

Teacher Talking Time

A policy research report on Malawian teachers' attitudes to their own profession

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Executive summary

This is a key period for education in Malawi. Stakeholders and policy implementers need to assess the impact of Free Primary Education (FPE) and the various programmes set up to respond to the increase in community demand for primary and secondary schooling. This must be set against a background of increasing food shortages and the scourge of HIV and AIDS. However, key policy documents are in place. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) covers all major aspects of educational reform, including those that affect teachers. Budgets are now activity-based and drawn up against the goals of the PRSP. It is not too late to listen to teachers, prioritise their areas of concern and to act.

From May to June 2002, VSO Malawi carried out research on the issue of teacher morale and motivation. Working on the assumption that the motivation of teachers directly affects the quality of education delivery, VSO sought to identify the factors that affect teachers' motivation. The research was conducted in eleven schools across the country. Focus groups were held with teachers (mainly in Community Day Secondary Schools), and VSO volunteers and head teachers were interviewed. VSO also consulted a range of stakeholders to ascertain their views, retrieve information and enlist support in endorsing and prioritising the teachers' concerns.

Teachers speak about factors that affect their motivation both positively and negatively. The recent introduction of housing and professional allowances has had an impact on most schools. Teachers feel that at last their concerns have been taken on board and are much less likely to leave their jobs. However, there is widespread insecurity that the allowances may be withdrawn. Despite the allowances, teachers feel that their remuneration package still does not reflect the job they do. Moreover, monetary reward may increase motivation in the short term, but other factors such as a structured career path, need to be considered for motivation to be sustained.

Remuneration, workload and training are identified as the main factors that affect teachers' motivation, with training as the top priority. All teachers want more training, particularly primary school teachers working at Community Day Secondary Schools. They lack confidence and motivation. They often teach a wider range of subjects and sometimes more periods than in the past. There is a huge disparity between the deployment of teachers across urban and rural locations. Teachers report that there are fewer teachers in rural schools compared with the past, with many head teachers overworked and under-qualified. In addition, teachers lack teaching and learning materials, and training in the new curriculum. There is also a new community relationship to be managed as a result of a policy shift towards promoting community involvement in school management and financing.

The research revealed that teachers almost always feel that they are shown a lack of respect by both communities and their own government offices. This has led to high rates of teacher attrition. Teachers want their opinions to be considered so that conditions can change, rather than being forced to change jobs.

The education policy documents - the PRSP and the Policy Investment Framework (PIF) - tackle almost all the issues that teachers identify. Although it is acknowledged that the PRSP is a full strategy paper that requires a number of years for thorough implementation, the process has been slow. Therefore, not only should teachers' needs be prioritised in the overall education budget, but the needs themselves should be prioritised to speed up implementation. As written above research findings have shown that the three most important factors that affect teacher motivation are training, remuneration and workload. These have been endorsed by the stakeholders and should therefore be prioritised for action, given our experience that teachers' motivation directly affects the quality of education. Government is urged to approach development partners to subsidise the salary bill so that other funds can be released and these areas can be tackled. This is particularly important since the departure of DANIDA, the major secondary education development partner. Capacity levels in the MoEST also need to be increased. To accompany this, the education budget activity should be continually monitored to evaluate the implementation of PRSP goals and to measure the effectiveness of interventions in training, remuneration and workload.

Finally the research has shown that there is a need for clear communication: teachers need clarification on issues that affect them. They not only want to voice their own concerns but also to make the public

aware of the real conditions that they are facing. The public image of teachers needs to be improved so that they can win back respect for their profession. This is vital at a time when the quality delivery of education depends upon a partnership of Government, teachers, parents and the community.

VSO 'Valuing Teachers' Research in Malawi

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Abbreviations

CDSS Community Day Secondary School

CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSS	Conventional Secondary School
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
DEC	Distance Education Centre (converted into CDSSes in 1998)
DEM	District Education Manager (formally DEO)
DEO	District Education Officer (now DEM)
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DSPS	DANIDA Sector Programme Support
DTED	Department of Teacher Education and Development
EDM	Education Division Manager
EFA	Education For All
EMAS	Education Methods Advisery Services
EMIS	Education Management Information Systems
FPE	Free Primary Education
GPF	General Purpose Fund
GTSC	Government Teaching Service Commission
INSET	In-service Education and Training
JCE	Junior Certificate of Education
JS	Junior Secondary
MANEB	Malawi National Examination Board
MASHA	Malawi Secondary Heads Association
MBC	Malawi Broadcasting Corporation
MIE	Malawi Institute of Education
MIITEP	Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Programme
MoESC	Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (changed to MoEST in 2000)
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (formally MoESC)
MSCE	Malawi School Certificate of Education
MSSSP	Malawi School Support System Programme
PCAR	Primary Curriculum and Assessment Reform
PEA	Primary Education Adviser
PIF	Policy Investment Framework
POA/B/C	Professional Officer (Grade A, B and C)
POE	Professional Officer (Extension)
PPPI	Personnel Payroll Pension Information
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PS	Principal Secretary
PSLC	Primary School Leaving Certificate
PT	Primary Teacher
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
SEMA	Senior Education Methods Adviser (post in EMAS)
SEP	Secondary Education Programme
SS	Senior Secondary or Secondary School
SSTEP	Secondary School Teacher Education Programme
TALULAR	Teaching and Learning Using Locally Available Resources
TDC	Teacher Development Centre
TDU	Teacher Development Unit
TRF	Textbook Revolving Fund
TTC	Teacher Training College
TUM	Teachers Union Malawi
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas

Introduction

In May and June 2002, VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas) Malawi carried out research on the issue of teacher morale and motivation, building upon research already conducted in Papua New Guinea and Zambia. This research was conducted in response to the goals set for achieving Education For All (EFA) first at Jomtien and then ten years later in Dakar in 2000, where the Framework for Action drew attention to the crucial nature of teachers' contribution to the achievement of improvements to education quality. VSO has education programmes in over 40 countries in the developing world and it is our assumption that the motivation of teachers directly affects the quality of education. Therefore we instigated an investigation into the factors that affect motivation to enable us to prioritise issues that relate to quality education for all.

VSO Malawi's education programme currently works with Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSSes), the majority of which are in rural locations, serving disadvantaged populations. Most of the teachers are primary-trained, rates of attrition are high and teaching and learning materials are limited. However, even under these difficult conditions, most teachers are doing a reasonable job. The presence of the VSO volunteer in the school has undoubtedly motivated them to a certain extent: "we really appreciate him coming to this place because he is like an encouragement" (SS Head Teacher). More significantly, the recent boost to the teachers' remuneration package, and the introduction of the housing allowance, has increased motivation and led to a drop in the rate of absenteeism. "Before this term," says one VSO volunteer, "50% were absent". It can be seen that while the impacts of Free Primary Education (FPE) and HIV and AIDS are leading to higher student enrolment but a decrease in the number of teachers respectively, some issues have been addressed that improve teacher motivation and therefore the quality of education. Most importantly, this research was conducted to find out exactly what teachers themselves have to say, and to recommend a future strategy that will incorporate their voice into decisions that are made in their chosen profession.

This research was carried out by a VSO volunteer working in Education Methods Advisory Services (EMAS), who had also taught at a CDSS and was committed to listening to the teachers' point of view. The research focuses on teachers' views as to what affects their motivation, but this bias is balanced by reference to current policy and practice as well as stakeholders' comments. Most of the schools visited currently have a VSO volunteer, therefore most of the findings relate to CDSSes. However, the report also considers Conventional Secondary Schools (CSSes) and the primary sector. Discussions were conducted with single-sex teacher focus groups, and head teachers and VSO volunteers were interviewed. Various stakeholders were consulted for fact-finding purposes and comment on policy, culminating in a stakeholders' meeting in Lilongwe in July 2002, where the research findings were presented. The stakeholders included representatives from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST), Central West Education Division, Teachers Union Malawi (TUM), Department for Teacher Education and Development (DTED), Government Teaching Service Commission (GTSC), Bwaila Secondary School, Civil Society Coalition for Quality Basic Education, DANIDA Sector Programme Support (DSPS), the Department for International Development (DfID) and VSO London Advocacy Department. The stakeholders endorsed the research findings.

This report is divided into three chapters. The first sets out issues that the teachers have raised, giving the policy context for each theme, followed by a summary of findings from teachers and other stakeholders. The second chapter identifies detailed conclusions that may be drawn from the findings and relates them directly to existing policy statements and commitments, whether or not these have been implemented. Broad conclusions and recommendations are drawn in the third chapter.

1. Factors affecting teacher motivation

This chapter sets out the key issues affecting teacher motivation, according to an analysis of the findings from focus groups and interviews. For each theme, a description of the specific policy context is offered, followed by a summary of findings

The two current policy documents - the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and the Policy Investment Framework (PIF) - are relatively recent and were produced largely to fulfil development partner conditions for funding. They are comprehensive and contain many policies that echo teachers' needs (policy commitment in respect of teachers' needs are outline in detail in Chapter 3).

There has been limited implementation on the ground and the procedures and practice in place often relate to past policy. It proved difficult for the researcher to retrieve full documentation, which reflects a policy development process that is somewhat obscure and often takes the form of circulars and memos rather than a clear policy framework. Documentation is also difficult to access and what is available is sometimes in draft form. This may be an indication that teachers themselves are unclear about regulations, procedures and what is expected of them. Moreover, since little is accessible to personnel within the system, it would appear that the public is even less aware of the conditions that teachers and students face. The following chapter relates the findings of the research to policy context and practice. It concentrates on the practice, attempting to summarise the results of education policy legacy on the ground.

In the following list, the first five issues (a-e) are in order of priority, based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of teacher and stakeholder responses. The remaining factors cited were roughly equal to one another in importance.

a. Theme: Training

Policy Context

In 1996 the Teacher Development Unit (TDU) was established to respond to the needs of both pre- and in-service training. In practice it has focused its attention mainly on the primary sector.

i) Pre-service training

Before 1994 and the introduction of FPE, the majority of teachers in primary and secondary schools were trained and qualified. Post-1994 when enrolment figures at primary increased by over 50%, a number of new programmes were established so that teachers could be incorporated into the system more quickly. The two-year programmes for primary school teachers at the Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) were replaced by the multi-funded Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Programme (MIITEP). In 1998, with FPE beginning to have an impact at the secondary level, DEC's were converted into CDSSes. In response to this, the Secondary School Teacher Education Programme (SSTEP) was launched in 2000, funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). This three-year part-residential part-distance programme concentrates exclusively on upgrading the primary qualifications of CDSS heads and teachers to diploma level.

In practice, the capacity of all these programmes has not been sufficient to meet the demand from both primary and secondary schools. By 1999, over half of primary school teachers were not qualified compared with 16% in 1993/4. Currently many qualified primary school teachers are working in CDSSes but the majority of these are not qualified to teach at secondary level.

ii) In-service training

Some training for head teachers, deputies and heads of department is provided by the DfID-funded Malawi School Support System programme (MSSSP) at primary level and the World Bank supported Secondary Education Programme (SEP). In the late nineties, the Primary Education Advisor (PEA) post was created at district level, and in the Divisions the inspectorate devolved into Education Methods

Advisory Services (EMAS), responsible for “conducting in-service training for teachers” (Northern Education Division Handbook 2000). In 2000 the DANIDA Sector Programme Support (DSPS) Secondary School Cluster Initiative was launched to “improve the quality of teaching...through support to teacher development” (Cluster Projects, MoESC/EMAS, May 2000). Schools were grouped into clusters based on geographical location and each was assigned a leader school. Clusters were funded to conduct training in the areas of teaching and learning, school management and student welfare.

In practice, the capacity levels of the PEAs and EMAS are not high enough to deal with the ever-growing numbers of schools (particularly CDSSes) and teachers being incorporated into the system. The cluster initiative is welcomed but the standard of facilitation is sometimes poor as it relies on personnel from within the cluster. Furthermore, the future of the initiative is uncertain given the Danish government's withdrawal of bi-lateral assistance to Malawi. At school level there is little training: “when heads and teachers come back from workshops, they should train others but there are not enough funds at school level, so this is not happening” (Valuing Teachers Stakeholders meeting, Lilongwe, 2002).

Training events in the last decade have been generally accompanied by allowances either from government or development partners. This has been greatly appreciated by heads and teachers. With the erosion of salaries, these funds are badly needed to supplement the remuneration package. However, the routine disbursement of these allowances has possibly led to an expectation of money when training is offered.

Findings

“Training makes a teacher feel valued” (Secondary School Teacher)

i) Upgrading qualifications

All teachers feel that upgrading of some kind would increase their motivation. This is particularly strongly felt by primary school trained teachers teaching at the CDSSes. They are confident teaching some subjects: “When I am teaching history, I am happiest – I feel most comfortable in that subject” (SS Teacher). However, they often have to teach a wide variety of subjects due to the lack of teachers, especially in rural areas. Some teach subjects that they themselves did not pass at Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE). This often leads to absenteeism: one head teacher commented “they are incompetent because they don't have the subject matter – they are afraid of the class so they absent themselves”.

These teachers are greatly lacking in confidence, and their feelings of inadequacy are compounded by the introduction of the new curriculum at both junior and senior levels with next to no training. Teachers sometimes do not use teaching and learning materials as they feel that this will further highlight their lack of knowledge in front of the students. Students are perceived to be more ‘unruly’ because of democracy, making the prospect of teaching a non-specialist subject all the more frightening. Teachers feel demotivated as they were ‘picked’ by the government to work in secondary schools but have never received any training. The peers that they left at primary schools are often promoted before them. These teachers want specialist knowledge and training in subject content and handling discipline problems. They have no funds to pay for their own training and access to loans is limited. A full upgrade programme is not always desired - simply a ‘crash’ course for a month or two in the school holidays.

“The SSTEP has made us better teachers and motivated us quite a lot” (SSTEP Teacher Learner).

Teachers who have attended this course feel that they have improved in methodology, subject knowledge and use of teaching and learning materials. Some commented on the usefulness of the supervisors who come to observe them regularly. A large number of CDSS teachers are applying for this programme this year. Many retook their MSCEs last year in order to be eligible for the programme. The presence of a VSO volunteer seems to encourage teachers to apply for the SSTEP and volunteers often help teachers improve their MSCE scores.

Qualified teachers in secondary schools still want an upgrade to degree or masters level, but generally feel confident about their teaching and the subject matter (except as regards the new curriculum). The same is true for teachers at primary level, although many want to upgrade and move on to secondary work. Temporary teachers at primary level are frustrated about the time it takes to become qualified: "I waited four years to be sent to Lilongwe Teacher Training College (TTC) and now I am waiting to do my examinations" (Primary School Teacher).

ii) Training at district, division or national level

Few CDSS teachers have been on training at district, division or national level. They complain that "it is the education big bosses that attend the courses" (SS Teacher) and "chiefs go there but are chiefs in class?" (SS Teacher). Half of the CSS teachers interviewed attend some type of training from district, division or national level about once a year. All find this training motivating and useful. These types of training also attract a large allowance (about 1,000 MK a day), which teachers freely admit adds further to their interest and motivation. A group of newly-qualified teachers in one CSS feel that these types of privileges are only given to longer-serving staff. This demotivates them. At primary level, heads, deputies and other teachers have been strongly motivated by the Malawi School Support System Programme (MSSSP): "Now I am feeling very positive about taking up a high position" (Primary Deputy Head).

iii) Cluster-based training

The cluster initiative, launched in 2000, grouped schools regionally to encourage both training and the sharing of resources within the cluster. "The cluster system which was funded by Danish International Development Assistance (DANIDA) was good as money was available for meetings to decide courses or training that could benefit the schools involved. It was very positive and helpful." (SS Head Teacher)

More than half the teachers interviewed have attended some form of cluster training. Most feel motivated by it and that it benefited their teaching. However, it is felt that cluster training should be more frequent and relevant and should be extended to all teachers in the school. Furthermore, some teachers do not view it as useful because "it was a meeting not a training" (SS Teacher): teachers can tell each other their problems but there is no one to give them the answers. "Just because you initiate a good idea such as the cluster system and pour money into it to fund cluster operation, it does not mean that you achieve professional development and more adequate curriculum delivery - who is providing the training?" (Representative from the development partner community)

iv) School-based training

This has not taken place at most schools, mainly due to lack of funds. 'Briefings', 'sensitisation' or short talks at staff meetings have been carried out, but these are not cited as effective. One SS teacher complains: "there is no sharing of knowledge when these people come back from training, they just report - it would be more effective if we were grouped into departments to discuss issues". In schools where more training has taken place (often initiated by volunteers), it was said to be motivating and "it definitely made us better teachers" but "we are supposed to have something to say thank you ...if we had had some money" (SS Teacher). Teachers rarely mention observation of any kind and in the one school surveyed where there is a programme in place, it is felt to be unsatisfactory.

Very occasionally, training is not perceived to be useful due to differing advice. There is sometimes an inability to adapt advice given at training sessions to fit in with the particular circumstances in individual schools.

Finally, most training in Malawi comes with an allowance (cluster training: 200 MK lunch allowance) and this is motivating for teachers. However it has the effect of not encouraging teachers to go on training unless there is an allowance; as a representative from MoEST comments "Our teachers do not value new knowledge as much as money". One suggestion from the field is to have an accreditation scheme instead.

b. Theme: Remuneration

i) Basic salary

Salary reviews generally take place every three years, although frequency increased immediately after the elections in 1994. Despite these adjustments, there has been an erosion of salary in real terms. A teacher's basic salary is initially dependent on entry qualifications, and subsequently on grade. There is an annual incremental increase at every grade over a period of 25 years.

<i>Qualification</i>	<i>Grade</i>	<i>Gross Entry Salary in MK p.a. (entry to profession or grade)</i>
Junior Certificate of Education (JCE) only	Temporary Teacher	17,412
Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) only	Temporary Teacher	21,012
Primary qualification + JCE	Primary Teacher (PT) 4	22,764
Primary qualification + MSCE	PT4	25,500
Primary qualification	PT3	39,900
Primary qualification	PT2	51,924
Primary qualification	PT1	57,096
Secondary qualification: diploma	Professional Officer (POE)	39,900
Secondary qualification: degree	Professional Officer (POC)	40,584
Secondary qualification: degree	P8	68,160

Examples of salaries with added service increments

Primary (with MSCE) with 10 years' experience	PT4	29,604
Primary (with MSCE) with 20 years' experience	PT4	36,444
Secondary (diploma) with 10 years' experience	PO	46,740
Secondary (diploma) with 20 years' experience	PO	56,796

Salaries are taxed at around 10% (if over 3,000 MK a month) and pensions are calculated on years of service. The most recent basic salary rise was in 1998, but in 2001 the president issued a statement that every teacher should receive at least 5,000 MK a month.

ii) Housing

It has never been stated that each and every teacher has a right to a house on school premises. However, teachers are encouraged to live on school campus and can move into available housing, paying in most cases a minimal rent. Teachers' houses were constructed for all Government secondary schools and although now outdated, there are Civil Service regulations that stipulate the quality of house for each grade. Teachers who could not be accommodated on school premises would have to rent in the local area.

With the conversion of the DECs to CDSSes in 1998, the quantity and quality of teachers' houses has fallen, despite some government, community and development partner funded construction. This is particularly extreme in rural locations, where travelling to work is extremely difficult. The housing allowance was introduced in late 2001 to meet this need, respond to Union pressure, and to fulfil the President's salary pledge. As the amount of money received was originally dependent on location and grade, teachers in rural locations were eligible for considerably less than their peers in urban or semi-urban areas. This caused widespread discontent: although rents are generally cheaper in rural areas, commodities are more expensive. The situation was exacerbated by various anomalies on the MoEST Personnel Payroll Pension Information (PPPI) database, which led to some salary disruption in the first month. As a result, there were widespread staff boycotts of classes in many districts. At the end of the year, the allowance was revised to depend on grade only along the following lines:

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Monthly Housing Allowance in MK</i>
Temporary Teacher	1,500
PT4	2,500
PT3, POE	6,000
PT2, POC, POB, POA	9,000
PT1, P8 and above	12,000

Allowances are not taxed. This brings the monthly entry salary of a PT4 (with JCE) up to MK 5,297 (with professional allowance), fulfilling the President's minimum salary pledge. Policy is still under discussion concerning the new cost of teachers 'renting' houses on school campuses.

iii) Other allowances and incentives

Concurrent with the introduction of the housing allowance, the government introduced the 'professional allowance', which Teachers Union Malawi (TUM) had also been pushing for. The exact allocations are as follows:

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Monthly Professional Allowance in MK</i>
Temporary Teacher	-
PT4, PT3, PT2, POE	800
PT1, POC, POB, POA, P8 and above	1,000

There is also a headship allowance (primary 200, secondary 400), deputy headship allowance (primary 100 and secondary 300) and an allowance for boarding master/mistress (at secondary only 200). There is currently no reward for extracurricular responsibilities such as sports master/mistress as these are seen to be 'part and parcel' of the job. Most training workshops or seminars accrue an allowance and as both the government and development partner rates more than cover board and lodging, training is often equated with money. If teachers are transferred, they can claim a 'disturbance' allowance.

iv) Access to loans

Before 1994, all teachers had access to loans. Since then, the benefit has been re-established on a 10-month revolving fund basis. Applications for loans were invited in 2001 but due to the revolving nature of the benefit, not all teachers could receive them at one time. The next disbursement will take place at the end of this year, but will depend on the money recouped into the revolving fund.

v) Disbursement of salaries

Salaries are calculated centrally at MoEST on the PPPI database and accounts officers from the divisions have to go the MoEST to make adjustments for promotions, transfers, deaths etc. Funds are now transferred directly from Treasury to the six Education divisions (North, Central East, Central West, South East, South West and Shire Highlands). Pay slips have to be collected from the MoEST by divisional accounts clerks every month. Salaries are then disbursed to cost centres: CSSes, approved CDSSes and the former District Education Offices (DEOs). At district level, officers are responsible for ensuring the money reaches all teachers in primary and 'unapproved' CDSSes.

The first phase of decentralisation, which affects primary schools, has been earmarked to begin in July 2002. From this time, the treasury will disburse funds directly to district assemblies who will then pass them on to District Education Managers (DEMs) to be distributed to primary schools. Since this plan is very new, it is still unclear whether the system will be more streamlined and less subject to delay.

Findings

“There is no notion of reward” (SS Teacher).

“We work because we like our careers but we need money” (SS Teacher).

“We know the job is important but it is not recognised practically as regards our financial status” (SS Teacher).

The main reason that teachers leave their positions is the draw of 'greener pastures' - jobs with more lucrative packages inside or outside the profession. Teachers see many of their friends and peers in these jobs 'driving cars' and 'enjoying' and they would like a similar quality of life. They leave to teach in private schools, although some have returned following the introduction of the housing allowance. Qualified secondary school teachers move on to jobs with Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), the Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC), World Vision and other Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

i) Basic salary

"What I get is a peanut" (SS Teacher)

Teachers feel that their salaries are insufficient. They have friends and peers working in other departments in education (Division and District offices) and other professions whose packages are more satisfactory. Teachers feel that salaries are unfairly calculated if a primary teacher, who is only a Junior Certificate Education (JCE) holder, can receive the same salary as a teacher with a diploma. A divisional officer underlines this lack of clarity concerning salary calculation, commenting that "working conditions are not properly explained when a person is starting work". The teachers interviewed are also very unhappy with the disbursement of salaries. They cite delays of 2-3 weeks and when this happens "we don't teach because we have to look for money, food or do business" (SS Teacher). They raised problems surrounding the delay in changes to salaries that come about with promotion or transfers: they have to absent themselves from school to sort these problems out. In June 2002, one teacher had been waiting since April 2001 for his salary to be adjusted. It was felt however that improvements had come with the new DEMs.

ii) Housing allowance

About half the teachers interviewed have been motivated by the new housing allowance, at least in the short term, which "seems like a rise in salary" (SS Teacher). They feel there is now more respect for the profession as they can dress, eat and live better. Head teachers have seen 'a positive change' and have noted a noticeable drop in absenteeism and general laziness after the introduction of the allowance. They also comment that some teachers have left private schools to return to work in government schools. However, teachers in rural areas were very demotivated when the allowance was first announced, as the amount dispensed mainly depended on location - "conditions in rural areas were almost worsened" (TUM representative). Despite the later adjustment, many still feel this way - "you are motivated by the housing allowance if you are on a high grade but not at all if you are on a low grade" (SS Teacher). Urban teachers are also disappointed: "if you are on the lowest, 2500 [MK], you cannot get a house" (SS Teacher). They also feel demotivated by the fact that the allowance is not pensionable.

In addition, there is a widespread fear of losing the allowance - "I don't trust the future, there are rumours that it could be taken away" (SS Teacher). There have been reports that disbursement of the allowance has been 'mixed up' and had been problematic, particularly for those recently promoted. At the time of the research visit, some teachers still had not received their housing allowance and are demotivated "as we can see our friends enjoying" (SS Teacher). Finally teachers cite general price rises, increases in rent and confusion over renting school houses as additional factors that negatively affect their motivation.

iii) Quality of housing

CDSS teachers agree that there is often insufficient housing, especially in rural areas. This means that teachers have to walk a long way to school. All teachers say that the quality of housing is not acceptable. For example, they complain of leaking roofs, rats, cracks and a lack of a kitchen area. One describes his house as a 'hovel'. Some said they cannot work at home in the evening and are distracted by these problems when they are at school. One TUM executive comments that female teachers do not want to

go to the rural areas because of the standard of housing (poor hygiene and the lack of electricity). CDSS teachers observe that although the community has a responsibility to build and maintain teachers' houses, there is often not enough money to do so.

iv) Other allowances and incentives

Allowances are seen as part of the package. Teachers are demotivated when allowances are not paid or are paid late. Examples were cited of 'disturbance allowances' being paid very late or not at all. Teachers had 'to cough' from their own pocket for these costs. Primary school teachers complain of the lack of an allowance for section heads: "even the head hasn't got her headship allowance yet" (Primary Deputy Head).

On top of this, teachers feel they are lagging behind their 'friends in other departments' and find this very demotivating. The small number of workshops or seminars with accompanying allowances is often mentioned, with some teachers observing that it is the bosses who attend the meetings and therefore receive the allowances.

Teachers are not currently rewarded for extracurricula posts such as librarian or sports master. They say that these roles take up a considerable amount of time and are often neglected due to the lack of remuneration.

v.) Access to loans

Many teachers complain of the lack of access to loans. They apply but only a few are given. They find this very demotivating, especially as they expect the money to come in after the application is submitted.

c. Theme: Workload

Policy Context

i.) The new curriculum

Following policy recommendations from the PIF, a new junior secondary curriculum was introduced in 2000, followed by a new senior secondary (SS) curriculum in 2002. The curricula include new subjects, new content, differing approaches to teaching and learning and are based on teaching syllabi. General orientations for the JS curriculum were held on a 'training of trainers' basis in all divisions in 2000. It is possible that the training activities did not trickle down to all schools and all teachers. Orientations were not subject-based and there had been limited initial consultation with teachers on the design of the new curricula. These factors have led to ineffective implementation. Teachers have had to take responsibility for going through the new syllabi and textbooks and understanding the new approaches. Subject-based 'training of trainers' for JS English (using an MoEST training manual) took place in all divisions in 2001. Evidence suggests that it reached about half the schools in the country through the cluster initiative. At the time that this research was carried out, there had not yet been any formal training in the new senior secondary curriculum.

ii) Number of hours worked

Primary school teachers are expected to teach 30-45 periods a week depending on the standard they teach. At secondary level there is no set number of periods for teachers but recommendations are made at division and HQ level. (This is usually an average of 25 periods a week).

With the impact of FPE on both primary and secondary, enrolment has increased and more schools are being built. In addition, teacher attrition rates appear to be high due to loss of teachers to other professions, sickness and death. (Although there are no statistics available, it is likely that HIV and AIDS is the biggest cause). Therefore despite the number of new teachers being trained, the demand for teachers is not being met. Schools, especially in the rural areas, are desperately short of teachers and the extra workload is falling on existing teachers.

iii) Staff deployment

Teacher deployment is centrally undertaken at MoEST and systems date from the 1960s. Posting instructions are sent out annually for new teachers and transfers are based on the ratio of teacher-to-student as opposed to subject mastery. In recent years, there have been attempts to strengthen systems and procedures in this sphere, such as the establishment and strengthening of Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) and the school mapping exercise. The latter is "a systematic approach to determining the provision of education services within a prescribed socio-economic context in respect to demographic factors" (Policy and Investment Framework, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, June 2000). These are intended to alleviate the problems of over-enrolment and teacher deployment as planners at district, divisional and HQ level will have access to current data relating to teachers, students and exact locations of schools. However, data is still being collected and is not being used as yet, so the impact of these innovations is difficult to assess.

MoEST sometimes responds through the divisions to head teachers in CSSes with critical staffing problems, but the process takes some time. Moreover, CDSSes are often ignored. Unless they are approved (which entails having their own premises and a number of qualified staff), their staffing needs are dealt with by the districts, who are also responsible for supplying teachers to primary schools. Furthermore the movement of female teachers is often determined by the posting of their spouses, which frequently leads to a surplus of teachers in urban areas.

CSSes and approved CDSSes are allocated a certain number of support staff by MoEST. They can be an accountant, human resource officer, secretary or messenger, and may depend on the availability of personnel. Unapproved CDSSes do not have any support staff.

Findings**i) The new curriculum**

"Frequent changes of syllabus have a negative effect on teachers" (SS Head teacher)
"Teachers are reluctant to accept new things, if they don't get given the knowledge" (SS Head teacher)

Teachers and heads recognise that society has to adapt and consequently the school curriculum must change accordingly. However, all secondary school teachers feel that the introduction of the new curriculum for both JS and SS has brought more work and has demotivated them. It is felt that the change was too abrupt and they were not consulted. The old syllabus was 'straightforward and easy to follow'. Old teaching notes cannot be used and in some cases teachers know little about the new topics, which gives them 'a headache' and 'makes you shy'.

The new topics (in Science and Technology and Social and Development Studies), new methodologies and textbooks have entailed more work. New subjects have been introduced, such as Life Skills, P.E., Music and Dance and Computer Studies, and there is a lot of extra input on HIV and AIDS. Some subjects have been allocated fewer periods and as a result teachers have little hope of completing the curriculum within the course period. The most frequent complaint is that there was little relevant training at JS and so far nothing for SS. "Lack of workshops and training for the new curriculum is very demotivating" (SS Teacher) and "this does not convince the teachers of the point of the new syllabus" (Officer from Missionary Education Organisation). This has hit the unqualified CDSS teachers the hardest and led to loss of confidence and therefore motivation. Primary school teachers are less damning about their revised curriculum, which has been in place for longer. However they do say that students are 'confused' and therefore 'it didn't contribute to quality education'.

ii) Staff deployment

Urban CDSS teachers feel that their workload in terms of number of periods has either remained level or fallen. One teacher comments that "the workload is little so we have time to prepare" (SS Teacher). One VSO volunteer believes that there are too many teachers in some urban schools. When the staff room is full of teachers sitting around, it encourages others (who are supposed to be teaching) to do the same.

CSS teachers say that their schools have been hit badly by qualified teachers leaving for 'greener pastures'. "The general trend is more work as there are fewer teachers in schools and we can't teach some subjects as there is no personnel" (SS Teacher). "About 250 agriculture teachers in our division have left the profession and gone back to work in agriculture so you can see how greatly affected we are." (Division Officer)

The rural CDSS teachers who are mostly primary-trained say that the workload has risen dramatically. This is due to more schools, higher enrolment (schools have gone from single to double stream with the same number of teachers) and teacher attrition. Heads and teachers desperately want more staff – a VSO volunteer is often seen to fill that gap. "VSO...should continue sending teachers to CDSSes. They should not stop – please don't take them away." (SS Deputy Head Teacher). Teachers are not only teaching more periods but also a wider variety of subjects, many of which are not their specialist subject. One VSO volunteer comments "26 periods is OK for me, but if you are not trained, it is harder". Rural schools are particularly badly affected, with some teachers teaching two classes at the same time. Fewer teachers also means a greater extracurricular burden, which teachers do not feel motivated to carry out for no reward.

The lack of resources does nothing to help their situation - not only in terms of textbooks, teachers' guides and equipment but also paper and typewriters. Teachers explain that writing schemes of work is very time-consuming when there are few resources. Once they have completed this, they are consequently reluctant to spend time preparing lessons or making teaching and learning aids or handouts 'using locally available resources'.

Teachers also stress the fact that more students means more marking. According to one VSO volunteer, "less qualified teachers are unable to come up with ways of dealing with this (ie. not marking everything, getting students to mark etc) as they do not feel confident". Teachers admit that homework sometimes does not get marked or not even set. Heads also feel demotivated by the amount of work they have, especially in the CDSSes. They have to act as teacher, manager and accountant and have to help many of their underqualified teachers.

d. Theme: Promotion and career path

Policy Context

i) Promotion

Until 1997, procedures for promotions were administered by the Civil Service Commission which is responsible for all promotions in government departments. Vacancies were identified by the DEOs, sent to the Ministry and passed to the Civil Service Commission. In consultation with the Ministry, advertisements were posted to Divisions and DEOs. Following application, 45-minute interviews were conducted. Teachers who were successful then passed to the next grade. 5-10% of teachers were promoted. To accelerate the process (which could take 9-10 months), the Government Teaching Service Commission (GTSC) was established in 1997. The process has remained but now takes 3-4 months and about 30% of the teaching force has already been promoted. The head teacher does not have any input into decisions concerning promotions. Promotion from one grade to another is accompanied by a rise in basic salary and often allowances.

<i>Primary School Grades</i>	<i>Secondary School Grades</i>
PT4 Teacher	POE (diploma), POC (degree not in education), POB (BEd), POA (Masters) Teacher
PT3 Teacher	P8 Head of Department
PT2 Deputy Head	P7 Head of Department, Deputy Head
PT1 Head Teacher	P6 Deputy Head TTC, Head Teacher SS
	P5 DEM, Principal TTC and Head Teacher (double shift school)

Although vacancies are identified at district level, evidence suggests that resulting postings for these newly promoted teachers do not impact at institutional (ie. school) level. Furthermore, some teachers are heading approved CDSSes at P7 or P8 due to a shortage of teachers at P6.

ii) Career path

Until recently a primary school teacher could rise to deputy head, head teacher or PEA. PT1 was the highest grade. This has changed to P8. A secondary school teacher with a diploma could rise to head of department, deputy head, head teacher or a divisional officer at P8. Those with degrees can, in theory, rise to the top of the system. However, teachers are not assured of upward progression in the system when they are recruited. When gaps are created at school level, it is very common for teachers to take on an 'acting' role, sometimes for a number of months. The person is chosen at the recommendation of the head teacher and approved by the DEM or EDM. For this to be reflected in their remuneration package, the appointment has to be processed through the DEM/EDM to the GTSC.

Findings

"What motivates me is my promotion" (Primary Deputy Head)

For over 50% of teachers interviewed, teaching as a profession just 'came to hand'. Many simply wanted to enter higher education and teacher-training courses were the only ones available. A group of three younger newly-qualified teachers all expressed their desire to leave the profession in the near future - none of them had wanted to become a teacher in the first place. Others could not find jobs in their chosen areas of law, accountancy, engineering and banking and so had to go into teaching. "Had there been another job, I'd have quit" (SS Teacher). "They join because they have nothing else to do - as soon as something else comes along, they go" (SS Teacher). One was even forced to be a teacher by the government (in the days of Banda). Some teachers are clearly not motivated and still want to go into their chosen field. The graduates from Bunda Agricultural College are among these: many are leaving as they feel that promotion within the government teaching service will take too long.

Teachers want to be able: "...to like their jobs and see a future". As the housing allowance makes a considerable monetary difference between grades, there is even greater motivation for promotion. However, teachers say that there "is a lack of promotion so there is no point in being a teacher for long" (SS Teacher).

All teachers complain about the time it takes to be promoted and that they "don't understand about promotion - it varies" (SS Teacher). "They should look at dedication to duty when they are promoting - instead of an interview - some are useless and they are picked" (SS Teacher). A MoEST representative comments: "How can they find out about you in 40 minutes especially if you know all the tricks of the interview?" and "there should be recognition for courses done, which you can show at interview, and an appraisal system". Heads complain of having little input into promotion decisions. Urban teachers say that rural teachers are promoted over them but rural teachers complain that they are ignored and messages about interviews sometimes do not reach them. This is backed up by the GTSC, who, after passing on information about interviews, finds that there is "Evidence that it doesn't get there" (GTSC officer, stakeholders' meeting, Lilongwe, July 2000).

Primary teachers say: 'their paths are limited' and 'they want more new posts' but also suggest that things have got 'better and promotion is happening yearly'. Indeed secondary school teachers are of the opinion that primary school teachers are getting promoted before them and their peers at CDSSes, who had been especially picked and are doing more demanding teaching.

e. Theme: Student behaviour

Policy Context

Following the first democratic elections in 1994, there was a surge of newly-felt freedom in the country. Bodies such as the Anti-corruption Bureau and the Office of the Ombudsman were established and used by students. Students identified with this new freedom, expressing it by challenging authority and exerting their rights at school level. Desk officers at the divisions (posts created in the late 1990s) deal with student discipline. Both CSSes and CDSSes have discipline committees made up of teachers. Schools also seek the help of the community and parents on discipline in the form of Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) and school committees.

Findings

'I am being demotivated because of student behaviour' (SS Teacher)

Although many teachers cite interaction with students as the reason that they entered the profession, they are very demotivated by the current behaviour of students in the classroom. This affects all secondary schools visited but is more prevalent in CDSSes. The teachers are underqualified so are less effective in dealing with student disruption. They say that students often feel they know more than the teachers and they are frightened to use textbooks in class in case their lack of knowledge is exposed. They say they are also frightened to use student-centred approaches as students will abuse this.

Teachers believe student misbehaviour is due to the fact that 'they misinterpret democracy' and do what they want to do. In one school, younger teachers are blamed for 'promoting strikes' amongst students. Others complain that students either 'run away from classes' or are 'unruly'. Teachers blame multiple-choice questions used in examinations, believing they make students lazy in class, disinterested and not motivated to learn. Many students just want teachers to write notes on the board, which they can copy and regurgitate in the examination. Many teachers who were motivated by students passing examinations no longer feel this way, and 'few students pass'. Head teachers comment that 'it makes teachers not enjoy teaching' and they don't feel 'comfortable' with students. They "are afraid to deal with students in the right way because they bring in the constitution" (SS Head Teacher), and when they do punish students, they are 'threatened' and their security compromised. At CDSSes, teachers comment that parents often do not support the school in the punishment of their children. There are countless examples around the country of teachers being attacked by students, sometimes in their homes. Furthermore, teachers feel that all the new organisations such as the Ombudsman and the Human Rights Commission defend the students, and they therefore do not give out punishments for fear of being taken to court. All heads agree that if a teacher works hard, the students work hard and that heads themselves can help with the discipline problem.

f. Theme: Relationship with the community and the school environment

Policy Context

All of Malawi's primary schools have now been deemed community schools, which in effect places the community in a position of central partnership with government. Currently 75% of Malawian primary schools are built with the support of the community. Secondary education had been a central government domain, but with the conversion of the DECs into CDSSes in 1998, community involvement is now actively encouraged. Although CDSSes are not incorporated into the legal framework of the Education Act, the Policy Investment Framework (PIF) calls for community responsibility for buildings, maintenance, transport for schools, food, uniforms, learning materials and extracurricular activities.

When the former DECs were converted to CDSSes, they were designed to be largely self-funding. Government pays for teachers' salaries and instructional materials. Parents pay a tuition fee (sent by schools to an MoEST bank account) and the Textbook Revolving Fund. There are also separate fees for the General Purpose Fund (GPF), Projects and Minor Maintenance. Schools in partnership with PTAs and school committees decide how money from these three funds should be spent. Therefore for both primary schools and CDSSes, a good relationship with the community is essential.

Secondary school fees were raised in 2001 and now stand at the following:

<i>Fees in MK</i>	<i>CSS</i>	<i>CDSS</i>
Tuition	500	500
Boarding	1,500	-
TRF	250	250
GPF*	15	15
Projects*	15	15
Minor Maintenance*	10	10
<i>Total</i>	<i>2,490</i>	<i>990</i>

*Precise amounts may vary

The Malawi National Examination Board (MANEB) also charges fees for examinations. As school fees are a considerable cost for the average family, parents are now key stakeholders in the delivery of secondary education. Therefore there must be a good relationship between parents and the school.

Before 1994, very few Malawians were educated to secondary level. Consequently, teachers were held in high esteem by parents and surrounding communities. FPE resulted in the use of larger numbers of untrained or underqualified teachers in the system at both primary and secondary in schools that are part of the community, where parents and students live. This fact, coupled with poor results, has led to teachers receiving bad press and therefore sometimes a loss of respect in their communities.

Findings

“Parents can influence teachers’ motivation by collaborating and providing help and advice” (SS Head Teacher)

“If they [parents] praise us we are motivated” (SS Teacher)

All teachers agree that a good relationship with the community and parents is potentially motivating and important for all schools, especially CDSSes.

i) Respect from the community

Under-qualified CDSS teachers strive to get on the SSTEP programme because “if you get a diploma, you will be recognised by the nation” (SS Teacher) but qualified secondary school teachers complain that “the community abuse us and underrate our job and this lack of respect makes us unhappy” (SS Teacher).

In some cases, CDSS teachers say they are respected in the community. They are given credit in some shops and since the recent introduction of the housing allowance their status has risen. Relationships have improved when schools have gained good MSCE results (in one case better than the local CSS) and the teachers have therefore proved themselves. Sometimes the community ‘feels sorry for us’ and ‘consoles us’. However in other areas, it is the opposite; both parents and students ‘look down’ on teachers and ‘they say only teachers have HIV and AIDS’ which ‘demoralises us’. Teachers refer to the community as ‘faultfinders’ and ‘rivals’. They feel they are blamed locally and nationally for all the inadequacies of the education system. The ‘dilution’ of teaching by private secondary schools hiring teachers straight out of secondary school has not helped the profession. Teachers ‘used to get respect’ but now ‘there is no vocation’ for teaching.

ii) Community involvement in school affairs

Community involvement in school affairs is mainly applicable to the CDSSes. Most schools visited have Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) that hold meetings with varying degrees of regularity spanning occasionally to twice a term. The effectiveness of these meetings varies. In some schools ‘teachers and parents are solving problems together’ and working ‘hand in hand’. Furthermore there is a lot of cooperation between parents and teachers in the area of punishment. In others, parents defend their

children and blatantly go against the decision of the school discipline committee. Teachers often attribute this to the fact that the community is not educated - the majority have not attended school. One VSO teacher comments that the head can make a real difference to the relationship with the community. Urban CDSSes need a sense of community for development work as much as rural schools but "in a city school there is no sense of community" (SS Teacher).

A good relationship with the community is important in relation to the school environment. The state of repair of school structures affects teacher motivation. "The building is not up-to-date and that does not encourage teaching and learning" (SS Teacher) and "ceilings are falling down, there is a lack of paintings, the buildings need to be renovated". Teachers also tell of teaching under a temporary shelter outside in the cold season. New school structures have had a positive effect on teachers. One head of a CDSS which moved to its own premises comments "a change in school structure is very motivating – you see here – now periods can be fully taught – this has motivated the teachers and they will have a big staff room which is good". Rural teachers say that electrification would encourage both teachers and students as they could prepare lessons and study in the evenings.

Housing is an issue that often emerges in relation to the community. The communities are responsible for building and maintaining teachers' houses, but this has not been effected in most instances, with lack of money the main reason. Communities often borrow money from the school, which can be 'seen as a bank'. The influence of churches can also affect relations.

Primary school teachers for the most part have a good relationship with the community, which provides them with advice and information about their children. This is 'motivating' and makes it 'easier for them to teach'.

iii) Involvement of parents in children's education

There is very little evidence of parents' involvement in their children's education, although teachers believe 'parents should take a keen interest' and find this interest motivating. One CSS used to have open days for parents and students and one teacher has met about 6 parents of his class so far this year. However in CDSSes in particular, "few come to ask how their children are getting on or why they are not doing well" (SS Teacher).

g. Theme: Relationships with government offices

Policy Context

The old and new procedures for salaries are described under 2b (Policy context and practice as it relates to teachers; Remuneration; Basic salary). Reporting and communication channels follow the same system. Primary schools report to the DEO (now DEM) through the coordinating PEA. DEOs used to report to the EDMs on all matters but following decentralisation, DEMs report to district assemblies for financial matters and to the division or the ministry on other matters. Conventional Secondary Schools report to EDMs and, if appropriate, this is referred to the MoEST. CDSSes have tended to fall between the two. DECs used to report directly to the Malawi College of Distance Education (MCDE) but since their conversion into CDSSes, they now report directly to the EDM. However, most CDSSes employ primary school teachers and are not cost centres, so they report to the DEM on personnel and financial matters, and to the EDM on other professional matters.

Cost centres (DEMs, CSSes and approved CDSSes) currently make yearly budgets in coordination with the divisions. These are passed on to the MoEST and finally to the treasury for revision. Little money is kept at school level. School fees are transferred to HQ. When schools want to buy commodities or pay allowances, vouchers have to be filled out and the money claimed through ORT at the DEM (for primary and unapproved CDSSes) and at the EDM (for secondary and approved CDSSes). This means that teachers and heads have to make frequent trips to the DEM or EDM. The accounts personnel working at the DEM and EDM are posted by the Department of Human Resource Management and Development. They can be posted to any sector, hence they are not specifically education service people.

At district level, the PEAs are responsible for supervision and (with the division) inspection of primary schools. For secondary, it is EMAS at the Division. The Divisional Education Methods Adviser "visits schools and observes lessons and may teach a demonstration lesson. He/she conducts in-service training for teachers, keeps teachers informed of curriculum and organisational developments and assists in the selection and dissemination of curriculum materials" (Northern Education Division Handbook, draft July 2000). Ideally supervision should take place every term and inspection once a year in each school. However, with the growing number of schools and the monthly allocation of funds to these departments, it is difficult to see how capacity could meet demand.

Findings

"They used to come and now nobody comes" (SS Teacher)

Most CDSS and CSS teachers have a very weak relationship with Government offices and contact is mainly through their heads. "They come to check our problems – we visit them only when we have problems" (SS Teacher). One school has never met the Education Division Manager (EDM).

Primary schools have a better relationship with the District Education Office (DEO) and there are some signs of improvement for all schools with the incoming DEMs ("he will be better as he is someone") and decentralisation. Teachers and heads tell of confusion as to which office 'unapproved CDSSes' should report to - the DEM or the EDM. 'We are sidelined' and feel like 'lost sheep', "there is no office where we can put forward our concerns" (SS Teacher).

Relationships with government offices, in the words of a MoEST representative, "are in most cases based on money" and it is in this capacity that teachers and heads cite the DEM and EDM offices and officers as being 'inefficient', 'rude' and 'not professional'. Teachers sometimes feel 'victimised', 'passed from one office to another' and 'made to sit on a bench and wait'. In most cases they are referring to clerks and accounts personnel and situations involving salary administration problems. They complain they are not assisted with transport and overnight expenses and treated with a complete lack of respect.

CDSS teachers are most vociferous in their complaints about other officers. They feel that teachers are taken more seriously at the EDM if they have a diploma. CDSS heads also feel 'neglected'. When a relationship does exist, it is rarely professional in nature. Some schools have no contact with or 'checks'

by EMAS personnel, which they find demotivating. A representative from a Missionary Education Organisation gives a possible reason for this: "EMAS should be capable enough, they should be supported with more personnel and more funds. They don't reach the schools." Others consider them 'fault finders'. One school remarks that EMAS are 'approachable' and have facilitated at school-based training. A CDSS in the same area acknowledges a good relationship because "they visit us".

Heads feel that Districts and Divisions know of the problems affecting teacher motivation but do not take action to do anything to improve teachers' conditions because they themselves 'are doing OK' or 'they don't care', or because there is no mechanism or a lack of funds.

One primary school had a visit from HQ officers that had initially motivated them, but the lack of any feedback demotivated them. One group of teachers finds it a 'mystery' how any divisional or ministry officials can solve problems as many "are not teachers ...the PS (Principal Secretary) for Education is a health officer not a teacher" (SS Teacher). The situation has now changed and the new PS *is* from education.

h. Theme: Teaching and learning materials and resources

Policy Context

Before curriculum review and reform at primary and secondary, the textbooks that were in the schools were usually in insufficient supply, in a bad state of repair and sometimes irrelevant. In the former DEC's, the students studied from specially prepared sets of learning materials, which after 1995 were in short supply. When the DEC's were converted to CDSSes, there were no books available for teachers or students.

From the late 90s with the curriculum review at primary level, the World Bank and CIDA began to supply all primary schools with textbooks and teachers' guides in all subjects. A new phase of this project has just been completed and almost all schools have an adequate supply.

With the development of the new curriculum for secondary in 2000, textbooks have been written and adapted especially for Malawi. Parents were asked to share the cost of book provision at school level and an annual textbook fee (Textbook Revolving Fund) is levied from each student. The TRF is collected at the beginning of the school year. However this is 'the hungry season' and many students begin Forms 1 and 3 late due to late examination results. These factors lead to a delay in the collection of funds and consequently to a delay in the ordering of books. In 2001 some schools did not receive their books until the third term. As part of the TRF, the MoEST/DSPS also provided matching funds for all schools in 2000 and 2001 to enable them to buy an adequate stock of books for the new curriculum. The MoEST/DSPS also provided starter packs of books for Form 1 (some of these did not reach schools until late 2000) and Form 3.

Findings

Availability of resources is a motivating factor for many teachers: most groups ranked having sufficient teaching and learning materials as one of the three things that would make them happy. The DANIDA books for forms 1, 2 and 3 have helped and encouraged them: "the books make us feel more comfortable – it is easier to teach" (SS Teacher). Heads also remark that providing teachers with teaching and learning materials is one thing they can do to encourage motivation.

In most cases however, resources are not available or insufficient, leading to demotivation. "If you are provided with something that is needed in education you are happy – but sometimes we are disappointed and we go into class unprepared...we haven't understood anything and we are doubting could we do this?" (SS Teacher) Most teachers feel that a lack of or shortage of textbooks is drastic when there is a new curriculum, and many experienced this in 2000 and 2001. Aside from books, many schools raise the lack of equipment for science and resources such as computers to enable them to teach some of the subjects in the new curriculum. Some primary school teachers especially feel the lack of teachers' guides: "instead of writing lots of lesson plans in detail, you can just write a sketch and that would leave you more time for other things" (Primary School Teacher).

i. Theme: School management

Policy Context

There is limited training for new heads. For issues concerning staff conditions, managers are expected to consult the GTSC Regulations and Malawi Public Service Regulations books (which schools have to buy). They can also consult Human Resources Officers at school (if applicable), district, division and HQ level. In 2000, the Malawi Secondary Heads Association (MASHA) was launched with funding from DSPS. However, with the Danish government withdrawing bi-lateral assistance to Malawi, the future of the organisation is uncertain.

Findings

Teachers and heads agree that good management at school level can improve motivation: "if the administration is good it makes us happy" (SS Teacher). One group of teachers cites a good relationship with the head as one of the three things that would make them happy. Teachers express their liking of the profession and motivation because, to a certain extent, they are their own boss at school and 'are not pushed around'. However there is also a feeling of dependency on the head in some schools. "When he is there everybody works...when he is not there, little things go amiss" (VSO SS Volunteer) and there is talk of heads 'chasing teachers into classrooms'. One school visited was without a head for a number of months - "not having a headmaster was demotivating for the teachers" (VSO volunteer).

Head teachers list strategies that they implement to encourage motivation and 'ownership' of decisions. These include regular staff meetings to brief teachers and share ideas, delegating responsibility in such areas as timetabling and attending meetings outside the school, providing teachers with teaching and learning materials, praising and encouraging teachers and giving them professional and financial assistance. Teachers under these head teachers do not always confirm that these strategies are being implemented.

Teachers desire certain treatment and support from their line manager: fairness, respect, autonomy to get on with the job, 'friendliness', 'well-defined school rules', financial assistance and consultation. Very few express the need or desire for professional assistance. One head comments that CDSS teachers "don't ask if they have problems, they just do it on their own and they find it difficult". This observation is reinforced by a representative from the development partner community who comments "Teachers are not supported – the management of schools is poor and there is a lack of adequate curriculum management at school level". At the only school where the head has introduced a supervision programme, the teachers seem to be against it: "I don't think her supervision will improve anything" (SS Teacher).

j. Theme: The voice of teachers in decision-making

Policy Context

There has never been a formal, established approach to the elicitation of teachers' views. Before the democratic elections in 1994, decisions and policy-making were always conducted in a top down manner. Occasionally since 1994, the MoEST, MIE or development partners have conducted research in which teachers have been consulted. A small number of primary and secondary school teachers have also been involved in curriculum development, syllabus design and new curriculum orientation. Divisions and districts sometimes consult head teachers but it is difficult to ascertain to what extent this information is fed into the MoEST at the level of decision and policy-making. Head teachers consult teachers at staff meetings and on an individual basis but there is no mechanism for teachers' views to be fed upwards through the hierarchy.

TUM was established in 1945 by missionary teachers in Blantyre. It currently has 45,000 members, mainly from the primary sector. TUM has 17 objectives, and strives "to be a mouth piece organ for teachers, to protect the profession, to improve the professional and academic qualifications of teachers

and to represent teachers on all education forums" (TUM representative). Meetings between TUM and teachers are held at zonal, district, regional and national levels at least quarterly. These views are transferred to decision-makers through consultative meetings with DEM, EDM, MoEST HQ officials and other partners in education. TUM has formal representation in a range of bodies and committees such as MANEB, government/employees' consultative meetings, MoEST/development partner meetings and the Civil Society.

Findings

50% of teachers interviewed have a say in decision-making at school level: "Nobody works in isolation – even the headmaster can not pass a decision without us teachers" (SS Teacher). However the voice at school level feels rather superficial at times: "of course we are part (of school decisions) but we are usually not included" (SS Teacher). Another SS teacher comments that 'decisions taken at staff meetings are changed later on' and that 'decisions were not implemented'.

Teachers and most heads feel that they do not have much of a voice in decision-making at district and divisional level. They have limited involvement in areas such as zonal sporting and the National Day of Education. For the most part "it is just a matter of them saying 'do this'" (SS Teacher). The offices are seen as 'political'. Some heads (mainly qualified ones) feel they have some say and are invited to meetings at divisional level. They also say that they are sometimes consulted on transfers but never on promotions.

Around 60% of teachers interviewed are members of TUM and of this percentage, about 50% find the organisation effective. It is said to be 'a voice for our problems', 'a channel for communication' and 'grievances' and 'a negotiator between teachers and government'. Teachers believe TUM pushed for the introduction of the housing allowance, as well as distributing ID cards, providing regular training courses, advising on legal problems, providing back-up during strikes and 'fighting for our salaries'.

In some quarters, TUM is considered to represent solely primary school teachers, which may explain why a large percentage (particularly qualified secondary school teachers) have not joined. Other teachers appreciate that this is a misconception: 'TUM is for everyone, not just primary teachers'. There is a disparity of experience regarding joining, which seems to depend on the level of support and effectiveness at district level: some areas suffer from a lack of information about the organisation with teachers wanting to join but not having access to the appropriate documentation, while teachers in other areas have been forced into joining by officials.

Some teachers are scathing about the organisation and have not joined or let their membership lapse. It is described as 'just taking my money', 'politicised' and a 'non-starter'. Money is 'not utilised well' and certain officials 'were embezzling funds'. A large proportion of the teachers talk of a certain secretary of the Union being 'bribed' and 'corrupted' and the fact that 'the government doesn't listen'.

Summary of positive findings

- Enjoyment of the job, even though teaching was not originally the first choice of profession for many
- Introduction of the Secondary School Teacher Education Programme (SSTEP)
- Introduction of the Cluster Initiative
- Orientations for the new Junior Secondary (JS) English curriculum
- Introduction of the housing allowance and the professional allowance
- Reduction in the number of teaching periods for urban CDSS teachers
- Promotion to management level
- Better promotion procedures with the introduction of the Government Teaching Service Commission (GTSC)
- Recent changes in career paths for primary teachers
- Good results in the 2001 Malawi School Certificate of Education
- Good relationship with the community
- Respect for teachers from the community
- Move towards decentralisation and subsequent improvement in the efficiency of District Education Managers (DEMs)
- Positive effects of Education Methods Advisory Services (EMAS) supervision and inspection

2. Detailed conclusions and recommendations

Below is a detailed list of teachers' needs, as identified through the research, and conclusions, policy references and recommendations. Teachers' needs and conclusions are found in the first column of the table. Many of these are echoed in current policy, most notably in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and the Policy Investment Framework (PIF). Reference to and comment on these policies are found in the second column. Where there is insufficient policy reference to the teachers' needs and conclusions, recommendations have been made in the third column.

a. Training

<i>Conclusions of Research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Teachers do not receive sufficient pre-service or in-service training to teach with confidence	The PRSP states that the TDU will handle all administrative services related to teacher education. It will be decentralised by 2002 and upgraded to a department: the Department for Teacher Education and Development (DTED). This has taken place but a representative from the development partner community commented that "it is not established as a fully-fledged department in the Ministry" and there is "a hanging gap" at secondary.	The DTED should focus on secondary as well as primary. There should be more coordination between EMAS (HQ) and DTED.
CDSS primary school teachers need training in specialist content knowledge and handling secondary school students	"For under-qualified teachers already in the system, there will be opportunities to upgrade qualifications" (PRSP). The PIF states that all underqualified teachers will be upgraded by 2007 and the detail of the PRSP investment framework states that 270 per year will be trained on SSTEP at Domasi and another 100 on SSTEP at Mzuzu University.	Training of underqualified CDSS teachers must be given the highest priority.
Regular and frequent In-service Education and Training (INSET) is wanted for all teachers	Primary: "The MoEST ensures the provision of a quality INSET programme of primary school teacher support" (PRSP). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 315 TDCs will be completed by 2002 to provide decentralised school support. • All teachers will participate in a 3-day zone-based INSET per year. • MSSSP activities to educate PEAs and senior school staff will continue as planned. Secondary: "The professional support to secondary school teachers will be improved through INSET programmes on a school cluster basis" (PRSP)	
The Secondary School Cluster Initiative should be continued – "the system needs nurturing in terms of funding and professional leadership – it needs time to grow" (A representative from the	The PRSP says that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the short term, Divisional Senior Education Methods Advisers (SEMAs) will provide support to clusters. In the long term, it will be handled by the district. • There will be one short INSET course per year per teacher. 	

<p>development partner community) Cluster based training should have better facilitation</p>		
<p>Teachers need more training, supervision, observation and discussion at school level. This should involve heads of department, deputies, heads and divisional SEMAs</p>	<p>The PRSP states that divisional EMAS, heads, deputies and heads of department will be trained in school supervision and a necessary range of teacher support skills.</p>	<p>Some funds should be made available at school level so that training can be conducted.</p>
<p>All teachers want training in the new curricula, especially for MSCE</p>	<p>The PRSP states that divisional SEMAS will provide orientation to the new syllabi and the new textbooks "for all serving teachers". In July 2002: 'Training of trainers' orientations for all core subjects began in the South West and Shire Highlands Education Divisions.</p>	<p>Training in the new curriculum was very welcome and it is recommended that it be conducted at cluster level as soon as possible so that it trickles down to all teachers.</p>
<p>Teachers value training in itself but when linked with a monetary reward rather than accreditation, the effect on morale is undermined</p>		<p>An accreditation system for training should be established. If the remuneration package for teachers were better, training would be valued.</p>

b. Remuneration

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Teachers want a better remuneration package	"Ensure that all secondary school teachers receive an appropriate salary and conditions package" (PRSP).	
Teachers would feel more secure with a higher basic salary	Primary: "Maintaining teachers' wages constant in real terms" (PRSP). The PRSP also adds that newly-qualified teachers should receive a 15% real pay increase annually. Secondary: The PRSP suggests that salaries should be in the 12,000 MK a month range.	
Many rural teachers want to be housed in quality accommodation on school campus	Primary: the PRSP talks of 800 teachers' houses being constructed per year. There is also mention of "minimising the difference between rural and urban". Secondary: development partner/government-funded school construction usually consists of one or two teachers' houses being built. The PRSP also talks of "community mobilisation" in the development and maintenance of school buildings.	
Teachers want to go to more workshops where allowances are received	The PRSP outlines INSET planned. (See under training)	
Teachers expect their salaries to be correct and paid on time	The MoEST has already started to "decentralise administrative responsibilities/services for basic education" (PRSP). It also adds that administrative services at the divisions will be "streamlined". The establishment and strengthening of EMIS and the results of the school mapping exercise will make data processing of schools and teachers more efficient and effective. This should impact on the PPPI and therefore salary administration.	In the meantime, MoEST, division and districts should ensure that salaries are paid on time.
Teachers would like to know and understand how salaries and allowances are calculated		Clarification on salaries of different grades and how they are calculated should be disseminated.
Teachers want to know the future of the housing allowance		Clarification on the future of the housing allowance is needed. "I doubt it will be taken away" (Representative, MoEST)

Teachers would like to know the rent that should be paid for school houses		Policy clarification on renting school houses is required.
Teachers would be encouraged to conduct a range of extracurricular activities if they were rewarded		Reward for extracurricular activities ought to be paid at school level.
Teachers want to know the status of their loan applications		Clarification of the loan revolving fund and how it works would be a positive gesture.

c. Workload

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Teachers want training in the new curricula	Primary: "primary teachers to be oriented on the delivery of the new curriculum as part of INSET training" (PRSP). Secondary: see under training.	
More teachers need to come into the system (especially for agriculture)	Primary: "The MoEST continues training of teachers using both distance and face-to-face methods to ensure that an adequate number of primary school teachers are educated" (PRSP). Secondary: "Adequate numbers of secondary school teachers will be recruited and trained" (PRSP). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 250 per year from Chancellor College • 180 per year from Domasi College (residential diploma course) • 120 per year from the Polytechnic • 50 per year from Mzuzu University • 50 per year from Bunda College • 15 per year from the African Bible College 60% of the participants on the normal Domasi residential programme will be serving primary school teachers (PIF, June 2000).	At this time the MoEST should concentrate on getting more school leavers into the system. "We should not be taking any more teachers from primary school as that is robbing Peter to pay Paul" (Representative from MoEST). The MoEST should rely less on graduates from Bunda College and find another means of sourcing agriculture teachers to schools.
There should be a balance of teachers over rural and urban locations so that teachers have reasonable and similar workloads	Methods of deployment "will be efficient and effective ensuring reasonable workloads per week" (PRSP). Primary: "Teachers should be recruited and deployed in a systematic and co-ordinated manner" (PRSP). It adds that 800 teachers' houses will be built in the rural areas per year. On top of that, the PRSP says that an allowance of MK 480 per month will be paid to 20% of teachers in extremely remote areas. Secondary: the PRSP states that there will be equity of qualified teachers across CSSes and CDSSes. "When teachers are looking for a job, we will be satisfying the needs of the schools, not pleasing teachers – this will help" (Representative from MoEST). Finally the PRSP says the MoEST will "improve the use and	There should be a rural hardship allowance for CDSS teachers as well as primary. "I know this happens in places like Zambia and Zimbabwe – they get a hardship allowance and it is encouraging teachers to take up posts in rural areas but here (in Malawi) it's a problem – that allowance is not there" (A representative from TUM).

	efficiency of teachers with more flexible timetabling...and maximising teacher and learner contact time. The minimum number of periods that a teacher will teach will be 21 out of 45."	
Subject mastery as well as teacher-to-student ratio should be taken into account when teachers are deployed	"The subject specialisation of graduates will be carefully planned to meet demand" (PRSP)	An effective mechanism for the deployment of staff should be set up, taking into account subject mastery (especially to CDSSes).
Student enrolment should be kept to recommended levels	The PRSP states a target teacher-to-student ratio of 60:1 for primary and 40:1 for secondary. It also mentions phasing out student repetition due to poor performance. The development of private schools, the school mapping exercise, the creation of EMIS and decentralisation (all currently ongoing) should also mean that students are more evenly distributed. Primary: "Teachers will be recruited and deployed in the same district" (PRSP).	
CDSS head teachers need more support staff	"The MoEST will recruit a minimum number of administration workers for all CDSS schools" (PRSP). This is defined as a staff member to deal with accounts and a secretary.	

d. Promotion and career path

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Teachers are confused about the promotion policy and process	"A GTSC Regulations Guide has now been produced and there will be sensitisation exercises around the country" (Officer from GTSC, stakeholders' meeting, Lilongwe, July 2002).	
Teachers should be given frequent opportunities for promotion	There are some indications that this is happening with the GTSC. Following the period of this research, interviews were held for PT4 teachers applying to PT3.	
Some teachers do not receive communication about advertisements or interviews	GTSC has started to deliver information directly to the DEMs in person.	Better communication channels would be appreciated.
Teachers are unhappy with the current 45-minute interview	"Interview system will be replaced by aptitude test" (PRSP).	Some kind of appraisal system should be considered. "We should learn from other countries in Southern African Development Corporation (SADC) region, many of whom are starting appraisal programmes" (Stakeholders' meeting, Lilongwe, July 2002).
Teachers want to see more of a career path with more jobs at higher levels	"The career path...will be reviewed" (PRSP). Secondary: "Career paths must afford opportunities for both professional and financial advancement" (PRSP).	

e. Student behaviour

This problem, although cited by many teachers, could be seen as a symptom of demotivation rather than a cause. If teachers' needs were met in other areas such as training (especially in the content of the new curriculum and student-centred learning approaches), workload (especially high student enrolment), teaching and learning materials and school management, student behaviour might not be cited as such a major issue.

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
There should be a review of assessment practices, which currently rely too heavily on public examinations	Primary Curriculum Assessment Reform (PCAR) is part of the current DfID programme to assist MoEST with primary sub-sector improvements. Secondary: "The vision for secondary education entails reforming the examination system to test aptitudes, flexibility and learned competences...and implementing continuous assessment practices" (PRSP).	
Cheating at Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC), JCE and MSCE should be eradicated (students to enter secondary school at the correct level)	The PRSP says that MANEB will improve the quality, delivery and administration of examinations.	
Students should be 'sensitised' on the issues of democracy while also being consulted	"The vision for secondary education entails considering the rights of the students themselves so that they are involved in the decisions that affect their lives and supported by an effective counselling and careers guidance service." (PRSP)	
Teachers want to know exact procedures on student punishment		There should be clarification on student punishment with regard to correct procedures according to the law.

f. Relationship with the community and the school environment

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Communities should be sensitised on their role in partnership with the school	"Management of the education system will be based on a decentralised model with a greater emphasis on administrative responsibilities and accountability residing at school, community, zone and district levels"	Sensitisation of the community on their role should take place.
There should be joint construction and maintenance of school buildings by the school, community and government	Secondary: the PRSP talks of construction of new classrooms on the basis of the priorities established from school mapping, upgrading CDSSes with libraries and science facilities and the rehabilitation and maintenance of CDSSes. The latter is on the basis of a 50% cost share.	
There should be improved school management by a partnership of the school and the community. Regular PTA/school committee meetings should be held, where all issues relating to the school and community are discussed	Primary: "Schools and communities will be encouraged, trained and resourced to assume responsibility for the management of the school...school committees and communities will tackle the problems of drop-out, repetition and attendance through interventions such as the introduction of a 'social contract'". DSPS started this process and it is now being continued by DfID.	Secondary: it is recommended that the same should happen for CDSSes.
Teachers would like to have more contact with parents especially on issues relating to education	Even with FPE, the PRSP talks of making schools accountable to parents. At secondary, with raised school fees, "cost sharing also means a greater role for the parent as a partner in the education process".	

g. Relationships with government offices

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Teachers are unsure of the role of EMAS, supervision and inspection		The role of EMAS, supervision and inspection should be clearly defined to teachers.
Teachers want more regular and effective support from PEAs and EMAS	Primary: "to promote a more effective supervisory and inspection service" by "a rise in operating budgets for PEAs to carry out inspection, supervision and data collection – school visits to increase to one 2-day visit per term by 2002". (PRSP) Secondary: "training of SEMAs on school development planning and school supervision techniques". It also states that schools will be visited a certain number of times and that more SEMAs will be recruited to deal with capacity.	
All teachers, especially CDSS teachers, want more respect from district and divisional officers	"The main barrier is a possible reluctance of government to actively pursue its goal of a unified secondary system. This will mean treating all secondary schools equitably (currently government and grant-aided schools are treated more favourably than Community Day Secondary Schools)" (PRSP)	A re-education of government staff and the creation of a grievance procedure for teachers to follow in cases of mistreatment at government offices.
Unapproved CDSS heads and teachers do not know who they report to		Clarification of reporting and communication channels, especially with the onset of decentralisation, is needed.
There should be better communication and information systems between the schools and offices, and between offices themselves. Better financial and administrative processes are desired.	Primary: "a key factor will be to ensure that planners and managers have access to quality, relevant and timely data so as to inform them of the actual situation on the ground" This should be improved by streamlining administrative services at divisional level, EMIS and "effective decentralisation based on individual school autonomy" Secondary: "an efficient and equitable financing system for secondary institutions to be put in place" (PRSP). One measure is to retain 50% of school fees at school level for "agreed purposes".	

h. Teaching and learning materials and resources

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Teachers want a sufficient supply of textbooks and stationery for students and themselves	<p>“To ensure that all pupils have access to an adequate supply of relevant instructional materials” (PRSP)</p> <p>The investment framework for primary gives more details:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Students to have access to 4 textbooks (stds. 1-4); 5 textbooks (stds. 5-6); 8 textbooks (stds. 7-8) • An average of 15 exercise books are needed per student per annum • Each teacher requires notebooks, chalk, a duster, pens, a register, teachers’ guides, portable chalk board etc.” (PRSP) <p>CIDA have already supplied textbooks and teachers’ guides to primary schools. There are enough for each student and 1 teachers’ guide for every 40 students.</p> <p>Secondary:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Supply an initial stock of textbooks to all public schools so that the TRF scheme can subsequently sustain stocks • Pens/exercise books will be provided by the students” <p>All registered schools were supplied with starter packs of books for Forms 1 and 3 (where applicable) by MoEST/DSPS, who also provided matching funds for the TRF in 2000 and 2001.</p>	Schools should be encouraged to continue with the TRF by some form of matching funds from government
Secondary school teachers want resources for Science, Home Economics etc. so that they can deliver the new curricula effectively	<p>Secondary: The PRSP Investment Framework caters for “appropriate resources for specialist subjects: Computer Studies, Craft Design Technology, Agriculture, Nutrition and Sewing”.</p> <p>“Teaching materials and minimum science facilities will be available in schools (50% cost share)” (PRSP)</p>	

i. School management

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Teachers want the presence of a qualified head in their school	The PRSP says that teachers should be “effectively deployed”.	This should also apply to heads, taking into account rural unapproved CDSSes.

<p>Teachers want to have a good relationship with their head</p>	<p>The PRSP makes mention of a number of training courses for head teachers and deputies. MSSSP and SEP have already started. The PRSP also talks of more supervision by PEAs and EMAS to provide support to head teachers.</p>	<p>Training courses for school management should include student discipline, financial management and accountability, appraisals, delegation, consultation, supervision and observation, timetabling, meetings etc.</p> <p>MASHA should continue to be funded so that heads can come together, share information and skills and provide input to the MoEST.</p>
<p>Teachers need professional support from their head, deputy and head of department</p>	<p>Secondary: The SEP programme gives heads, deputies and heads of department training in supervision and observation.</p>	<p>All heads, deputies and heads of department should have training in supervision and observation.</p>
<p>Heads need to be supported by other administration staff at school level</p>	<p>"All secondary schools to have 2 administrators (1 accountant and 1 secretary) and 3 workers (messengers and guards)" (PRSP)</p>	

j. The voice of teachers in decision-making

<i>Conclusions of research</i>	<i>Recommendations arising from research already found in existing policy</i>	<i>New/additional recommendations arising from research</i>
Teachers want to be actively involved in decisions at school level	The PRSP states that training will be given to school administration.	This training should include the consultation process.
Teachers and heads want a voice at all levels for decisions that affect them		A formal mechanism should be set up so that teachers' views can be acted upon (if appropriate) at the suitable level and they can reach the top echelon of MoEST.
Teachers want more information about TUM and how to join. They also want information about its current activities		More clarification and information about the role of TUM and its activities should be disseminated.

3. Broad conclusions and recommendations

Detailed recommendations have been made and it is clear from the previous section that many are already included in the PRSP and the PIF. However, implementation is slow due to lack of prioritisation. This research shows how teachers could be re-motivated and strongly recommends that they be at the centre of future action. These broad conclusions and recommendations provide a framework for action. After each recommendation, there is an indication of responsibility as appropriate for government, development partners or civil society. This is shown in brackets.

1. Analysis of the research has shown that the top three issues that affect teacher motivation are training, remuneration and workload. These issues are addressed in current policy but there has been limited policy implementation.

- There is too high an expectation in the PRSP. The key factors of teacher remuneration, training and workload should be prioritised for action, even at the expense of other issues. (Government and development partners)
- There should be monitoring and evaluation by civil society on PRSP activity, to assist government in strengthening its own systems. (Government and civil society)
- Government should approach development partners about subsidising the salary bill for teachers. (Government and development partners)

2. The research shows that teachers want to do a good job but cannot perform effectively under some of the current conditions. They need help.

- Teachers' needs should be prioritised in the overall education budget – this will increase their motivation in delivering quality education. (Government and development partners)
- There should be a publicised campaign to increase support for teachers so that the public works with them rather than against them. (Civil society)

3. There is limited clarification of issues relating to teachers both for teachers themselves and for the public. These issues include the status of primary school teachers working in CDSSes, security of the housing allowance, selection for training and criteria used for promotion.

- There is need for clear communication with teachers on issues that affect them.
- There is a need for clear communication with the general public, with the aim of improving the public image of teachers. This could be in the form of a public campaign. (Government and civil society)

4. There is limited involvement of teachers in decision-making at all levels.

- A mechanism should be set up to ensure that teachers have a voice that is heard. (Government)

5. Implementation of the PRSP requires higher capacity levels at MoEST and related offices.

- Capacity levels in the MoEST need to be increased at HQ, division and district level. (Development partners)

6. There is a lack of development partner support in secondary education following the termination of DSPS.

- Another development partner should be actively sought to fill this gap. DfID work in the area of 'Basic' education. In Malawi 'Basic' education only refers to primary. In other African countries 'Basic' also includes a number of years at secondary. (Government and development partners)

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Extent of the Research and Methodology

11 Schools were visited:	4 rural CDSSes 2 semi-urban CDSSes 2 urban CDSSes 1 semi-urban CSS 1 urban CSS 1 urban primary school
Location:	2 schools in the North 4 schools in the Central region 5 schools in the South
Methodology	Single sex focus groups with teachers (between 2-8) Interviews with VSO volunteers Interviews with head teachers Interviews with district, division and ministry HQ personnel Interviews with other stakeholders

Although there was some mention of the issues of HIV and AIDS and gender in the focus group discussions and interviews, there has been no real analysis of these issues and how they affect teacher motivation.

Appendix 2 Questions asked in focus groups and interviews

a. Questions put to teachers in focus groups

1. How long have you been a teacher?
2. What are your career plans?
3. What were your reasons for becoming a teacher?
4. What makes you happy in your job?
5. What makes you unhappy about being a teacher in a secondary school?
6. Has the recent introduction of the housing allowance made you happier in your job?
7. Have there been any changes in how you feel about teaching since you entered the profession?
8. Have there been any changes in workload over the last few years? Is the change in the amount or complexity?
9. Does being happy with your job have something to do with how good you are at your job?
10. Have you had any in-service training? (At school, cluster, division or Domasi level?)
11. Did these trainings motivate you?
12. Are you a member of the Teachers' Union? If not, why are you not a member?
13. Is TUM useful?
14. What is your relationship to the DEM and the division?
15. Do you feel you are part of school decisions? What about at district or division level?
16. At this moment what three things would really add to your happiness in the school?
17. In what ways does the VSO volunteer in your school add to your happiness?
18. If you say your salary is a problem – do you mean the disbursement of the salary or is it solely the amount?
19. Why are teachers absent in your school?
20. Why do teachers around you leave the profession?
21. Do parents and the community link up with you? How is your relationship with the community? Does it motivate you?

b. Questions put to VSO Volunteers

1. To what level is the performance of teachers influenced by their motivation?
2. Would you consider the teachers in your school motivated?
3. How do they consider themselves?
4. What makes them demotivated?
5. Do you think all the innovations (trainings, curriculum change, change in school structure) might have an influence on teachers' motivation?
6. Do you think the workload/responsibilities of the teachers in your school is reasonable?
7. What 3 things do you think would really help the motivation of the teachers in your school?
8. What is the role of the head teacher in (de)motivation?
9. Do you feel the head could enforce improvements from the DEM or the division?
10. How do you perceive the trainings that teachers have?
11. Does in-service training have an influence on the motivation of teachers?
12. Does the disbursement of salaries play a role in the dissatisfaction of teachers with their salaries or is it solely the amount?
13. What is the estimated rate and reasons for teacher attrition and absenteeism?
14. What is the role of the community/parents with schools/teachers and its effect on motivation?
15. Do you as a volunteer have any impact on the motivation of teachers?
16. Is there any way VSO Malawi could have an influence on the motivation of teachers?

c. Questions put to head teachers

1. How do you see the motivation of teachers in your school?
2. What are the main reasons for their demotivation?
3. What makes a motivated teacher motivated?
4. Is the poor motivation of teachers the reason for the poor performance of many secondary schools in Malawi?
5. Does the happiness of teachers have an influence on their performance as teachers?
6. What could be done in your school to make teachers happier in their job?
7. What is in your capacity to motivate teachers?
8. Do you think the workload for teachers has increased over the last few years?
9. Have you seen a change in teacher motivation over the last 5 to 10 years?
10. Do you feel all the innovations (trainings, curriculum change, change of school structure) might have an influence on teacher motivation?
11. What in-service training have teachers received in your school? What effect did it have?
12. Are teachers often absent? What is the reason for that?
13. Has the recent introduction of the housing allowance motivated teachers?
14. Do you feel you have a say when the DEM or the division decides about conditions of service, resources, implementing national policy etc.?
15. Do you feel the DEM and the division know what (de)motivates teachers and are able to act?
16. What influence has the VSO in your school had on teachers?
17. The MoEST has said that the community should play a main role in the provision and rehabilitation of teachers' housing. What is your perception on this?
18. In your function as a head what motivates and demotivates you?
19. What is the role of the community/parents with the school/teachers? Does it have an effect on motivation?
20. Do you think there is anything VSO Malawi can do about the motivation of teachers?

d. Questions put to the DEM, divisional officers and Ministry HQ

1. What do you consider the main reasons for teachers' demotivation?
2. Does the poor motivation of teachers have an influence on school performance?
3. Do you consider the (de)motivation of teachers a major issue in the quality of education in Malawi?
4. At what level of education do you consider teacher motivation to be worst and why?
5. The attrition rates of teachers in Malawi is high. What are the reasons for this? What solution does the MoEST see to this?
6. Do you feel all the innovations (trainings, curriculum change, change of school structure) might have an influence on teacher motivation?
7. What can you as a DEM/divisional officer do to motivate teachers?
8. Is there any difference in motivation levels between primary and secondary school teachers?
9. What about primary school teachers who are teaching at CDSSes?
10. Do you consider the workload/responsibilities of teachers reasonable?
11. Do you see any change in teacher motivation over the last 5-10 years?
12. Do you feel that teachers are heard when conditions of service, allocation of resources etc. are made?
13. Do you feel that in-service training has an effect on the motivation of teachers and on their performance?
14. What is the status of TUM? Is it able to feed into national policy making?
15. What do you consider to be the main obstacles considering bi/multilateral donor policies in relation to the motivation of teachers?
16. What are the internal obstacles for implementing the policy?
17. Do you see any role for VSO in the motivation of teachers?

Appendix 3 Old and new JS and SS curricula: subjects and period allocation

<i>Old JS and SS curriculum*</i>	<i>JS recommended period allocation</i>	<i>SS recommended period allocation</i>
<i>Compulsory subjects</i>		
English	7	7
Chichewa	3	5
Mathematics	7	7
<i>Optional subjects (at least 6 to be studied)</i>		
Biology	3	5
Physical Science	4	5
Geography	3	4
History	3	4
Bible Knowledge	3	4
Agriculture	3	5
Home Economics	5/6	5/6
French	4	4
Art and Craft, Technical Drawing, Metalwork, Woodwork, Commerce Latin, Needlework, Principles of Accounting, Additional Mathematics	Few schools had the resources to offer these subjects so period allocation varied	

* It was sometimes difficult to determine exact period allocation

<i>New JS curriculum</i>	<i>Recommended period allocation</i>
<i>Core subjects</i>	
English	7
Chinyanja	3
Mathematics	7
Integrated Science	5
Religious and Moral Education or Bible Knowledge	3
Social Studies	3
Agriculture	3
Physical Education	2
<i>Elective subjects</i>	
History	3
Geography	3
Biology	4
Physical Science	4
French	3
Home Economics	6

<i>New SS curriculum</i>	<i>Recommended period allocation</i>
<i>Core subjects</i>	
English Language	5
Chichewa	5
Mathematics	5
Science and Technology	5
Social and Development Studies	4
Physical Education	2
Life Skills	2
<i>Elective subjects</i>	
History	3
Geography	3
Biology	3
Physical Science	3
Literature in English	3
Literature in Chichewa	3
Home Economics	3
Craft and Design Technology	3
Music and Dance	3
Computer Studies	3
Business Studies	3

Appendix 4 Valuing Teachers Stakeholders' Meeting

Capital Hotel
Lilongwe
23 July 2002

1. The objectives of the meeting were to:
 - Share the findings of the research
 - Seek the participants' views on the issue of teacher motivation
 - Open doors for dialogue between education stakeholders.
2. Information on the VSO advocacy project was presented (see introduction), including the headline findings in Papua New Guinea and Zambia. In Papua New Guinea, teachers were most concerned with the issue of school management. In Zambia the most important issue was remuneration.
3. A summary of the research findings was then presented (see chapter 2)
4. Stakeholders were then asked to discuss and comment on the findings and rank them in order of priority. There was general consensus that the issues that the research had identified were real and crucial to achieving quality education for all.
5. Participants were then asked to look at the way forward. These discussions formed the starting point for the conclusion and recommendations found in the report.
6. The participants endorsed the research findings and committed themselves to taking the issues forward in their individual departments.