Helpdesk Report: Approaches to Improving the Quality of Education in Ethiopia
Date: 6th September 2011

Query: A summary of the evidence, preferably in education, comparing working through government systems with a number of partners and working bilaterally with one non-government partner in terms of impact and cost effectiveness. The report should include examples of USAID interventions in Ethiopia and summarise their scope, partners, costs, timeframe, and number of beneficiaries.

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1. Overview

There are different ways of working with governments and partner organisations to improve the quality of education in developing countries, specifically Ethiopia. This report highlights these differences by using two different donor organisations as examples. AusAID advocates for working through government systems and their approach, including impact and cost effectiveness, is summarised in section 4. USAID’s bilateral programme is also summarised in section 5 although it has undergone significant changes in structure over the past decade, and is currently under intensive strategic review. USAID prefers to balance bilateral agreements to government partners with the need to incorporate social, political, and institutional realities in structuring donor support over the long term and to enable long term reform. It also balances accountability for programme accomplishment and delivery schedules with the scheduling of process activities that require policy engagement and agreement of multiple partners. Their approach is also summarised, including some examples of USAID educational interventions.

This report also summarises the donor environment (section 2), USAID’s work in Ethiopia (section 3), considers the role of NGOs in section 6 and looks at ways to pay salaries and the role of leadership in sections 7 and 8 respectively.

Situation in Ethiopia
Ethiopia is the second most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa, after Nigeria, with approximately 85 million people (UN Human Development Report 2010) and an annual growth rate of 2.6% (National Census 2007). The United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human Development Report places Ethiopia 157 out of 175 countries in the Human Development Index (2010). Life expectancy at birth is 56.1 (UN Human Development Report 2010) and the adult literacy rate is 32.8%, 26.4% for females and 39.3% for males (MOE, 1997). Similar to the rest of the continent, the population of Ethiopia is very young with 44% of the population under the age of 15 and an additional 20% in the age group 15-24 (Central Statistical Authority, 2001). As one of the poorest countries in the world, Ethiopia maintains a traditional pastoralist society with an economy based on agriculture. The vast majority of the population does not have access to mass media. Only 11.2% of women and 23.8% of men listen to the radio, 1.7% of women and 6% of men read newspapers and those who have access to televisions is negligible (Central Statistical Authority, 2001). NGO and other civil society involvement in social development did not exist or was negligible during the imperial and socialist era. During the Derg regime from 1974 until 1991, Ethiopia was a socialist state that was torn by bloody coups, wide-scale drought, and massive refugee problems. Under the Derg, community support structures did exist, such as Kebele2 committees and Iddirs, but they were mainly the latter which are Community Savings Associations typically organised around funerals. While the civil society sector is growing, it is still relatively weak and underdeveloped (USAID/Ethiopia, 2003). As a result, there is a lack of government institutions, NGOs, or Community-based organisations (CBO) that are addressing the issue of school related gender based violence from the national level down to the local level.

Access to education for all Ethiopians is limited. The education system is characterised by high drop-out rates, poor student performance and teaching methods, declining numbers of teachers, inadequate facilities, and scarce teaching materials. In 2009 78% of primary-age children enrolled into the education system but the attendance rate was 45% (UNICEF). Enrolment of boys in the education system is greater than girls at all levels. In 2009, the gross enrolment rate for primary education nationally for boys and girls was 103% and 92% respectively (UNICEF). Urban adolescents are significantly more likely than rural adolescents to be in school. Only 28% of rural girls were in school in 2003 (Population Council).

2. Donor Environment

Can we Attain the Millennium Development Goals in Education and Health Through Public Expenditure and Aid?
ODI Briefing Paper, 2003

The World Bank has been criticised by some recipients as ineffective and heavy handed; the Fast-Track Initiative is undergoing an extensive international evaluation, and major European donors have increasingly moved away from project assistance to work through pooled funding, Sector Wide Approach (SWAp), and direct budget support (DBS). Recent studies of donor support to education (World Bank 2006, Chapman and Quijada, EQUIP2 2008) raise questions about overall programme impact and sustainability, particularly in relation to learning outcomes and education quality.

The 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness promotes country-led development, and focuses on the role of recipient nations in managing aid. In 2008, the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Ghana raised pointed critiques of aid programmes, in particular the inefficiencies and lack of coordination among donors. The Evaluation Gap Working Group has highlighted the lack of solid evaluation as a significant shortcoming in foreign assistance programmes.

The international context has been framed by the global commitment to big development goals, such as the UNESCO supported Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the
consensus demonstrated by the Education for All (EFA) initiative. This fact of consensus itself is groundbreaking, as is the emphasis on country development plans and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PSRP) through international mechanisms like the Fast Track Initiative (FTI) and progress reporting through the UNESCO Global Monitoring Report. These goal-driven accords are paralleled by the evolving philosophy of country-led development, embodied in the Paris Declaration and Monterrey Consensus, and implemented at a country level with modalities like pooled funding, the SWAp, and DBS. Under the George W. Bush administration, the U.S. bilateral programme was directed through special initiatives including the Africa Education Initiative (AEI), the Centres for Excellence in Teacher Training (CETT), and President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), as well as mechanisms such as the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) and Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI).

The emerging consensus among donors is that good aid practice, subject to financial management caveats, should involve the use of flexible instruments, such as budgetor pooled sector-support for public expenditure programmes. The effectiveness of aid is therefore in good part determined by the effectiveness of developing countries’ public expenditure programmes. In most developing countries, except those in parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the great majority of children attend the first year of primary school. But many drop out thereafter, which is the main reason why 113 million children (18% of the school age cohort) were out of school in 1998. Low completion rates reflect high abandonment rates, particularly among the children of poor households, and where education quality is poor. The major challenge in attaining the MDG target lies in eliminating abandonment, particularly by the children of poor parents.

3. USAID in Ethiopia

Key Elements of the Fast Track Initiative (FTI)

Ethiopia’s FTI plan was endorsed in 2002. Since then, the Ethiopian government, in close collaboration with the education donor group, has come up with a comprehensive strategy and programme for enhancing the quality of general education in the next five years. As co-chair of the education donor group, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) played a major part in the shaping of the Government of Ethiopia (GOE) programme, now called the General Education Quality Improvement Programme. This programme has incorporated many of the initiatives USAID helped to introduce in teacher training and school-based support in the last twelve years. The other donors in the education sector include the United Kingdom, Japan, Finland, Norway, Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, the European Union, UNICEF, UNESCO, UNDP and the World Bank. The Fast Track Initiative was created in 2002 as a partnership between developing countries and donors to accelerate the delivery of universal primary education in the world’s poorest countries.

Current Programme
USAID implements a community education programme to improve quality at the school level through increased parent and community involvement, and by creating a space for the delivery of health and other social services. USAID has invested in teacher development through site-based teacher-in-service training. Technical assistance has been expanded to all regions to build education planning and management capacity and strengthen decentralised systems. In addition, the expansion of alternative basic education (ABE) for pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities has expanded access to basic education. Under the Presidential Africa Education Initiative, USAID provides girls’ scholarships and textbooks and learning materials to schools.

Illustrative Next Steps of the New Initiative
Over five years, teacher training and ABE could expand to pastoralist communities, including those that are Muslim dominated, empower local education governance and scale-up proven teacher development methods. USAID support to introduce key innovations in teacher development could be scaled-up and strengthened to demonstrate active-learning and student-centered methods. Parent-Teacher Associations and Woreda (District) Education offices could also be strengthened to help these local institutions manage their own educational development. In the next five years, USAID will actively support the Ethiopian Government's General Education Quality Improvement Programme and the development and provision of reading materials, which is one of the most critical elements in improving quality. Finally, USAID will support the government's initiatives for building child-friendly school environments. The new Community-School Partnership Programme of USAID is focused on the provision of safe water at schools and linking health and education institutions to enhance the health of school children.

**USAID/ETHIOPIA Basic Education Program (BESO) reflects on impact of 10-year project**


BESO provided assistance to the Ethiopian Ministry of Education in eleven regions; for professional development, strengthening the capacity of Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) and local government, increasing the access and equity of education, particularly for girls and other disadvantaged populations. The program also included efforts to strengthen education administration through improved systems for planning and management.

Describing BESO as “a quintessential USAID basic education project,” Ambassador Vicki Huddleston said it “is integrally linked to USAID’s strategic objectives for Ethiopia, and firmly based on the education policies of the Ethiopian government.” “Its activities,” the Ambassador said, “are thoroughly integrated into government plans and institutions at national, regional and local levels.”

With an investment of nearly US $150 million over the last ten years, BESO helped to enhance the capacity of 80,000 teachers and school directors, built the capacity of 3,256 Woreda education officers in educational planning and management, provided grants to 5,100 schools and strengthened more than 14,000 members of PTAs and Kebele Education and Training Boards. The Girls’ Education Advisory Committees (GEACs) introduced by BESO, now function in all schools and have helped prevent thousands of girls from sexual harassment, early marriage, and incomplete education.

**EQUIP2’s Analysis of USAID Assistance to Basic Education in the Developing World, 1990–2005**

http://www.equip123.net/docs/E2-AnalysisofUSAIDBasicEdEffectiveness.pdf

A meta-evaluation of USAID projects over a 15 year period. The report found that USAID studies contain important lessons about policy and project design, but often fail to provide useful insights into sustainability, institutionalisation, and scaling up. This evaluation found that projects often tended to be overly ambitious in setting project goals, objectives, and targets. A substantial number of projects had little documented evidence of programme outcomes and impacts and many had limited readily accessible documentation of any kind.

**Basic Education System Overhaul Project (BESO) Ethiopia 1994-2001- $30,000,000**

In Ethiopia, the evaluation team found a disconnect between the BESO reform objectives and elements of the BESO project (Sommers 1996). The evaluation concluded that the allocation of BESO programme (NPA) funds and project resources were not always clearly linked to BESO purposes and objectives. While at times these issues might reflect weak project
design, they also highlight the efforts of USAID to assess the success of its efforts in ways that would allow for mid-course correction. The evaluation report does not provide strong (or much of any) evidence that project activities will be sustained.

In Ethiopia, BESO project staff observed that decentralisation improved the planning capacity of the MOE departments and improved the management functions of target regional education offices. Primary school enrolment, for example, increased substantially; of the 23 countries in the study, gross enrolment (GER) improved in 17 countries by an average of 32%, with the largest increases of 67% and 54% in Ethiopia and Malawi respectively.

While five countries showed measurable improvements in pupil-teacher ratio (PTR), the rapid increase in access created by universal primary education (UPE) policies resulted in overcrowded classrooms in some countries. The most striking examples of deterioration in education quality as measured by PTR were a 100% increase in Ethiopia, an 82% increase in Uganda, and a 63% increase in Cambodia. It is notable that of the 18 countries in the sample with sufficient data on PTR in 1990 and 2005, only three exceeded the FTI target of 40 pupils per teacher in 1990, but eight had PTRs higher than 40 in 2005.

The Development Fund for Africa was an entirely different structure for organising aid to Africa which led directly to non-project assistance in most of the Sub-Saharan countries reviewed in the report, including Benin, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Lesotho, Malawi, and Namibia.

**USAID to Launch Five-Year Ethiopian Education Endeavour**

A preliminary five-year plan to improve Ethiopia's educational system was released on the 20th July 2011 by USAID. The draft Statement of Work (SOW) outlines what the agency expects to accomplish via the Reading for Ethiopia’s Achievement Developed (READ) project, which seeks to improve the reading and writing skills of elementary school students.

**The Cost-Effectiveness of Education Reform: Improving Use of Resources for Learning Gains**

In a time when Ministries need cost-effective solutions, cost-effectiveness research conducted by the USAID-funded Education Quality Improvement Program identifies various ways in which schools can more efficiently use existing resources to improve student learning. The study, which looked at time loss in schools across five countries, found that in many cases, schools lose more than 50% of their annual school year as a result of the school opening late, closing early, teacher and student absenteeism, and time off task in the classroom. Utilising existing time in schools more effectively can improve student learning. Comparative lessons from cross national approaches to schooling that are proven to effectively promote and support student learning outcomes are going to be critical to shaping future education investments.

It examines the cost and cost-effectiveness of time use in Guatemala, Ethiopia, Honduras, Mozambique, and Nepal. The comparison of the resource loss due to each of the Opportunity to Learn Factors (i.e. school closing, absenteeism, time on/off task) is presented across countries and examined against national policy decisions that may help or hinder improvements in the effective opportunity to learn in a typical school.

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<th>4. Key Papers for working through government systems (AusAID)</th>
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**Working through partner government systems in the education sector**
This paper focuses on working through partner government systems (PGS) in the education sector. A framework is proposed which outlines an approach to considering how to work through PGS. This approach is shaped by country contexts and the full paper draws on country experiences to illustrate this. Examples from five AusAID mini case studies are highlighted (from Indonesia, Lao PDR, Nepal, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu), as well as broader international experience. The aim of this paper is to help teams and individuals to think through an approach to working through PGS by looking at a range of system dimensions in different country contexts.

Effective government systems are clearly critical for improving the lives of citizens, and the commitment to using these systems for aid provides an incentive for donors to help to strengthen them. State institutions can be legitimised and made more accountable through strengthening domestic demand for better government performance, which is critical for sustainability. In many situations, in its programmes of support to education AusAID is unlikely to use PGS fully from the outset. What matters is the commitment to moving towards greater use of PGS over time. This paper maps out different ways this can be approached in the education sector, and also explores the trade-off between strengthening PGS to gain confidence in them, or using them to test and fix the leaks. Using PGS is challenging because government systems are complex.

This paper proposes one way of working through partner government systems (PGS) which takes account of the specificities of the education sector that is, a framework with the following dimensions:

- Policy setting systems
- Strategic planning systems
- Public financial management systems
- Human resource management systems
- School level systems
- Input delivery systems
- Quality assurance systems
- Performance monitoring and accountability systems

There are also sections on:
- SWAps
- Strengthening country strategies.
- Delivery strategies for the education sector
- Detailed activity design and implementation
- A framework to assess PGS in education

**Conclusion**

This paper outlines a framework to think about various dimensions of working through partner government systems in the education sector and the implications of using them. It highlights possible lessons for AusAID at all stages of its programming cycle. The framework is not presented as a blueprint, but aims to be useful for country teams to develop and implement approaches to using PGS in AusAID education programmes in a more systematic and comprehensive manner.

**AusAID Case Studies include:**

- Strengthening planning in decentralised Nepal and PNG
- The many variants in using parts of the PFM downstream components
• AusAID using government PFM systems in Nepal
• How can education donors support strengthening education HRM systems?
• Strengthening sustainable school governance systems in Nepal
• Using PGS in building schools in deprived areas in Indonesia – from BEP to ESSP

There are also sections on:

• The challenges of assessing risks and benefits in using PGS in education
• Examples illustrating why PFM reforms are often a priority
• Working through PGS to strengthen them
• Why involving the MOF is important to discuss sector earmarked assistance
• Putting aid ‘on budget’ in designing aid instruments for the education sector
• AusAID’s Guidance on Working in Partner Systems.

Other Useful Papers


For the Strategic Partnership with Africa. All outputs of the Sector Budget Support in Practice review, including ten country/sector case studies in education and other sectors and three short briefing papers
www.odi.org.uk/work/projects/details.asp?id=1013&title=sectorbudget-support#resources

5. Key Papers on USAID Approach

Information on the USAID resources and Approach
38% of non Critical Priority Country resources in FY 2010 are invested in Sub-Saharan Africa and USAID will increase resource flows to this sub region, where programme proposals meet criteria.

USAID considers the presence, orientation, and results of other bilateral and multilateral donors in each country where USAID education investments are proposed to understand comparative advantage, identify opportunities for complementarity, and avoid duplication.

Country Ownership and Responsibility: The principles of selectivity and focus are not inconsistent with the goal of country ownership and responsibility. Providing host country leadership a clear articulation of USAID’s priorities and comparative advantage as a donor can enable them to make strategic choices and necessary trade offs. Importantly, it can provide donors the signals needed to assess host country commitment to long term reforms.

Based on USAID Forward guidance, USAID education programmes will actively assess and seize opportunities for reliance on host country planning and implementation systems – supportive of, but separate from, interventions that seek to strengthen education systems. Whenever possible, USAID will support initiatives and innovative ideas presented by host country governments and civil society that contribute to the education goals in this strategy. However, given that developing country education systems are often complex, underregulated, and vulnerable to system and resource abuse, USAID field missions must
approach direct assistance and other local capacity building mechanisms with care and with
a commitment to risk assessment and mitigation.

It is essential in today’s multi-stakeholder development landscape that USAID place greater
priority on communication, collaboration, and coordination with donors, host country
governments, and other in-country partners, including the business community, to coordinate
priorities and drive to a deliberate division of labour in the sector. Ideally, this should derive
from strong country ownership of a national education plan and country leadership of the
donor community. This being absent, USAID will coordinate with bilateral donors, multilateral
banks, and other international organisations to maximise allocation of donor talent and
resources across the sector and reduce fragmentation that burdens host country systems.

The Power of Persistence: Education System Reform and Aid Effectiveness- Case
Studies in Long-Term Education Reform
USAID, John Gillies, EQUIP2 Project Director, November 2010

This study has three major sections. The first section explores the central concepts of aid
effectiveness in education, including effectiveness, ownership, sustainability, and scaling up.
The paper introduces the basic concepts about systems thinking, and describes
the analytical model of education systems development that is used in the study. The systems model
highlights the interaction between the political, technical, and institutional dimensions of
education reform. The second section reviews the introduction of education reforms in five
countries over a 20-year period including the role of civil society. The third section draws on
common patterns and explores the process of reform, and discusses implications for national
planning and donor engagement in programme design, implementation, and evaluation.

The Power of Persistence highlights the importance of recognising the evolving dynamics of
national politics and institutions in achieving sustainable, long-term improvements in
education systems. It focuses on the process and challenges of introducing, implementing,
and sustaining these reforms. After more than fifty years of development assistance, with
both the rationale and structure of international assistance mechanisms under intensive
critical review, meaningful and actionable insight into effective donor support for national
education systems has never been more urgently needed. The methodology included
extensive document review and interviews with current and former stakeholders in the
ministry, civil society, and donor community of each country studied.

The aid effectiveness debate includes diverse perspectives ranging from the application of
the Paris Declaration principles, calls for more resources (Sachs), and new paradigms for
assistance that avoid the pitfalls of the imposed “big plan” (Easterly) that relies on top down
reform. At the heart of calls for new approaches and modalities are four core issues, which
are described in detail in the report. These are:

- Ownership, impact, sustainability, and scaling up
- Education system reform and aid effectiveness
- Project modality
- Sustainability of specific activities is less important than continuity and sustained
  system improvement

USAID Case Studies

Nicaragua has had four governments, six Ministers of Education, and many Vice-Ministers
and Director Generals at all levels. In 2006, the Sandinista party regained national leadership
for the first time since 1990, bringing a new team and agenda. Through consistent donor
support and recognition of the initiatives, and ultimately through strong school, district, and
parent support, there was continuity in one major reform, the Active School approach. The
other reform model, the Autonomous Schools, did not survive the political change despite donor support in part because little effort was made to develop consensus across political lines.

In Nicaragua, divisions from the civil conflict in the 1980s have continued to influence the policies and practice of education reform. Without the consistency of strong educational leadership and a common national vision, Nicaragua’s progress is sporadic and subject to dramatic changes in direction from political changes. After 15 years of nation-wide implementation, the internationally known, though controversial, Autonomous School model was eliminated with the election of the opposition political party, which is based on the former revolutionary front that governed the country from 1979 to 1990. At the same time, however, successive governments and ministers have continuously supported the demonstrably effective Active School reforms in rural multi-grade schools. It not only survived the political transition, but also has been adopted as national policy for being taken to scale, growing from a small project intervention in 40 schools to serving over 48% of the primary school students in more than 3,000 schools.

Other case studies include:
- El Salvador
- Namibia
- Egypt
- Zambia

6. Role of NGOs

The role and impact of NGOs in capacity development
From replacing the state to reinvigorating education
Inger Ulleberg, UNESCO 2009

As development actors, NGOs have become the main service providers in countries where the government is unable to fulfill its traditional role. In the education sector, many NGOs have moved beyond ‘gap-filling’ initiatives into capacity building activities. This paper seeks to address the role of NGOs in development through the lens of capacity building. Through academic articles and NGO working papers, the paper determines the effect of NGOs on capacity development and their role in building capacity on all levels.

NGOs are increasingly involved in capacity development. As the development discourse leans towards developing skills and tools for strengthening society, NGOs have reacted accordingly. They wish first and foremost to remain important stakeholders in development and to impart their extensive knowledge in the education sector. This involvement changes the ways in which NGOs operate. Capacity-building activities complement traditional service provision, though this does not mean that all NGOs have good relations with government. In any case, NGO activities are increasingly diverse. They have an impact on the interpretation of capacity development. NGOs are influenced by the ideology of capacity development as defined by the hegemonic development discourse, but they also influence its meaning from the outside. This modified interpretation of capacity development can weaken central government but strengthen it in the long term. NGOs have the capacity to innovate and adapt more quickly than national governments; therefore, their actions can undermine government initiatives. But if they scale up their activities and impart their knowledge and techniques at the government level, the country as a whole can benefit. NGOs have a significant impact on the whole process but are also plagued by severe obstacles. NGOs continue to suffer from a lack of resources and from their general estrangement from the state. Unless they become partners with government, and not competitors, capacity-building initiatives will continue to be stunted.
Capacity development implies assisting governments in becoming responsible and legitimate actors, willing to assume ownership of their proper development processes. In reality, this is yet to be the case, precisely because the state in many countries does not yet play its developmental role fully. In public sectors such as health and education, development NGOs have been occupying the role of main service providers over the past few years. Often replacing the role of the government on the ground, especially in remote rural areas, NGOs have traditionally assumed a gap-filling role that has sometimes created conflicting relations with governments. In this context, their strategies and activities are of interest in so far as they have an impact on governmental capacity development in the education sector. Indeed, while the continuation of their gap-filling role depends on the government’s lack of capacity, NGOs increasingly demand that governmental priorities change by paying more attention to those people who have not yet been reached. They act therefore as innovators, critics, advocates and policy partners. The capacity development concept and the need to focus on strengthening government capacity provides NGOs with new challenges. The possible contradictions between capacity development as a developmental paradigm and NGOs’ role as gap fillers correspond to the tensions between the new and the traditional roles of NGOs. This raises two related issues: what impact does NGO action have on governments’ capacities? Also, how do NGOs interpret the capacity development concept?

**Partnerships for girls’ education**

Ines A. Smyth, Nitya Rao, 2005, Oxfam GB

http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=NzVKoqXaD1gC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=working+through+government+systems+with+a+number+of+partners+and+working+bilaterally+with+one+non-government+partner+education&ots=GayGKchW2g&sig=y0k2kSyytJ4sAjo7TK-bfIBzyk#v=onepage&q&f=false

The idea of partnerships - involving multinational donors, governments, international non-government organisations, the private sector, civil society, and local communities - is increasingly current in debates about development. They are widely seen as the most effective way to achieve sustainable economic and social benefits for the poorest people. How does this vision translate into reality for education services? In particular, what types of partnership are most likely to increase opportunities for girls and women, millions of whom are excluded from education? Can innovative local initiatives be scaled up without losing the community involvement that made them so successful in the first place? By documenting and analysing the achievements and challenges of actual partnerships for girls’ education, this book aims to suggest strategies for progress towards the Millennium Development Goals. An account of the formation and development of the Global Campaign for Education is followed by detailed case studies from Bangladesh, Egypt, the Philippines, Peru, and sub-Saharan Africa, illustrating a wide range of partnerships and raising crucial questions about power and control, scaling up, and sustainability. Nitya Rao and Ines Smyth reflect on these questions in an extended introduction to the book, and in the conclusion they summarise the lessons learned from the examples cited. By setting global, regional, national, and local case studies in an analytical framework, this book demonstrates the importance of ensuring that partnerships are not reduced to the lowest common denominator but aspire to the highest standards and broadest visions.

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**7. Salaries**

**Schools, Teachers, and Education Outcomes in Developing Countries**


Countries respond to this high cost of teachers by maintaining large class sizes. Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia have the highest pupil teacher ratios. As a country develops, teachers’ relative salaries decrease. According to a study of 55 low-income countries, on average, teacher salaries and benefits account for 74% of government recurrent expenditures on education (Bruns et al., 2003).

The health sector also suffers from high staff costs and as this is an area donors should also consider. Some experts have commented on the most appropriate ways for donors to contribute to health staff salaries:

- **Donor Support Through Governments:** Some experts have argued that this is the most effective, under some conditions. To do this, donors must provide some kind of budget support – general or health sector. This is the most vulnerable to fungibility. So, the final result may be that donors finance salaries, but that the governments of recipient countries reduce their support to the health sector. This report also presents a case study of donors supporting human resources through the Malawian government.

- **Donors Don’t Pay Salaries:** Next, it presents two papers arguing for and against donor support of salaries. The World Bank believes uncertain financing flows mean donors should not commit to permanent expenditures such as salaries. In his paper, Gorik Ooms argues that this position no longer makes sense, now that donors are involved in other long term recurrent costs, such as AIDS treatment. He also argues that without doing this you end up with ‘medicines without doctors’ but that donors should give via organisations such as the Global Fund to ensure consistency.

- **Donors Support Salaries Through NGOs:** Specialists gave more support to a system wide approach such as donating through government systems. Examples in the literature warn of ‘islands of excellence’ through using this method and it has also been suggested that it may lead to privatisation of health services. Additionally, this section gives case studies of Afghanistan and Liberia and Merlin’s experiences.

8. Role of Leadership

**The Power of Persistence: Education System Reform and Aid Effectiveness- Case Studies in Long-Term Education Reform**
USAID, John Gillies, EQUIP2 Project Director, November 2010

Continuity of people, procedures, policies, and systems is important to sustained improvement in education quality. It is difficult for any organisation to implement fundamental reforms with significant and frequent turnover at the leadership and technical levels. Of course, change in leadership, personal and political agendas, and even ideology is an inherent feature of democracy, and every new government seeks its own successful programmes and reforms. Change in educational leadership and priorities can also occur on a distressingly frequent basis in all systems of government as ministers, vice ministers, and directors general are shuffled for reasons often unrelated to reforms. This organic process encourages a proliferating series of new programmes rather than solidifying and deepening existing initiatives. Nor are donors immune from interruptions in continuity. Leadership turnover in USAID missions—Mission Directors and Contacting Officer’s Technical Representatives—and changes in U.S. administrations can dramatically change the agenda. This structural fact is important to recognise: as the study noted, the lifespan necessary for a significant reform to take hold nationally is at least a decade if not longer—a period that
would encompass at least two administrations in most democracies, including the United States, and up to five or more changes in USAID project and mission leadership.

Because continuity of key individuals in both governments and donors is unavoidably limited, sustained development also requires the element of **survivability**, which can be defined as a strategies designed to survive changes in government or ministry leadership and changes in donor agendas. All of the study countries experienced such change with varying results, and the survival of the reforms often depends on the extent to which the reform process encouraged broad-based support for the reform and created a solid foundation. The nature of a survivable foundation differed by country, but in each case went beyond Ministry support to include other political groups, civil society, municipalities, schools and teachers, as well as parents and communities.

**How the World’s Most Improved School Systems Keep Getting Better**
McKinsey Report: Mona Mourshed, Chinezi Chijioke, Michael Barber, December 2010

**Leaders take advantage of changed circumstances to ignite reforms.**
Across all the systems that were studied, one or more of three circumstances produced the conditions that triggered reform: a socio-economic crisis; a high profile, critical report of system performance; or a change in leadership. In fifteen out of the twenty systems studied, two or more of these “ignition” events were present prior to the launch of the reform efforts. By far, the most common event to spark the drive to reform is a change in leadership: every system that was studied relied upon the presence and energy of a new leader, either political or strategic, to jumpstart their reforms. New strategic leaders were present in all of the sample systems, and new political leaders present in half. Critically, being new in and of itself is insufficient for success – these new leaders tend to follow a consistent “playbook” of practices upon entering office to lay the foundations for their improvement journey.

**Leadership continuity is essential.**
Leadership is essential not only in sparking reform but in sustaining it. Two things stand out about the leaders of improving systems. Firstly, their longevity: the median tenure of the new strategic leaders is six years and that of the new political leaders is seven years. This is in stark contrast to a norm: for example, the average tenure for superintendents of urban school districts in the U.S. is just three years; the average tenure of education secretaries in England just two years; similarly, that of education ministers in France is two years. Secondly, improving systems actively cultivate the next generation of system leaders, ensuring a smooth transition of leadership and the longer-term continuity in reform goals. This second observation lies at the heart of how a handful of the studied systems (e.g. Armenia, Western Cape, Lithuania) have managed reform continuity despite regular changes of political leadership. The stability of reform direction is critical to achieving the quick gains in student outcomes.

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