
**AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
TEACHER DEPLOYMENT POLICY IN PRIMARY
SCHOOLS, THE CASE OF LILONGWE DISTRICT**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the text of this dissertation entitled: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TEACHER DEPLOYMENT POLICY IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS: THE CASE OF LILONGWE DISTRICT is substantially my own work

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the seemingly powerless women teachers in Malawi; their generosity, humanity and inveterate dedication to the future of the country have been a source of inspiration.

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ABSTRACT

There are teacher imbalances in primary schools in the rural and the urban areas as well as among education districts in Malawi. The study investigated the implementation of teacher deployment policy of the Ministry of Education in primary schools by examining reasons behind teacher disparities and the challenges that the policy is facing in the implementation process. The investigation also involved diagnosis of suitable measures to be employed in order to tackle the challenges of the policy implementation. The study covered three education districts: Lilongwe Urban, Lilongwe Rural East and Lilongwe Rural West and it predominantly used qualitative method and the quantitative method mainly complimented the major method. The results of the study found that various challenges such as lack of strategies in teacher deployment, absence of established posts in primary schools, erratic recruitment of teachers by the Ministry of Education (MOE) for a period of ten years after 1994, poor living and working conditions of teachers particularly in the rural area, contributed to the problem of teacher imbalances in primary schools and achieving teacher balance between the rural and urban areas was a major challenge. Other challenges that contributed to poor implementation of teacher deployment policy include: political interference, inadequate financial and material resources at district level; and poor utilization of education data in the allocation of teachers to various schools. Generally teacher deployment in primary schools will remain a major challenge unless issues of teacher shortage, resources and teacher working conditions among other things are resolved.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
CDSS	Community Day secondary School
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Information Management System
FBEAs	Faith-Based Education Agencies
FPE	Free Primary Education
GTS	Government Teaching Service
HIV	Human Immune Virus
JCE	Junior Certificate Examination
MASTEP	Malawi Special Teacher Education Programme
MIITEP	Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Programme
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
MPSR	Malawi Public Service Regulations
MSCE	Malawi School Certificate Examination
NGO(s)	Non-Governmental Organization(s)
NSTED	National Strategy for Teacher Education and Development
SMC	School Management Committee
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
T2	Teacher grade 2
T3	Teacher grade 3

TDU	Teacher Development Unit of the Ministry of Education
PT 1	Primary teacher grade 1
PT2	Primary teacher grade 2
PT3	Primary teacher grade 3
PT4	Primary teacher grade 4

DEFINITIONS

Cohort: a group of student teachers to be trained for a specific period of teacher training

Circular: written policies circulated to all education institutions or offices at all levels for their information and guidance

Deployment policy: the allocation of teachers to schools where they are assigned teaching duties; and it includes posting, transfers in accordance with need for services of teachers in the schools

District Education Managers: Ministry of Education officials who are placed as overseers of educational issues relating to administration, management and policy issues at education district level

Education District: A demarcated area under the jurisdiction of a district education manager and are either smaller than the administrative district or in some cases the same as the administrative districts

Education Divisions: It is demarcated areas which comprise more than three education districts. In some cases a division is smaller than an administrative region. Malawi has six education divisions namely: South East, South West, Shire Highlands, Central West, Central East and Northern. These cover South, Central and Northern; three administrative regions

Perception: refers to the state mind, attitudes or belief which affect behaviour and is based on the interpretation of immediate and past experience

Policy: An explicit or implicit single decision or group of decision which may set out directives for guiding future decisions, initiate or retard action, or guide implementation of previous decisions

Pupil/teacher ratio: Number of pupils per teacher

Untrained teacher: An individual recruited to become a teacher without undergoing professional teacher training

Work motivation: the psychological processes that influence individual behaviour with respect to the attainment of workplace goals and tasks

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is an international organization presently composed of 30 member states; its objective is to help governments tackle economic, social and governance challenges of a globalised economy

Teacher grade: Teachers are assigned teaching grades that are linked to their posts. For example PT4 teacher is at grade 4 which is the entry point grade to teaching at primary school. The PT4 entry point applies to all teachers with different academic qualifications at primary school. PT3 is a grade that is attained after being promoted from PT4 and the same pattern of promotion goes up to PT2 and PT1 teacher grades

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents a brief historical background of primary teacher education in Malawi and the various teacher education programmes that the Malawi government has implemented since 1964 when Malawi gained political independence. The historical background is followed by an outline of the current status of teacher management in Malawi and an analysis of the problem statement, purpose of the study, its rationale and significance.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Teacher Education in Malawi

Teacher education in Malawi started with the missionaries in the mid 1890s. Mission teacher training colleges were established at Livingstonia Mission which is situated in the Northern part of Malawi in 1895; St Michaels College and Henry Henderson Institute in 1899 and 1908, respectively, were established in the Southern part of Malawi; and William Murray College at Mvera was founded in 1902 in the Central part of Malawi. Realizing that the quality of teachers produced in mission teacher training colleges was inferior the colonial government opened the first teacher training college at Domasi in Zomba in 1929. Thereafter, the colonial government of Malawi then opened more teacher training colleges.

Teacher training programmes in Malawi have evolved over time. For instance, the duration of the teacher training courses ranged from one year to three years and have either been on residential or non residential basis.

However, teacher training programme that has been conducted for a longer period in the post-independence Malawi was a two-year residential programme. All

the teacher training programmes lead to T2 and T3 primary school teacher certificates which are awarded to teacher trainees with Malawi School Certificate of Examinations (MSCE) and Junior Certificate Examinations (JCE), respectively. T2 was a starting grade for teachers with MCSE in the civil service while T3 was a starting grade for teachers with JCE. MSCE certificate is obtained after completing four years of secondary education while JCE is obtained after completing two years of secondary education.

In an effort to increase the number of trained teachers the government introduced other special teacher training programmes. These teacher training programmes were fast track with distance and residential teaching modes. Through these training programmes, more teachers were trained within a shorter period of time. Apart from increasing the number of trained teachers, the Government also increased the number of training institutions. As such, additional Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) were built to that effect. Despite the increase in the number of TTCs which also increased annual teacher in-take, the TTCs' output was still lower than the required number of teachers in the primary sub sector. MOE (2006) confirms this by stating that despite the increased number of institutions of teacher education, the total output has remained less than 3,000 for primary school teachers annually. Furthermore MOE (2006) indicated that possible reasons for the lower output are due to limited bed space in teacher education institutions, inadequate financial support, less attractive career in teaching, less responsive teacher education development programmes and inadequate skilled teacher educators.

1.2.2 Teacher Management in Primary Schools

The highest teacher demand became rampant in 1994, when Government introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) which resulted in the recruitment 18,000

untrained teachers, and 2,000 retired teachers (MOE/UNICEF, 1998). The advent of FPE, brought new forms of teacher recruitment because Government authorised recruitment and use of untrained and unqualified primary school teachers in an effort to address the high teacher demand.

When a lot of teachers flooded the primary education sub sector due to FPE, MOE started bringing in issues of teacher management by creating various education structures throughout the education system and strengthen inter-ministerial coordination. These bodies included the creation of the Department of Teacher Education to be responsible for pre-service and in-service training of teachers at primary, secondary and TTC levels (MOE, 2006). In addition, the Government gave the mandate of teacher management and administration issues to the Malawi Government Teaching Service Commission (MGTSC) which was established in 1996 by Act of Parliament. Other efforts included strengthening the Directorate of Basic Education and Human resource to assist in dealing with issues pertaining to teachers. According to MOE (2006), the Basic Education department was directly responsible for teacher management including distribution of teachers to various districts. There was also strengthened coordination between the Department of Human Resource based in the Office of President & Cabinet and the Ministry of Education. This department processes the establishment of teaching posts and liaises with Ministry of Finance for salary allocation. Within MOE, other structures were created to assist in the management of education issues including teachers. MOE created divisional offices whereby education districts were clustered within six education divisions. These divisional offices work as MOE's extended arms closer to the education districts. After the education divisions, another structure comprising education districts was created. At this level MOE divided the administrative districts further

into 34 education districts. A District Education Manager (DEM) was placed in each of the district as the responsible officer. The education districts were responsible among other things, for teacher deployment within the district. The education districts were broken further into zones where a group of primary schools ranging from 13 to 16, depending on size of zone were clustered. Each zone was assigned to a Primary Education Adviser (PEA) who is responsible for affairs of teachers and schools in that zone. The assumption of decentralization policy is that if teachers are employed through districts, they will be more responsible and committed to needs of the school and local employer (MOE, 2006). According to MOE (2003) teacher management and administration often refer to the control and decision-making structures, processes, roles, responsibilities and relationships that aim at optimizing the efficiency and effectiveness of teacher productivity in the classroom. The elements of teacher management and administration cover recruitment, employment, deployment, registration (licensing), transfers, discipline, rewards (negative and positive), retirement and other welfare/motivational issues.

FPE in Malawi created major challenges in the management of primary school teachers. The teaching force expanded rapidly without providing ample time for proper planning and institutional arrangements. The influx of the untrained teachers into the primary education sub sector, within a short period of time was not easy to manage. Similar to FPE, most Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) countries adopted the global Education for All (EFA) policy and experienced rapid increase in enrolment in primary education, which also affected education quality. The increased enrolments created a high demand for teachers and associated cost implications on the education system in SSA as evidenced by UNESCO/IIEP (2004) statistics, which show that SSA will need about 1.4 million new teachers between 2000 and 2015, if they have to

meet EFA requirements. ADEA/World Bank (2006:1) also support this argument by stressing that in SSA “most education systems do not have adequate financial resources, despite receiving a larger proportion of government expenditure than in most Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development member countries (OECD)”. This is so because in most SSA countries teacher salaries account for over 80 percent of the total education budget.

However, UNESCO/IIEP (2001) elaborates that although governments have promising policies and adopted initiatives in recent years, particularly to rationalize the use of human resources in the education sector, certain crucial teacher management issues still remain unresolved. UNESCO/IIEP (2004) stresses that while management is aimed at achieving an optimal match between staff and posts; the principle is rarely applied to the management of teachers. Indeed, Bennell (2004) notes that for almost all administration regarding teacher management, one notes lack of clear rules, which tend to generate conflict, power vacuum, and overlap and duplication of effort; it is nothing short of chaotic.

Although the Department of Human Resource is one of the bodies created for management of education human resource, which includes, all government employed teachers. Their functions are limited in scope due to the Malawi Public Service Regulations (MPSR), which serve as reference to this department when they are discharging their duties on day to day basis. The MPSR contains regulations that cover conditions of service and other related aspects of government employees (civil servants). The regulations are old and overdue for revision hence not adequately responsive to changes taking place in the ever changing world. Currently there are emerging issues, for example: human rights, HIV/AIDS at work place, which need to be understood in teacher management. Such aspects have not been integrated in the

MPSR and as a result, most human resource officers are facing challenges in dealing with the merging issues in relation to teacher management which includes deployment. In support, UNESCO/IIEP (2001) states that staff management practices have unfortunately, often proved to be much more difficult to change than organizational charts.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The distribution of teachers to various primary schools in Malawi is inequitable and there are numerous disparities in teacher allocation between the urban and rural areas, among education districts, within education districts and even at school level. For instance, MOE (2006) statistics show that the issue of teacher disparities concerns districts and even education divisions. The pupil/teacher ratio provides evidence of these disparities. Ministry of Education statistics (2006) indicate that for the urban area the ratio was 46:1 while that for the rural area was 81:1, an indication that there are more teachers in urban areas (on average one teacher for every 46 pupils) than in rural areas (on average one teacher for every 80 pupils). Although government's benchmark for pupil/teacher ratio is 60:1(PIF, 2000), education statistics have shown that disparities in teacher allocation still exist. Therefore any ratio above the benchmark of 60:1 may indicate higher pupil enrolment that is not commensurate with the number of available teachers while any lower ratio might indicate excess number of teachers in established posts. In addition, a study by the World Bank (2004) indicates that there are variations in teacher deployment among districts in Malawi. Furthermore, a study on quality of education by Milner et al (2001) shows the same variations in staffing ratio among education divisions. All these studies support the fact that imbalances in the allocation of teachers exist in Malawi.

In an effort to address the issue of teacher disparities, in 1998, the Malawi Government revised the policy on primary teacher deployment and provided that, “teachers should be posted to schools where vacancies of their grades exist regardless of marriage” (MOE Circular, 1998). This policy was circulated to all education districts for action. Although this policy has existed for nine years now, the issue of teacher disparities has remained the same. This is evidenced through Ministry of Education statistics for various years for example from 1999 to 2007 which still indicate that teachers are not equitably distributed in primary schools in Malawi.

Following the institutionalization of EFA in various SSA countries, new policies that assist in the smooth implementation of EFA emerged. Among the new policies were decentralization and community participation policies, which were adopted by Malawi Government to, among other things, support and strengthen teacher management issues at lower levels. After adopting FPE in Malawi, the primary education system was decentralized in order to facilitate the management of primary schools, (MOE, 2003). In this regard, Bennell (2004) explains that the comprehensive decentralization of school management functions will result in significant improvements in teacher recruitment and deployment practices and higher teacher motivation and overall performance.

Decentralization is said to have an important influence on teacher supply and allocation. A study in India illustrated improved teacher recruitment through decentralization which reduced procedural problems, political pressure, and litigation, (UNESCO/IIEP, 2001). In Malawi, the primary education system structure is decentralized to a five-tier hierarchy (national, divisional, district, zonal and school). Although decentralization is being associated with strengthening support to schools

and teachers and eventually improving teacher utilization, the issue of inequitable distribution of teachers still exists in Malawi.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The present study seeks to analyze MOEs teacher deployment policy in primary schools by examining its implementation. The study will also examine the challenges facing MOE in the implementation of the policy and will recommend remedies. In order to achieve the purpose, the study will be guided by the following questions:

1. What factors contribute to imbalances of teachers among primary schools?
2. What are the implementation challenges of the teacher deployment policy?
3. What suitable measures would be employed to tackle the challenges of the policy implementation?

1.5 Rationale and significance of the study

According to UNESCO, until the late 1980s management of teachers was hardly discussed in forums and was not even a subject of research (UNESCO, 2001). The discussions on EFA and improving the quality of education have generally failed to recognize the pivotal role of teachers (Bennell, 2004). Bennell (2004) argues that the budget constraints in low-income countries have led to less attention to teacher issues. UNESCO/IIEP (2001) shows that the perception of teachers then was only focused in the classroom in terms of teachers' significant impact on pupil or student learning and as 'agents of change' in the processes of educational innovation. As such, in low-income countries such as Malawi, there is not much information on issues of teacher management. Although MOE developed a national strategy on teacher education and development, the strategy has not yet been ratified by cabinet. Some studies that have been conducted on teacher issues, Kadzamira (1995) and Moleni and Ndalama (2004) did not cover much about the issue of teacher deployment because in both studies

teacher deployment was not the main focus of the studies. Although some studies pertaining to teacher management have been done at international level, their findings and discussions are not relevant to the Malawian context due to differences in education systems and in policies. For example, a study conducted by Hutchings et al (2003) in England, talked of deployment of ‘supply teachers’, a new concept in the Malawian education context and further, the study shows that deployment of teachers was completely decentralized and schools advertised for vacancies, interviewed and recruited teachers directly, a situation that does not exist in Malawi. Similarly, Mulkeen et al (2005) indicated that in Lesotho teachers are hired at school level, a policy similar to that of England. Further studies on teacher deployment, management and utilization conducted in some of the SSA states such as Uganda, Ghana, Lesotho and South Africa, show that policies for teacher management varied from one country to another. Some of the countries have decentralized education systems and teacher management issues are handled at district and/or school level. The other countries are still centralized or partially decentralized in which case teacher management issues are handled at both national and district levels or are a purely national issue. Thus, the challenges that these countries face in the area of teacher management cannot be the same and therefore need to be explored further in order to determine the reasons behind such challenges. Hence, the issue of teacher deployment in Malawi needs to be treated in its own right and to some extent in isolation from other countries because of the uniqueness of the issue. It would therefore be difficult to make conclusions for Malawi based on studies done elsewhere.

In an effort to improve the situation of teachers worldwide, efforts have been taken to table teacher related issues for discussion at international fora. UNESCO/IIEP (2001:1), for instance, shows that “over the last decade, efficient

teacher management has become a priority on the agenda of both governments and agencies providing external assistance in education.”As such, there is need to conduct this research because it will specifically focus on issues of teacher deployment with respect to Malawi.

There are various reasons that make this study important. First and probably most important, the study will make significant contributions to available literature on the subject of teacher deployment in Malawi; the pool of knowledge in this regard is presently inadequate. Secondly, the study may attract attention of policy makers and most readers and may therefore contribute to changes in teacher policies and increase understanding of the underlying causes of teacher-imbalances in primary schools in Malawi. Finally, the study will identify gaps that will be brought to the attention of major stakeholders in education including the relevant authorities in MOE and government for some possible interventions in this area.

1.6 Chapter Summary

Various issues relating to the historical background of teacher education and teacher training programmes including current teacher management practices have been discussed in this chapter. It has been shown that teacher training is critical to teacher quality and Malawi has implemented various teacher training programmes in order to improve the quality of teachers. It has also been shown that Malawi is facing challenges in terms of teacher imbalances, at different levels of the education structure: national, district and school levels a situation that has led to this study. Furthermore, the chapter has indicated that the study will increase knowledge and understanding of teacher deployment issues and at the same time provide useful information at different fora: government, academic and other interested parties.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter reviews literature related to the implementation of primary school teacher deployment policy. In order to draw from a cross-section of experiences, the literature reviewed covers a number of countries including but not limited to Botswana, Ghana, Ireland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Australia and United States of America. The review therefore spans several continents and not much has been drawn from Malawi because there is not much research done specifically in area of teacher deployment in primary schools. Although some research has been extensively done on teachers in general, the area of teacher deployment in the studies is inadequately addressed. While the review makes use of various studies, research works, and policy analysis, among others, the essence of the review is to draw out theoretical aspects of teacher deployment.

2.2 Concept of teacher deployment

The concept of teacher deployment has not been defined by many authors. UNESCO/IIEP (2001:5), defines teacher deployment as “placing a person at the right position.” Mvula (2005:1) defines teacher deployment as “the allocation of teachers to schools where they are assigned duties”. Mvula (2005) further contends that teacher deployment involves posting in accordance with need for services of teachers in schools. The cited definitions emphasize the “need of personnel at an institution” or “filling a vacancy in relation to necessity of work”.

2.3 Factors characterizing prospective teachers

Individual's choice of the teaching profession as a career affect supply of teachers. Teacher recruitment is determined by one's job choice. Young et al (1989) link job choice to the three job choice theories: objective, contact and subjective, which they say explain the rationale behind one's job choice. In addition, as cited in Young et al (1989), Tom (1986) states that the objective theory defines candidates as economic beings, who seek to maximize their economic status by joining an organization that is perceived as being the most economically competitive. In terms of contact and subjective theories, Young et al (1989) define candidates as rational and psychological beings concerned with the work itself and motivated by their psychological needs. A number of studies provide that people choose the teaching profession for various reasons. A study by Moran et al (2001), examining why teaching is chosen as a career, provides yet another dimension by noting that university students entered the teaching profession mostly for altruistic reasons. Moran et al (2001) citing Hayes (1990), show that the altruistic reasons included 'to make a positive difference in the lives of children because of their love of children and also because teaching would 'allow them to express their creative abilities'.

Similarly, another study conducted among prospective kindergarten teachers in Greece, found that the basic motive for selecting their profession was their love of working with children, (Doliopoulou, 1995). In contrast, in England, Wales and Scotland, studies show that reasons for choosing teaching were essentially extrinsic, relating to salary and job satisfaction (Unwin, 1990). Similarly, a study in Ghana shows that the teaching career was associated with less financial hardship (Akyeampong, 2001). Moran et al (2001), concludes by saying that reasons for

choosing the teaching profession as a career have been predominantly altruistic and intrinsic, although extrinsic rewards could take precedence.

Based on what the various studies found pertaining to individuals' characteristics, job choice and reasons for choosing the teaching career, a decision that an individual makes in choosing a teaching career directly affects the quantity of the teaching force and thereby affecting teacher deployment. As more individuals choose the teaching profession, they provide a pool of supply of teachers which enables governments to employ more teachers in order to fill the teaching vacancies in schools.

However, having considered the above, in Malawi, limited job opportunities for people with MSCE qualifications, make most MSCE holders choose the teaching profession. For instance, MOE (2005) teacher recruitment data shows that 26,000 people competed for 3,000 teacher posts. This provides evidence of lack of opportunities for MSCE holders, which is particularly apparent in recent times owing mainly to lack of growth in the employment sector and start-up capital, *inter alia*.

Similarly, Kadzamira (2005) in a study on teacher incentives and motivation in Malawi found that for the majority of secondary school leavers teaching remains an occupation of the last resort. However, the same study also found that teacher training programmes at both primary and secondary levels fail to attract better students into teaching due to poor conditions of service in the teaching profession.

Other studies have shown that characteristics of candidates determine their choice of carrier as a teaching profession. For instance, a study on teachers in Ghana, found that most prospective candidates for teaching had weak academic backgrounds, contributing to weak conceptual understanding of subject pedagogy and subject

knowledge mastery (Akyeampong, 2001). Similarly, a study in Argentina reveals that students from lower income households were more likely to join the teaching profession, (Hector et al, 2002). Davini et al (1997) as cited in Hector et al (2002) even link undertaking a teacher-training course to lower levels of education of the parents of the students by computing the percentage of students whose parents achieved university degrees.

In addition, Hector et al (2002) show that living in a big city decreased the probability of choosing a teacher training course due to availability of numerous job opportunities as compared to those living in a small city. As reported by Akyeampong (2001) the background characteristics of student teachers have implications for policies on the starting points and structure of training, particularly in view of the weak academic backgrounds of prospective candidates. Teacher recruitment is determined by individual's choices and characteristics and therefore cannot easily be controlled by the education systems. .

As opportunities for the teaching carrier become more dependent on the various factors as analyzed in this section, an implication on teacher supply is inevitable. As such, the factors characterizing prospective teachers have an impact on teacher supply which is an important element of teacher deployment. Limited supply of teachers may result in teacher shortage and thereby affecting teacher deployment.

2.4 Systems of teacher recruitment

Two systems of teacher recruitment are evident: centralized and decentralized systems (Bennell, 2004). However, teacher recruitment systems are not necessarily continent or region specific. For instance, a study on recruitment and hiring methods of teachers in Philadelphia, USA showed that teacher recruitment was decentralized to the school level, (Murphy and DeArmond, 2003). Similar recruitment patterns were

also shown in the recruitment of supply teachers in England, (Hutchings et al, 2006). In England, recruitment of supply teachers is done through private agencies; local authorities and schools and all these are the lowest level of the education structure. In contrast, studies in the other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries (OECD) have shown that teachers are recruited on the basis of very limited criteria and schools play little or no role in the selection or appointment process (Australia DEST, 2003). However, studies in the SSA countries indicate variations in teacher recruitment (Bennell, 2004). Some studies in Lesotho, Sierra Leone, and Uganda found that teacher recruitment was school-based especially where missions and other Faith Based Education Agencies (FBEAs) own and manage sizeable proportions of schools; education ministries are merely informed once recruitment decisions have been made. However, Bennell (2004) singles out accountability as weakness of the decentralized teacher recruitment system. Despite this weakness, decentralized teacher recruitment has shown to be more effective in terms of teacher deployment. According to Mulkeen (2006) teachers have a free choice as to which school to teach in countries with decentralized teacher recruitment system. Mulkeen (2005) gives an example of Lesotho in Africa whose system of teacher recruitment is based on local hiring of teachers by indicating that teachers apply to schools where they are willing to work. He further explains that schools do not have problems of teachers refusing postings. Contrary to decentralization, other countries in SSA, for example, Ghana and Malawi follow the centralized teacher recruitment pattern (Bennell, 2004). Consequently, the whole process is usually highly bureaucratic and subject to very long delays (Bennell and Akyeampong, (2007). In Ghana, for instance, teachers are appointed by the Ministry of Education and then posted to schools. Although centralized system exists in Malawi, there are

efforts to decentralize primary teacher recruitment (MOE, 2006) . Although centralized systems are believed to allow rational deployment of teachers, on the other hand literature shows that highly centralized systems are dependent on the quality of information they receive from schools and in some cases teacher deployment is undermined, (Mulkeen, 2005).

Although one would rarely expect challenges in teacher recruitment in highly industrialized countries, some studies show that teacher recruitment faces challenges in these countries as well as in low income countries. Studies in Western Australia, Canada, USA, UK and New Zealand revealed that rural areas and remote regions face greater difficulties in teacher recruitment and supply, (Australia DEST, 2003). Generally, teacher recruitment has various implications on teacher deployment and none of the two teacher recruitment systems as indicated by the literature can adequately address the issue of teacher deployment. Each recruitment system has shortfalls and strengths as indicated in this section.

2.5 Systems of teacher deployment

Studies in Sub Saharan countries have shown that countries follow different teacher deployment systems. Mulkeen et al (2005) citing Lewin (2000:30) identify two systems of teacher deployment: “market system,” and “central authority”. Under the market system, teachers deploy themselves by applying for posts in schools. The system shifts the burden of deploying teachers from the central authority to individual schools and therefore ensures that schools more often recruit local people, which may not necessarily be the best in terms of quality. In his study, Mulkeen (2005) elucidates that few SSA countries practise the ‘market system. The “central authority” deployment is a long standing model and is common in many Sub Saharan countries (Mulkeen et al, 2005) which relies on a central authority (such as Ministry of

Education) for deployment of teachers, which in turn depends on the quality of information that is submitted by schools. Penrose (1998) and Hedges (2002) point out the advantages of central planning which allows rational deployment of teachers despite having the weakness of “undermining the rational operation of the posting systems”. In the same way, Gottelmann-Duret and Hogan, (1998), Rust and Dalin, (1990) relate “central authority” deployment to congested decision making and inattention to the individual needs of education staff.

On the other hand, Hedges (2000) indicates that teachers may circumvent Ministry of Education’s posting policy by claiming fictitious health problems, exploiting poor record keeping, and or just failing to take their assigned posting. Teachers who fail to take up a rural posting present a difficulty for policy makers. If they are later allowed to take up a desirable post, they undermine the posting system. If they are not, then the system loses the resource of a trained teacher.

For example, if two teachers A and B, would like to work in an urban area, but are posted to a rural area. Teacher A accepts the post and moves to the rural area. Teacher B refuses the post, and remains unemployed. Later, a position appears in a desirable location, and both teachers apply. This presents a difficult choice. If the post is given to A, the rural post becomes vacant, and is difficult to fill. If the post is given to B, then B has achieved the goal more quickly than A by refusing the rural post. The message is observed by others, and any teacher who can afford a period of unemployment quickly understands that the fastest way to the desired post is by rejecting offers of rural postings.

With a similar point of view, Ankarah-Dove (1982) describes the rural deficiency as “rural deficit model”. Ankarah-Dove (1982) relates the “rural challenge

model” to teacher job satisfaction as a challenge that teachers can forgo as long as there is intrinsic professional challenge and interest.

The inability to implement planned teacher deployment has serious consequences. A survey on posting of teachers by Hedges (2000) in Ghana indicates that out of 262 newly trained teachers posted to four rural districts, 115 failed to arrive at their teaching post. This widespread failure to accept rural posts undermines the rational posting system (Hedges, 2002), and contributes to a lack of conviction among administrators that significant progress can be made in addressing patterns of unbalanced deployment (Gottelmann-Duret et al, 1998).

As opposed to centralization, decentralization has taken root in many countries. In particular, countries have considered decentralizing the teacher hiring process to a local level. In terms of teacher deployment, decentralization brings both benefits and risks. The more local the system, the more likely it is to be able to keep in touch with the needs of the schools, to respond quickly and flexibly to needs. However, a local structure may also open up a greater possibility of undue influence being exerted by powerful individuals on deployment decisions, especially in countries with a weak administrative capacity at district and local levels (Hallak, 1990). In many instances in Africa, administrators operating at the local level are exposed to the pressure of influential personalities in local communities, and it is not unusual to see their decisions being biased. As such, Gottelmann-Duret (1998:43) proposes that improved systems of ‘checks and balances’ are needed to ensure countrywide equity, justice and efficiency in teacher deployment.

2.6 Teacher supply and disparities

Santiago (2002) defines supply of public school teachers as the number of eligible individuals available from all sources willing to supply their services under

prevailing conditions¹. According to Wang (2001) teacher supply and demand depends on the underlying factors in the labour market. However, the labour market has been described by Wang (2001) as having “imperfections” on the demand and supply side and that those markets are dependent on viable economic, social and political contexts. Furthermore, Murphy and DeArmond (2003) indicate that a tight labour market has an impact on teacher supply, which in itself may be a result of a country’s economic position. Conversely, Bratton and Gold (2001) argue that the supply of human resource focuses on extrinsic factors such as wage rates, qualification status, salaries and conditions of service. Similarly, a study in Philadelphia, USA showed that introduction of incentives had an impact on the supply of teachers (Murphy and DeArmond, 2003).

Wilson and Pearson (1993) consider two potential measures of teacher shortage: vacancy rates and hidden shortages. In this context Wilson and Pearson (1993: 22) define vacancy rates as “number of unfilled vacancies for teachers and hidden shortages refer to a situation where teaching is done by someone not qualified to teach the subject”. A study on teacher shortage in OECD countries found that assessing the severity of teacher shortages is known through “unfilled positions”; “difficult to fill vacancies”; teachers with “emergency certification”; and teachers teaching “out of field” (Santiago, 2002). Teacher shortage in OECD countries is linked to quality of teachers unlike in SSA where it is still linked to teacher quantities (Santiago, 2002).

Inadequate teacher supply affects availability of teachers in the education system thereby making it difficult to achieve an equitable distribution of teachers to schools.

¹ Such conditions include salaries, other benefits, working conditions, other alternative career opportunities, teaching career structure, or personal circumstances.

2.7 Motivation theories

Having described factors related to teacher recruitment and supply that have a bearing on teacher deployment, it is necessary to consider motivation theories, which have a bearing on the welfare of teachers.

According to Costely et al, (1993), motivation is associated with internal conditions that are not actually observed and cannot be isolated for physical analysis. Work motivation is defined as “the degree to which a person wants to work well in his or her job, in order to achieve intrinsic satisfaction” (Janssen et al, 1999:4). Likewise, Dixon (2004) mentions that individuals are motivated by a “package” of needs and wants. In addition, Hannagan (2005), links job satisfaction and motivation to Maslow’s theory of human motivation which arranges the basic needs in a hierarchy of importance and emphasizes on the lower level needs satisfaction first before the higher level needs. Costley et al (1993) outlines the Maslow’s needs from the lowest to the highest as follows: physiological (food water, rest, shelter), safety (security, protection), social (belonging, acceptance, friendship), esteem (recognition, status, self esteem), self actualization (creativity, self realization). In addition, Costley (1993) illustrates that in our society the satisfaction of physiological needs is usually associated with money and individuals use money to satisfy basic motivations. On the same, Bennell and Akyeampong (2007:4) state that, “teachers who are tired and hungry and excessively preoccupied about meeting their household’s livelihood needs, are unlikely to become strongly motivated by their involvement in professional development activities”. Basic needs as stipulated in Maslow theory have a bearing on teacher retention and deployment. If teachers lack basic needs, they neglect their teaching profession by preoccupying themselves in other activities to satisfy their needs. On the other hand, teachers may also look for alternative employment although

in contrast Bennell (2004) shows that primary teacher attrition due to ‘greener pasture’ is low in most countries because qualifications of primary teachers are less competitive in the labour market. However teacher attrition reduces numbers of teachers in the education system which consequently affects teacher deployment.

Likewise, Hertzberg’s (1966) ‘motivation-hygiene theory’ is based on a two-dimension paradigm of factors affecting people’s attitudes about work (Bennell and Akyeampong, 2007). Factors such as interpersonal relations, working conditions and pay are ‘hygiene’ factors rather than ‘motivators’. On the same, Hertzberg argues that the absence of hygiene factors can create job dissatisfaction, but their presence does not motivate or create satisfaction. According to Bennell and Akyeampong (2007), motivators are associated with long-term positive impacts on job performance while hygiene factors only tend to produce short-term changes in job attitudes and motivation, which quickly fall back to their previous level. However, with reference to specific incentives, Vroom’s (1964) ‘expectancy theory’ is relevant to developing countries because of its recognition that the links between effort and reward may be very tenuous. For instance, improved pay for senior posts may not motivate eligible teachers if they have no confidence in the system of assessment and selection for such posts.

On the other hand, Bennell and Akyeampong (2007) quoting Locke (1976) argue that employee motivation is likely to be enhanced if work goals are specific, challenging, formed through employee participation and reinforced by feedback. As indicated by Wilson and Rosenfeld (1990), work motivation has a collective, as well as an individual, dimension, which is explored by ‘equity theories’. In addition, teachers compare their own efforts and rewards with those of peers. As such, such

comparisons are likely to influence teachers' perceptions of their own status and are just as relevant to motivation in developing countries as in industrialized ones.

However, Costely et al (1993) elaborates that one difficulty in analyzing motivation and using the needs hierarchy concept is the individual variability in the amount of satisfaction required before moving from one category to another. The motivation theorists emphasize the importance of adapting organizational benefits and rewards to the needs of employees. Osteraker (1999), states that the motivation theories based on needs have weaknesses because they do not take into consideration the uniqueness of the employees and the specific surroundings in which the organization operates. According to Ostreaker (1999) quoting from Mumford (1991), many motivational theories appear to ignore the very real constraints under which they severely limit the motivational factors that they can provide for employees. Therefore, regulations, laws and culture of the organization must be considered when talking about motivation (Ostreaker, 1999). In conclusion, Ostraecker indicates that motivation based on needs should include characteristics of individuals and the environment in which they live as well as laws and regulations governing organizations.

Generally teacher motivation affects teacher deployment as stipulated by Zembylas (2003), who relates motivation to the level of teachers' happiness by indicating that teachers with the strongest desires or highest aspirations are least happy with their job if the environment does not facilitate satisfaction of their needs. In addition, Bennell (2004) concurs by explaining that; increasing teaching hours, larger class sizes, more subjects, and constantly changing curricula, poor work and living environments are cited as major de-motivators in many countries. As such, de-motivated teachers may opt to leave the education system or seek other alternatives. If

many teachers opt to leave the education system or move to schools of their choice where they would feel comfortable, that would adversely affect equitable teacher deployment resulting in teacher disparities and shortage.

2.8 Decentralization of teacher management

Management of education has taken many routes. In some cases, decentralization has been considered the best way of making education systems more effective. In others, centralization is still dominant. Decentralization is defined as the transfer of authority from a higher level of government to a lower organizational level, (Sui-Chu Ho, 2006 quoting from Brown, 1990; McGinn and Street, 1986). According to Bennell (2004), countries adopt different forms of decentralization. However, the level of decentralization differs and depends on the decentralized functions (Sui-Chu Ho, 2006). For instance, a study in three Asian countries showed that the “curriculum and instruction” and “student affairs” were the most decentralized decision areas whereas “salary setting” seemed to be the least decentralized to the school level. Similar patterns were noted in China where the “state remained arbiter of rules and regulations, despite decentralized primary and secondary schools” (Hawkins, 2005). Similarly, Sui-Chu Ho (2006) shows that it is difficult to find countries that fit exclusively into a single model of decentralization. Hawkins (2005) quoting from Hanson (1998) and Bray (1999) indicates that there are no clear examples of completely decentralized educational systems, but rather one finds mixtures of centralization and decentralization.

There is considerable variation among countries in decentralized teacher management structures. According to Gaynor (1998) an effective teacher management system has been described as the one that provides job satisfaction to teachers. Furthermore; Gaynor (1998) identified three models of decentralized teacher

management: administrative, grassroots and alternative. According to Gaynor (1998), the three models are critical to teacher management although they apply at different levels of the education structures.

The administrative model refers to decentralization of teacher management to lower levels of government. The model recognizes the central government as the responsible authority for setting teaching standards and conditions, recruitment, staffing levels, salaries and budget allocation.

The community is the responsible authority for teacher management in the grass root model, which treats parents as consumers to whom teachers are accountable. Gaynor (1998) contends that the grass root model centres on the school principal, council and committees as solely responsible for the hiring, promotion, discipline, dismissal, in-service training, and appraisal of teachers.

The alternative model mobilizes support from communities and NGOs. Gaynor (1998) recognizes that this model is heavily dependent on sharing of responsibilities among communities at the local level and also the national level.

Bennell (2004), states that comprehensive decentralization of school management functions results in significant improvements in teacher recruitment, deployment practices, higher teacher motivation and overall performance. In contrast, Bennel (2004) quoting from Lewin and Cailloids (2001) and Probe (1998) points out that there is lack of evidence to support the hypothesis that improvements in teaching and performance result from decentralized recruitment or posting of school head or teachers.

Naidoo (2003) however argues that the pace at which decentralization has taken root in SSA is uneven. Naidoo (2003) further shows that education decentralization is

a complex process that has slowed down due to limited resources, bureaucratic resistance, capacity constraints at local government level and lack of consultation and coordination between different levels of government. Gaynor as cited in Naidoo (2003) states that decentralization helps in addressing problems in deploying and utilizing teachers, monitoring and supervision and other management arrangements.

2.9 Gender balance and teacher deployment

Simpson (2000) suggests that women working in “skewed” groups where ratio of men to women is very high are defined as “tokens”². Many studies have found that women have limited opportunities for authority and leadership in organizations (UNESCO, 2006). A study in Sri Lanka for example, highlights that at school level, women are marginalized by their male colleagues (Bista, 2006). Nevertheless, another study in India and Bangladesh shows that female teachers place their priorities on family matters and not on their teaching career.

Although women teachers are sometimes regarded as ‘weak’ or marginalized by fellow colleagues as indicated by a study by Bista (2006), some studies have shown that presence of female teachers is associated with improved girls’ enrolment, higher promotion rates and reduced dropout rates, (Joshi and Anderson, 1994). Similarly, studies on the impact of women teachers in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh found that placement of a woman teacher had an immediate effect on girls’ access, (UNESCO, 2006). In contrast, other studies however found that the presence of female teachers does not automatically bring girls into schools (UNESCO, 2006). For instance, a study in Uganda found that female teachers were harsh to girls in schools which affected girls’ performance.

² Tokens were seen to carry extra burdens of visibility and to be subject to greater performance pressure than members of the dominant groups.

As regards female teacher deployment, Mulkeen (2005) indicates that deployment patterns have implications for gender equity. Considering that presence of female teachers in schools brings more advantages for girls' education, equitable distribution of teachers in relation to gender should be considered. Although some countries such as Ghana do not post women to rural areas as a matter of policy (Mulkeen, 2005 quoting from Hedges, 2002:358), there is strong evidence that female teachers have a great impact on girls' education.

2.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed a number of issues that have a bearing and important implications on teacher deployment. The chapter has defined teacher deployment as the allocation of teachers to schools where their services are needed. Furthermore, the chapter shows that there are systems of teacher deployment and teacher recruitment that most countries implement which have a bearing on teacher deployment.

On the other hand, the various motivational theories that have been discussed relate to teacher job satisfaction which is strongly linked to teacher retention in the education system. Poor teacher retention has an implication on teacher recruitment and consequently on teacher deployment. There is also another policy on decentralization that links with teacher management. The three models of teacher management applied at different levels of the education structure and discussed in this chapter explain the extent to which teacher management and decentralization are linked. The issue of gender of teachers has also an implication on teacher deployment as it brings various challenges for girls' education.

The factors discussed in this chapter will assist to bring more understanding on the factors pertaining to deployment of teachers, the challenges faced in the implementation of this policy in Malawi. The findings of the study will identify gaps

and areas that policy makers may use to rectify the long outstanding challenges in the area of teacher deployment in primary schools. Furthermore, the study may be used as a basis for policy formulation in the area of teacher deployment in order to replace the old policies.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents and mainly discusses: the design, the sampling procedure, data collection, data analysis, trustworthiness of the study, ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

3.2 Design of the Study

The research design and methodology are based on the perspective of pragmatism. According to Creswell (2003), pragmatism is not committed to a single system of philosophy and reality. Pragmatism helps to shed light on how research approaches can be mixed fruitfully (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The research approaches should be mixed in ways that offer the best opportunities for answering important research questions (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, quoting from Hoshmand, 2003). In addition, Creswell (2003) indicates that pragmatism places high regard to problems than the methods, and researchers use all approaches to understand the problem. On the other hand, pragmatism recognizes the existence and importance of the natural or physical world as well as the emergent social and psychological world that includes language, culture, human institutions, and subjective thoughts, (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Pragmatism views current truth, meaning and knowledge as tentative and as changing over time and prefer actions to philosophizing, (James, 1995).

Pragmatists believe that regardless of circumstances, qualitative and quantitative methods may be used in a single study. As such pragmatism has become the answer to the question of what is the best paradigm for mixed methods research, (Hanson et al, 2005). Based on the pragmatists' views, the study opted to adopt mixed method as the

best approach for the study. Creswell, Clark, Gutmann and Hanson (2003: 212) define mixed method as: “the collection or analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research”. Similarly, Hanson et al (2005) quoting from Brewer and Hunter (1989), Tashakkori and Teddie (1998), explain that when quantitative and qualitative data are included in a study, researchers may enrich their results in ways that one form of data may not allow. Table 1 indicates the type of mixed method design that the study followed.

Table 1: A Mixed Method Design Matrix

Time Order Decision	
Concurrent	Sequential
QUAL+QUAN (Equal status)	QUAL➡ QUAN
	QUAN➡ QUAL
	(Equal Status)
QUAL+quan (Dominant Status)	QUAL➡ Quan
	Qual➡ QUAN
	QUAN➡ Qual
	Quan➡ QUAL
	(Dominant status)

Source: Table adapted from (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004): Educational/Researcher Journal Vol 33.

Key: qual and QUAL stand for qualitative; the one in capital letters is in dominant status the other one is minor. quan and QUAN stand for quantitative , the one in capital letters is in dominant status while the other one is minor

+ stands for concurrent

.....➡ Stands for sequential

The study followed a concurrent design with dominant status whereby the qualitative method is the major method with dominant status in the study while the quantitative method is minor and is supplementary. All the steps following this design are done simultaneously.

It is worth noting at the outset, however, that each method has strengths and weaknesses, and therefore combining the two methods minimize the weaknesses. Smith (1995) quoted in Saunders et al (2003) indicates that an inevitable relationship exists between the data collection method one employs and the results one obtains. Saunders et al. (2003) indicates that the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods cancels out the “method effect” accruing from either method. As such, the use of mixed methods gives credibility to the results of the study because both principles of objectivity and subjectivity which are embedded in each research method were applied.

3.3 Sampling

Whereas a sample is a finite part of the statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information, Webster (1985) and Fridah (2007) define sampling as the act, process, or technique of selecting a suitable sample, or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population. Similarly, Ross (2005: 1) states that:

Sampling in educational research is generally conducted in order to permit the detailed study of part, rather than the whole, of a population. The information derived from the resulting sample is customarily employed to develop useful generalizations about the population. These generalizations may be in the form of estimates of one or more characteristics associated with the population, or they may be concerned with estimates of the strength of relationships between characteristics within the population.

The study used purposeful sampling and systematic random sampling. The schools were selected using systematic random sampling because the targeted districts had over 300 primary schools in total (MOE statistics, 2006). Through purposeful and systematic random sampling techniques, the study targeted the key population to the study.

A total of 12 primary schools from Lilongwe Rural East, Lilongwe Rural West and Lilongwe Urban were selected. Due to limited financial resources and other constraints, the number of primary schools was limited to 12. During the sampling process, each district was treated as a separate entity. According to MOE statistics (2006) Lilongwe Urban, Lilongwe Rural East and Lilongwe Rural West had 66, 190 and 228 primary schools respectively. The number of schools was divided by four which meant that every *n*th school was picked in the sample. In support of the sampling technique, Creswell (2002) states that random sampling encourages representativeness of a sample. The technique was useful to the study because the number of schools in the three education districts of Lilongwe Urban, Lilongwe Rural West and Lilongwe Rural East were many; and as such, using this technique helped in reducing biasness and provided equal chance of selection in the sample. In addition, Creswell (2002) points out that simple random sampling provide that any sample size has an equal probability of being selected from the population.

In addition, through purposeful sampling, four teachers were selected from each of the selected primary schools making a sample of 48 primary school teachers. By using purposeful sampling the study targeted the teachers that were the central focus of the study. In this study much of the information needed was drawn from the teachers' responses because issues of postings directly affected them. Furthermore, purposeful sampling helped in at least targeting teachers who had been affected by posting at a certain period within a period of one to two years. The 12 head teachers of the 12 primary schools were also included in the sample. The rationale behind the head teachers' inclusion in the sample was that all issues concerning posting or transfers at primary school level affect them too. As school administrators head

teachers handle matters of teacher postings at school level. As such they are in a better position to provide relevant information needed by the study.

At district level, the study targeted three District Education Managers (DEMs) from the three purposefully selected education districts. The three DEMs were included in the sample because they manage primary schools at district level and the mandate of deploying teachers to various schools rests under their jurisdiction

The three education districts were included in the sample for various reasons: Lilongwe as an administrative district in Malawi accommodates three education districts (Lilongwe Rural West, Lilongwe Rural East and Lilongwe Urban) and it is the largest district in Central West Division. Furthermore, Central West Division is the largest division out of the six education divisions in the country representing about 25 percent of total primary school enrolment. In addition, 58.3 percent of teachers in Central West Division, which has other six education districts, are from the sampled education districts: Lilongwe Rural West, Lilongwe Rural East and Lilongwe Urban (MOE, 2006). Lilongwe has the appropriate context because of factors such as location (rural and urban), availability of school infrastructure, pupil enrolment, teachers, and many more that will contribute to the success of the study. The three education districts are close to each other, which mean a lot of teacher mobility among the districts hence this serves as an added advantage to the study.

The study also purposefully selected three senior MOE officials from relevant departments of the Ministry and these were: Human Resource and Development, Basic Education and the Department for Teacher Education. The inclusion of these MOE departments in the study was due to the vast knowledge in teacher policies and management issues that these departments have and effectively contribute to the study. As such, these senior MOE officials were in a better position to provide

relevant information for the study. The study also included various stakeholders of MOE and these were: Two School Management Committees which were purposefully selected because of their involvement with the schools in management and school development. The other stakeholders were Non Governmental Organization (NGOs) namely: Save the Children USA, Creative Centre for Community Mobilization (CRECCOM) and the Malawi Education Network. All the three NGOs are implementing various education projects in primary education in various districts of Malawi. In these NGOs, the study targeted very senior officers at executive director level or their deputies.

3.5 Data collection methods

To collect data, the study utilized different types of instruments namely; questionnaires, unstructured interview guides for individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions and documentary material review of various documents such as education journals, magazines, newspapers, MOE policy documents and research reports.

One of the instruments used for qualitative data collection was the unstructured interview guide (see Appendix 2). Unstructured interviews have the advantage that questions are open ended and respondents are encouraged to express themselves in their own words thereby providing their own perceptions on the subject of discussion. According to Rossmann and Rallis (2003), the purpose of the guided interviews is to elicit the participant's worldview. The unstructured interviews targeted various groups of respondents: DEMs, MOE officials at national level, senior NGOs officials and School Management Committees (SMCs). In addition, Rossmann and Rallis (2003) quoting from Rubin and Rubin (1995:11) describe interviews as "a conversational partnership". With a similar point of view, Saunders et al (2003), indicates that

unstructured interviews are informal and are also referred to as non-directive and informant interview because the interviewee's perception guides the conduct of the interview. In relation to what the authors say, some questions in the study were created during the interviews allowing both the researcher and the participant the flexibility for more probing and detailed discussions. Besides, Rossmann and Rallis (2003) explains that the researcher identifies a few broad topics framed as questions to help uncover the participant's meaning or perspective and respects how the participant frames and structures responses, the balance of talk is in favour of the participant. For DEMs, MOE and NGO officials, the interviews targeted individuals and a total of 9 interviews were conducted in this respect. For SMCs, focus group discussions (FGDs) comprising 3 to 4 people were conducted. The FGD technique enables the researcher to overcome time constraints. However, FGDs were only done with groups of respondents having common interests. As such, three FGDs for SMCs took place instead of two as originally planned because there was still need to gather more information. The additional FGD provided more clarification and confirmation on similar issues that the SMCs experienced. Furthermore, the additional FGD provided adequate information that led to the drawing of sound conclusions. During unstructured interviews, responses were tape-recorded after obtaining permission from the participants and at the same time notes were taken. After the interviews, the notes were validated and where possible supplemented by transcriptions from the recorded interviews.

Supplementary information for the study was obtained from documentary analysis including education journals, working papers, research reports, newspapers, and textbooks. The documentary analysis provided valuable information that could not be obtained from the unstructured interviews or from the questionnaires.

Secondly, the documentary analysis helped to clarify, elaborate and validate the data that was collected through the unstructured interviews and the questionnaires. According to the World Bank (2002), documents are less likely to be subject to memory decay or memory distortion compared with data obtained from an interview although it may be subjected to selective survival bias.

Questionnaires (see Appendixes 1 and II) were the main instrument for collecting quantitative data. Saunders et al (2003) quoting de Vaus (2002) describes a questionnaire and states that “a questionnaire includes all techniques of data collection in which each person is asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order.” The questionnaires administered for the study were semi-structured constituting a mixture of closed or fixed response questions and open-ended questions. The advantage of using questionnaires is that each respondent answers the same set of questions hence the uniformity in the type of responses provided. A total of 60 questionnaires were administered to the sampled teachers and head teachers in the primary schools. The questionnaires were physically administered to the respondents because it was considered advantageous than posting them. The advantage of administering the questionnaires physically was that the researcher was ensured of targeting the right respondent and this according to Saunders et al (2003), improves the reliability of the collected data and non respondents can be recorded thereby avoiding unknown bias caused by refusals; and the response rate could be higher. Indeed, in the case of the present study, the response rate was 99 percent.

Data collection followed a backward mapping approach because according to Elmore (1979), policy analysis acknowledges that there may be variables that exist outside the treatment programme, and that some of these variables may have

something to do with the organization's characteristics. He further states that considering the organizational characteristics of an organization, the school or the district could help to explain why policies fail or succeed. Similarly, in this study information was collected from the lower level of the education hierarchy and was validated through the higher ranks to the national level. After collecting information from teachers, head teachers, School Management Committees and DEMs at school and district levels respectively, there were some issues that needed clarity. As such, all unanswered and/or unclear responses and even issues that needed clarification were brought to the attention of officials at the national level for further explanation. The backward mapping places value on the role of the local actor and on the local organization that is focusing on the resolution of the problem, (Recesso, 1999)

3.6 Data analysis

Analysis of qualitative and quantitative data was done at the same period but separately because the study was based on a concurrent design with dominant status design, which emphasized on doing things concurrently or simultaneously. Rossman and Rallis (2003: 270) describe data analysis in a qualitative method as:

A process of deep immersion in the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials you have collected; systematically organizing these materials into salient themes and patterns; bringing meaning so the themes tell a coherent story. One important feature about qualitative data analysis is that throughout the study one describes, analyzes and interprets data, although different activities may be more focused and instrumental at various times.

Analysis of the qualitative data followed a six phase analytic procedure as advocated by Rossmann and Rallis (2003), which started with organizing the data by cleaning the field notes to eliminate issues that did not make much sense or that would be described as “overwhelming and unmanageable.” This phase is important because it saves time. Rossmann and Rallis (2003) concur that data cleaning saves

time, creates a more complete record and stimulates analytic thinking. After ensuring that the data was clean, the second phase involved reading and reviewing the data more than once in order to check if there were any gaps that needed to be filled before generating categories and themes. In the third step, several themes were generated based on the outcome of the data. Themes are important because they assist in grouping the data according to similarities and facilitate expansion through further explanation. The fourth step involved coding of data in accordance with categorization and thematic analysis. Emerson et al. (1995:146) quoted in Rossman and Rallis (2003) define a code as “a word or short phrase that captures and signals what is going on in a way that links it to some more general analysis issue.” Coding is critical because it links the themes.

In the fifth phase, the data was interpreted and according to Patton (2002:480) “interpretation means attaching significance to what was found, making sense of findings, offering explanations, drawing conclusions, extrapolating lessons, making inferences, considering meanings, and otherwise imposing order.” The interpretation in the case of the present study took into consideration three contexts of interpretation as advocated by Rossmann and Rallis (2003) which are participants understanding, commonsense understanding and theoretical understanding. This means that the interpretation was centred on story- telling, making sense of what the participants said in the field, and relating all participants’ experiences and expressions to theories and other important issues. The fifth phase is probably the most important step whereby all data and analysis including the themes or categories that were created led to the narration of a meaningful story.

The sixth phase involved a search for alternative understanding. According to Rossmann and Rallis (2003), alternative understandings always exist and the

researcher needs to search for, identify, and describe them and then demonstrate how his/her interpretation is sound, logical, and grounded in the data.

On the other hand, quantitative data was analyzed through a computer package known as SPSS. Through quantitative data analysis, various tables and graphs were generated through cross tabulations and other forms of data analysis. The tables and the graphs provided information that was interpreted and later linked to the qualitative data during data analysis. Research findings coming from the two data sets were intergrated. As such, discussions of the research findings were supported by the various data sets.

3.7 Trustworthiness

The term “trustworthiness” refers to a simple set of criteria that have been provided for judging the quality or goodness of qualitative investigation (Lincoln and Guba in Schwandt, 2001:258). There are a number of issues that made this study trustworthy. At the analysis level, triangulation of results was done to ensure objectivity by drawing from several data sources and methods to inform the same issue. Creswell (2002) describes triangulation as a process of corroborating evidence from different individuals, types of data, or methods of data collection in descriptions and themes in qualitative research. The enquirer examines each information source and finds evidence to support a theme. The other aspect is sharing of experience with classmates and workmates which Rossmann and Rallis (2003) describe as activities of community of practice. My activities of community of practice mainly involved asking questions and seeking support in form of comments on the research instruments. As such, discussing some of the issues in the study gave me confidence so that the work gained credibility. Furthermore, the study has been set in such a way that it respected the ethical considerations that are supposed to be observed in any

standard research. The design and the instruments used were relevant to the study because they assisted in identifying issues that eventually contributed significantly to the sought results. Besides, not many changes were made during the implementation.

3.8 Ethical considerations

In accordance with human rights provisions as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi³, everyone has a right to privacy. As such, the study was conducted in accordance with research ethics by ensuring that the respondents' responses were treated with utmost confidentiality and that respondents were not obliged to disclose their names to the researcher. Indeed, the study not only recognized the importance of knowing one's own code of ethics and moral principles as per Rossmann and Rallis (2003) but also ensured respondents' anonymity according to Rossmann and Rallis (2003) who indicated that in a qualitative research respondents are not anonymous to the researcher because it takes place within the same setting; and if the researcher is not diligent in protecting identities the respondents may not be anonymous to anyone.

Secondly, respondents were provided with a background of the study in order to eliminate uncertainties or suspicions. This was important because participants were fully aware of the purpose of the study and that made them understand their role as participants in the study. Kidder et al (1981:381) also stresses that "withholding information about research in which a person consents to participate is a questionable practice, the right of free choice has been curtailed and, as a result, human dignity has been diminished." The informed consent of participants facilitated their willingness to participate in the study and their withdrawal if they needed to do so. This helped reduce the feeling of uncertainty on the part of the participants.

³ See Section 21 of The Constitution of the Republic of Malawi

Thirdly, the qualitative method tried to build and sustain the relationship between the researcher and interviewees, assisted in eliminating distrust and betrayal and made the in-depth interviews open, intimate and revealing.

Lastly, all data was kept in a secured place that was only accessible to the researcher. Rossmann and Rallis (2003) present a caution on ethical issues by warning that ethical dilemmas cannot be resolved in the field.

3.9 Limitations

The study did not face limitations that affected the results. However, there were problems that affected proper implementation of the study. The first being long distance between schools particularly in the rural area. The distance between schools was a challenge to reach schools on time. As a result more time was spent at one school; however, this did not affect the results of the study because all the needed data was still collected at the end of the day. Furthermore, the problem of transport was partly overcome when transport was available at times. The other factor was time constraint. The data collection took longer because it was done in sequence with different groups of respondents. This somehow consumed much time and delayed all the other steps following data collection. Despite the delay, the results of the study were not affected. The other problem was based on the fact that some respondents were slow in responding to the questionnaires due to the researchers' presence although it improved later as time progressed. Generally these challenges did not prevent me from collecting the required data for the study.

3.10 Chapter summary

As indicated in the chapter, the overall approach of the study was mixed method based on a concurrent design. Each method used different data collection instruments which in all included questionnaires, unstructured questionnaire guides, and

documentary material review. The sample comprised head teachers, teachers and members of the school management committee, DEMs, senior MOE officials and officers from Non Governmental Organizations that work in the education sector. Data analysis was done at the same time and the quantitative data was analyzed through the SPSS computer package while the qualitative data was analyzed through the phases described in the chapter. The study also included ethical considerations and experienced some limitations.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.1 Chapter Overview

The focus of this chapter is analysis and discussion of the findings of the study. The study is purported to answer three research questions which focus on teacher deployment policy and its implementation. The first part of the chapter focuses on the first research question which looks at the factors that contribute to imbalances of teachers in primary schools. As such the chapter begins with an analysis of the teacher deployment policy which is then followed by a discussion of factors contributing to imbalances of teachers in primary schools. Secondly the chapter analyses and discusses the second research question which focuses on the implementation challenges of the teacher deployment policy. The analysis in the chapter highlights challenges associated with implementation of teacher deployment policy by providing explanations and direct quotations drawn from various participants. Finally the chapter discusses the third research question which focuses on the suitable measures that would be employed to tackle the challenges of the policy implementation. Thus, the last part of the chapter analyses suggested solutions to the challenges which various respondents proposed as a way forward.

4.2 Teacher deployment policy

Malawi Government regulations pertaining to posting of civil servants including teachers exist in Book One, (chapter 170) of the Malawi Public Service Regulations (MPSR). The regulations stipulate that: “the posting of a civil servant is not a transfer⁴ and may be made by his Responsible Officer without reference to the appropriate Commission”. Following this statement, one of Ministry of Education (MOE) senior

⁴ Transfer refers to change of career and this is where an officer changes career within the same grade.

officials indicated that the statement on posting appearing in the MPSR applies to all civil servants. However, it is interpreted according to how it is understood by responsible human resource officers. The Ministry of Education/National Strategy for Teacher Education and Development (2006) indicates that the regulations in the MPSR are not fully implemented by MOE officials at different levels. In 1998, Ministry of Education (MOE) produced a circular in an effort to enforce teacher deployment policy and it stated that: “Teachers should be posted to schools where vacancies of their grades exist” and “teachers should be posted away from urban and semi-urban to rural areas whether married or not”.

When District Education Managers (DEMs) were asked about the existence of the 1998 circular on teacher deployment, their responses were varied. DEMs differed in their responses because some were new in the office while others were old. However, all DEMs offices failed to retrieve the circular, which some claimed they had never seen. The DEMs said that they could not retrieve the circular from their offices because old files were sent to the National Archives in Zomba where old government documents are kept. When the DEMs were asked whether there was another circular that replaced the 1998 circular, they mentioned that no circular had been written by MOE superseding the 1998 circular. This means that the 1998 circular is still valid although the DEMs indicated that they did not have it. However, education sector guidelines to the district assemblies showed that there was an unwritten circular on teacher deployment. The guidelines said: “the Ministry’s unwritten circular on teacher deployment is to deploy teachers to all schools in the most efficient and effective manner in order to ensure quality and equity in the delivery of education services in schools in Malawi” (MOE, 2006:27). Comments from some MOE officials were to the effect that having a circular or not did not

matter much for the DEMs. One of the officials emphasized that civil servants ought to be aware of government regulations on posting which apply to all civil servants including teachers as provided in the MPSR. The official further stated that it was not surprising to learn that DEMs archived the 1998 circular. The official attributed this to poor reading culture on the part of DEMs and poor record keeping in their offices. The MOE official continued to say:

Am sorry to say but the caliber of DEMs we have nowadays are somehow disappointing. I cannot understand why a DEM should say that the ministry does not have guidelines on teacher deployment. It shows that one has a problem., for example they receive inspectorate reports, reports from PEAs, staff returns from schools, are these not guidelines? We have the pupil/teacher ratio....All these show teacher gaps for the district...

The study wanted to know through head teachers whether there was awareness of Ministry's policies at the school level. Table 2 below shows the responses of the head teachers.

Table 2: Ministry of Education Policy Briefs

Policy Issue	Percent of Head teachers briefed	Percent of Head teachers NOT briefed
Decentralization in the Ministry	69.2	30.8
Required pupil/teacher ratio in schools	92.3	7.7
Requirement of the new primary curriculum	92.3	7.7
Teacher deployment policies in circulars	30.8	69.2
Any policy related circulars	69.2	30.8
Standardized teacher training	38.5	61.5
1+1 teacher training	15.4	84.6

Results in Table 2, show differences in responses from sampled head teachers. The Table shows that most head teachers (92.3percent) were briefed and were aware of the Ministry's benchmark for teacher/pupil ratio at classroom level and the requirements for the new primary curriculum. The Table also shows that 69.2 percent of head teachers were briefed about the decentralization policy and any policy related

circulars. On the other hand, few head teachers were aware of the One plus One new teacher training programme and the teacher deployment policy. Head teachers' responses indicate that dissemination of policies by the Ministry is not consistent. Some policies are more publicized than others. On the other hand, it is surprising to note that issues pertaining to teacher training are poorly disseminated to schools.

4.3 Factors contributing to imbalance of teachers in primary schools

Education statistics and findings from this study confirm the fact that teachers are poorly allocated in schools and in various districts. Furthermore, the poor allocation of teachers contributes to teacher disparities. For example, Table 3 illustrates that Lilongwe urban has the largest number of teachers (2,220) and has a teacher/pupil ratio of 1:46 yet it has the lowest number of schools (53). In contrast, the two rural districts have larger numbers of schools (188 and 225, respectively for Lilongwe Rural East and Lilongwe Rural West) but have lower numbers of teachers hence the higher teacher/pupil ratios of 1:99 and 1:78, respectively for Lilongwe Rural East and Lilongwe Rural West. The numbers show that Lilongwe urban has surplus teachers while the rural districts are deficient in teachers.

Table 3: Teacher/pupil ratio for the three education districts

Education district	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Teacher/pupil ratio
Lilongwe Urban	53	2,220	1:46
Lilongwe Rural East	188	1,580	1:99
Lilongwe Rural West	225	2,068	1:78

Source: MOEST statistics (2006)

In addition, Table 4 has a list of sampled schools in the three education districts and shows that Lilongwe Urban, Lilongwe Rural East and Lilongwe Rural West, have disparities in teacher allocation. For instance, schools in Lilongwe Urban have lower teacher/ pupil ratios and the lowest being 1:24. In contrast, all the schools in Lilongwe Rural West and Lilongwe Rural East have higher teacher /pupil ratios and the lowest

being 1: 63 and 1:73 respectively. The ratios are still below the ministry's official benchmark of 1:60. Furthermore, the Table shows that even within the districts, distribution of teachers in schools is not even. All schools have different teacher/pupil ratios.

Table 4: Pupil/teacher ratio by school

District	School Name	Pupil/teacher ratio
Lilongwe Rural East	LLREA	99
	LLREB	73
	LLREC	92
	LLRED	126
Lilongwe Rural West	LLRWA	63
	LLRWB	87
	LLRWC	76
	LLRWD	75
Lilongwe Urban	LLUA	74
	LLUB	57
	LLUC	46
	LLUD	24

Tables 3 and 4 have illustrated and confirmed that there are teacher imbalances in schools and among districts. Interviews with various respondents showed that there were various factors that contributed to teacher imbalances among the three education districts: Lilongwe Urban, Lilongwe Rural East and Lilongwe Rural West. The following is the discussion of the factors:

4.3.1 Lack of deployment strategy on teacher posting

One of the senior officials from a Non Governmental Organization (NGO), pointed out that lack of clear policy on teacher posting contributed to teacher disparities. In support, a different official from another NGO cited lack of a posting policy as the major reason behind overstaffing of urban schools with female teachers, which is at the expense of schools in rural areas. However, a senior MOE official dismissed some of the remarks from NGO officials by indicating that a deployment policy was already in existence in government regulations but what really mattered

was that MOE needed a deployment strategy for primary school teachers. With the same observation, another senior MOE official indicated that teachers were just like any other civil servant and therefore all issues that applied to civil servants such as sick leave, conditions of service, retirement and many more should also apply to primary school teachers. In addition, the MOE official emphasized that MOE needed to enforce the government posting regulations already in existence and that it was not necessary to come up with a parallel policy. However the wording of the government posting regulations in the MPSR, as quoted earlier in the chapter is not clear and is too general to make reference to teacher posting.

Generally what MOE and NGO officials said showed that the Ministry lacked a systematic strategy for posting teachers to various schools. There is no clear strategy on teacher posting and this contributes to teacher imbalances in primary schools. In addition, the Ministry is not transparent with its policies and this contributes to poor understanding of issues from the civil society. This is evident from the contradicting statements from government and NGO officials on the existence of teacher posting policy.

Some MOE officials noted that bureaucratic procedures in posting newly graduated teachers showed that MOE was facing challenges in deploying teachers. For example, as a Ministry procedure, a list of names of the graduating teachers is sent to MOE from the teacher training colleges where it is dispatched to Education Divisions and finally to the Education Districts. At the district level, DEMs deploy the new graduate teachers to various schools using their own criteria. In this case, it can be concluded that lack of teacher deployment strategy of new teacher graduates and those in the system leads to poor deployment and therefore contribute to teacher disparities.

4.3.2 Lack of posts of establishment in primary schools

Interviews with senior MOE officials indicated that through the decentralization process MOE conducted a functional review with the aim of finding out the established posts for each primary school in the country. The established posts were based on the teacher/pupil ratio of 1:60 and had not yet been implemented by MOE. It was elaborated that the process of re-structuring primary teachers' posts would take longer because MOE had not yet fully devolved some of its functions to the districts. In addition, DEMs indicated that they had not heard officially from MOE, on anything pertaining to teacher established posts. Worse still, the DEMs expressed ignorance of MOE's guidelines on decentralization, which would guide them in the implementation of the primary teacher established posts. On the other hand, one of the MOE officials stated that the proposed staffing levels for public primary schools would work towards the realization of the teacher/pupil ratio and regulating the movement of teachers. However, lack of established posts for teachers in primary schools will continue to perpetuate teacher disparities in the districts and the schools because DEMs will continue deploying teachers without knowing school capacities.

4.3.3 Poor living conditions of teachers in rural areas

Poor living conditions of teachers contribute to teacher disparities in various ways. Respondents at different levels in the education hierarchy indicated that poor living conditions of teachers made teachers run away from rural areas. DEMs emphasized that inadequate number of teachers' houses made some teachers reluctant to accept postings to rural areas. For example, one of the DEMs indicated that his district had a permanent house/teacher ratio of 1:7 meaning that most teachers had no houses and were therefore staying outside school campuses.

In Table 5, teachers and head teachers indicated the type of housing that they had in the schools or outside schools. Results in this Table indicate that most teachers (about 63 percent) live in rented houses outside school campuses as previously indicated by one of the DEMs while only 31 percent live in school houses. Only 4 percent live in their own houses and 2 percent live in other types of houses. On the contrary, majority of head teachers live in school houses (about 85 percent) while 15 percent live in rented houses. DEMs and some NGO officials explained that most houses that teachers rented were in poor state and were far away from the schools. Similarly, a study in Ghana showed that teachers expressed concerns about the quality of accommodation in the rural areas, (Mulkeen, 2005).

Table 5: Type of housing for teacher and head teacher

Type of housing	Head teachers		Teachers	
	Number	% of head teachers	Number	% of teachers
Own house	0	0	2	4
School house	11	85	14	31
Rented house outside the school	2	15	29	63
Other	0	0	1	2
Total	12	100	46	100

The DEMs for the rural districts pointed out that posting of teachers to the rural schools depended much on the availability of houses at the schools. When teachers failed to secure better houses, they usually refused posting by seeking lame excuses. Although the issue of lack of houses was genuine, DEMs in Lilongwe rural referred to teachers' excuses as lame. The DEMs indicated that teachers were expected to find houses for rent within the school communities. Such poor conditions deter teachers from staying and teaching in the rural areas. In support, Bennel (2004:14) states that:

The work and living environment for many teachers is poor in Sub Saharan Africa, which tends to lower self-esteem and is generally de-motivating. Schools in many countries lack basic amenities such as pipe-borne water and

electricity, staff rooms, and toilets. Housing is a major issue for nearly all teachers.

As indicated by Bennel (2004:14) teachers work and live in poor environments which generally affect their teaching work. The various challenges that teachers face are not only confined to Malawi, other African countries are experiencing them too.

4.3.4 Condition of schools

Teachers were asked to rate their schools as “poor”, “fair” and “good” in order to show the general status of their schools. , Tables 6.1 and 6.2 below show urban and rural teachers’ rating of their schools

Table 6: General condition of schools in urban and rural areas

Location	General condition of school			Total
	Poor	Fair	Good	
Urban	6.7%	60.0%	33.3%	100%
Rural	12.9%	80.6%	6.5%	100%

Table 6 shows that majority of teachers in both urban and rural districts 60 percent and 80.6 percent respectively rated their schools as fair meaning that the condition of their schools was quite satisfactory. However, 33.3 percent of teachers in Lilongwe urban indicated that their schools were good as compared to only 6.5 percent in Lilongwe rural. In the poor category, 12.9 percent of teachers from Lilongwe rural schools showed that their schools were poor as compared to only 6.7 percent in Lilongwe urban. The differences in teacher rating on the general conditions of schools illustrate that school infrastructure in urban areas is better than that of the rural areas. Likewise, at national level, education statistics indicate that out of the total number of classrooms, about 19.6 percent of the classrooms are temporary⁵. From the 19.6 percent, only 1.7 percent of the temporary classrooms are in the urban area while

⁵ Temporary classroom is defined as a classroom built with mud bricks and roofed with iron sheets or built with burnt bricks but roofed with grass or built with grass and mud and roofed with grass

98.3 percent of them are in the rural area, (MOE, 2006). This shows that school infrastructure in Lilongwe rural is not as good if compared to Lilongwe urban. Rose (2003) agrees and notes that MOE has a policy for self-help projects which only applies to rural areas. This explains why some schools in the rural areas are of poor quality because they are constructed through community participation. Although the concept of community participation is encouraged globally, it has its own challenges.

In contrast to the policy of self-help in the rural area, one of the DEMs elaborated that construction of schools in the urban area was done according to regulations of city assembly and as such, most of the school buildings were of good quality. In support of good infrastructure, one of the DEMs emphasized that good school infrastructure attracted teachers. Teachers were more willing to be posted to a school that was in good condition in terms of classrooms, administration block and teachers' houses. By way of example, Figure 1 shows a rural school that would not attract teachers. Classrooms as depicted in the picture are temporary according to MOE's benchmarks and there are no teachers' houses around the school.



Figure 1: A picture of a rural primary school with poor infrastructure

One of the DEMs stressed that some teachers refused posting to other schools, particularly in the rural areas after realizing that their previous school in rural or urban

areas had better school infrastructure than the one they were posted to. Contrary to what other DEMs said, another DEM pointed out that although the government built new schools in the rural areas, not all of them attracted teachers there. It was indicated further that some donors just built classrooms without putting up teachers' houses. As such, DEMs faced resistance from teachers to take up posting to rural areas. When asked about the role of the community on teachers' houses, DEMs mentioned that communities' responses varied from place to place. Some communities were proactive and assisted schools in building teachers' houses albeit inadequate while in others, communities did not show interest in supporting the schools. However, one MOE official stated that construction of primary schools is supposed to include teachers' houses as a package, therefore, lack of guidelines in school construction contributed to shortage of teacher houses because some donors did not know what a school package entailed.

More evidence on factors contributing to teacher imbalances is shown through Figures 2 and 3, where teachers were asked to indicate the location of their choice if given a chance to teach.

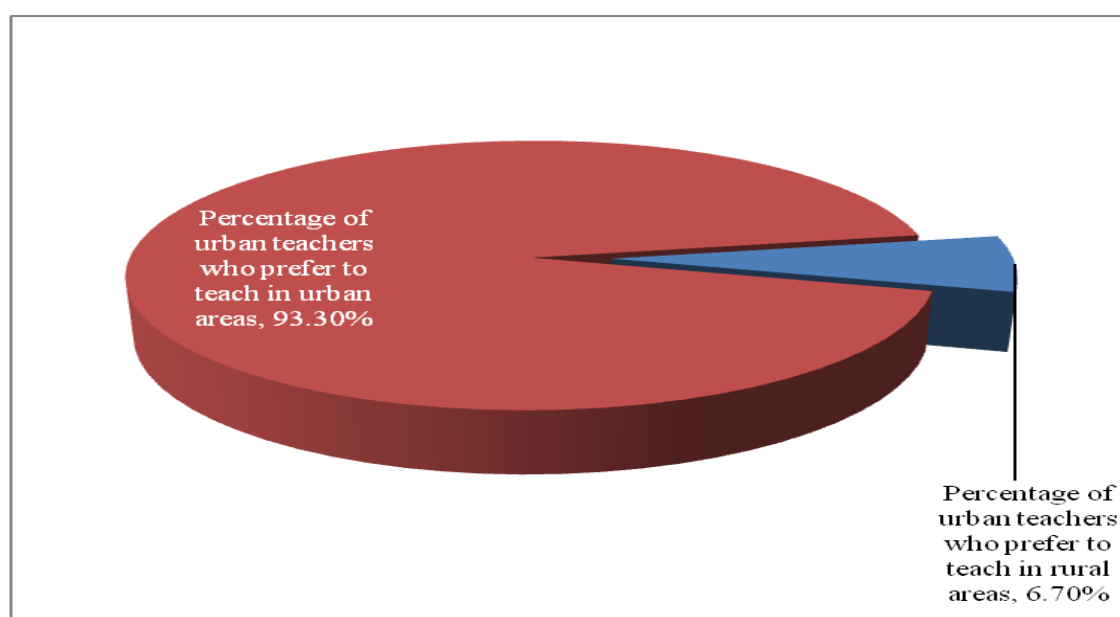


Figure 2: Urban teachers' preference of where to teach

When teachers were asked about their preferable place to teach between the rural and the urban area, most of them preferred to teach in the urban area as shown in Figures 2 and 3. The charts demonstrate that there are no differences between the urban and rural teachers' preference of where to teach. Most teachers in both rural (64.5 percent) and urban (93.3 percent) showed that they preferred to teach in urban area. This probably just confirms the fact that living conditions in the rural area are not satisfactory for teachers. Similarly, a study on teachers in Ghana showed that teachers from urban backgrounds preferred to teach in urban areas because they preferred modern life and continued accessibility of further education, (Hedges, 2002). Likewise, Figures 2 and 3 illustrate that a higher percentage of teachers in urban area had a strong preference to teach in urban unlike the teachers living in rural area. In support, one of the DEMs observed that teachers in urban areas had more advantages in terms of access to modern facilities and upgrading of their education qualifications as compared to the ones in the rural area. This is probably why responses from most teachers according to Figures 2 and 3 showed that they preferred to teach in the urban area. At the same time the results indicate that urban areas are an attraction to teachers probably due to the advantages already mentioned in the section.

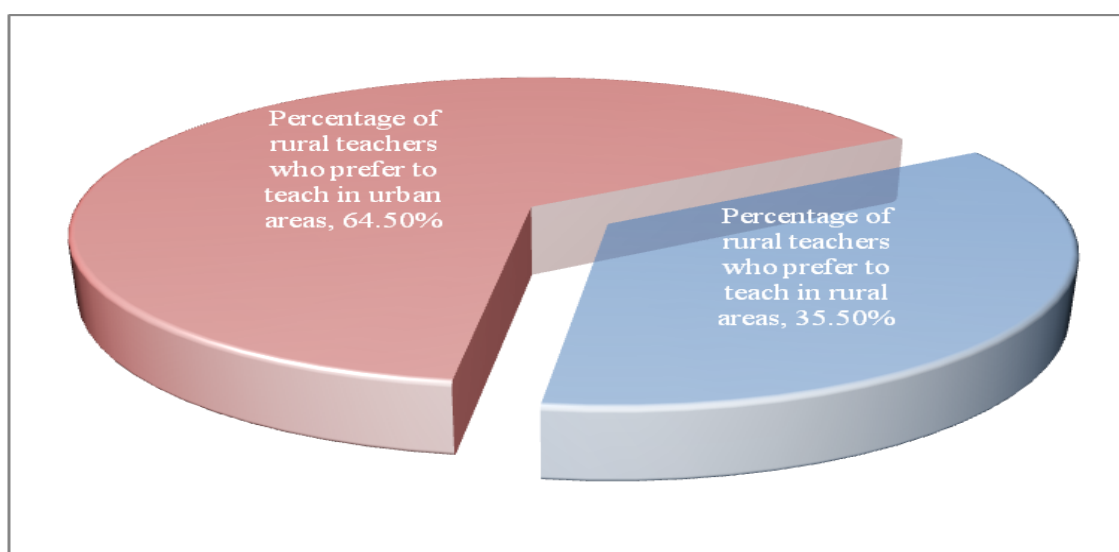


Figure 3: Rural teachers' preference of where to teach by location

However, DEMs and some senior MOE officials mentioned that although conditions of living were poor in rural areas most teachers would stay if government introduced monetary and non-monetary incentives. Similarly, teachers indicated that introduction of incentives especially of a monetary nature, would make them stay in rural areas because it would serve as hardship allowance compensating for the poor living conditions. Although MOE officials agreed on providing teachers with incentives, one of them elaborated that achieving the issue of incentives was a great challenge particularly when it was considered that the Ministry had to justify this position amidst other civil servants protests. For instance, he further stated that though the incentives seemed more attractive to teachers, to have them approved by the Office of the President and Cabinet, was another story altogether due to the bureaucratic nature of the government system. He continued to say:

You know what...., teachers are civil servants and anything that applies to the civil service affects them. All salaries in the civil service were merged with the housing allowances and therefore there is only one salary as basic pay. All civil servants are now not allowed to receive allowances separate from their salary therefore giving teachers incentives in form of allowances contravenes the regulations of the civil service. Well.... I'm not dismissing the idea of incentives... but the ministry can only implement this.... if it presents a special request to the Ministry of Finance and Office of the President and Cabinet. Mind you, it is a long process and it would take quite some time.

Despite the challenges, some studies already established that in Malawi teachers need to be supported in their work. For instance, a study by Bennell et al (2002) showed that teacher morale caused concern in Malawi primary schools.

4.3.5 Erratic recruitment of teachers

Interviews with some senior MOE officials revealed that erratic recruitment of teachers after 1994 was one of the major causes of teacher shortage in the education system. Reassuringly, a speech by the Secretary for Education at a workshop with Development Partners of MOE in the early months of 2006 indicated that MOE

would need to produce about 7,000 teachers annually for 10 years in order to fill the gap in teacher shortage, country wide. According to MOE (2006) teachers who graduate from Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) are less than 4,000 per year. This means that MOE needs to construct additional TTCs and increase intake in order to produce the said amount of teachers annually.

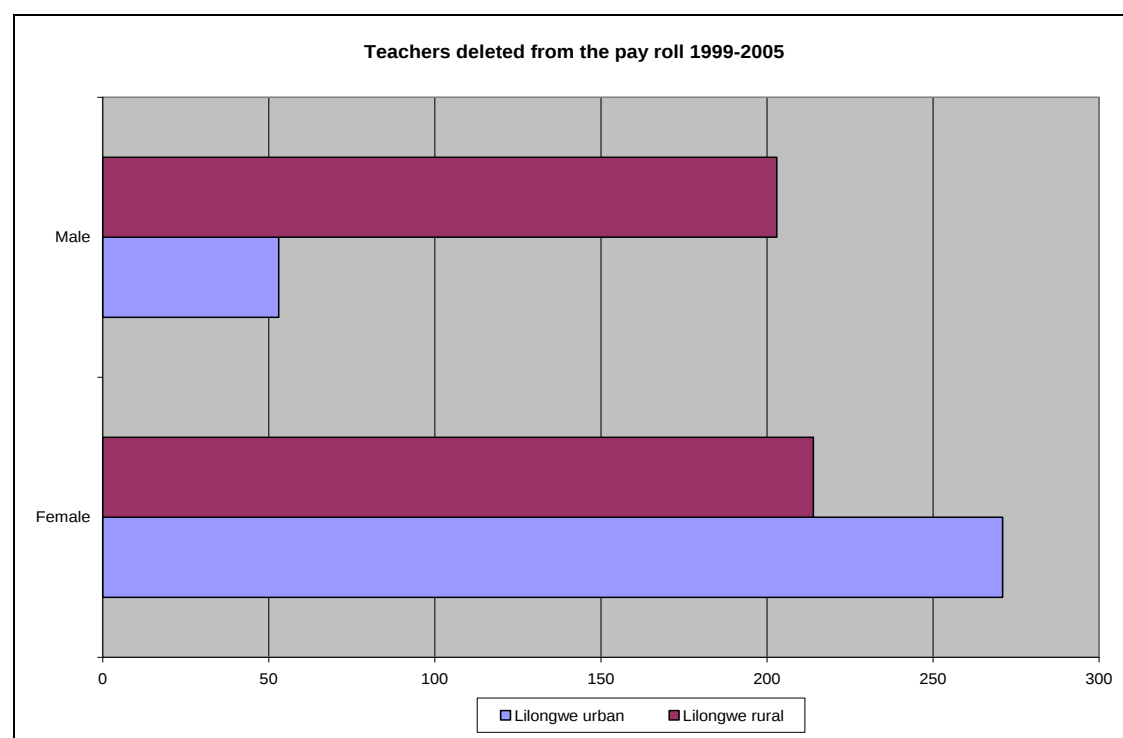
Furthermore, community teacher recruitment was mentioned by one of the NGO officials as a solution to teacher shortage in their project impact area. For example, it was mentioned that, the NGO recruited about 58 volunteer teachers. However, DEMs indicated that although communities recruited volunteer teachers to fill gaps in their schools, government's failure to recognize them in the education system caused frustration among communities and the volunteer teachers themselves who looked forward to being recruited as teacher trainees. DEMs elaborated further that government's failure to recognize the volunteer teachers led to high attrition rates of volunteer teachers in Lilongwe rural districts, thus exacerbating teacher shortage. However, evidence is shown through research that ensuring a supply of flexible voluntary teachers and teaching assistants could check teacher absenteeism (World Bank, 2004).

4.3.6 Teacher attrition

Teacher attrition has implications on teacher deployment because it reduces number of teachers in the education system thereby causing teacher shortage. According to MOE (2005), teacher attrition is one of the major challenges in primary education. Echoing on the same, some senior MOE officials pointed out that teacher attrition was another cause for teacher shortage in the education system. Although teacher attrition is at 6 percent, its impact is highly felt due to large numbers of teachers in primary education. Reasons for teacher attrition mainly concern

HIV/AIDS related illnesses, resignations, termination of services and death. Supporting this, Mvula (2005) indicates that HIV/AIDS robs the education system of the rarest of its resources, the teachers, and for as long as AIDS remains incurable, the problems in the education system will still remain. One outstanding example of teacher attrition involved loss of 7,500 teachers in 2001 due to various reasons. More evidence on teacher attrition is presented in Figure 4 which shows the number of teachers that were deleted from MOE's payroll from 1999 to 2005. One of the senior MOE officials, mentioned that being deleted from MOE's payroll could either mean teachers' death, resignation or termination of services.

Results in Figure 4 demonstrate that more female teachers from Lilongwe urban and rural were deleted from MOE's pay roll. On the other hand, more male teachers from the rural were also deleted from the payroll. The results suggest that the deleted teachers left the education system in one way or the other and as such, the female teachers who are in majority affected gender distribution of teachers.



Source: MOEST payroll data (2006)

Figure 4: Teachers deleted from the payroll from 1999-2005

Interviews with MOE officials on causes of teacher attrition indicated that MOE experienced a special case of attrition in 2005 when about 2,000 teachers had their services terminated after failing their teacher training examinations. These teachers reduced number of teachers in education system by 4.6 percent, (MOE, 2006). This implies that the decision taken by the Ministry widened the teacher shortage gap in the education system. The removal of the 2000 primary school teachers from the education system meant that schools lost teachers hence the situation created teacher shortage. As indicated earlier in the section, teacher shortage affects teacher supply hence teachers cannot be evenly distributed in schools.

4.3.7 Distribution of female teachers in schools

Although teacher disparities concern both male and female teachers, some respondents expressed that female teacher disparity had more impact on primary schooling due to the multiplicity roles that female teachers have in a school. For instance, a female role model can support and encourage girls to successfully complete their studies and may be even continue studying.

In Table 7, MOE statistics confirms that there is a wide gender gap between male and female teachers in the urban and rural primary schools. This shows that both the rural and urban areas are experiencing gender gaps in teacher distribution. However, the difference is that there are more female teachers in the urban area 80.2 percent as opposed to male while the rural has more male teachers about 69.4 percent as opposed to female teachers. Presence of female teachers was more evident in Lilongwe Urban because married female teachers followed their husbands in town. This was why the DEM stated that the district was always overwhelmed with requests from female teachers to teach in the district. Similarly, a DEM from the rural area mentioned that there was a lot of pressure coming from female teachers who failed to

get a place to teach in urban and therefore requested to be allocated in schools close to the urban/rural boundary.

Table 7: Gender distribution of teachers by location national level

Location	Male	Female
Rural	69.4	30.6
Urban	19.8	80.2

Source: Ministry of Education statistics (2006)

On the same, Mulkeen (2005) quoted from Gottelmann-Duret et al (1998), indicates that female teachers may be even less willing to accept a rural posting than their male counterparts, and rural areas may have fewer female teachers than urban areas. Mulkeen (2005) attributed the unwillingness of most female teachers to rural postings due to cultural differences which in some cases became unsafe for female teachers; it was also indicated posting female teachers to rural areas limited their marriage prospects. Mulkeen (2005) quoted from Hedges (2002) illustrated that in some countries like Ghana, it was a matter of policy not to transfer female teachers rural areas. Posting female teachers to rural areas was regarded as separating married female teachers from their husbands who would not follow their wives due to cultural or economic reasons. In addition Hedges (2002) explains that where women have been posted to rural areas they may come to see themselves as having been treated unfairly by the system and thus seek early transfers.

4.3.8 Requests for posting

Responses from various respondents illustrated that there were variations in teacher request for posting between Lilongwe urban and Lilongwe rural districts. The DEM for Lilongwe Urban explained that requests for postings out of the district were very rare. It was only in exceptional cases where some female teachers requested to follow their husbands at their work places. The DEM indicated further that requests to

teach in Lilongwe urban were very high especially among female teachers due to the issue of “following husband”. Commenting on the issue one of the DEMs said:

Generally most female teachers do not like living in the rural areas...they always come to my office to request for schools where they can teach. For example, recently I refused three teachers into my district due to lack of space This request...am telling you...come on daily basis. And surprisingly it is usually female teachers..both old and young.

On the same, the DEM said that most female teachers who came to work in the district, wanted to teach in schools which were close to their homes in the inner-urban area and not in the peri-urban areas. As such, such choices affect staffing in the schools that are in the peri-urban areas.

In the rural district, the situation was different. The demand for posting varied from one rural district to another. For example one of the DEMs indicated that at times the demand for postings became so high that more than 200 teachers requested for postings. In contrast, another DEM also mentioned that not many teachers requested for posting in the district, on average 15 teachers per year. The DEM stated that the demand for postings was low because the district was strict with teacher postings in the sense that teachers are not allowed to move away from their schools before an academic year ends. On the other hand, one of the DEMs mentioned that sometimes she was forced to reject teachers despite the teacher shortage in the district. The rejected teachers were usually those that had failed to secure teaching places in Lilongwe urban and only wanted to be in rural (in schools close to urban boundary) at their own convenience.

Table 8 shows number of teachers posted away from either rural or urban schools in the past academic year. Apart from total number of teachers in the sampled schools, the table also shows number of teachers after being posted away.

Table 8: Number of teachers posted away the past academic year

Location	Total number of teachers in 12 sampled schools (A)	Teachers posted away			
		Female	Female as % of total # of teachers	Male	Male as % of total # of teachers
Rural	107	10	9	9	8
Urban	204	26	13	8	4
Total	311	36	12	17	5

The results show that 10 percent of female teachers and 9 percent of male teachers, from the rural districts were posted away. In urban area 13 percent of female and 4 percent of male teachers were posted away in the previous academic year. The results show that in both rural and urban locations, more female teachers were posted away as compared to their male counterparts. This also provides further evidence to what has been alluded to earlier in the chapter that female teachers request for postings more often than male teachers.

Posting of teachers causes various challenges in the districts. Table 9 shows the response of head teachers on teacher postings and the extent to which the districts face challenges in deploying teachers. The results from the Table illustrate that the districts face challenges in replacing teachers who were posted away from schools.

Table 9: Head teachers' responses on teacher posting in rural and urban

Responses	Percentage of teachers
Head teachers having teachers replaced after being posted away	53.8
Head teachers not having teachers replaced	46.2
Head teachers initiating teachers' posting	15.4
Head teachers not initiating teachers posting	84.6
Head teachers requesting for teachers	100.0
Head teachers not requesting for teachers	0.0

The Table shows that 53.8 percent of head teachers had their teachers replaced in the schools, leaving a total of 46.2 percent not been replaced. Although 100 percent of head teachers showed that they request for teachers, not all of them are assisted by

the DEMs' offices. Teachers are posted away from a school without replacement thereby creating teacher shortage at school level. One of the DEMs and some officials from the NGOs mentioned that due to shortage of teachers at school level, some communities recruited volunteer teachers with assistance from political leaders or through their own initiative in order to fill the teacher shortage gap. For example one of the officials from the NGOs indicated that his project area had 22 percent of the total number of teachers as volunteer teachers. This shows that the failure of DEMs offices in executing proper and timely teacher postings is contributing to various challenges at school level.

4.4 Reasons for teacher postings

The DEMs explained that teachers requested for postings for various reasons. However, the DEMs emphasized that some of the teachers' requests for postings were not necessarily to teach outside the districts but just changing schools or zones within the same district. Unlike in Lilongwe urban, the DEMs for the rural districts explained that most male teachers, requested for posting. For example, one of the DEMs said:

Most male teachers want to change schools or zones because they practise farming....especially tobacco farming, they search for better land to practise farming. Sometimes they ask to be close to their home so that they have access to more land for farming. Female teachers also request for posting but the reasons given are often long distance to school and access to a big hospital.

Similarly, Figure 5 presents various reasons for teachers' requests for posting. The figure shows various reasons that make teachers request for posting. It is shown that majority of teachers 28.3 percent just wanted to be posted away voluntarily (probably because they had overstayed at one school and needed some change). Other reasons mentioned were marriages 21.7 percent and illnesses 15.2 percent. However, the figure shows that there were other reasons that teachers used to request for posting. 23.9 percent of teachers indicated that they requested for posting for other

reasons. In support, the DEMs indicated that social economic reasons contributed to teachers' postings. Male teachers in particular, wanted to teach near their home areas so that they could take care of orphans, these are their relative's children who died or their old parents. However, one of senior ministry officials argued that the social economic reasons mentioned by the DEMs were not valid because the Ministry could not afford to post away teachers based on such reasons. For example he said:

Can you imagine how many of us have old parents and relatives to take care of?...who does not have old parents?...everyone wants to help his parents...what about yourself .. your parents don't need support?...that is just a lame excuse...what about health officials or agriculture officials, why is it that teachers request for posting based on that.....because we condone it!....if DEMs follow the MPSR we could not have such problems..there is no reading culture

In addition, one of the common reasons for teacher posting mentioned by DEMs from rural districts was the long distance to school. Female teachers in particular often complained about walking long distances to schools. One of the DEMs gave an example of a female teacher who said that she was tired of walking to school every day and wanted a posting away from her school because she did not have any other means of transport such as a bicycle. Another DEM stated that the teachers who complained about distance were the ones that walked 10 kilometres or more every day to and from school and in some cases their complaints were valid.

The issue of witchcraft in school compounds also came out as another reason from one of the rural district DEMs. The DEM explained that witchcraft practice raised fear and tension among the teachers and the community surrounding the schools as such, teachers opted to be posted away to another school or community. The DEM lamented:

Teachers request for postings because some claim that their children are being taught witchcraft by fellow teachers or members of the community ... you are aware madamnowadays witchcraft practices are common..it is not only in rural schools, even those in town.....in some cases teachers are mentioned by

school children.....that their school teacher is teaching them witchcraft, madam This issue is very sensitive and it forces us to post away teachers though usually there is no evidence provided.

The DEM indicated that although it is difficult to get evidence from witchcraft practice, however, the matter is always treated as an emergency because it is sensitive to the community.

Furthermore, though only 4.3 percent mentioned this reason, it is important to note that head teachers initiated teachers' postings.

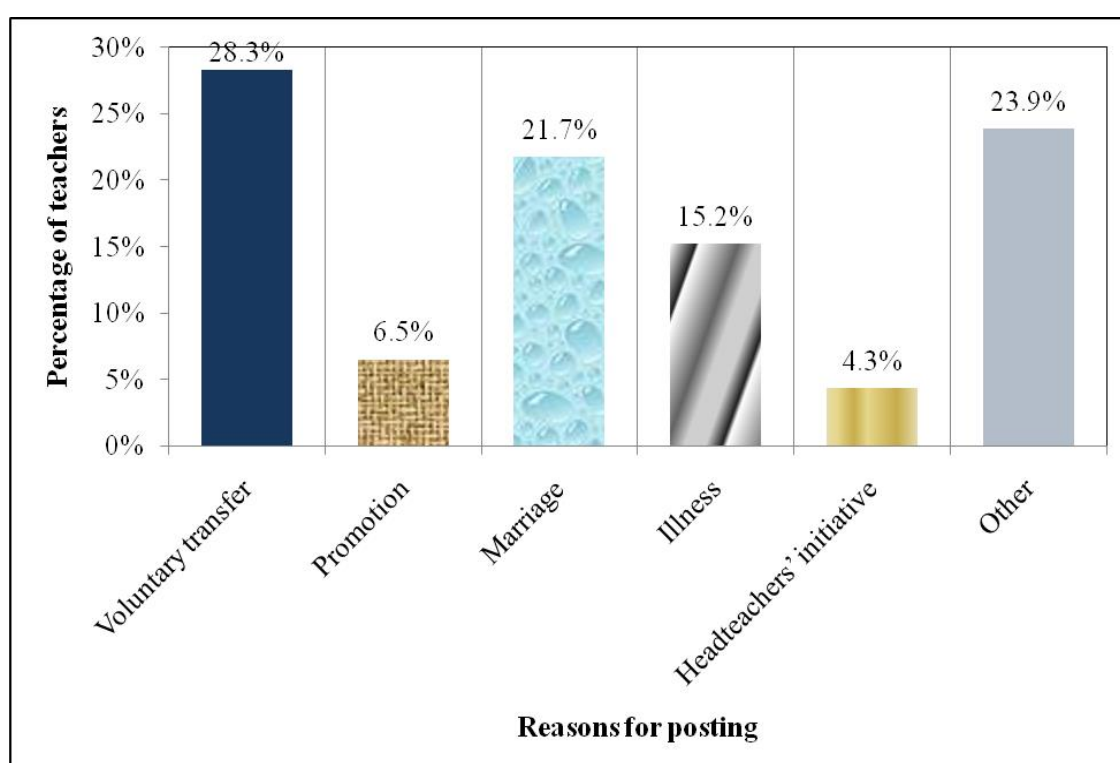


Figure 5: Teachers main reasons' for posting

Reasons for teacher posting between male and female teachers are demonstrated in Figure 6 .Each reason for posting was disaggregated to show differences between male and female teachers' requests. The results in Figure 6 show that the most male teachers requested posting on voluntary basis comparable to the female teachers. In the other category, only female teachers indicated marriage, as the reason for posting which implies that most female teachers follow their husbands to their places of work.

In addition, the DEMs, some senior MOE officials and officials from NGOs mentioned the issue of marriage as one of the factors affecting equitable female teacher distribution in schools. Echoing on the same, one of the officials from the NGOs said: “the Ministry lacks a screening system which can authenticate whether a person is married or not, especially for female teachers who tend to follow their husbands.” Another NGO official also lamented that: “lady teachers are overstaffing the urban schools and yet the Ministry was doing nothing about it”. Another isolated reason is promotion. Only male teachers in this category indicated that they requested for posting because of promotion. In the other categories such as illness, head teachers’ initiative and other, both male and female teachers mentioned these as reasons for posting though the percentage of both male and female varied in each category. However, on illness, the DEMs indicated that teachers with ill health wanted to be posted close to major hospitals or health centres in urban or town areas for medical care.

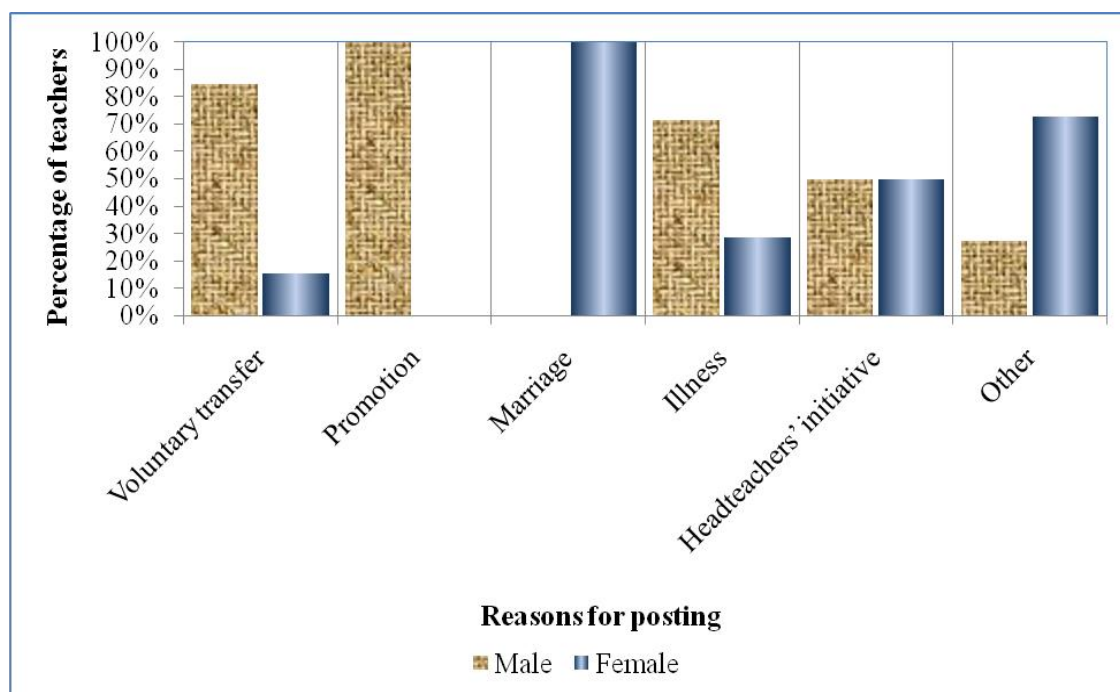


Figure 6: Teachers main reasons' for posting

The various reasons for teacher posting illustrate that postings of teachers are mainly done upon teachers' requests. Although teacher postings are supposed to be done routinely, these reasons show that most of them are done upon teachers' own initiative.

On the issues of promotion and marriage which were gender specific, results in figure 6 suggest that promotions mainly go to male teachers as compared to female teachers. Female teachers have fewer chances for promotion than male teachers. Similarly, on the issue of marriage, it is mainly female teachers who request for posting because of marriage. It has been indicated earlier in the chapter that most female teachers follow their husbands to their places of work when they get married.

4.4.1 Teacher posting and academic qualifications

The study also wanted to find out how certain characteristics of teachers such as academic qualifications were associated with teacher posting. According to the data in Table 10, there are differences in academic qualifications between teachers in urban and rural schools. Table 10 illustrates that teachers in urban schools have higher academic qualifications, for instance, 73.3 percent of the teachers in urban schools have Malawi School Certificate of Examination (MSCE), which is the highest academic qualification in primary schools and, is attained after four years of secondary education. In rural schools, only 45.2 percent of the teachers have MSCE. The number of teachers with MSCE and Junior Certificate Examination (JCE) is equal 45.2 percent respectively in the rural schools while in urban only 20 percent of the teachers have JCE.

Table 10: Teachers highest academic qualifications in urban and rural schools

Location	Academic Qualification			Total
	JCE	MSCE	Other	
Urban	20.0%	73.3%	6.7%	100%
Rural	45.2%	45.2%	9.7%	100%

Junior Certificate Examination is the lowest academic qualification of primary school teachers and is obtained after two years of secondary education. As a matter of policy, Ministry of Education stopped recruiting teachers with JCE (MOE, 2005) which means that the rural area has more teachers who are academically under qualified. Although interviews with the DEMs revealed that academic qualification was not one of the parameters used when deploying teachers between the rural and urban or among schools, results from Table 10 show that teachers in urban schools have better academic qualifications than their colleagues in the rural areas.

For further clarification, one of the DEMs explained that the differences in the academic qualifications of teachers between the rural and urban areas were possible due to the fact that teachers in urban schools have easy access to educational institutions where most of them go to upgrade their academic qualifications. Most of teachers in rural schools have limited access to such educational institutions and as such, their academic qualifications remain the same for many years.

4.4.2 Teacher posting and teaching grade of teachers

In the same way, the study wanted to establish if teaching grade of teachers was one of the parameters used when posting teachers and this was done by focusing on the teachers' distribution between the rural and urban in terms of their teaching grade. The teachers' grades are in four categories. Primary Teacher grade 4 (PT4) is the entry grade for all teachers who have an MSCE or JCE certificates and are professionally qualified with a teacher training certificate from the Teachers' Training

Colleges. The other grades starting from lower to higher are PT3, PT2 and PT1 which are obtained after attending interviews for promotion.

Table 11: Teachers’ teaching grade in urban

Location	Teaching Grade				Total
	PT1	PT2	PT3	PT4	
Urban	13.3%	6.7%	53.3%	26.7%	100%
Rural	3.2%	3.2%	32.3%	61.3%	100%

As shown in Table 11 there are differences in the distribution of teachers at different grades between the rural and urban schools. The data in this Table shows that majority of teachers in urban schools 53.3 percent are at PT3 teaching grade as compared to 32.3 percent in the rural schools. In contrast, rural schools have majority of teachers 61.3 percent at PT4 teaching grade which is the lowest and entry point grade for primary school teachers, than the urban schools with 26.7 percent.

Lilongwe urban has more teachers at PT1 and PT2 teaching grade 13.3 percent and 6.7 percent respectively than Lilongwe rural 3.2 percent respectively. Generally results in Table 11 indicate that teachers in urban area have better teaching grades than their counterparts in rural areas. During interviews, the DEMs pointed out that that teaching’ grades were not a condition for teacher posting either to rural or urban although the Malawi Public Service Regulations indicates that when one is promoted, he/she is supposed to be posted away from his/her duty station.

4.5 Implementation challenges of teacher deployment policy

The teacher deployment policy in primary schools faces various implementation challenges. The different respondents pointed out several challenges that affected the smooth implementation of the deployment policy in the three education districts.

4.5.1 Political interference

Political interference was mentioned by participants at different levels of the education structure as one of the reasons that affect the policy implementation. Some of the participants stressed that there was a lot of both public and office politics involved in the deployment of teachers. The DEMs mentioned that some senior MOE officials and some political leaders interfered in the teacher postings. The interference usually came when the DEMs posted relations of senior MOE officials away from the urban district. One of the DEMs mentioned that the pressure from the concerned groups became intense in his district and as a result he was forced to reverse his decision on certain teacher postings. In support, one of the retired DEMs said:

When I was DEM, I implemented the contents of the 1998 circular but I got many letters from the ministry headquarters requesting me not to post their relatives away from the urban, there was so much pressure that I was even called to the ministry headquarters to explain why I was moving teachers around. This puzzled me because the circular came from the ministry but they did not want me to move away their relatives from the urban area. What I can say is that I literally failed to carry out what was in the 1998 circular.

The DEM explained further that due to political interference, other teachers who were posted away did not go to the rural areas and no disciplinary measures were taken against them. Although the circular targeted female teachers who were in large numbers in the urban areas, most of them were not willing to leave the city. As indicated earlier in the chapter, female teachers have strong preference to teach in urban area. In the same way, they claimed that they settled in the city with their families and therefore moving away meant surrendering their own houses for rent and spending money for other rented houses elsewhere. Mulkeen (2005) quoting from Gottelmann-Duret et al (1998:21-22) shows that female teachers may be even less willing to accept a rural posting than their male counterparts, and rural areas have fewer female teachers than urban areas. Furthermore, Hedges (2002) indicates that for

unmarried women, posting to an isolated rural area may also be seen to limit marriage prospects.

4.5.2 Limited resources and empowerment in the education districts

The officials from the Ministry and NGOs indicated that weak management links throughout the education structure contributed to poor implementation of teacher deployment policy in primary schools. One of the officers from an NGO said that DEMs were not empowered enough to make their own decisions at the district level. Similarly the DEMs emphasized that they had limited powers to act on certain issues such as taking action against teachers when they do something wrong. Teacher issues were still referred to the divisions or Ministry headquarters for final decision making. On the other hand, the DEMs mentioned various challenges that their offices faced in dealing with teacher deployment within the districts. The DEMs elaborated that according to Ministry procedures, postings of teachers were a budgeted activity in the district and that it was supposed to be carried out annually, however, some constraints prevented them from implementing the teacher postings as required. The DEMs stated that failure to carryout teacher postings on annual basis was due to lack of vehicles to move teachers and inadequate financial resources allocated to teacher postings. All the DEMs explained that the budget allocation for teacher postings also caters for other adhoc activities such as funerals, and other office logistics. However, the DEMs were quick to point out that funeral costs quickly depleted the allocated funds due to high numbers of deaths experienced in the education districts. As a result, postings of teachers were mostly done upon demand from the teachers, complaints from the head teacher or emergencies that threatened the teachers' lives. This suggests that DEMs cannot effectively redeploy teachers in schools due to inadequate resources in their

offices. The DEMs agreed that financial capacity in the districts was very crucial if redeployment of teachers was to take place.

4.5.3 Lack of policy on teacher incentives

The other major challenge for the implementation of teacher deployment policy concerned the issue of teacher incentives. Interviews with senior MOE officials revealed that the Ministry has proposed a policy on teacher incentives. However, the MOE officials were not able to indicate when the policy would be implemented. With a similar observation, Mulkeen (2004) indicates that lack of incentives for teachers living in the rural area is a threat to the achievement of teacher deployment. Likewise, the DEMs indicated that current conditions of living in the rural area do not motivate teachers. Thus, some teachers are reluctant to teach in the rural areas. On the same, majority of the respondents stressed that good teachers' houses were the best incentive to teachers living in the rural area. The DEMs and some MOE officials explained further that if adequate teachers' houses and hardship allowance were added to the teachers' salaries, it would make teachers stay in the rural areas.

4.5.4 Poor teacher job satisfaction

Teacher job satisfaction is one of the important factors that can make teachers stay in the teaching profession. In MOE's surveys SACMEQ (2000) and (2005), teachers were asked to choose sources of teachers' job satisfaction. The study found that most teachers identified availability of teacher housing, quality of school buildings, quality of school manpower and administration, opportunities for professional development and seeing pupils learn as more important sources of job satisfaction. Further more the same teachers isolated three sources as most important: 'level of teachers' salary, 'opportunities for professional development' and 'seeing pupils learn'. In the same way, Kadzamira (2005) in her study found that a major

reason for the low current levels of job satisfaction and morale among public teachers was the absence of any meaningful career paths for most teachers.

There are various factors that contribute to teachers' job satisfaction and these range from teachers' living conditions, conditions and availability of school building and teaching facilities, relationship with others, career path and educational outcomes. If the stated factors are not satisfactory to teachers, they affect teachers' motivation which may result in poor job performance. In addition, when conditions of living for teachers are poor, teachers resist postings to such places thereby affecting equitable distribution of teachers in schools.

4.6 Impact of teacher disparities

The study wanted to establish the impact of teacher disparities on the learning outcomes. Consequently, interviews with different participants provided variation of responses pertaining to the impact of teacher disparities on the learning outcomes.

4.6.1 Poor education quality

Although the responses from the participants varied, the most common response mentioned on the impact of teacher disparity was poor education quality. Majority of the respondents indicated that few teachers resulted in inadequate delivery of instruction in the classroom and at times it resulted in total absence of classroom instruction. For example, one of the officials from an NGO stated that when teachers are not adequate at a school, pupils are not able to acquire literacy, writing and numeracy skills. In support, a World Bank (2005) study indicated that unequal deployment or the deployment of untrained and inexperienced teachers, can lead to poor student outcomes, which in turn contribute to both higher dropout and repetition rates and to lower survival rates. Similarly, another official from the NGOs said:

Teacher disparities lower the standards of education because there are schools that run up to standard 8 but with less than 8 teachers i.e. some schools in the project impact area only have two teachers out of 8 classes as a result teachers are overstretched and cannot prepare and teach effectively because of heavy workload. Teaching becomes difficult where teachers scatter across regions and teaching using mother tongue in the lower primary becomes a non starter

As indicated by the NGO participant, there are various challenges that teachers, pupils and parents face at school and classroom levels particularly when teachers are inadequate at a school. According to UNESCO (2007), inadequate number of teachers contributes to high pupil absenteeism and dropout in schools. It is appealing to note the head teachers and teachers' responses on poor education quality were similar to the responses of all other respondents. About 61.6 percent of head teachers and all teachers mentioned the issue of poor quality of education, as the major impact on learning. On the other hand unequal distribution of teachers leads to unequal educational opportunities between rural and urban schools, eventually resulting in reproducing social inequalities between the rural and urban residents.

4.6.2 Workloads for teachers and school heads

DEMs indicated that inadequate numbers of teachers at a school result in overworking the few available teachers because their workloads are high. When teachers were asked to indicate the average number of teaching hours per day, the results showed differences between the rural and urban in certain categories as shown in Table 12.

Table 7: Percentage of teaching hours per day

Average hours taught per day	Location		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Less than 2 hours	4.2	0	4.2
3 - 5 hours	6.3	35.4	41.7
6 - 8 hours	18.8	27.1	45.9
9 hours and over	4.0	4.2	8.2
Total	33.3	66.7	100

The results show that in some of the urban schools teachers have very small workloads of less than 2 hours per day. Surprisingly, the 2 hours per day is even less than total number of hours for infant classes (standards 1 and 2) which according to MOE standards is 3 hours per day. The less workload in urban schools was also mentioned by one of the DEMs as a challenge. The DEM indicated that there were too many teachers in urban schools and as result they share subjects which mean that a standard one teacher teaches one subject per day reducing the number of hours officially allocated to him/her. In addition, the DEMs stated that having too many teachers in one school, makes it difficult to control the teachers in terms of discipline and work ethics.

In contrast, Table 12 shows that the majority of teachers 18.8 percent in Lilongwe urban teach between 6 to 8 hours. This may mean that the majority of the sampled teachers in Lilongwe urban teach in senior classes (standards 6, 7 and 8) because the ideal average number of teaching hours for senior classes is 5 to 6 hours. The additional hours are probably attributed to the extra hours that teachers in senior classes usually spend particularly for standard 8 classes which write national examinations. Furthermore, the data shows that in Lilongwe rural the majority of teachers 35.4 percent teach between 3 to 5 hours per day. These results may mean that the majority of the sampled teachers from the rural teach junior primary classes (standards 3, 4 and 5) because the ideal average number of teaching hours is 4 hours. The variation in teaching hours for Lilongwe urban and rural is probably determined by the classes one is teaching. Although the numbers of teaching hours per standard are the same, teachers in urban area have generally less teaching hours probably because they are more in number and two teachers or more teach the same class.

Head teachers provided more evidence as shown through their responses on the impact of having too many teachers at a school. Table 13 shows how head teachers responded on this issue.

Table 8: Impact of having too many teachers at a school

Impacts on too many teachers	%
Too many teachers will lead to laziness and gossiping among teachers	8.3
Too many indiscipline cases, less work for teachers and teachers engage in Income Generating Activities	16.7
Encourages laziness and absenteeism	75.0
Total	100.0

Table 13 shows that having too many teachers at a school as the situation is in Lilongwe urban, results in laziness and absenteeism among teachers as shown by the responses of 75 percent of the head teachers. The other impact as indicated by the 16.7 percent of head teachers concerns income generating activities by teachers. On the same, a MOE official and some DEMs also revealed that there was a lot of ‘moonlighting’ by teachers particularly in the urban area. Teachers engaged themselves in businesses and corrupted the head teachers by giving them gifts in order to be protected from the district authorities. In addition one of DEMs explained that the issue of teachers engaging in business was common among teachers in urban area because of their large numbers that contribute to less workload. The DEM explained that:

You can imagine that some schools in the urban are very big; a good example is Y primary school. There are over 100 teachers at this school with one head teacher and some deputies. Imagine how this head teacher though helped by the deputies can control all these teachers...it is not something easy. Even at district level we have problems controlling these teachers...it is a challenge, I cannot hide this from you.

These activities affect pupils’ performance because the involved teachers leave their classes to colleagues who tend to combine the classes in the absence of their

colleagues. Nonetheless, the DEM further explained that head teachers were not helpful because they tended to hide the sinister activities of their fellow teachers hence they treated them as a confidential matter. For instance, one of the DEMs said:

When I went to a school which had teachers going to Tanzania and South Africa for private businesses,... I asked the head teacher about the whereabouts of some teachers at his school ...(someone had tipped me about it), he defended the teachers and said ..."well, one teacher went to a funeral at home...the other teacher is sick..." So you can imagine, in such a situation it was difficult to carry out disciplinary measures...I need concrete evidence...but you know... people don't understand.

The DEM's statement illustrates that it is difficult to post away or discipline a teacher who is not performing his/her duties due to the attitude of head teachers who benefit from the teachers' business trips.

4.7 Measures to address challenges

Respondents suggested solutions to the challenges of teacher deployment in primary schools. The respondents emphasized on the need to come up with a clear policy and guidelines on teacher deployment. Although some MOE officials emphasized on the MPSR, the regulations are not clearly present in the MPSR. Some respondents said that anything to do with teachers should be treated separately. As such most respondents felt that there was need to clarify all policies pertaining to teachers including the deployment policy for primary school teachers.

The results illustrated that, teachers particularly those teaching in the rural areas teach in poor environments, remote schools with inaccessible roads during the rainy season. They do not have access to good social services as compared to their colleagues who live in the urban area. As such, some respondents elaborated that the ministry should consider giving teachers hardship allowance in addition to their salaries and ensure that each newly built school includes teachers' houses in order to attract more teachers. The DEMs and some MOE officials also reiterated that the

major strategy of attracting teachers to rural areas was through monetary and non monetary incentives.

Other MOE officials and officials from the NGOs suggested that the government should make use of primary school census data when allocating teachers to various districts. Furthermore, some MOE officials expressed ignorance as to whether school census was used to allocate teachers to the divisions. Statements from DEMs demonstrated that teacher allocation was not done with guidance from school census data. Lack of utilization of the school census data in teacher allocation, is a contributing factor to imbalance of teachers. Interviews with one of MOE officials revealed that school census data would assist in proper analysis of teacher gaps and a deployment strategy would be set in every education district. In addition, the MOE official indicated that a National Strategy for Community Participation which was developed by government will strengthen the process at school level.

Interviews with MOE officials revealed that despite the decentralization policy MOE did not decentralize all its functions to the districts. For example, teachers are still recruited and trained centrally without proper analysis of teacher gaps in the districts. As a result some areas still experienced chronic teacher shortages. Further to that, ADEA, (2003) quoting from Gaynor, (1998) indicated that centralized systems have proven to be particularly weak in dealing with day to day administrative tasks relating to teachers such as responding to grievances, keeping records, processing reassignments and promotions. As such, most respondents elaborated that the best solution to teacher deployment was to completely decentralize teacher recruitment and management of teachers to the education districts.

4.8 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented findings of the study based on the research questions of the study. Although teacher deployment policy and various education policies exist in the Ministry of Education, not all DEMs and head teachers have officially been informed about them. No other policy circular has superseded the first circular which some of the DEMs indicated that they had never seen. Results of the study have indicated that there are various reasons that contribute to teacher imbalances in the primary schools. Some of the reasons among others, being lack of deployment strategy on teacher postings, lack of posts of establishment in primary schools, poor working conditions of teachers and the teacher shortage in the system and poor learning outcomes. The study also established that there are challenges that affect the implementation of the deployment policy. These include among other things, political interference, lack of resources and empowerment in the districts and lack of motivational factors in the teaching job. Through various participants, the study came up with suggested measures that would rectify the situation.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusion of the study

The study found that teacher disparities in schools and districts are caused by various reasons. Among other things, lack of teacher deployment strategies and posts of establishment, coupled with a general shortage of primary school teachers, have led to disparities in teacher-pupil ratios among schools and districts, which implies that redeploying the existing teachers would not achieve the equitable number of teachers in schools or districts. In addition, the study has demonstrated that the issue of poor working conditions for teachers poses as a threat to teacher deployment. Teachers are not willing to be posted to schools that have no teachers' houses and those with poor school infrastructure. Due to such poor working conditions, teachers in both rural and urban showed a strong preference to teach in urban schools. The imbalance gender distribution of teachers further exacerbate the deployment problems, as female teachers' choice of location to teach are determined by the workplace of their spouses. It has also been established through this study that teacher disparities have an impact on learning outcomes. Issues of low education quality have been characterized by increased teacher workloads and poor performance in examinations,

On the other hand, the study found that relying on the Malawi Public Service Regulations (MPSR) is not adequate to provide proper direction for teacher deployment because what is stipulated in the MPSR is too general and it refers to all civil servants. Teachers need a supplementary policy on deployment.

The study has indicated that there are various challenges that affect the proper implementation of teacher deployment policy. Political interferences, limited resources and absence of empowerment in the education districts and poor

motivational initiatives for teachers were found to affect proper implementation of teacher deployment policy.

As a way forward to the challenges the study established several solutions as remedies to the challenges. The first one emphasized on coming up with a clear policy and guidelines on teacher deployment in order to attain equitable distribution of teachers. Secondly, it was suggested that teachers who are living in poor environment should be provided with incentives and more teachers' houses should be constructed in order to retain teachers in rural areas. Thirdly, education statistics should be used when allocating teachers to ensure equitable teacher distribution and complete decentralization of primary teacher recruitment and management to cater for the needs were also suggested as remedies to the teacher deployment challenges.

5.2 Implications of the study

The results of the study have various implications. The issue of gender equity in the distribution of teachers has a bearing on girls' education. In Sub Saharan Africa enrolment and retention of girls is lower as compared to boys. As such, the participation of women teachers is a source of encouragement for the girls to stay in school. Mulkeen (2005) expresses that presence of females in positions of responsibility and leadership in schools is an important factor in creating gender role models. As such, there is need to do a gender analysis by isolating and focusing on issues affecting female teachers in the teaching profession.

There are some characteristics of teachers apart from their sex such as academic qualifications and teaching grades that have also shown disparities between the rural and the urban teachers. The disparities indicated in teacher characteristics express that these teacher characteristics are ignored when posting teachers to various districts. The well qualified teachers would not easily accept to be posted to schools without

teachers' houses and good school buildings. In Lesotho, it was shown that qualified teachers easily compete for the jobs in urban areas, and many of the rural schools recruit unqualified teachers. Therefore ignoring characteristics of teachers when posting them; exacerbates the problem of disparities among teachers. Resolving this would be much dependant on the use of education data and therefore, Education Management Information System (EMIS) need to be revamped through capacity building and enough resources to ensure accurate and timely data.

5.3 Recommendations

Several recommendations were proposed for the study with a particular focus on the major findings of the study. They were as follows:

The government should institute a minimum package for a standard primary school for all newly constructed schools that should emphasize on a number of classrooms, number of teachers houses and number of toilets for both pupils and teachers. This will make any new school have at least a minimum number of teachers' houses. This will increase accommodation of teachers and as such the problem of teacher housing shall be minimized.

Considering that the results of the study indicated wider disparities in the composition and distribution of male and female teachers, the government should decentralize recruitment of teachers. Teachers should be recruited at local level and be encouraged to teach in the same area. This method will reduce the disparities in teacher distribution and gender distribution which will help to sustain stability of the teaching force in rural areas.

The Ministry should engage in serious discussions with relevant Government departments in order to have teachers exempted from other civil servants so that they have access to incentive packages. The incentive packages should be introduced to

teachers living in rural and remote areas in form of hardship allowance because this will make them more willing to stay in rural areas which are currently hit by shortage of teachers. Implementation of the incentive package should be qualified by parameters such as the definition of the rural area, the percentage of money to be added to the salary depending on the distance from the urban area. Only the teachers who qualify should benefit from the package.

The Ministry should come up with policy guidelines which would cover various aspects pertaining to the volunteer teachers. The policy guidelines should have strategies on how volunteer teachers could benefit from in-service training and pre-service training. The guidelines should also contain a section on the code of conduct of the volunteer teachers and benchmarks to be followed on qualifications, and other recruitment procedures.

The newly qualified teachers should sign a bond with government assuring it that they would teach in the rural area for a minimum number of three years. The bonding would ensure that all teachers leaving the teacher training institutions are posted to rural areas. Although it was pointed out that the 1+1 teacher training programme currently being implemented by the Ministry of Education will produce teachers to only teach in the rural areas, there are no mechanisms to ensure that the teachers will indeed teach in the rural areas and therefore the bond will assist in enforcing the 1+1 teacher training programme policy.

Each school should have established posts and each teacher should fill a vacancy in a school. No school should have more teachers than its established positions. These positions should be established in relation to number of teachers required at a school. This will assist to avoid overstaffing of schools particularly in urban schools.

The ministry should ensure that all District Education Managers (DEMs) are trained adequately in order to improve the situation of low capacity of DEMs. The ministry should see the need of putting adequate resources in training to improve managerial skills of its district officers who are entrusted with huge responsibility through the decentralization.

There is need to institute post establishment control mechanisms. Teachers should strictly be posted where vacancies exist. Teachers should not be over allocated in schools and DEMs responsible for any over allocations should be severely warned and punished by the human resource authorities. District Assemblies should work together with the DEMs offices in the allocation of teachers because the teacher deployment exercise could be benefiting from the assemblies' budget.

As a way of improving education quality, effectiveness and efficiency of the teaching service, MOE should consider the following components in teacher management: Rationalization of teacher recruitment and deployment; and strengthening staff and management

MOE should establish information base for teacher management which should be linked to District Education Management System (DEMIS) at district level. DEMIS data will provide school-level information, including the profile of teachers, which will help in taking decisions regarding teacher deployment, in-service teacher training, teaching needs, shortages and surpluses and sanctioning additional teachers based on enrolment increases.

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School Identification Data

Division.....

Education District.....Code.....

School Name.....Zone.....

Location	Urban	☐	(please tick)
	Rural	☐	

PART A. HEAD TEACHER'S INFORMATION

Instructions: Please write your responses in the boxes provided

1. Sex (Please tick in the appropriate box)

Male	☐
Female	☐
2. What is your age (Please tick in the appropriate box)

Less than 26- 30 years	☐
31- 35 years	☐
36- 40 years	☐
41- 45 years	☐
46- 50 years	☐
51 or more	☐
3. What is the total enrollment of your school?
4. How many teachers do you have at your school?

Female	☐
Male	☐
5. How long have you been a head teacher at this school? (*Write in the box below*)
6. Do you live in a house provided by the school?

a) Yes	☐
b) No	☐
7. If your answer is NO, what type of housing do you live in? (*Please tick one box*)

a) Own house	☐
b) Rented house outside school	☐
c) Other	☐
8. How long does it take to travel to school? (*Please tick in one box*)

a) Less than 10 minutes	☐
b) Between 11 and 20 minutes	☐
c) Between 21 and 30 minutes	☐
d) Between 31 and 40 minutes	☐
e) Between 41 and 1 hour	☐

- f) Between 1 hour and 2hours ☐
- g) More than 2 hours ☐
9. Are there days you were not able to report for duties at your school this year?
(Please tick in the box)
- a) Yes ☐
- b) No ☐
10. How many teachers were posted to your school during the past academic year?
- Female teachers ☐
- Male teachers ☐
11. What were the main reasons for the postings? (You can choose many responses by ticking in the boxes)
- a) Voluntary transfer ☐
- b) Promotion ☐
- c) Marriage ☐
- d) Illness ☐
- e) Indiscipline ☐
- f) Other reasons (Please specify)..... ☐
12. How many teachers were posted away from your school in the past academic year?
- Female teachers ☐
- Male teachers ☐
13. What were the main reasons for the postings? (You can choose many responses by ticking in the boxes)
- a) Voluntary transfer ☐
- b) Promotion ☐
- c) Marriage ☐
- d) Illness ☐
- e) Indiscipline ☐
- f) Head teachers' initiative ☐
- g) Other reasons (Please specify)..... ☐
14. How many teachers if any were posted away due to illness?
15. The teachers who were posted away from your school, have they been replaced?
- a) Yes ☐

- b) No ☐
16. Have you ever initiated a posting for a teacher from your school?
 a) Yes ☐
 b) No ☐
 If the answer is YES, please give reasons for your answer.....

17. Have you ever requested for more teachers at your school?
 a) Yes ☐
 b) No ☐
18. If the answer is NO, please give reasons for your answer

19. Briefly explain the process that is supposed to be followed when requesting for a teacher at a school.

20. Are you aware of the Ministry of Education benchmark on the required number of pupils per teacher? *(Please tick in the box)*
 a) Yes ☐
 b) No ☐
- 21a). If yes, how did you know it?
- 21b). What do you understand about it?
22. Have you ever been briefed on the following Ministry of Education policy issues? *(Please tick in the box)*
- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) Decentralization policy in the ministry | ☐ | ☐ |
| b) Required pupil/ teacher ratio in schools | ☐ | ☐ |
| c) Requirements of the new primary curriculum | ☐ | ☐ |
| d) Teacher deployment policies in circulars | ☐ | ☐ |
| e) Any policy related circulars | ☐ | ☐ |
| f) Standardized teacher training | ☐ | ☐ |
| g) 1+1 teacher training | ☐ | ☐ |
23. Do you have volunteer teachers at your school? *(Please tick in the box)*
 a) Yes ☐
 b) No ☐
 If the answer is YES, Please explain why?

-

 24. How many teachers did your school lose through death in the past academic year?

 25. How many teachers' houses does your school have?
 26. How would you rate the following?
- | | Good | Fair | Bad |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| a) Health status of teachers | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| b) General condition of school | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| c) Access road to school | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| d) Availability of land for farming activities | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
27. How many lessons do you teach per week? *(If you don't teach put zero)*

 Hours per week
28. If you have teaching lessons, give reasons for your answer

29. Please rank the following items in terms of importance (1 to 7) to teachers' job satisfaction (1=very important, 7= Less important)
- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| a) Location of school | <input type="text"/> |
| b) Availability of teacher houses | <input type="text"/> |
| c) Condition of school buildings | <input type="text"/> |
| d) Level of teacher salary | <input type="text"/> |
| e) Timely payment of teacher salaries | <input type="text"/> |
| f) Availability of teaching and learning materials | <input type="text"/> |
| g) Opportunities for promotion | <input type="text"/> |
| h) Career path | <input type="text"/> |
30. What would be the impact of the following at a school?
 a) Teacher shortage.....

 b) Too many teachers.....

31. What do you think should be done to have enough teachers in primary schools regarding the following?
 a) Retention of teachers in the system

-
.....
.....
b) Motivating teachers
.....
.....
.....
c) Training and Continuing Professional Development
.....
.....
.....

End of questionnaire
Thank you for sparing your time in answering this questionnaire

APPENDIX II

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

School Identification Data			
Division.....			
Education District.....		Code.....	
School Name.....		Zone.....	
Location	Urban	☐	(please tick)
	Rural	☐	

INSTRUCTIONS

I am currently conducting a study in three education districts of Lilongwe. The study will focus at teacher deployment policy and its challenges in primary schools. Your school is one of the 12 primary schools selected to assist me in this study. The information that you provide is important because it will assist in explaining the reasons behind the status of teacher deployment to various interested parties in Malawi.

I would value your contribution in this study and would be very grateful if you could spare a few minutes to complete this questionnaire.

Your responses will be treated with confidentiality and you are encouraged to express your opinions freely.

Please make sure that you do not write your name on this questionnaire and attempt to answer all questions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Teacher Personal Information

1. Sex (Please tick in the appropriate box)
Male ☐ Female ☐
2. What is your age (Please tick in one box)
Less than 20 years ☐
21- 25 years ☐
26- 30 years ☐
31- 35 years ☐
36- 40 years ☐
41- 45 years ☐
46- 50 years ☐
51 or more years ☐
3. Marital status (Please tick one box)
a. Single ☐
b. Married ☐
c. Divorced ☐
d. Widow/widower ☐
4. If you are married, are you staying with your spouse at your workplace?
a. Yes ☐
b. No ☐
If the answer is NO, please give reasons for your answer.
.....
.....
.....
5. What is your highest academic qualification? (*Please choose one correct answer*)
a. Primary School Leaving Certificate or its equivalent ☐
b. Junior Certification of Education ☐
c. Malawi School Certificate of Education ☐
d. Other. (*Please specify*).....
6. What is your teaching grade? (Please choose one correct answer)
a. PT1 ☐
b. PT2 ☐
c. PT3 ☐

- d. PT4
- e. Temporary teacher
- f. Volunteer
- g. 1+1 teacher trainee
- h. Other (*Please specify*).....
7. How long have you been teaching at this school?
- a. Less than 1 year
- b. 1 to 5 years
- c. 6 to 10 years
- d. 11 years or more
8. Were you posted at this school in the past academic year?
- a. Yes
- b. No
9. What were the main reasons for the postings? (*Please tick in one box*)
- a) Voluntary transfer
- b) Promotion
- c) Marriage
- d) Illness
- e) Indiscipline
- f) Head teachers' initiative
- g) Other reasons (*Please specify*).....
10. Do you think this school has enough teachers?
- a)
- b)
11. What would the ideal situation in terms of teacher/pupil ratio?
-
-
-
12. What are the impacts of having few teachers at your school?
-
-
-
- a) What are the impacts of having too many teachers at a school?
-
-
-

B. Teacher's Job Satisfaction

13. If you were given a choice where to teach. What would be your preference?
(Please tick in the appropriate box)
- Rural ☐
- Urban ☐
- Please give reasons for your answer.....
.....
.....
14. What type of housing do you live in? (Please tick in the appropriate box)
- a) Own house ☐
- b) School house ☐
- c) Rented house outside school ☐
- d) Other (Please specify).....
15. How long does it take to walk to your school? (Please choose one correct answer)
- a. Less than 10 minutes ☐
- b. Between 11 and 20 minutes ☐
- c. Between 21 and 30 minutes ☐
- d. Between 30minutes and 40 minutes ☐
- e. 50 minutes or more ☐
16. Are there days you were not able to report for duties at your school this year?
(Please tick in the box)
- a. Yes ☐
- b. No ☐
- If your answer is YES, please state reasons for your answer.
.....
.....
.....
17. Describe the general condition of your school (Please tick in the appropriate box)
- a. Poor ☐
- b. Fair ☐
- c. Good ☐
18. How many hours do you teach per day? ☐
19. Please rank the following items in terms of importance (1 to 7) to teachers' job satisfaction (1 =very important, 7= less important)

- a) Location of school
 - b) Availability of teacher houses
 - c) Condition of school buildings
 - d) Level of teacher salary
 - e) Timely payment of teacher salaries
 - f) Availability of teaching and learning materials
 - g) Opportunities for promotion
 - h) Career path
20. Besides your own salary do you have other sources of income?
- a) Farming
 - b) Private teaching
 - c) Small scale business
 - d) Nothing
 - e) Any other (*Please specify*).....

End of questionnaire

Thank you for sparing your time in answering this questionnaire

APPENDIX III

QUESTION GUIDE FOR DISTRICT EDUCATION MANAGERS

1.
 - a) Number of schools
 - b) Number of teachers
 - c) School enrolment
2. On average, how many teachers request for posting per year in your district?
3. Out of those requesting for postings, how many are male? And female?
4. What are the common reasons for requesting postings? For male teachers? For female teachers?
5. Do you routinely post teachers to various schools within your district? On average, How many teachers do you post per year?
6. What criteria do you use when posting teachers to schools?
7. Education statistics indicate that there are more female teachers in the urban schools than the rural schools. What could be the reasons attributing to these differences?
8. Do you have enough teachers in this district?
 - a. If not, what factors contribute to the teacher shortage? What measures are you putting in place to ensure that you have enough teachers?
 - b. If you have enough or more than enough teachers, explain why?
9. The ministry issued a circular in 1998 stipulating that 'teachers should be posted to teach where vacancies exist' Are you implementing the contents of this circular?
 - a. If yes, to what extent are you implementing it? Please explain.
 - b. If you are not implementing, Please explain why?
10. What factors affect equitable teacher deployment in your district? Please explain
11. What do you think should be done to attain at least equitable numbers of teachers in schools in both rural and urban areas?
12. What is the impact of the imbalance on the learning outcome for both rural and urban schools
13. What is your comment about the decentralization policy in relation to teacher deployment?
14. Which other ministry policies have an impact on teacher deployment? Why do you think so?
15. Do you budget for posting of staff particularly teachers? How much is spent per teacher per year? Please explain
16. If you do not budget, Please explain why?

APPENDIX IV

QUESTION GUIDE FOR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OFFICIALS

1. Why are there disparities in teacher distribution between the urban area and the rural area?
2. What are the effects of these disparities?
3. What is the impact of this imbalance on the learning outcomes?
4. In 1998, the ministry issued a circular on teacher deployment that stipulated that 'teachers should teach where vacancies exist'. Is this policy still working? Please explain
5. Are there any guidelines that assist DEMs in posting teachers in primary schools?
 - a. If yes what do they say? Are the DEMs using them?
 - b. If No, what criteria do DEMs use to post teachers to various schools?
6. To what extent does the decentralization policy assist in the deployment of teachers in schools?
7. Which other ministry policies have an impact on teacher deployment? And to what extent do they affect teacher deployment in schools?
8. Why is the ministry still experiencing teacher imbalances among schools and education districts despite the policies?
9. What is the ministry doing to ensure that there are adequate teachers in schools?
10. What are the ministry's plans on:
 - a. Teacher training
 - b. Teacher retention
 - c. Teacher incentives and motivation
11. Is there a policy on teacher housing? If not to what extent is this affecting teachers?
12. What measures has the ministry put in place in order to improve the teacher imbalance?

APPENDIX V

QUESTION GUIDE FOR SCHOOL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

1. Do you think you have enough teachers at this school?
2. If not, what are the impacts of this shortage?
3. If yes, what are you doing in order to retain the teachers at this school?
4. How do you relate with the school to ensure that there are adequate teachers at the school. Explain
5. Have you ever requested for more teachers from government for the school?
 - a. If yes, how was it done?
 - b. If not, why?
6. Have teachers been posted away from this school due to pressure from the community?
 - a. If yes, what were the reasons for the posting?
7. Have you ever intervened on a teacher's posting away from the school?
 - a. If yes, why
8. Do you think teachers face problems in schools? If yes, what are the problems? Please explain
9. What should a school do in order to have enough teachers? Please explain

APPENDIX VI

QUESTION GUIDE FOR NGOs WORKING IN BASIC EDUCATION

1. What is your comment about teachers' availability in primary schools in your impact area?
2. Does your organization play any role in issues pertaining to teachers? If yes, which areas, please explain.
3. Currently there are disparities in teacher distribution between the rural and urban areas.
 - a. What do you think are the contributing factors to the disparities?
 - b. What impact do these disparities have on primary education?
 - c. What do you think should be done to improve the situation?
4. What is your general comment on the issue of teacher deployment in primary schools?
5. What do you think should be done in order to rectify the issue of teacher deployment?