommendation is targeted broadly at all forms of employment relationships, public or private. At its core, the standard urges that the determination of such a relationship should be guided primarily by the performance of work and the remuneration of the worker. All countries are urged to adopt and apply, in consultation with representative employers' and workers' (trade union) representatives, a national policy covering the scope of relevant laws and regulations that guarantee effective protection for workers. The standard should address questions of: the distinction between employed and self-employed workers; disguised employment relationships; multiple party contractual arrangements (applicable for instance to hiring through temporary employment agencies); dispute settlement mechanisms regarding the existence and terms of an employment relationship; and compliance measures.
4. The Joint ILO/UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel (CEART) has repeatedly expressed concern with the decline in employment stability in the teaching profession as both factor and consequence of de-professionalization, recommending various measures to be taken by education authorities, particularly governments, to restore the conditions necessary for job stability and professionalism in the profession. Most recently, the CEART's 11th Session in 2012 attributed de-professionalization in part to the lowering of entry requirements into teacher education institutions and the massive hiring of unqualified and untrained teachers, and noted that fixed-term contracts contribute to increased instability and teacher turnover.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ILO–UNESCO. *Final report: Joint ILO–UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel*, 11th Session, Geneva, 8–12 October 2012 (Geneva, ILO), pp. 6–7, 13.

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# 1. Teacher employment relationships and trends

## Definitions and concepts

5. Historically teachers are employed in one of three broad employment relationships:
- career-based public or civil servant: like other public servants, teachers have civil service status, and are most often permanently appointed for the duration of their professional service as career civil servants;
  - position-based public or private sector: like other public servants, or private sector employees, teacher appointment is position-based and focuses on selecting the best-suited candidate for each position, through internal or external recruitment;
  - public or private contractual: teachers are engaged on a fixed-term, contractual basis according to general employment legislation; as public sector employees, teachers may be employed by the public authorities at local or school level, or directly by the school concerned; as private sector employees, teachers are engaged by the employing institution or school, either by managers acting on behalf of the employing authority or directly by the employers.<sup>2</sup>

## Trends

6. As background it is helpful to know the number of employed teachers. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) estimated the number of teachers worldwide in pre-primary, primary and secondary education<sup>3</sup> at 68.6 million by the end of the 2011 school year.<sup>4</sup> The number represented an estimated 25 per cent increase over similar totals in 1999. Assuming roughly the same rate of growth since 2011, employed teachers in these three principal levels of education would approach or exceed 73 million by 2014. There are no known estimates of the employment contract status of all these teachers, but regional breakdowns presented below shed some light.
7. The statistics on teachers include those employed in both public and private schools. The numbers of teachers employed in private schools are no longer maintained on a global basis by international organizations. The median enrolment in private institutions in 2011 was put at 33 per cent of total enrolment at the pre-primary level, at 9 per cent for primary enrolments and 13 per cent for secondary enrolments.<sup>5</sup> Assuming teachers are employed in the same proportion as enrolments, a rough estimate based on the numbers of teachers reported for each educational level would put the numbers of privately employed teachers at 2.7 million in pre-primary centres/schools, at 2.6 million in primary schools and at

<sup>2</sup> ILO. *Handbook of good human resource practices in the teaching profession* (Geneva, ILO, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Equivalent to International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) levels 0 to 3.

<sup>4</sup> UNESCO. *Teaching and Learning: Achieving quality for all, EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013/4* (Paris, UNESCO, 2014), table 8.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, tables 3b, 5, 7.

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4.1 million in secondary schools, a total of 9.4 million or nearly 14 per cent of employed teachers worldwide.<sup>6</sup>

8. The available data on teachers' employment status from several regions points to a continued emphasis on permanent employment once professional entry qualifications and probationary periods are obtained. A large majority of middle- and high-income countries continue to favour permanent compared to fixed-term contractual arrangements. The picture is cloudier in low-income countries, particularly those in Africa and Asia facing large-scale quantitative teacher shortages. Many of these countries have chosen in the last ten to 15 years to employ larger numbers of contract teachers.<sup>7</sup>

### **Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and other mid- to high-income countries: Permanent and fixed-term trends**

9. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) surveyed lower secondary and primary teachers working in schools in more than 30 middle- and high-income countries or subnational education authorities (provinces, regions or other)<sup>8</sup> as part of its second Teaching and Learning in Schools (TALIS) project, 2013. On average 83 per cent of the surveyed teachers were permanently employed and 82 per cent were employed full time in 2012.<sup>9</sup>
10. Countries or regional education authorities with the lowest percentage of permanently employed teachers included Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates (50 per cent), Chile (63 per cent), United States (67 per cent) and Romania (70 per cent). Two-thirds of the surveyed countries employed more than 80 per cent of their teachers on permanent contracts (the average of all countries/authorities was 83 per cent), led by Malaysia (almost 100 per cent), Denmark (96 per cent) and France (96 per cent).<sup>10</sup>
11. Yet, many of the surveyed countries or regional education authorities reported large proportions of fixed-term contracts of one school year or less, a potential sign of significant employment instability, including Romania and the United States (25 per cent each), Abu Dhabi (24 per cent) and Cyprus (20 per cent). The survey group average was 12 per cent. The employment status in these countries or authorities may well reflect a

<sup>6</sup> The assumption does not take account of potential differences in pupil/teacher ratios between public and private schools, and the enrolment figures are based on median calculations for private enrolments at the respective levels, so the estimates must be considered with these reservations in mind.

<sup>7</sup> A. Fyfe. *The use of contract teachers in developing countries: Trends and impact*, Sectoral Activities Working Paper No. 252 (Geneva, ILO, 2007). ILO–UNESCO. *Report: Joint ILO–UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel*, Ninth Session, Geneva, 30 October–3 November 2006 (Geneva, ILO, 2007). G. Kingdon; M. Aslam; S. Rawal; S. Das. *Are contract teachers and para-teachers a cost-effective intervention to address teacher shortage and improve learning outcomes?* (London, EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> These are: Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates; the province of Alberta in Canada; the Flanders community in Belgium; and England in the United Kingdom.

<sup>9</sup> OECD, *TALIS 2013 Results: An International Perspective on Teaching and Learning* (Paris, OECD, 2014).

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

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number of different conditions or policy choices such as: higher numbers of replacements for teachers on leave for various reasons, including sickness, maternity, professional development or detachment or other personal or professional reasons; temporary employment to fill positions that meet unexpected enrolment increases, changes in teaching and learning policies (reductions in class sizes for example) or other education policy issues. However, a few countries or authorities (Abu Dhabi, Chile, Republic of Korea, and Mexico) show double-digit percentages of teachers employed with fixed-term contracts of more than one school year, a pattern that may reflect a larger degree of job insecurity.<sup>11</sup>

12. Within the same survey group a smaller sample of 16 countries or responsible education authorities with comparable data reported trends over the period 2008–13. Most showed increased or stable permanent employment figures in a time period marked by the 2008 financial crisis and worldwide economic downturn. Iceland notably increased the percentage of its teaching corps engaged on permanent contracts from 75 per cent to 85 per cent, Portugal from 68 per cent to 76 per cent and Spain from 76 per cent to 82 per cent at a time when these countries experienced severe financial, economic and government spending pressures (declining gross domestic product (GDP) and at least from 2009 reduced public expenditure on education for all three countries). Conversely, Mexico and the Republic of Korea, whose respective GDP and public education expenditures increased again in 2009 after the initial financial shocks, reduced the number of permanently employed teachers from 87 per cent to 76 per cent and 96 per cent to 83 per cent respectively.<sup>12</sup> Major drivers of change and suppositions about these differences are explored below in section 4.

### **Regional trends: Latin America and the Caribbean**

13. The majority of teachers in Latin American countries are civil or public servants with permanent status once the probationary period is successfully completed. There are significant percentages of contract and temporary teachers in the state and municipal education systems of Brazil (2009) and as noted below, a high percentage of involuntary part-time teaching which may explain these percentages. Private school teachers, who are contracted on an annual basis with no guarantees of renewal, represented 21 per cent of teachers in Brazil (2012), but there is no available information on trends in relation to permanently employed public school teachers. A certain job instability related to the employment status and distribution of teaching hours exists in secondary schools of Uruguay but though persistent, there is no evidence that it has grown over time.<sup>13</sup> A recent World Bank publication contends in a general way without supporting data that the use of temporary contracts is increasing across the region, but that most teachers initially hired on temporary contracts are eventually converted to permanent positions.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p. 271. OECD. *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators* (Paris, OECD Publishing, 2014), pp. 225–226.

<sup>13</sup> R. Perazza (ed.). *Estudio sobre normativa de los sistemas de formación docente del MERCOSUR* (Buenos Aires, Teseo, 2014).

<sup>14</sup> B. Bruns, J. Luque. *Great Teachers: How to Raise Student Learning in Latin America and the Caribbean*, advanced edition (Washington, DC, World Bank, 2014), pp. 230–231.

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## **OECD and other mid- to high-income countries: Full-time versus part-time**

14. Part-time teaching employment trends may also reveal a level of uncertain or declining employment stability. Much of part-time employment in the teaching profession is voluntary, a reflection of lifestyle choices for family or other personal reasons. Thus, in the 2013 TALIS survey of lower secondary teachers, the vast majority of part-time teachers (85–90 per cent) have chosen to work part time in countries such as Australia, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Norway and the United Kingdom (England). However, some middle- and high-income countries have rather high percentages of involuntarily employed part-time teachers, a sign of the fragility of employment at a time when public expenditure is under pressure. Approximately 18 per cent of teachers worked part-time on average in the more than 30 reporting countries and education authorities, of which nearly half indicated that they did not have an option to work full time. Between 81 per cent and 96 per cent of part-time teachers in Croatia, Mexico, Poland, Portugal and Serbia indicated that their employment status was the result of the absence of full-time opportunities. The findings are particularly important in Mexico, where almost 60 per cent of surveyed teachers work part time. Similarly, in Chile and Estonia, where nearly one third of lower secondary teachers work part-time (those with less than 50 per cent up to 90 per cent of a full-time equivalent teacher), two-thirds did so because they could not get a full-time job.<sup>15</sup>
15. In this group of countries, there was a very slight downward trend in full-time employment between 2008 and 2013, with half of 16 countries/education authorities reporting increases in part-time employment. The most dramatic change was recorded in Brazil where full-time employment fell from nearly 52 per cent to just over 40 per cent, in a country where half of those employed part time claim to be involuntary. Yet, in most of those countries reporting the highest degree of involuntary part-time employment, the percentage of teachers employed full time actually increased, led by Mexico whose teachers employed full-time rose from 35 per cent to 40 per cent by 2013.<sup>16</sup> There is thus no clear-cut trend overall to suggest that part-time teaching is becoming a new form of job insecurity. The figures do show a very large number of teachers in Latin America's two largest countries with less than full-time employment. Combined with the high percentage of involuntary part-time teaching in other countries noted above, there is a greater degree of job instability than might be expected in a range of middle-income countries of Europe and Latin America.

## **2. Teacher employment status**

### **Public/civil servant: Definitions and concepts**

16. Civil servant teachers are, like other civil servants, employed on the basis of merit defined by standards or criteria (education qualifications, competencies, nationality, age, etc.) established by the public employing authority. These may be central at national or regional level – state, province or equivalent administrative jurisdiction – or local/municipal by the school organizing authority. Teacher civil servants are confirmed in their appointment through a competitive written examination(s), and an oral examination in some countries. Although hired within an education or public civil service framework, which allows for

<sup>15</sup> OECD. *TALIS 2013 Results*. Op. cit., pp. 39–40, 268.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 40, 269.

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postings to a range of jobs within the service, civil service teachers like other teacher categories usually train for jobs and are initially employed within a defined education level from pre-primary to secondary inclusive. A few countries also accord civil service status to teachers in one level (often higher, such as secondary or above) while recognizing teachers in other levels as public salaried employees. After passing any established probationary period, successful candidates are permanently appointed for the duration of their professional career until the fixed retirement age.

17. Teacher civil servants may be employed by the civil or public service authority that employs other civil servants at the appropriate level (for example, public service commission) or by an education sector authority (for example, the Ministry or Department of Education). Employment may be altered or terminated usually for one of several reasons: career progression by promotion or transfer; discipline related to violations of civil service regulations and/or professional ethics/conduct standards; redundancy by reason of structural reorganization or economic/budgetary constraints; and failure to meet performance standards (discussed in section 4, Education reform). Their employment status and conditions are regulated by law, though they may be partially determined by negotiations between employers and teachers or civil service unions/associations. Civil service teachers are usually accorded a range of material and non-material benefits (allowances and incentives, leave, etc.) and guaranteed a public pension on retirement.

### **Public employee: Definitions and concepts**

18. Teachers employed as public employees are hired as salaried employees, usually on an annual basis (although replacement/substitute teachers may often be engaged for shorter periods), for a particular teaching job in pre-primary, primary or secondary education by an employing authority at the appropriate level. This authority is most often at the regional/state/provincial or local/municipal level, for example local school boards. Employment may be conditional on registration or certification by a professional council or administrative board responsible for standards. The basis for hiring is more likely to be an “open” process mixing formal applications in response to announced vacancies in a school, written evidence (proof of qualifications or competencies, for example a portfolio) and personal interviews by an authority human resource director, appointments’ body or school director. As public servants, and following the defined probationary period, these teachers are usually accorded tenure, the equivalent of permanency in civil service. A tenured employment status may be terminated for the same reasons as for civil servants, with economic or funding cutbacks used to justify non-renewal of contracts more common than in the civil service. Increasingly, unsuccessful performance based appraisals are also utilized to alter or terminate employment (section 4, Education reform).
19. The employment relationship and conditions of these teachers may be determined by law or regulation but frequently by collective bargaining agreements negotiated between the employing authority and the teachers’ union/association. Where negotiations are not permitted by law, a public review panel or body may fix service conditions following hearings of the interested parties, as in England (United Kingdom).
20. Contract, “para-” or community teachers in low-income countries or settings represent a special category of public employees. As reviewed below, these teachers are hired on a renewable contract basis with no permanent job guarantees, following minimal initial teacher preparation, and are paid much lower salaries and benefits than civil servant teachers. Their terms of service and management are quite diverse, ranging from central authorities to local authorities and communities.

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## Private employee: Definitions and concepts

21. Private school teachers are generally hired by private school owners, management boards or school directors by contract on a renewable, frequently annual basis. Employment may be conditional on registration or certification by a professional council responsible for standards as for public employees. Private school teachers are also required to undergo probationary periods but this is not uniform. Subject to the private sector labour code or regulations within the education authority (national, regional, local) in which they are employed, their job security is generally less than that of civil servants or other publically employed teachers benefiting from tenure guarantees. This may not always be the case as the example of Belgium and the Netherlands illustrates (section 3). Employment terms and conditions are for the most part determined unilaterally by the school employer, though in some countries unions or associations collectively negotiate the employment conditions of private teachers.
22. Especially in resource-poor countries or regions/states/provinces in Africa or South Asia, however, they are likely to be teachers engaged as contract, “para-”, community or temporary teachers with little or no job security beyond the annual contract, as well as substantially less initial teacher preparation, remuneration and benefits than public sector counterparts (see case studies of Benin, Chad and India, Appendix II(A) and (B)). Private teachers may not have written offers of appointment (as a report from Uganda indicates – Appendix II(A) but they are nevertheless generally subject to the same responsibilities and conditions regulating teaching service laid out in the prevailing education legislation as are their public sector counterparts.

### Trends

23. In the high-income countries of the OECD, civil servants and non-civil service teachers often coexist in national education systems. Of nearly 30 OECD member States reporting on a survey of teacher assessment in 2012, more than half engaged teachers exclusively as civil servants or had mixed regimes in which teacher civil servants (mostly in public schools) worked alongside salaried or contractual teachers (mostly in private schools). Teachers in the remaining countries were engaged primarily if not exclusively as salaried employees, a term that is undefined although may be considered as any status other than that of civil servants, primarily contract teachers as indicated below for the European members of the OECD. Whether or not a country or national education authority employs teachers as civil servants or as salaried employees, fixed-term contracts are allowed in the vast majority. A very few of the surveyed countries (Denmark, Norway, Republic of Korea, Luxembourg) do not allow for fixed-term contracts, although many others place time limits of one to five years’ maximum for such contractual arrangements.<sup>17</sup>

### **Regional trends: Europe**

24. Among European countries, who are also OECD member States, civil service status is more prevalent but not the dominant employment regime. National situations have changed very little in recent years. The continent’s education systems have for some time been split between national systems that favour some form of civil service for teachers and those that employ teachers on a contractual basis, whether in public or private schools. At the beginning of the 2006–07 school year, all or virtually all teachers in ten European

<sup>17</sup> OECD. *Teachers for the 21st Century: Using Evaluation to Improve Teaching* (Paris, OECD Publishing, 2013), pp. 116–119.

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countries surveyed through the Eurydice education network had civil servant<sup>18</sup> or career civil servant<sup>19</sup> status. By 2011–12, 12 countries were included in one of these categories. At the other end of the spectrum, teachers were employed on a contractual basis by the local education authority or school in 16 countries or relevant national education authority<sup>20</sup> in 2006–07, and on the same basis in 17 national authorities by 2011–12. Eight countries in the region had a mixed regime (part career or other civil service, or a mix of civil service and contractual status), depending on whether teachers were employed in public or private schools or by the level of education, i.e. pre-primary, primary or secondary, in 2006–07, with this number dropping slightly to six countries in 2011–12.<sup>21</sup>

### **Regional trends: Africa**

25. The great divide in many African countries, particularly French-speaking, is between civil service and contractual teachers, the latter increasingly engaged over the last 15 years as part of policies to reduce public sector costs, meet teacher shortages, respond to post-conflict needs or as part of decentralization policies. Data from selected countries (figure 1, table 1, latest available years) illustrate trends that have been reported previously in ILO and other studies.<sup>22</sup> The data show a generalized decline in civil service teachers (and also those engaged by communities, usually with government support of some kind) in favour of non-civil service, i.e., contractual teachers. Data reaching back more than a decade when the engagement of contractual teachers gradually became systemic in Central and West Africa confirm these trends in a larger group of African countries, some of whom only have a small percentage of civil service teachers.<sup>23</sup> In Senegal, the first country to launch large-scale contractual teacher hiring in the mid-1990s, the percentage of non-civil service teachers declined only slightly in recent years from 56 per cent in 2004 to 53 per cent in 2009.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> As defined by Eurydice, civil servant status is that of a teacher employed by the public authorities (at central, regional or local level), in accordance with legislation that is distinct from that governing public or private sector contractual relations.

<sup>19</sup> Career civil servant teachers as defined by Eurydice are appointed for life by the appropriate central or regional authorities who are the top-level authority for education.

<sup>20</sup> Belgium is divided into three language distinct communities responsible for education – Flemish, French and German – and the United Kingdom has four distinct geographic education authorities – England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

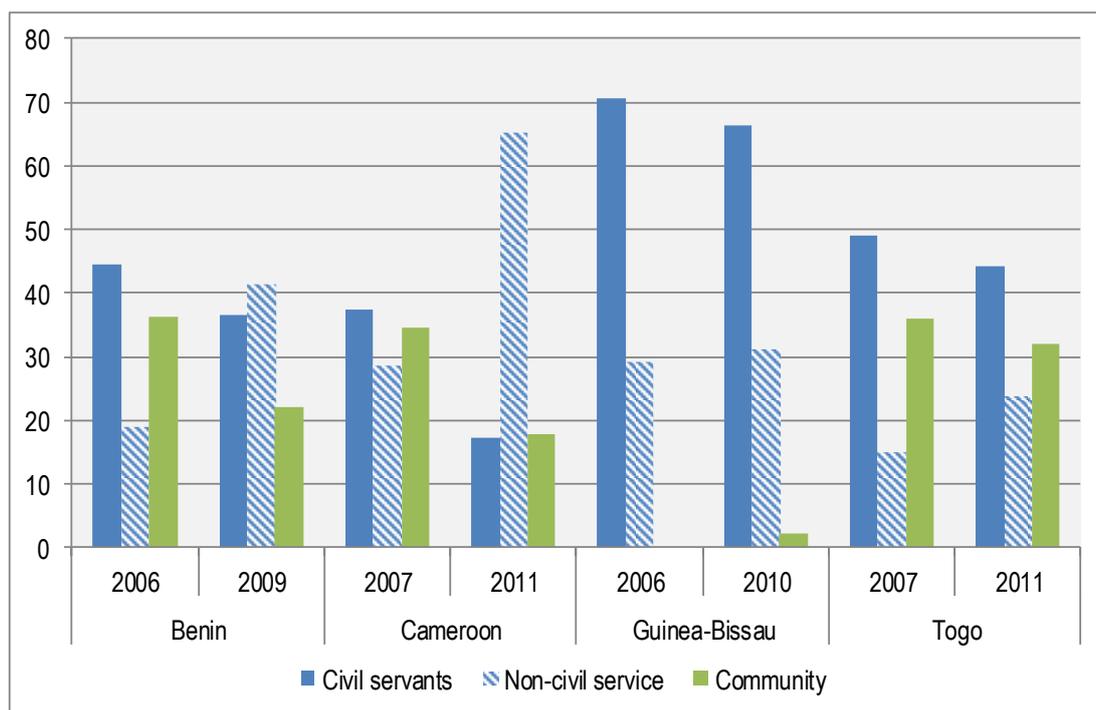
<sup>21</sup> Education, Audiovisual and Cultural Executive Agency (EACEA); Eurydice; Eurostat. *Key Data on Education in Europe*, 2009 edition (Brussels, EACEA, 2009), pp. 163–164; European Commission; EACEA; Eurydice, *Key Data on Teachers and School Leaders in Europe*. 2013 edition. (Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2013), pp. 49–50.

<sup>22</sup> Fyfe, *op. cit.*, 2007, pp. 2–4.

<sup>23</sup> UNESCO, 2014, *op. cit.*, pp. 256–257.

<sup>24</sup> A. Marphatia et al. *The role of teachers in improving learning in Burundi, Malawi, Senegal and Uganda: Great expectations, little support*, The Improving Learning Outcomes in Primary Schools (ILOPS) Project/Research report on teacher quality (London, Institute of Education and Johannesburg, ActionAid, 2010), p. 25; UNESCO/IIEP, Pôle de Dakar, *Indicator Database*, (Dakar, Senegal, UNESCO, 2014), table II.7A7.

**Figure 1. Percentage trends in civil service, non-civil service (contractual) and community-engaged primary school teachers, selected African countries, 2006–11**



Source: UNESCO/IIEP, Pôle de Dakar, 2014, tables II.7A6–II.7A8.

- 26.** Such trends are especially pronounced in fragile States or regions of countries affected by conflict or emergencies. Nearly 40 per cent of teachers in South Sudan were reported to be “volunteer” teachers in 2009–10, while parent and community teachers made up an estimated 40 per cent of teachers in the Central African Republic, both conflict-afflicted countries.<sup>25</sup>

### **Regional trends: Latin America**

- 27.** Unlike Africa, there is little information to show widespread hiring of contract or other less than permanent teachers in the Latin America region. A decade ago contract teachers were reported to constitute 20 per cent of the total teaching force in Chile and 11 per cent in Peru,<sup>26</sup> but it is not clear that such policies have continued or spread. Contract teachers subject to the federal labour code (public schools), which provides some guarantees regarding employment, and temporary teachers represent more than 40 per cent of all teachers in one 2009 household survey in Brazil, and a 2012 report put the number of private (and contract) teachers at 21 per cent of the national total, but no indications if these figures are evolving in one direction or another. Rather, it would seem that at least a

<sup>25</sup> P. Bennell. *A UPEI5 emergency programme for primary school teachers*, Background paper prepared for the Education for All global monitoring report 2012 (Paris, UNESCO, 2012), pp. 14, 32.

<sup>26</sup> Y. Duthilleul. *Lessons learnt in the use of “contract” teachers. Synthesis report* (Paris, UNESCO–IIEP, 2005), p. 12.

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majority and perhaps considerable majority of teachers in the region are civil or public service teachers with permanent contracts or evolving in that direction.<sup>27</sup>

### ***Regional trends: Asia***

28. A similar divide has emerged in certain West and South Asian countries, notably Cambodia, India and Indonesia. In these countries, contract teachers (known widely as “para-” teachers in India) are becoming a larger and larger percentage of all teachers: 16 per cent of all primary teachers in India – where many states reportedly no longer recruit civil service teachers – and 35 per cent of primary school teachers in Indonesia by 2010 (see the case studies in Appendix II for more details).<sup>28</sup>

### ***Job security and attractiveness of teaching***

29. Once qualifications and probationary terms have been satisfied, permanent employment as a civil service or public servant teacher remains a bedrock of the teaching profession in a wide range of countries. The job stability that results is also considered one of the points of attraction to becoming a teacher. Evidence from Latin America is illustrative. In a region where teacher salaries are historically poor compared to other professional jobs, World Bank data from ten Latin American and Caribbean countries up to 2010 showed that teaching offered a higher degree of job stability than other professional sectors, especially for women. Although in one country the unemployment rate of teacher candidates at the beginning of their careers was higher than for other graduates, in the surveyed countries as a whole, following completion of teacher preparation programmes male and female teacher graduates had better prospects of immediate employment than graduates in other fields. Women teacher education graduates maintained this comparative advantage throughout their careers, as they were more likely to stay employed than women with other degrees in the age group 56–65 years old.<sup>29</sup>

## **3. Rights and benefits of different employment relationships and statuses**

### **Teacher shortages, Education for All and contract teachers**

30. In the 1960s as education systems shifted to mass-based approaches based on universal access in scores of new, developing countries, the Recommendation anticipated the need to meet teacher shortages with alternative means of educating and hiring teachers. At the same time, the government and other education experts who authored the standard insisted that such “emergency” programmes should be short term in nature, backed up by a training programme to produce professionally prepared teachers. Moreover, teachers produced under short-term, emergency programmes should be held to the same if not higher standards as those in “normal” professional standards, special professional development arrangements made available to ensure their completion of the required professional

<sup>27</sup> Perazza, op. cit.

<sup>28</sup> UNESCO, 2014, op. cit., p. 258.

<sup>29</sup> B. Bruns, J. Luque, op. cit., pp. 83–84.

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qualifications as soon as possible, and professional supervision of fully qualified teachers be guaranteed to unqualified teachers as a safeguard for teaching and learning.

## Teacher preparation and support of contract teachers

31. The increased use of contract teachers in Africa and Asia has nevertheless elicited concern from the CEART, conscious of the evidence from more than nearly two decades of experiences with contractual and para-teacher policies that the Recommendation's provisions are largely ignored. The CEART experts at the 2009 session observed that appropriate training opportunities and compensation did not normally accompany the increasing use of contract teachers to offset teacher shortages, whose recruitment weighed on education quality and the solidarity of the teaching profession. These positions have been confirmed by country evidence (box 1). As a result, the CEART has urged governments to avoid using short-term strategies such as the appointment of unqualified contract teachers.<sup>30</sup>

### Box 1

#### Professional upgrading of community teachers in Mali

In 2008 community teachers represented 31 per cent of primary school teachers in Mali. These teachers do not have a diploma, and the great majority have attained an educational level between the sixth and ninth year of primary school. Some are former literacy centre auditors or monitors. Prior to taking up teaching, they attend a 110-day "internship" on general knowledge, psychology and the teaching of basic education subjects.

A 2011 study found that government training sessions organized as part of the educational system overhaul of teacher training in all regions designed to improve the quality of teaching and learning actually involved only a small part of community school teachers. From 2007 to 2011, less than 10 per cent of community school staff in the regions under study benefited from such training. Community schools are little consulted in defining the content of continuing education and are often requested only shortly before the training session to send a fairly small number of teachers, many of whom are repeaters to the detriment of broader coverage of the teaching force. In addition to low coverage, identified problems included lack of post-training monitoring and poor application of prior training to classroom practices. Resulting teaching deficiencies included improper or no use of student assessment and failure to communicate effectively with parents on their children's progress.

Sources: EI and NOVIB, 2011: 13–14, 18; Pôle de Dakar, 2014: table II.7A8.

## Low-cost contract teachers

32. Greater recourse to contractual teachers in place of civil service or permanently employed teachers has been promoted on grounds of increased access to education for out-of-school children and cost savings for financially strapped public budgets. There are many potential savings from such a policy, ranging from lowered initial teacher preparation costs to a range of benefits, but by far the largest savings come from lower teacher salaries, which represent up to 90 per cent or more of recurrent (non-capital/infrastructure) expenses in government education budgets.
33. Within the last decade, researchers have documented a great divide between the salaries and benefits of civil service/permanently employed and contractual/para-/community teachers (as the policy-makers who put the systems in place desired and expected). The

<sup>30</sup> ILO–UNESCO, *Report: Joint ILO–UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel*, Tenth Session, Paris, 28 September–2 October 2009 (Paris, UNESCO, 2010), pp. 16, 21, 24–25.

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gaps range from one tenth to one half of permanent teacher salaries in francophone West African and other countries. In 2010, community teachers earned on average one sixth to one third the salary of civil servant teachers in Chad. The average salary for a qualified permanent primary school teacher in Benin was more than twice as much that of a contract teacher and eight times that of community teachers still being employed, while civil servant teachers in secondary schools earned as much as ten times the amount of temporary teachers who make up the vast majority of all secondary teaching staff (Appendix II(A) for both countries). Civil servant teachers in primary and secondary schools earn on average three and two times respectively the salary of their contract teacher colleagues in Niger.<sup>31</sup>

- 34.** The same salary gaps apply to “community” teachers often employed by parents of communities with no or only partially subsidized government education services. In the Central African Republic, these types of teachers accounted for around 40 per cent of the total teaching force and were paid approximately CFA15,000 per month (US\$30) in 2010. In Cameroon, “parent” teachers (*maitres des parents*), whose number had declined but still represented nearly 20 per cent of primary teachers in 2011 (figure 1) were paid CFA20,000 per month (\$40). Community school teachers in Kenya were paid one half of public school teachers in 2004. Recognizing the low absolute salary levels, some international support programmes focus on subsidizing teacher pay without calling into question the overall policy. The international Fast Track Initiative (FTI) consortium launched by the World Bank, which evolved into the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) previously devoted funds in some of its participating countries to increase the level of government funding for community teachers’ pay. Thus, in Madagascar, which allowed recruitment of community teachers well before the 1990s and added a contract teacher recruitment policy in 2003 from 2005 to 2010 the number of subsidized teachers increased from 18,000 to nearly 39,000 (40 per cent of primary teachers) and the amount of subsidy per teachers increased from 30,000 ariary (\$15) to 100,000 ariary (\$100) per month. There is no available evidence on the impact on teachers’ employment and conditions or learning outcomes of such improvements.<sup>32</sup>
- 35.** These salary differences also prevail in South Asia. Averages reported across most of the states of India that engaged “para-teachers” on an annual contract in the mid-2000s ranged from 900 to 3,000 rupees per month, compared to 5,000 rupees (about \$100 at the time) for regular teachers. For example, in Madhya Pradesh State, teachers employed under the Education Guarantee Scheme were paid one sixth of a government teacher, receiving at the time approximately \$20 per month.<sup>33</sup> The gaps have if anything widened along with the practice. More recently, contract teachers are reported to be paid between one fourth and one fifth the monthly salary of civil service teachers, and in some cases as little as one eighth. The gaps could be even wider in Indonesia, where a 2010 estimate suggested that regular teachers can earn between 30 to 40 times the salary of contract teachers (Appendix II(B) for both countries).

<sup>31</sup> République du Niger. 2014. *Programme Sectoriel de l’Education et de la Formation (2014–24)* (Niamey): 47).

<sup>32</sup> A.P.N. Nkengne. “What contexts are favorable for the adoption of the contract teacher policy? The case of the Francophone African countries”, Working Papers DT 2010/1, Institute for Research in the Sociology and Economics of Education (IREDU) (Dijon, IREDU, 2010), pp. 10, 17.

<sup>33</sup> Fyfe, op. cit., pp. 1, 6–7; Bennell, op. cit., p. 31.

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## **Contract teachers: The hidden costs**

36. Although seemingly beneficial for tight public sector budgets, the low salaries of contract teachers, as do low salaries for any type of teacher, can hide other financial and educational costs. Low salaries often oblige teachers to “moonlight” or search for secondary income sources, outside teaching or where possible within, i.e., private tutoring of students. Second, even third jobs outside teaching reduce teacher preparation and teaching time, and may be a source of teacher absenteeism from classrooms, itself widely touted as a major factor in poor learning outcomes, particularly of poor and disadvantaged pupils. Private tutoring has reportedly led to significant abuses of paid teaching time, not to mention considerable additional costs for parents, and unequal opportunities for those who cannot afford such. Data from French-speaking African countries’ education analysis programme (PASEC) suggests that up to one quarter of teachers in Guinea (60 per cent non-civil service primary school teachers in 2005) and Niger (80 per cent non-civil service primary school teachers in 2008) are engaged in secondary income activities. The percentage increases to one half in Mali (48 per cent non-civil service primary school teachers in 2008) and almost three-quarters of teachers in Chad (nearly 70 per cent community school teachers in 2010–11). In Rwanda, by contrast, around 20 per cent of primary schools reported earning secondary income in late 2008, in a country where more than 90 per cent of primary school teachers are civil servants.<sup>34</sup>
37. Paradoxically, the very reason that has led countries to move towards large-scale contract teacher hiring – their relative low salary costs – has led some contract teachers to form unions, negotiate and strike for better benefits. This phenomenon has emerged in a number of African countries in recent years, tending to negate some of the stated benefits. Senegal is a case in point: in the mid-1990s it pioneered large-scale use of initially secondary graduate and tertiary “volunteers” (*volontaires*) before changing their status to contract teachers under pressure from teachers’ unions and the volunteers themselves, accompanied by more training opportunities, higher salaries and other benefits.<sup>35</sup> In Niger, repeated strikes have led to salary concessions by the Government that reduced the salary gap ratio between contract and regular teachers from 3:1 to almost 2:1, one of the factors in influencing government decisions to progressively integrate a percentage of the contract teachers into the civil service under certain conditions.<sup>36</sup>
38. The negative impact of such activities is not confined to Africa. Research in the mid-2000s in Peru revealed that contract teachers, who were paid less and had fewer guarantees of renewed employment than civil service teachers, had higher rates of absenteeism and greater rates of outside employment or income-earning activities, both factors tending to negatively affect teacher effectiveness and learning outcomes.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Bennell, op. cit., p. 32. CONFEMEN; Ministère de l’Enseignement Primaire et de l’Éducation Civique (MEPEC), Tchad. *Améliorer la qualité de l’éducation au Tchad: quels sont les facteurs de réussite?* Évaluation diagnostique PASEC – CONFEMEN (Dakar, PASEC-CONFEMEN, 2012), p. 19; Pôle de Dakar, 2014, op. cit., tables II.7A6-8.

<sup>35</sup> UNESCO–BREDA–Pôle de Dakar. 2009. *Universal Primary Education in Africa: The Teacher Challenge* (Dakar, UNESCO BREDA): p. 81.

<sup>36</sup> République du Niger, *Programme Sectoriel de l’Éducation et de la Formation (2014–24)* (Niamey, 2014), p. 52.

<sup>37</sup> L. Alcazar et al. “Why are teachers absent? Probing service delivery in Peruvian primary schools”, in *International Journal of Educational Research*, 45 (2006), pp. 117–136, 129.

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## 4. The drivers of changes in employment relationships

### Financial crisis, recession and budgetary constraints

39. The financial crisis that struck many countries in 2008 influenced employment and dismissals of teachers especially in those countries that experienced fiscal and public budgetary difficulties. Many European countries facing fiscal and public budgetary difficulties after the 2008 financial crash actually increased the percentage of permanently employed teachers. The evidence is not very clear but there are good reasons to believe that such trends resulted from dismissals or non-renewal of the contracts of newly hired teachers or freezes in new teacher hiring. These trends disproportionately affected newly hired teachers on probation, not having yet obtained civil service status or otherwise without permanent contracts, as well as candidate teachers. The remaining teacher corps therefore became more skewed in favour of longer serving teachers with civil service or permanent contracts.

### External political, financial, and technical pressure

40. The pressure of international education donors, notably the World Bank and like-minded partners, who contribute substantially to the poorest countries in greatest need of funds to sustain their education systems, is a major and well-known factor in adopting more flexible employment policies such as contract, para-teacher and community teacher recruitment. Such policies are considered by these institutions and development agencies as essential to the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and therefore strongly encouraged (in effect imposed) as a conditionality for receiving international aid, often packaged as part of national education sector policies in countries heavily dependent on external aid.<sup>38</sup>
41. The emergence in the 1990s of large-scale recruitment of contract and community teachers in place of permanently employed, better trained and much better paid civil servant teachers in French-speaking countries of West and Central Africa derived in no small part from such influences. Although this drastic shift away from teachers with job security was driven in the first place by public budgetary constraints which made it difficult to continue recruiting the higher salaried civil servants in sufficient numbers to meet strong family and community pressure to achieve universal access to basic education, the trends were underpinned by development partner pressure, notably the policy advice, often linked with education sector loans, of World Bank economists and education specialists.<sup>39</sup>
42. Such pressure may be exercised in other ways, notably through policy-oriented research that seeks to steer countries towards teacher management tools emphasizing a weakening of employment security and more accountability in the guise of performance evaluation systems. A recent World Bank publication (Bruns and Luque, final edition forthcoming in 2015) urges a strengthening of performance evaluation to weed out low performers and undercut traditional job security barriers to dismissals in Latin American countries on the pretext that previous reforms in various countries have had a minimal impact in efforts to improve teaching and learning quality.

<sup>38</sup> Nkengne, 2010, op. cit., pp. 13, 23–24.

<sup>39</sup> UNESCO–BREDA–Pôle de Dakar, 2009, op. cit., pp. 80–86.

## Privatization of education

43. The spread of private education either in place of or as a complement to public education has further contributed to reducing teachers' permanent employment status. As noted above (section 1), almost without exception, teachers in private schools are hired on a contractual basis, renewable annually. Although there are no global statistics on trends in private teacher employment, worldwide private school enrolments in the period 1999–2011 appear to have increased substantially in pre-primary levels, significantly in primary education and represent a substantial percentage of general secondary school enrolments (table 1). The numbers of teachers employed in these schools would likely have increased as much if not more, given evidence presented elsewhere in this paper that low-fee private schools in low-income countries tend to hire more teachers per school at lower salaries.

**Table 1. Enrolments in private schools/institutions as per cent of total enrolments\***

Region/income group	Pre-primary		Primary		Secondary general	
	1999	2011	1999	2011	1999	2011
World	28	33	7	9	na	13
Low income	na	55	9	11	na	16
Middle income	24	27	6	8	na	12
High income	33	34	7	10	na	13

\*All figures are median; those from 1999 and 2011 are not necessarily based on the same number of countries.

na: Not available.

Source: UNESCO, 2014: tables 3B, 5.

## Education reform

44. Education reform grounds increasingly constitute a major driver of changes in tenure or permanent employment provisions. Reforms result from different policy concerns, among which teacher effectiveness related to better learning outcomes for a part or all of the learner population. One trend is to tie forms of teacher evaluation based on performance to decisions granting or maintaining tenure, permanent or continuing employment. Such trends are particularly prevalent in the United States and may have significant impact on tenure decisions, teacher employment relationships and professionalism (box 2).

### Box 2

#### Tenure and performance evaluation in the United States \*

In the United States some 20 states have now adopted legislation mandating, encouraging or permitting local school districts to incorporate "objective" measures of student achievement, i.e. standardized test score results or "value-added measurements" as significant components of teacher evaluation in addition to other, more traditional, forms of evaluation such as observation. Greater teacher "effectiveness" to improve student learning is usually the stated goal. Sixteen (16) states now require the results of such teacher performance evaluations to be used in decisions to grant tenure or non-probationary status, a significant increase between 2011 and 2014. Seven (7) states have legislation returning tenure or non-probationary teachers to probationary status if they receive ineffective ratings, usually as a result of two or three consecutive negative teacher evaluations. One fifth of all states require school districts to consider performance in deciding which teachers to lay off when declining enrolments or economic factors necessitate reductions of the teaching force and/or explicitly prohibit the use of tenure or seniority as a primary factor in making lay-off decisions. Critics contend that the performance criteria are arbitrary and rigid in application and risk creating employment conflicts based on lack of due process, in addition to undermining teacher professionalism.

A recent study of a reformed teacher evaluation process linked to tenure decisions in the city of New York (NYC) showed a substantial drop in the percentage of eligible teachers approved for tenure from 94 to 56 per cent within four years of the reform's implementation (2009–13). The vast majority of eligible teachers who were

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not initially approved for tenure following the end of the probationary period had their probationary period extended for one or more years. The reasons advanced for these decisions, made solely by principals based on short classroom observation and results of standardized test scores, were to provide more opportunity for the extended teachers to demonstrate the skills necessary for effective teaching and for education district decision-makers to better assess teachers' performance. Among the findings were:

- extending the probationary period meaningfully increased the likelihood a teacher would transfer to another school or to leave teaching in NYC;
- teachers in schools with disproportionate shares of black and low-performing students were more likely to be extended;
- the proportion of eligible teachers denied tenure outright rose from 2 to 3 per cent.

\* B.D. Baker, J.O. Oluwole, P.C. Green, "The legal consequences of mandating high stakes decisions based on low quality information: Teacher evaluation in the race to the top era", *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 21 (5) 2013, pp. 4–7. J. Thomsen. "A closer look: Teacher evaluations and reduction-in-force policies" in *Teacher tenure trends in state laws* (Denver, CO, Education Commission of the States, 2014). S. Loeb, L.C., Miller, J. Wyckoff. *Performance Screens for School Improvement: The Case of Teacher Tenure Reform in New York City* (Palo Alto, CA, Teacher Policy Research consortium – TPR, 2014), pp. 1, 6–8.

45. Performance evaluation-based reforms that limit job security have been reported in Latin America as well. A recent World Bank monograph contends that legislation within the last decade in a number of countries affect teachers assessed as performing poorly. According to this source, provisions usually provide or allow for dismissal after two consecutive unsatisfactory assessments in annual evaluations (sandwiched around remedial training) in for example Colombia (2002 teacher reform) and Chile (2004 teacher evaluation system for municipal teachers), with similar provisions in other countries: Argentina (Buenos Aires – no date or specific reform indicated); Ecuador (2009 teacher career path); and Peru (2012 teacher reform). However, the number of teachers dismissed as a result of such reforms is also reported to be very small, well below 5 per cent per year. More recent legislation adopted in 2011 in Chile reportedly allows municipal school directors to dismiss up to 5 per cent of teachers each year on performance grounds, defined quite broadly, a reform in line with publicly subsidized (voucher) schools, which follow private labour law.<sup>40</sup>

46. In Asian countries, performance evaluation systems that have potential consequences for teacher employment have been put into place in high-income countries such as Singapore and Japan, but with different goals and outcomes than those recently applied in the United States and for some years in certain Latin American countries. The "evidence" from Singapore is contradictory at best. World Bank researchers contend that the Enhanced Performance Management System regularly evaluates all teachers and the lowest performing 5 per cent of teachers are "counselled out" of the profession.<sup>41</sup> Other researchers point to feedback from Singapore education authorities that the performance management system in Singapore is largely geared towards constant improvement, rather than dismissal of low-performing teachers, which is considered a low priority except in cases of serious misconduct. The objectives rather are to build up the attractiveness of teaching for future candidates, and the evidence of universally acknowledged high recruitment standards points to the success of the performance management system in realizing this objective. Attrition statistics support this view: it is estimated that less than

<sup>40</sup> B. Bruns, J. Luque, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, p. 231.

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3 per cent of teachers leave the profession each year for various reasons excluding retirement, suggesting that dismissals are a very small part of this exodus.<sup>42</sup>

47. Equity issues are another factor actually or potentially influencing changes in tenure conditions. Again in the United States, a June 2014 court decision in the state of California, ruled that teacher tenure laws violated the state's constitution on equity and quality grounds. The judicial decision could have wide-ranging implications for teacher tenure but it is being appealed and there are no known consequences at the time this report was drafted.<sup>43</sup>
48. New types of schools represent still another education reform effort with impact on teacher employment relationships and status. In the United States, the establishment of charter schools as alternatives to traditional public schools have gained momentum in recent years. Common features include less regulated management practices, more flexible working schedules, lack of job security for teachers, who tend to be younger and more inexperienced than their traditional public school counterparts and, until very recently, absence of, indeed hostility to, teacher unions. Research has shown that charter school teachers were far more likely to leave teaching and to change schools than their counterparts in traditional public schools as a whole, though some researchers also attributed the results to factors of teacher and student (poor and urban) characteristics. Especially revealing was that charter school teachers were more likely to leave because of a lack of job security, workload and workplace issues,<sup>44</sup> all factors susceptible to being moderated by collective bargaining agreements, which do not exist in most charter schools. Management and workplace flexibility in these schools did not so much as remove underperforming teachers (one of the claims for their success) as to create deliberately chosen departures, which were dysfunctional for the school and its students.

## 5. Costs and benefits of a mix of employment relationships

### Employment status and learning outcomes

49. Arguments made in support of greater flexibility in teaching employment status in developing countries rely in part on evidence that the lowered costs of engaging contractual, para-professional or community teachers is justified by student results at a par with or sometimes at higher levels than those taught by civil service or permanently engaged teachers with longer initial education/training programmes and better job security. Evidence from a number of countries suggests the opposite. In Togo, 60 per cent of

<sup>42</sup> C.K.-E. Lee, M.Y. Tan. "Rating Teachers and Rewarding Teacher Performance: The Context of Singapore", Paper presented at the APEC Conference on Replicating Exemplary Practices in Mathematics Education, Koh Samui, Thailand, 7–12 March 2010; L. Steiner, *Using Competency-Based Evaluation to Drive Teacher Excellence: Lessons from Singapore*, (Chapel Hill, NC, Public Impact, 2010), pp. 12–13.

<sup>43</sup> J. Medina. "Judge Rejects Teacher Tenure for California", in *International New York Times*, 10 June 2014.

<sup>44</sup> Center on Reinventing Public Education (CRPE). *Teacher Attrition in Charter vs. District Schools, National Charter School Research Project* (Seattle, WA, University of Washington, 2010), pp. 1–3. D.A. Stuit; T.M. Smith. *Teacher Turnover in Charter Schools* (Nashville, TN, National Center on School Choice, Vanderbilt University, 2010), pp. 1–3.

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students in the second year of primary school and 76 per cent of those in the fifth year of primary school are taught by civil service teachers while 27 per cent and 9 per cent respectively are taught by voluntary teachers engaged by communities, with or without government subsidies. Results of pupils' test scores show that those taught by voluntary teachers in the fifth year perform less well than those taught by non-voluntary teachers, with as much as 18 per cent difference in results.<sup>45</sup> Though not conclusive, some evidence from Niger, which is in its fifteenth year of a contractual teacher policy, suggests that student results are negatively impacted when a school is staffed entirely by contract teachers, but positively affected by a mixed staffing arrangement in which less than 50 per cent are contract teachers.<sup>46</sup>

- 50.** As part of policy prescriptions urging greater emphasis on teacher appraisal systems to “weed out” (dismiss) teachers judged poorly performing or incompetent, World Bank researchers cite education economist research from the United States to the effect that systematically targeting the lowest 5 per cent or more of teachers annually for “de-selection” can produce large gains in student learning over time.<sup>47</sup> Other researchers have pointed out the weaknesses in such research (including unsupported findings related to teacher appraisal systems) and the recommended policies, notably the absence of references to internal school system or external societal factors affecting teacher effectiveness: (1) the poor teaching and learning conditions, compounded by poverty of the students and their families, that discourage teachers from working in disadvantaged areas (including many considered “effective”), causing high rates of attrition, turnover that itself is disruptive of good learning conditions and elevated costs to replace departing teachers; (2) the assignment of teachers to subjects that they know little or nothing about because of shortages in learning subjects such as mathematics and sciences; (3) the absolute shortage of qualified teachers willing to teach in disadvantaged areas even before selective dismissals of a certain percentage of teachers, making it highly unlikely that those judged to be the worst performing would be replaced by anyone more competent; and (4) the general lack of support in the form of systemized induction, mentoring and continual professional development that help correct for teacher competency and skill deficiencies in challenging work environments.<sup>48</sup>
- 51.** These external factors are also remarked in private compared to public schools. In the state of Andhra Pradesh, India, 26 per cent of private school students belong to the poorest 40 per cent of households compared with 70 per cent of students in government schools. An estimated one third of teachers in government schools teach students of different ages in multi-grade classrooms compared with only 3 per cent in private schools.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Conférence des ministres de l'Éducation des pays ayant le français en partage (CONFEMEN); Ministère des Enseignements primaire, secondaire et de l'Alphabétisation (MEPSA) du Togo, *Rapport PASEC République Togolaise 2012: Améliorer la qualité de l'éducation au Togo: Les facteurs de réussite* (Dakar, Senegal, PASEC, CONFEMEN, 2012), p. 71.

<sup>46</sup> République du Niger, 2014, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>47</sup> B. Bruns, J. Luque, op. cit., p. 36, citing for example E. Hanushek, “The economic value of higher teacher quality”, in *Economics of Education Review*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, June 2011, pp. 466–479.

<sup>48</sup> K. Futernick, “Incompetent Teachers or Dysfunctional Systems?”, in *Phi Delta Kappan*, Oct. 2010, Vol. 92, No. 2, pp. 59–64.

<sup>49</sup> UNESCO, 2014, op. cit., p. 33.

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52. However, contract teacher hiring in private schools, particularly in low fee private schools in poorer countries or regions, which is almost always accompanied by lower salaries in such contexts, can result in better pupil–teacher ratios (PTR), class sizes and teacher–pupil interaction, since more teachers can be hired with the lower salaries. Private schools in parts of Nairobi, Kenya, reportedly have 15 students per teacher, compared with 80 in government schools. In Andhra Pradesh, India, with a growing number of contract teachers, 82 per cent of teachers in private schools regularly corrected exercises given to children, compared with only 40 per cent in government schools. Nevertheless, pupil results from private schools in the state have been only slightly better than those for government schools.<sup>50</sup>
53. Given the institutionalization and apparent permanence of contract teaching as a major if not dominant form of recruitment in many poor countries of West and Central Africa, it may also be the case that initial or continual teacher education will improve over time. One example is provided by Niger’s newest education sector plan (2014), which calls for the continuation and extension of contract teacher recruitment. At the same time, the plan indicates a reorientation of teacher recruitment policy towards hiring of new contract teachers only from among graduates of primary teacher training institutes, whose number and training capacity are expected to be increased in the future. A 2012 programme to provide at least a minimum training (21 days) prior to beginning teaching for secondary school contract teachers recruited from universities is set to continue.<sup>51</sup> Other countries in the region such as Senegal have undertaken reforms in this direction in recent years also as the limits of under-trained and qualified teachers became apparent, without at the same time renouncing contract teacher recruitment as a cornerstone of teacher policy.

## 6. Other developments derived from changing employment relationships

### Social security

54. In addition to lower salaries, from one third to one eighth the earnings of civil service or equivalently employed teachers as noted above (section 3), contract teachers frequently do not enjoy benefits such as social security, despite policies adopted in recent years to improve their conditions. For example, low fee private school teachers hired on a contractual basis in Kenya school districts do not receive the pension and health insurance benefits available to government teachers.<sup>52</sup> Whereas many contractual private school teachers do enjoy such benefits, jointly financed by employers and teachers as in the public sector and usually a part of any negotiated agreements between unions and employers, the guarantees are not automatic or universal despite international standards on the subject. Japan is an example of one country which has for decades assured parity between public civil servant teachers and private contractual teachers, though they each belong to different schemes. Private teachers in the United States also benefit from social employer-furnished social security coverage.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *ibid*, pp. 272–273.

<sup>51</sup> République du Niger, 2014, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 20.

<sup>52</sup> UNESCO, 2014, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>53</sup> ILO, 2012, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 192.

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## 7. Summing up and looking to the future

- 55.** The available data on teachers' employment status indicates that education systems in a majority of countries and regions continue to employ most of their teachers on civil or public service contracts that guarantee permanent status once professional entry qualifications and probationary periods are obtained. A large majority of middle- and high-income countries continue to favour permanent, full-time employment (more than 80 per cent of teachers) over fixed-term contractual arrangements, though there are signs that the latter is gaining ground – several countries now employ significant numbers of teachers on multi-year, fixed-term contracts. Low-income countries in Africa and Asia facing large-scale quantitative teacher shortages and/or reduced education investments or budgetary shortfalls have increasingly turned to engaging large numbers of contract teachers on fixed terms of one to three years' duration. Even if the majority of these teacher contracts are easily renewed, their contractual status from year to year is more precarious than their permanent or tenured public sector counterparts. Though still a relatively small part of global teacher employment, private education is growing and therefore the share of pre-primary, primary and secondary teachers employed on a contractual basis with little or no job security from year to year, except as altered by specific national labour legislation or collective bargaining agreements. Job stability in the teaching profession remains generally strong but is eroding in many parts of the world for a variety of reasons.
- 56.** Economic and budgetary considerations are a major driver of change. The difficulties experienced by many high-income countries in the five years beginning with the 2008 financial crash did not apparently provoke widespread weakening of public employment guarantees (most OECD countries showed increased or stable permanent employment figures during this period) though they did result in hiring freezes and most probably a greater proportion of entry level or other non-permanent/tenured teachers obliged to leave teaching at least temporarily. Additionally, some middle- and high-income countries have rather high percentages of involuntarily employed part-time teachers. On average half of part-time teachers claim that they do not have an option to work full time, a proxy for employment fragility at a time when public expenditure is under pressure. Economic and budgetary reasons have also led large numbers of low-income countries of West and Central Africa and regions of India to substantially reduce civil service teachers (and also those engaged by communities in African countries, usually with government support of some kind) in favour of non-civil service, contract teachers. Countries in French-speaking Africa now have from 50 per cent to more than 80 per cent of teachers recruited and employed on renewable contracts, and have frozen or carefully limited hiring of new teacher civil servants. Such trends are especially pronounced in fragile States or regions of countries affected by conflict or emergencies.
- 57.** Teacher professionalism and conditions have suffered as a result in low-income countries. Despite international policy recommendations to reinforce teacher professionalism and effectiveness in order to improve learning outcomes, and adoption of some modest national policies along the lines of better pre-service and continual professional development, both forms of training of contract teachers in Africa and India remain minimalist at best, and often not available to large numbers of these teachers. Average salaries have dropped, increasing motivation difficulties if not recruitment and retention. Despite large-scale recruitment of contract teachers in Africa, teacher–pupil ratios and therefore class sizes remain excessively high as high birth rates and growing enrolments maintain pressure on education systems trying hard to achieve universal access at least to basic education.
- 58.** Changing teacher employment relationships also derive from education reform efforts and assume that a trade-off of tenure or civil service employment guarantees are necessary and desirable to enhance education quality and equity. Performance-related teacher evaluation trends and very recently direct legal challenges to tenure, both in the name of improved

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teacher effectiveness and greater equity for disadvantaged students especially, are threatening tenure of public sector teachers in the United States. Calls for ending or reducing permanent employment guarantees in Latin American countries follow a similar reasoning though their impact so far has been limited. The same rationales have been advanced as justification for widespread contract teacher employment in Africa and Asia.

- 59.** Ironically, the evidence is weak and conflicting that fewer job guarantees for public sector teachers in high-income countries like the United States, or more contract teachers in Africa and Asia will improve education. Attrition rates of young teachers in the United States have reached staggering proportions (40 per cent or more are expected to leave teaching within five years of starting), and combined with declining teaching conditions especially in disadvantaged urban areas, the move towards less job security and professional autonomy is likely to accelerate the trend. The resulting human resource and pedagogical costs of such instability are very high. The hidden costs of greater job flexibility in teaching remain to be fully measured.
- 60.** Privatization and external development partner lobbying are additional sources of greater employment flexibility. Private education offers as a percentage of total education provision is steadily growing, itself driven by access, equity and quality concerns. To the extent that such growth is a complement to, rather than a substitute for, more job security guarantees in public sector employment, the direct impact will be minimal. Nevertheless, the greater numbers of private, contract teachers has the potential in the long run, if not already, to cast a shadow over the fundamental reasons for job stability as a factor in educational access and quality except in countries whose policies continue to emphasize high quality, professional and publicly employed teachers as the backbone of high performing systems. The pressures of international development partners' perspectives, backed up by much-needed education loans, on many poor country policies to replace permanent by low-cost, poorly trained and demotivated contract teachers, has in any case already proven effective in diminishing job security in these countries.
- 61.** Recent trends point to the likelihood that permanent, tenure-based teacher employment will continue to erode in coming years as pressures from many drivers of changes in educational and teacher practice grow. The most important change factors are likely to be financial and performance-related. Without discounting the former, the latter set of factors which pretend to prioritize education quality and equity issues over teacher job security, while ignoring evidence that such policies actually undermine basic education objectives, shapes up as the principal teacher policy fault line of the future. In short, greater or less teacher job security as defined by employment relationships will be determined by a choice between higher professionalism in all its dimensions or stricter accountability for results.



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## Appendix I

Table 1. Percentage trends in civil service, non-civil service (contractual) and community-engaged teachers, selected African countries, 2006–11

Category	Benin		Cameroon		Guinea-Bissau		Togo	
	2006	2009	2007	2011	2006	2010	2007	2011
Civil servants	44.6	36.7	37.4	17.2	70.7	66.5	49	44.3
Non-civil service	19.1	41.3	28.5	65.2	29.3	31.2	15	23.7
Community	36.3	22.0	34.7	17.7	0	2.2	36	32.0

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## Appendix II

### Country case studies

#### A. Africa

##### Uganda

Management and provision of education in Uganda is largely the responsibility of local governments. The central Government through the Ministry of Education and Sport (MOES) maintains responsibility for policy formulation, teacher training and curriculum development standards and examinations.

Estimates in 2010 put the number of primary and secondary teachers at more than 265,000, with another 20,000 in pre-primary centres (2011). Teachers in private schools represented 31 per cent of primary and 68 per cent of secondary teachers; the percentage of private pre-primary teachers is assumed to be 100 per cent, the same as the percentage of enrolments in private institutions. Almost all teachers in government primary schools were judged to be qualified to national standards but more than a third of private primary teachers were considered under-qualified. In secondary schools, 6 per cent of government-employed teachers and 21 per cent of privately employed teachers were estimated to be under-qualified in 2010. Uganda invested 3.3 per cent of its GDP in education in 2012, below the average of most low-income countries. Public expenditure on education represented 15 per cent of total government expenditure while recurrent expenditure on education (from which teacher salaries are financed) has fallen in the last decade to 19 per cent of government recurrent expenditure, also below other low-income countries. Teacher salaries now represent 85 per cent of recurrent expenditure in primary education. Teacher education expenditure has been particularly hard hit, falling by more than half in the period 2003–11 (Uganda MOES/UNESCO IIEP–Pôle de Dakar, 2014; UNESCO, 2014; UNESCO–UIS, 2014).

Teachers in Uganda undergo state-approved training and are registered or licensed (up to a maximum of six years if not properly trained) by the MOES under The Education Act 2008. Confirmation of appointment occurs after an initial probationary period of six months and successful appraisal or extension for another six months depending on performance. If no confirmation after the second probationary period, appointment is terminated. Procedures exist to appeal a government decision not to register, to license, to deregister or to remove a teacher from the roll of licensed teachers, as well as to restore individuals to registered or licensed status. There is no information on the percentage of would-be teachers who fail to achieve teacher confirmation, but given the acute teacher shortage, it is not likely to be very high. District Service Commissions appoint public primary school teachers while the centralized Education Service Commission appoints public secondary teachers. Private sector teachers are engaged directly at the school level by the board of governors or management committees. Once confirmed, public school teachers are permanently employed and pensionable. Private school teachers are employed on a contractual basis, sometimes without written offers. Public and private teachers are both subject to the conditions laid out in the prevailing education legislation (GoU, 2008; Wajega, 2014).

Uganda's Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) was revised in 2007 with the objective among others to increase the attractiveness of the teaching profession through the introduction of a new career ladder for teachers and school administrators as part of the scheme of service along with differentiated salaries according to status. However, the new scheme of service does not appear to have significantly altered the relatively flat career structure for teachers. The Government adopted a plan to increase teacher salaries by 50 per cent over the period 2012–15 (the great majority of primary teachers earned between 275,000–320,000 Ugandan shillings/month in 2011, approximately \$100–120) but the plan has not been fully implemented. The public service wage bill remains constrained and recruitment has fallen far behind the explosive growth of enrolments. The officially set nationwide pupil–teacher ratio (PTR) is 57:1. This is the threshold for new recruitment (over 57 students per class, a school is authorized to request an additional teacher), but half of the districts have PTRs that exceed 60:1 in government schools. With 2011 teacher attrition rates of 4 per cent in government primary schools (an estimated 4.5 per cent in private) and 5 per cent in secondary schools (5.5 per cent in private) as many as 10,000 teachers leave the profession each year in a system that already faces considerable shortages. The number of graduates from teacher education programmes is not sufficient to cover the numbers of primary teachers leaving but

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reportedly more than sufficient to cover the secondary teacher attrition even with enrolment increases (Uganda MOES/UNESCO IIEP–Pôle de Dakar, 2014). The heavier demand for places in secondary teacher education programmes may reflect the much higher salaries, up to double those of primary teachers.

A principal reason for attrition and difficulties in recruitment derives from teacher job dissatisfaction related to low salaries generally and poor housing, social service and professional development opportunities in rural areas especially. Half or more of teachers in recent surveys of primary school teachers and female teachers reported low or very low satisfaction with teaching jobs. Dissatisfaction with low salaries compared to other civil servants (although comparisons suggest that teachers are paid as much if not slightly more than equivalent civil servants) and non-teaching private sector jobs affected more than half of surveyed teachers. The lack of housing, transport and other allowances as incentives for work in rural areas is generally reported and targeted along with personal insecurity as major factors in relatively low levels of female teacher recruitment and retention in rural areas (more than half of female teachers report being obliged to walk or cycle several kilometres to and from school each day, with significant impact on classroom time management and absenteeism). Job dissatisfaction tends to increase with higher qualifications, age and more experience, and may explain retention difficulties suggested by attrition rates. More than 80 per cent of primary school teachers in a 2012 survey responded that they would like to leave teaching for administrative jobs in education or private sector jobs within the next two years. One survey of female teachers suggested that conditions are poorer in private schools but the evidence is not conclusive, nor is there other evidence that the reduced job security derived from renewable contracts in private schools has significantly affected employment, salaries or other conditions (Uganda MOES/UNESCO IIEP–Pôle de Dakar, 2014; Uganda MOES and UNICEF, 2012; Wajega, 2014).

In summary, significant changes in employment relationships are not evident in Uganda, although private school teachers, of which the majority in secondary education, have less job security than public sector counterparts. The employment conditions and the status of Ugandan teachers are generally low, in greater part due to the low levels of national and government resources invested in education and therefore teacher education, salaries and benefits than flexibility in contractual arrangements.

## French-speaking countries: Chad, Benin

### Chad

Education is nominally the responsibility of the central Government in Chad, but in reality the majority of pupils attend community schools financed by the communities, which represented 52 per cent of all schools nationwide in 2011, urban and rural areas combined. Private religious and secular schooling is limited (7 per cent nationwide), is almost exclusively in urban areas and financed entirely by families. The number of primary and secondary teachers was reported to be 45,000 in 2011, plus less than 1,000 in pre-primary centres. Women represented a mere 15 per cent of primary and 7 per cent of secondary teachers. An estimated 70 per cent of teachers in the country are “community” teachers (*mâtres communautaires*) who are partially financed by the community, partially by government funds. The percentage appears to have increased over time, a 2003 estimate putting the number at 62 per cent. In addition to community schools, these teachers work in public (40 per cent of teachers in 2010) and private schools throughout the country. Chad invested 3.2 per cent of its GNP (public expenditures) on education in 2011, with public expenditure on education representing 11.8 per cent of total government expenditure, both figures among the lowest of low-income countries (CONFEMEN and MEPEC, 2012b; UNESCO, 2014; UNESCO/IIEP, Pôle de Dakar, 2014).

The large percentage of community teachers receive minimal pre-service training, ranging from 45 to 75 days for the three categories. Fifty per cent are subsidized by the Government, with the intention in the future to “upgrade” community teachers to contract teachers. Approximately 3,000 teachers are educated annually in government training programmes but most do not find jobs in the civil service. Rather they become community teachers, mostly in urban areas, until a civil service post opens up. More than 20 per cent of community teachers in 2010 possessed the government organized training diplomas (CONFEMEN and MEPEC, 2012b).

Employment terms and teaching/learning conditions in Chad are poor. Monthly community teacher salaries (2010) ranged from 11,000 to 27,000 FCFA (approximately \$22–54). Especially in

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urban areas their salaries may be covered partially or wholly by families. Civil service teachers earned 64,000–86,000 FCFA in 2010, approximately \$125–170. The estimated PTR in primary schools is 63:1, well above the official standard of 50:1 and one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa, whereas in lower secondary education it is 44:1 and in secondary education as a whole 32:1. These averages no doubt translate into wide disparities by region, not to mention effective class sizes and quality of learning, since given the high percentage of minimally trained community teachers, the nationwide ratio of primary pupils to trained teachers is 101:1. Provision of teaching materials and infrastructure is also poor. Partly as a result, approximately 50 per cent of primary school pupils in rural areas are in multi-grade classes. Demotivation of teachers appears high based on reports that 50 per cent of all teachers would like to change schools. Teacher absenteeism averages two days per month but there is no information on the reasons for such absenteeism (CONFEMEN and MEPEC, 2012b).

Despite the high rate of pupils who fail to complete primary school – less than four in ten – the 2012 CONFEMEN report on education in Chad contends that community teachers are no less effective than regularly trained teachers measured by pupils’ standardized French and mathematics test results. However, the great mix of teachers by training and employment status, ranging from minimally trained community teachers of only 45 days to those trained in government programmes but engaged as community teachers, blurs the picture. The greater recognition of community teachers and improvements in salaries in recent years has steadily attracted a greater percentage of young people with a high school diploma (*baccalauréat*) who cannot obtain civil service jobs but view a community teacher’s position as a springboard to public service employment. The CONFEMEN report, however, places more weight on pupil success derived from teachers who have undergone at least a few days of professional development within the last two years, reportedly three-quarters of surveyed teachers. High rates of multi-grade teaching in rural areas do not appear to negatively affect learning results, one explanation being that most of these classes have much lower class sizes, in the range of 40 pupils per teacher (CONFEMEN and MEPEC, 2012b; UNESCO, 2014).

In sum, teachers in Chad have a high rate of non-permanent status as community teachers, low levels of initial education with minimal continual professional development, poor teaching and learning conditions, and despite government subsidies in recent years to help improve salaries, extremely low salaries. A major, no doubt the principal, contributing factor is the extremely low level of public sector investment in education, which cannot be offset by private sector contributions given the low average income of most families. Teacher motivation appears low but the lack of formal sector employment opportunities continues to encourage young people to seek even minimalist, community teacher training and status in hopes of securing permanent, public sector jobs. The poor level of learning results in the country would appear to be due more to the “disinvestment” in education than the contractual status of teachers.

## Benin

Education is principally the responsibility of the national Government. Private education has nevertheless grown since 1999 to 16 per cent of primary and 19 per cent of secondary education enrolments (2011); the Government projects a further increase in secondary schools by 2020 accompanied by public subsidies in the order of 10–15 per cent per student. There were an estimated more than 49,000 pre-primary and primary teachers in Benin in 2012, of which 70 per cent females in pre-primary and merely 21 per cent in primary. A 2010 estimate put the number of general secondary teachers at more than 38,000, of which women represented approximately 7 per cent. The percentage of women teachers are among the lowest percentages in the world. Benin invested 5.4 per cent of its GNP (public sector) in education and spent 25–29 per cent<sup>1</sup> of total government expenditure on education in 2010, both figures well above the average for sub-Saharan African countries. At the same time, households in Benin contributed by one estimate over 50 per cent of the total national recurrent education expenditures in primary and secondary schools, also among the highest in sub-Saharan Africa (*Équipe nationale du Bénin*, UNESCO – IIEP Pôle de Dakar, 2014; Ministères en charge de l’éducation, République du Bénin, 2013; UNESCO, 2014; UNESCO/IIEP, Pôle de Dakar, 2014; UNESCO–UIS, 2014).

<sup>1</sup> The estimates vary between UNESCO, UNESCO-UIS and IIEP, Pôle de Dakar figures.

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Permanently employed civil service teachers comprised a small minority of all teachers in Benin in 2010, representing 16 per cent of pre-primary, 36 per cent of primary and only 4 per cent of secondary teachers. Contract teachers formed the large majority of pre-primary and primary teachers, and a sizeable number of those employed in secondary schools, while temporary teachers (*vacataires*) were the overwhelming majority of secondary school teachers (76 per cent). Private schools are staffed entirely by contract, community or temporary teachers. Since 2007, the Government has implemented a policy of converting locally recruited community and contract teachers into contract teachers employed by the Government, although several thousand remain officially or unofficially declared community teachers. The policy has led to more contract teachers with greater job security than previously offered as a community teacher, but at the expense of permanently employed civil service teachers whose number is declining because of a recruitment freeze, to the point that more than 70 per cent of primary schools have none or less than 50 per cent of these teachers. The academic and professional standards of teachers recruited as locally contracted or community teachers is also very low (BREDA/Pôle de Dakar; République du Bénin, 2011; Équipe nationale du Bénin, UNESCO – IPE Pôle de Dakar, 2014; Ministères en charge de l'éducation, République du Bénin, 2013).

Remuneration of teachers varies considerably by employment status. A substantial salary increase of 25 per cent was accorded to civil servant and government-employed contract teachers in 2008 as part of efforts to upgrade teachers' status, and further improvements in salary scales were made in 2010–11. In 2010, qualified civil service primary school teachers earned an average of 3.4 million CFA/year (approximately €5,200), whereas qualified civil service secondary teachers earned 4.3–4.7 million CFA/year (€6,600–7,200).<sup>2</sup> However, the large number of contract teachers in primary schools were paid approximately 50 per cent or less that of civil service teachers (the locally recruited community teachers still waiting upgrading to contract status received considerably less – 12 per cent of civil service salaries) whereas the overwhelming majority of temporary teachers in secondary schools earned 10 per cent or less that of civil service teachers (for part-time work, amount not specified). These wide disparities are used as evidence by external reviews of Benin's education system to show the high cost of civil service teachers (9–12 times GDP per capita) compared to contract and temporary teachers (one to six times GDP) and the essential place of the latter in keeping down education's costs. Teacher salaries altogether represent more than 90 per cent and 80 per cent of recurrent expenditures at primary and secondary level respectively (BREDA/Pôle de Dakar; République du Bénin, 2011; Équipe nationale du Bénin, UNESCO – IPE Pôle de Dakar, 2014; Ministères en charge de l'éducation, République du Bénin, 2013).

Teaching/learning conditions in the country are relatively low. The average PTR in primary schools was 46:1 (2011), 52:1 in lower secondary and 47:1 in upper secondary (2010) with the Government targeting only slight reductions in these ratios by 2015 given the recruitment difficulties. National averages hide disparities among schools: nearly 25 per cent of primary schools have an average PTR of 60:1 or higher, one sign of wide malfunctioning of teacher deployment. In terms of infrastructure, less than 40 per cent of primary schools were judged to have all of their classes in an acceptable state. The poor salaries of temporary and contract teachers and generally poor conditions have led to cyclical strikes in schools in recent years, sometimes lasting up to three months and causing by one estimate the loss of nearly half of mandated classroom teaching time in public schools (reportedly less in private schools but there are no statistical comparisons available). Teaching time lost to strikes has reached the point that the Government has made enhanced social dialogue with the many teachers' unions in the country a major component of its revised education sector plan to reduce the frequency and impact of strikes on learning time. Absenteeism is also due in large part to teacher illness (HIV, malaria) and poor salary management. There is no recent data, however, to indicate if teacher dissatisfaction recorded some years ago (one third of primary school teachers would not choose again to become teachers) has changed (BREDA/Pôle de Dakar; République du Bénin, 2011; Équipe nationale du Bénin, UNESCO – IPE Pôle de Dakar, 2014; Ministères en charge de l'éducation, République du Bénin, 2013).

Education results are poor overall though apparently improving according to one government report. Only 56 per cent of primary school pupils managed to reach the last grade in 2010, a significant decline since 1999 (UNESCO estimates). The majority of primary school pupils do not have the minimum reading and mathematics levels according to a 2011 survey. However, the

<sup>2</sup> Average exchange rate of €1 = CFA655.

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Government's revised education sector plan of 2013 reported the primary school completion rate had improved by 2012 to 71 per cent and to 66 per cent in secondary schools, attributed to a progressive reduction in grade repetition, the conversion of local community teachers to government-employed contract teachers and decisions to hire only qualified teachers beginning in 2008, whatever their contractual status. Even a three-month training programme has been shown to improve primary pupil results as has the obtention of a secondary education degree (*baccalauréat*) compared to lower secondary diploma (BEPC). The percentage of qualified teachers has increased slightly in recent years but remains low, according to government estimates 50 per cent of all teachers in primary and 27 per cent in secondary education. However, there is wide disparity in distribution even of those qualified: one half of primary schools are staffed with teachers having between 0–50 per cent of teachers without a government-recognized qualifications standard to teach. Teacher training programmes, public and private, do not have the capacity to meet demand for initial or professional development needs (BREDA/Pôle de Dakar; République du Bénin. 2011; Ministères en charge de l'éducation, République du Bénin, 2013; UNESCO, 2014).

In sum, civil service teachers in Benin are a small minority of the total and declining. The contract teachers employed in a majority by the Government in primary schools have more job security than community teachers but both earn much less than civil service teachers, as do the contract and part-time temporary teachers in secondary schools. The government strategy, encouraged by development partners, appears to be to freeze further civil service recruitment but to upgrade the qualifications and hopefully the performance of the non-civil service staff, most of whom are unqualified to national standards. At the same time, the teacher training capacity is inadequate. Despite the massive shift to contract and temporary teachers in recent years, teaching and learning conditions and education results are poor and not substantively improving.

## **B. Latin America**

### **Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay**

Education in **Argentina** is the responsibility of the states. Teachers in public schools are permanent civil servants and maintain that status as long as they meet applicable performance standards. Job security is in principle guaranteed by law for contract teachers in private schools who are detached or assimilated into the public service (though not retirement benefits). Firing is subject to a determination of "just cause", including for performance reasons. Decisions on contract renewal of other private school teachers is subject to unilateral decision by the school employer. There is no information available on the frequency of job instability in the country's private schools.

Education in **Brazil** is the responsibility of states and municipalities. Although public school teachers are guaranteed job security as public servants following a probationary period of three years, those working for publicly organized education foundations are subject to the federal Labour Code and not guaranteed tenure, nor in practice are private school teachers whose employers have a large degree of autonomy in fixing employment conditions. A collective agreement covering private school teachers in Rio de Janeiro does require notice by 31 December of a school year if a teacher's contract will not be renewed. According to a national household survey (2009) 54 per cent of all basic education teachers, public and private, were employed in schools with statutory guarantees on their employment, 23 per cent were contract teachers under the Labour Code and 23 per cent were temporary teachers of various kinds. Private sector teachers were estimated at 21.4 per cent in 2012.

Public school teachers in **Paraguay** are confirmed as civil servants after a year of probation, but the decision is taken by the Ministry of Education based on a performance evaluation which may be used to deny confirmation.

Public school teachers in **Uruguay** are civil servants. Primary teachers are permanently attached to their schools, but a certain kind of job flexibility exists for secondary teachers based on their position in the career structure, which determines the number of weekly teaching hours they are guaranteed and whether they can work all of these hours in one school. If not, they are obliged to teach in another school(s), creating in effect multiple jobs and instability in teaching assignments in the course of the year and from year to year. Private schools engage contract teachers whose contracts may be renewed solely at the discretion of the school director. (Perazza, 2014.)

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## C. *Asia and the Pacific*

### India

Education in India is the responsibility of states and localities in the world's largest federalized education system. An estimated 8.3 million primary and secondary teachers were employed nationwide in 2011. The number of pre-primary and private teachers at all levels is not known. Female teachers represented just over 40 per cent of all teachers in secondary education. In the same year, pupil/teacher ratios (national headcount estimates) were 35:1 in primary and 26:1 in secondary schools, although in such a large and diverse country, these ratios and the effective class size averages vary widely. In 2012, public (government) investment in education represented an estimated 3.6 per cent of GDP (UNESCO–UIS, 2014).

Teachers are divided into civil servant and contractual teachers (also known as “para-teachers”), the latter category having greatly expanded in recent years. Based on UIS data, Fyfe (2007: 5–6) estimated the number at around 500,000 in 2005 and growing, with considerable diversity among the states. Further estimates in 2010 put their number at 30 per cent of all public school teachers in India (Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013: 1). The increase has been driven by decentralization, which devolved teacher recruitment responsibilities to local and school administrations, encouraged also by national education policies encouraging greater use of para-teachers as a low-cost solution for teacher shortages, not just in remote and difficult areas. The policies were based in no small part on the reported absenteeism, lack of motivation, effectiveness and accountability to learners, parents and community of public school teachers whose civil service status, essentially tenure guarantees and lack of performance-related pay, was judged to be the main factor.

The conditions for contractual teacher recruitment have changed little if at all in recent years. The minimum qualification requirement is a secondary school diploma (with lower exceptions reported in some remote areas), the same as with civil-service teachers, but contractual teachers undergo far less training than the two-year requirement for civil service teachers. Recruitment criteria often specify a certain age category (18–35 years old), include reservations by caste and gender and rank candidates according to secondary school grades. Whether recruited from the locality or not depends on the state. Contracts by the employer (district, municipal or village administration) are renewable annually (in one state the initial contract is three-year renewable) depending on performance, though the lack of anything more than a pro forma appraisal system in most schools and localities, combined with little sense of responsibility for contractual teacher management on the part of village or school administration means that renewal is generally automatic. Contract teachers are paid between one fourth and one fifth the monthly salary of civil service teachers (up to one half in some urban areas) (Fyfe, 2007: 7; Goyal and Pandey, 2009a: 2, 4, 10; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013: 1, 23–24).

World Bank commissioned research (Goyal and Pandey, 2009a: 6, 9–11; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013: 1, 7, 20) in several large states – Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh – showed that contract teachers were younger, a higher percentage were female, were more likely to be from the village in which they taught, had fewer years of experience, less education and were less likely to have any pre-service training. They reportedly demonstrated higher effort and in at least one state resulted in better student performance, especially for the first grade of primary schools and remote area pupils, had higher presence (less absenteeism) in classrooms and schools as well as engagement in teaching activity compared to civil service teachers. Yet only one third of contractual teachers were actually teaching when surveyed in some states, not much higher than civil service teachers, and their reported greater effort diminished after the first contract renewal in two of the states. The better learning outcomes reported in one state were due as much to lower pupil–teacher ratios. Analysis of the research results has raised questions about the potential negative impact of low levels of training, salaries and professionalism on decisions by more qualified teacher candidates to enter teaching, but as with many such studies, the long-term impact does not figure among the concerns other than to suggest that better appraisal and career structures could be constructed that would permit the hiring of even more low-cost contract teachers, improving learning outcomes without reducing teacher professionalism.

Separate studies of differences between public and private schools in states of India (Goyal and Pandey, 2009b: 22–23; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013: 1, 23–24) recorded similar differences in teacher profiles and learning outcomes: private school teachers (presumably all of whom are contractual teachers, though this is not clear), were younger, had more general education

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but were less well-trained and less experienced than regular (civil service) teachers in government schools and were paid between one seventh and one eighth of government teachers. Private schools were nevertheless found to have better scores on standardized (multiple choice) tests, but much of the difference could be attributed to lower teacher-pupil ratios in private schools (one third those of public schools due to the much lower salaries allowing for more teacher hiring), and the type of students attending private schools (from more educated, higher caste families). Although on the surface performing better, private schools and the teachers that staffed them still had learning outcomes below the national minimum standards for learner competencies, suggesting that overall teachers and schooling in the largely rural areas of the surveyed states were extremely poor, a reflection as much on overall low teacher professionalism as differences in teacher contractual relationships or type of school.

## Indonesia

In 2011 Indonesia had 3.7 million teachers in pre-primary, primary and secondary schools, public, private and religious (Islamic). Female teachers represented 98 per cent of the pre-primary staff, 64 per cent of primary teachers and 54 per cent of secondary teachers (UNESCO, 2014a: table 8). Teachers have civil service or temporary, school-based contract status.

A comprehensive Teacher and Lecturer Law (the Teacher Law) was adopted in 2005 that was meant to substantially reform and improve teacher education, recruitment, management and development with a stated goal of enhancing the quality of the education system, one of the world's largest. Among its features are:

- a definition of teaching as a profession, requiring competencies of teachers in four areas (pedagogic, personal, social and professional);
- the incorporation of these competencies into national teacher standards;
- a teacher certification process based on a minimum four-year degree that is supposed to lead to certification of all teachers once obtained;
- conditions under which teachers receive special and professional allowances, including remote locations and border regions;
- in-school induction and a fixed probationary period;
- a mandatory 24-period (18-hour) per week workload required to gain and maintain certification;
- a teacher appraisal system linked to public service salary increases;
- a more systematic programme of continuing professional development;
- merit-based appointment of principals and supervisors based on mastery of the four core competencies for teachers (Chang et al, 2014: 2, 20).

Civil service teachers, like other members of the civil service, have a one-year probationary period (with a possibility of having an extension to two years) at the beginning of the teaching career. Certification as a teacher follows the probationary period if the teacher meets the required standards, both subject knowledge and classroom pedagogy. Certification depends on the report of the school principal, which is shared with the university preparing the teacher as part of the certification and probationary process and is supposed to establish links with the practise teaching and the university lecturer's teaching preparation. Regulations adopted in 2012 stipulated that teachers have to pass an initial competency test before participating in the certification process, the results of which help establish a district and city mapping and upgrading process for deployment and future career development of certified civil service teachers. Guidelines and development programmes have also been adopted for principals and senior teachers to conduct induction and mentoring. A career and salary framework with significant salary improvements based on annual assessments was put in place from 2009. The certification process has covered between 200,000–300,000 qualified teachers (between 5–10 per cent of the total) annually, with a reported pass rate of 95 per cent (Chang et al., 2014: 63–65, 77–78, 90–91, 97)

The Teacher Law has led to a fivefold increase in student enrolment in teacher education programmes, at the same time that exam score evidence shows the quality of entering students has significantly increased in response to the career and salary incentives (nearly doubling salaries for certified teachers with a four-year degree compared to non-certified teachers). Parallel programmes

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of educational decentralization and additional school support, which leave many hiring decisions in the hands of school principals, have also led to an increase in teacher hiring that has greatly exceeded enrolment increases, but initially more contract teachers than those with civil service status. An estimated 30–35 per cent of teachers are contract teachers, many of whom are hired at school level with the expectation of eventually moving into the civil service stream through the certification process. Regular teachers can earn between 30 to 40 times the salary of contract teachers according to one estimate. New government regulations adopted in 2013 are designed to set quotas for new entrants to university teacher education programmes, public and private, which will eventually limit supply. In the meantime the certification process is expected to have reached the estimated 70 per cent of eligible teachers by 2015, at considerable cost to the Government's education budget (Cerdon-Infantes et al., 2013: 2; Chang et al., 2014: 33, 99–103, 157–160, 168–169; World Bank, 2013: 47, 50).

World Bank commissioned researchers have called for slowing the process because fiscally not sustainable (with projections of education spending exceeding 25 per cent of overall government expenditure by 2015), for example by raising what is judged to be a low pupil–teacher ratio, and for more sanctions including dismissal as part of the assessment and certification process (Cerdon-Infantes et al., 2013: 2–3; Chang et al., 2014: 160–164). Although public education expenditure as a percentage of government expenditure had increased to more than 15 per cent in 2011, it was less than countries in the region such as Malaysia and New Zealand, and Indonesia still only invests 2.8 per cent of GNP in education (UNESCO, 2014a: table 9). Therefore, it is not clear that the certification process to upgrade the quality and motivate the majority if not all of the country's teachers is beyond the country's financial capacity.

Teacher reforms in Indonesia in recent years have increased the number of teachers overall, with the greatest increase in the percentage of contract teachers, but also enhanced the quality of those entering teaching. Greater hiring of contract teachers has not significantly improved teacher deployment to rural and remote areas, one of the main justifications in other countries using contract teachers (approximately 6 per cent of all contract teachers and 4 per cent of all civil service teachers work in Indonesia's remote areas) nor is there clear evidence that contract teachers are less or more likely to be absent than civil service teachers (Chang et al., 2014: 171). Comparative international exam results (PISA and TIMSS) have not shown improvements in learning outcomes from the certification process (Chang et al., 2014), but given the critiques of such tests as valid measures of learning, the report card is still out on whether the increased professional development, career and salary incentives that aim to increase teacher professionalism will not raise educational quality in the future. In terms of security versus flexibility, there are no regulations at present which provide for less job security of civil service teachers, and little evidence that the large number of contract teachers are more precarious. The reforms appear to be more costly but largely positive for the Indonesian teaching profession at present even if it is not clear that the increased teacher quality has led to better learning.