

Background Paper The Learning Generation

Teacher Politics Meeting Educational Quality Challenges with Teachers

Monazza Aslam, Shenila Rawal and Pauline Rose IDEAS Pakistan
Niaz Asadullah Malaya University
Geeta Kingdon Institute of Education, University College London

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Teacher Politics: Meeting Educational Quality Challenges with Teachers

Report prepared for the Education Commission

(Monazza Aslam, Shenila Rawal, Niaz Asadullah, Faisal Bari, Geeta Kingdon, Rabea Malik &
Pauline Rose)¹

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Contents

Executive Summary and Key Recommendations	3
1. Introduction	6
2. Theoretical frame work and key questions posed in this study	8
3. Literature review.....	12
3.1 Teachers: key stakeholders in the education sector	12
3.2 The role of teachers in rent-seeking and patronage politics in the education sector ..	16
3.3 Teachers' influence on the educational decision process, and the implications for educational outcomes	18
3.4 What mechanisms are available to teacher power groups?	20
4. Landscape View of Teacher-related Reforms: Bangladesh, India & Pakistan	23
4.1 Bangladesh	24
4.2 India.....	25
4.3 Pakistan	32
5. Data analysis: further investigations	37
5.1 Remuneration	38
5.2 Teacher satisfaction	44
5.3 Extent of teacher politicization in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan.....	57
5.3.1 Bangladesh	57
5.3.2 India	66
5.3.3 Pakistan	70
5.4 Grievance redressal.....	72
6. Conclusion and recommendations: Teaming up with teachers to transform education systems.....	81
References	92

Executive Summary and Key Recommendations

This report provides a snapshot view of the landscape of teacher reforms and their political presence in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. This study has indicated **that teachers are not only a critical input into a child's educational experience, but also a powerful force in many parts of these countries.** This study highlights some key instances where teachers are a force for good and even those situations where they have been perceived to be a destructive force, in actuality it can be argued that this could be a stance of last resort.

This report argues that **the changing nature of the global educational environment, with a critical shift towards quality focused reforms cannot be achieved without taking teachers on board.** Governments have to recognise that it is not enough to consider teachers as *the* most important inputs but also to ensure that their strength and influence is channelled for the benefit of students rather than for their own personal gain. Whilst governments operate at extremes of the spectrum, either giving in completely to teacher demands or totally ignoring their voice, **striking a balance** between these two is necessary for the **constructive involvement of teachers into the reform process.**

This study scoped a vast array of literature that illustrated that whilst a number of players within the education arena have the capability and power to influence the political economy of education systems, **teachers are typically the best organized (in associations or unions) and often the most vocal among all stake holder groups.** Moreover, it was found that their interests and incentives do not necessarily align with those of their students or with the society at large.

Recognizing the importance of reforming the education workforce and the policy amenable nature of this input, **a vast array of reforms have arisen** in all three countries of interest. This study has ring-fenced the past 10 to 15 years for the review of policy developments and reforms, with this study concentrating on identifying developments and reviewing reforms that fall in the following teacher-relevant policy areas: i) retention and deployment, ii) professional development (in- and pre-service training), iii) teacher responsibilities (including changes in pedagogical practices, in school and out of school responsibilities), iii)

accountability and monitoring. In doing so, we examine the role teachers have played (if any) in initiating, developing and supporting/opposing the above reform initiatives. Moreover, wherever possible, we aim to identify how teachers have supported or resisted key reform efforts and why. Whilst all three countries have initiated reforms that attempt to make considerable strides in improving teacher effectiveness (through changes in recruitment policies, deployment, transfers, monitoring and accountability, training etc.), there is **less evidence of teachers being positively engaged in the policy process** at either the design or even in the implementation stages of the reforms. This has resulted in a lack of sensitization of teachers to the reform as well as an ensuing lack of active engagement in the reform process even in instances where teachers are in favour of the proposed changes.

Analysis of primary and secondary data has indicated that **teachers in all three countries are relatively well paid** compared to equivalent employees in other fields. Evidence also indicates that **teachers are politically very active, well organized into associations and unions and well entrenched in the political arena** to be able to influence key educational agenda items. However, primary data also reveal that **teachers tend to present less benevolent agenda items** that often call for salary increases or lessened work-loads rather than more altruistic demands that may ultimately only benefit their students. However, the **burden of ad hoc administrative and non-teaching duties places arduous pressure on teachers** which takes them away from their actual teaching duties and often results in discontent which at the extreme has been seen to manifest itself in violent protests.

This report makes the following actionable recommendations:

- **Governments and policy makers must collaborate and consult teachers when designing and implementing policies.**
- **Beneficial outcomes may be achieved through the encouragement of well-structured teacher organisations.**
- **Professionalization of associations could provide legitimacy and credibility to teachers' voice.**

- **Consider the development and garnering of School Management Committees to provide a useful avenue for dialogue between those on the ground administering policy and those creating it.**
- **Make key appointments in government and form skilled technical reform teams utilising teacher expertise.**
- **Professionalise the teacher force by establishing acceptable minimum qualifications, a professional body or association to oversee the conduct of members and giving teachers more influence over curriculum and budgets.**
- **Provide teachers with the requisite tools such as through appropriate training to ensure they deliver on the weighty expectations of policy.**

Whilst this report has provided a landscape view, a crucial point to note is that there is no silver bullet and all prescriptions must be individually tailored to respond to very specific local needs and challenges. This report has also only touched upon some of these critical issues and further comprehensive research can help policy makers identify specific areas where effective policy making can bring about changes aimed at improving quality and equity in education.

1. Introduction

Education reforms do not occur in isolation of the world around them and are heavily influenced not only by the larger macro governance environment, but also by the motivations and actions of important players both inside and outside the educational sphere. Unfavourable political economy blocks policy reform and its ultimate implementation and efficacy and the design and implementation of effective and conducive educational (and other) policies is likely to be significantly influenced by the political economy within which they are made.

Whilst the South Asia Region (SAR) has made tremendous strides in achieving schooling access outcomes, these gains in participation have not been commensurate with those in learning. Yearly Annual Status of Education Reports (ASER, various years) in India and Pakistan in particular lament the low learning outcomes among children across the two countries. The challenges of providing quality education to all are numerous – the countries are large and immensely diverse. They also face other, more serious, challenges – the teaching cadre in the SAR region is undertrained (with many teachers unqualified and untrained), have poor content knowledge (Kingdon and Banerji, 2009, Dundar et al., 2014), and low accountability, with many regular teachers in government jobs enjoying ‘jobs for life’ and being virtually unsackable, as well as low incentives. Anecdotal, and some recent empirical evidence in parts of the South Asia Region, points to significant political penetration by teachers through formal well-structured unions – as in India and to some extent in Pakistan - or much weaker, though still organized, presence through associations as in Bangladesh. In many parts of the region, teachers are also organised into vocal and sometimes disruptive unions or associations or backed by powerful politicians which can make the reform process sluggish and sometimes impossible (Kingdon and Muzammil, 2003; Béteille, 2009). Given these challenging situations, motivation of teachers to rally for agendas that relate to the betterment of learning outcomes is often weak and sometimes non-existent.

The critical role of the teacher in a child’s educational experience is unquestionable and sub-standard teaching has been cited as the foremost factor contributing to low schooling

quality particularly in the South Asia Region (SAR). Research additionally confirms that improving weak teaching may be likely to be the most effective way of improving educational quality across the developing world. However, it is also crucial to emphasize that teachers do not teach in isolation of factors existing outside of the schooling system. The potential impact that they can have on children's learning outcomes is strongly influenced by other stakeholders as well as factors that exist both within and outside of the education system. The power relations and incentives of these other actors and ultimately the constraints or facilitation they present in the political arena within which teachers operate, all influence any contribution that teachers can make to improving schooling quality for the children that they teach.

This study aims to focus on producing an accessible document that highlights some recent literature on the political involvement of teachers and the possible role they play in determining children's educational outcomes. The role of teachers and the environment they work in, especially if they are organized into unions or other powerful organizations, is an important one for South Asia as the countries adopt critical reforms, many of them donor driven. For example, with the Right to Education Act (RTE) in India promising free compulsory education to children aged 6-14 years, it is important to study the role of teachers in the design and the successful implementation of such large-scale reforms and associated programs. This is important also going forward in finding the critical pathways to effectively engaging teachers. Among the key objectives of this research will therefore be to highlight specifically how teachers' political involvement can influence education reform efforts.

This study sets out the landscape of the politics of teaching within the region (focusing specifically on India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), identify where possible, the 'power' of teachers within the region (by discussing literature that highlights union or organization membership rates for instance or evidence that showcases teacher status within society) or by investigating their 'bargaining power' by showcasing teacher salaries in relation to the national (or provincial) per capita GDP. Compensation of teachers and pay structure are important within any discussion of teacher politics and reform, for the following reasons: teacher salaries constitute more than 90% of the recurrent education expenditures in the

region; because it is critical to question whether pay structure is incentive enough to generate a cadre of motivated and able individuals capable of transferring content knowledge sufficiently; and it is important to question whether organized teachers only demand increases in salaries at the expense of other important improvements that may improve children's learning outcomes. Not only do we aim to get a better understanding of whether existing incentive mechanisms for teachers are effective but also how teachers may have possibly responded to them in order to better engage them in future reform efforts. This will be supplemented by case study examples that provide a landscape of some recent teacher reforms within the region – for example those pertaining to pedagogic shifts or broader privatisation debates. The ultimate objective is to identify instances where teachers may have been drivers of change or where they may have hindered reform. These examples can provide a clear direction to the Commission and suggest the actionable steps necessary to improve education that can have a positive impact on economic and social development.

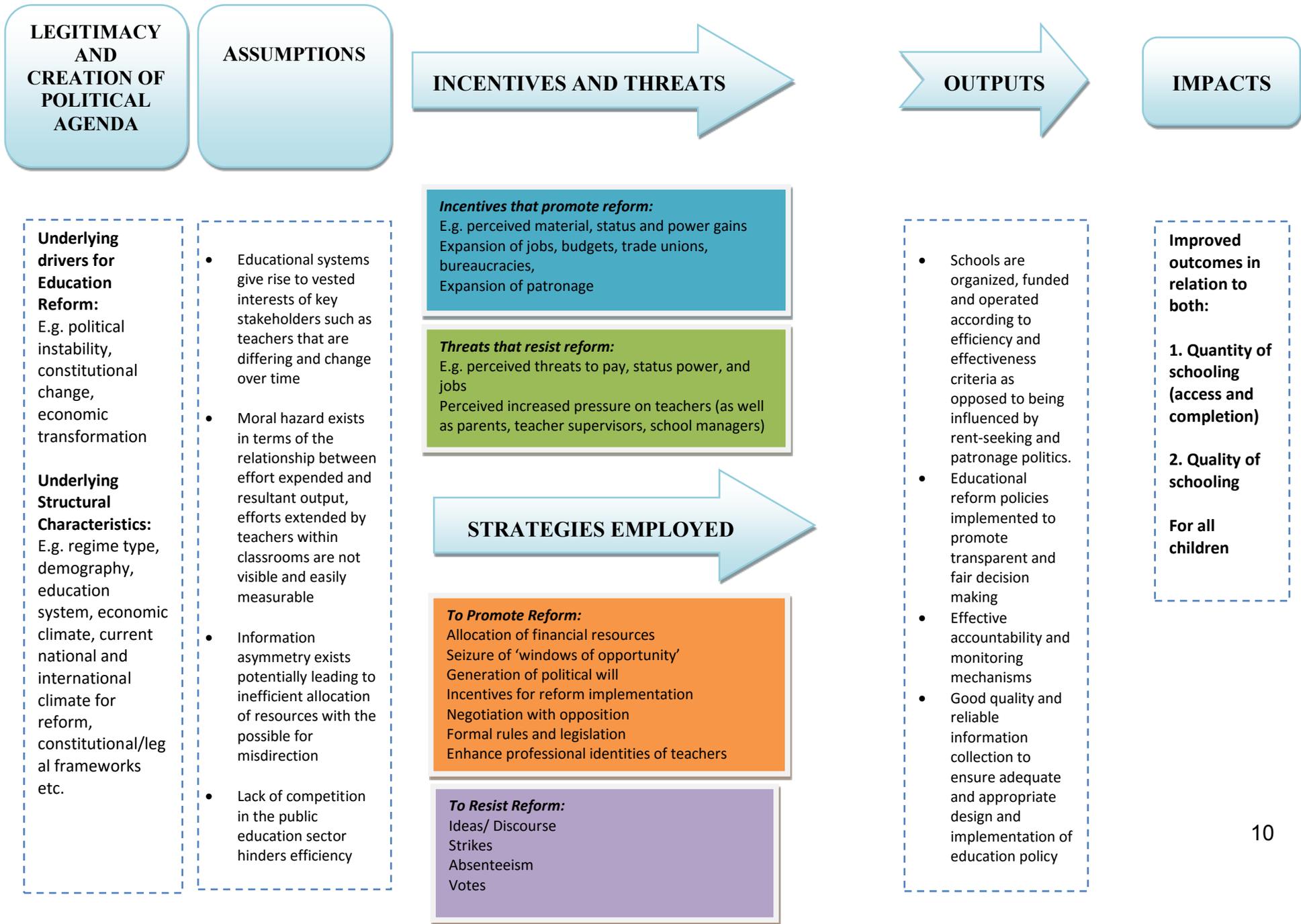
This paper is organised as follows. Section 2 discusses the theoretical framework and research questions posed within this study. Section 3 summarises the key evidence on the political engagement of teachers whilst section 4 sets out the reform landscape in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan citing specific reforms relating to teachers in these countries. Section 5 provides empirical evidence on key teacher issues such as remuneration, satisfaction and political engagement using data collected from all three countries. Section 6 concludes with actionable policy pointers for the Commission to take forward.

2. Theoretical frame work and key questions posed in this study

This study adapts the theoretical framework proposed by Kingdon et al. (2014) to focus specifically on teachers and their role within the education system.

Figure 1 depicts the theory of change (TOC) that underpins this research. The theory of change proposed by Kingdon et al. (2014) emphasized the importance of 'actors' and how their vested interests and incentives and the means by which they pursue these consequently impacts educational outcomes. The TOC depicted in Figure 1 below similarly frames the discussion but with particular emphasis on the role of the teacher.

Figure 1. 'Political Economy of Teachers in Education Systems: A theory of change



Teachers are key stakeholders within the education system – there are many of them, they can organize themselves into large associations or groups and can be quite vocal in either resisting or supporting change. Therefore, the vested interests of teachers are especially important for the political economy of reform for three main reasons (Kingdon et al. 2014). Firstly, teachers may have powerful incentives ‘...to resist any reforms that alter, reduce, or eliminate their benefits, or render them uncertain—which most major reforms would do. Second, they have strong incentives to get organized for political action, and to invest in political power, in order to protect their institutions from change. And third, they typically have incentives to do these things even if the existing institutions are performing badly, and thus are in desperate need of reform—because, as job-holders or administrators or contractors, their benefits depend on the continuation of existing arrangements, not on performance. When major reforms are proposed in any nation, in any realm of policy, vested interests are likely to be the prime source of resistance.’ (p. 50).

The TOC depicted above starts on the left hand side by nesting the discussion within the context of the underlying drivers for educational reform or imperatives for reform. While the precise nature of these will vary from country to country and examples are given within the diagram. In addition to this, we also couch our understanding of the political economy of education within the underlying social, political, economic and educational structures of the country within which reforms are promoted or resisted (examples included). In column 2 we identify some key theoretical assumptions relating in particular to teachers. In column 3 we identify incentives that promote reforms and threats that generate resistance to reforms as well as strategies that can be employed by vested interest groups to either promote or resist reform. Column 4 and 5 illustrate some of the resultant outputs and impact that may be seen within the broader educational system as result of these factors.

The research is embedded within this adapted theoretical framework to help frame the key underlying questions and issues and to direct the research conducted appropriately.

The answers to the following questions in particular are sought from existing literature and simple analysis of existing data sets available to the authors:

1. How can teachers and their organizations assist in meeting the educational challenges faced today?
2. What systemic teacher reforms may be needed to accelerate progress to improve the quality of education outcomes and learning?
3. Are there any examples of good practice in terms of teacher politics that can be successfully emulated to improve education systems?
4. Have teachers hindered or promoted reform movements, and what can we learn from these experiences?

3. Literature review

This study aims to identify some literature that helps us place the key questions as highlighted above. In particular, this sub-section extracts and summarizes evidence pertaining to teachers from the researchers' own recent work (Kingdon et al. 2014). The work from which this section draws heavily focuses on the political economy of education systems as a whole, of which teachers form one albeit perhaps the most critical stakeholder/input. This section focuses specifically on the parts of the aforementioned review that relate to the politics of teachers and the roles they play within an entire system of incentives and vested interests. Additional relevant literature is also discussed in other sections of this report.

3.1 Teachers: key stakeholders in the education sector

A number of players within the education arena have the capability and power to influence the political economy of education systems the world over. They include (and may not be limited to): parents, government officials (Minister of Education, other ministry officials), local government representatives, school officials/school management (head teacher, governing body and teachers) and teacher unions and associations. Most often it is the case that teachers constitute the most critical input into the educational process. Nevertheless, their interests and incentives may often differ from those of their students or from the society at large. Often, teachers are the best organized (in associations or unions) as compared to other stakeholder and are the most vocal among all stakeholder groups.

Kingdon et al. (2014) argue that a large empirical literature base shows how teacher unions are able to exert significant influence in shaping policies, not always in a positive way (Eberts and Stone, 1987; Hoxby, 1996; Moe 2001; Carnoy et al, 2007, Beteille 2009). Hoxby (1996) argues that teachers are able to militate for higher salaries and protect existing teachers from new entrants by being organized in unions and this in turn increases inefficiency within the teaching profession. Arguably, the political power of teachers is one explanation behind their large bargaining power. This is the case in many countries be they developed or developing (for example Moe, 2005 for the US, and Kingdon and Muzammil 2003 and 2012 for India).

Moe (2005) argues that teachers in the US are able to exert their influence through the electoral process (voting, contributions to political campaigns etc.) and these findings have been corroborated in the developing world as well (Santibanez and Rabling, 2006) and India (Pratichi Report 2002; Kingdon and Muzammil, 2003). The studies by Kingdon and Muzammil (2003, 2009) are able to show evidence of significant political infiltration of teachers in India. They highlight the role of teachers in the political process in Uttar Pradesh, India, to describe how teachers have become embedded in the political system and the way teacher associations and unions have actively pursued demands through various strikes and other forms of actions. While teachers have been successful in demanding improved pay, job security and service benefits, less progress has been made on broader improvements in the schooling system such as the promotion of education in general or improving equity and efficiency in the educational system. According to this study, two factors explain the dynamics of the political economy of education in India. The first stems from the constitutionally guaranteed representation of teachers in the upper house of the state legislature, which has led to a culture of political activism among teachers, many of whom wish to get elected as legislators. Secondly, whilst teachers in private 'aided' schools are government-paid employees, they are also allowed to contest elections to the lower house since they are not deemed to hold an 'office of profit' in the government. Therefore, there is substantial representation of teachers in both the lower and upper houses of parliament. This privileged position – teachers as legislators – has political consequences for the educational system. While in itself this may not be a problem, the paper suggests that the issues on which teachers tend to campaign have been more

related to their own personal gains as compared to for broader improvements in the educational system. Teacher unions have also lobbied extensively for centralized government management of aided schools to protect themselves from local accountability in matters of unethical behaviour such as frequent absenteeism and giving private-tuition to their own students. However, while this case study provides good evidence on the political power of teachers, it is also very specific to the Uttar Pradesh context (or at best to the six states of India whose legislatures have an Upper House) where teachers are constitutionally guaranteed representation in the state legislature. Teachers' political presence in Uttar Pradesh has been significant (with on average 17% of the membership of the Upper House and 6% of the Lower House of the state legislature being made up of teachers, over the post-independence period). This presence has also been increasing over time (Kingdon and Muzammil, 2013). Arguably, union membership may help teachers overcome the corruption they face in issues pertaining to their transfers, promotions and the timely payment of salaries etc.

An illustration of teacher union opposition to education reform in Africa is recorded in Bold et. al.(2013). Here a randomized trial study in Kenya showed that contract teachers significantly raised pupil test scores when implemented by an NGO but not when implemented by the bureaucratic structures of the Kenyan government, because of teacher union opposition. The Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) waged an intense political and legal battle against the contract teacher program, including a lawsuit lasting a year, street protests in central Nairobi, and a two-day national strike, demanding permanent civil service employment and union wage levels for all contract teachers. Another illustration comes from South Africa where Zengele (2013) finds that the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) leaders exert great influence on teacher appointments, placing union-loyalists on promotional posts irrespective of merit. He goes on to recommend that the Department of Education must engage the service of employment agencies to handle all the advertising, shortlisting, interviews and recommendations for appointment processes to avoid all forms of subjectivity and nepotism. Finally, reports show that the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) was effective in pressing its demands before the Ghana government by threatening – or actually going on – strike. 178,000 GNAT teachers participated in a 8-day national strike in March 2013 to pursue their demands. An

'Education International Report on Ghana' (Education International, 2013) shows that GNAT was able to negotiate salary increases above the cost-of-living index each year since 2010. There is similar evidence from numerous newspaper reports in India and Pakistan where teacher union strikes were held successfully, sometimes turning violent, and led to demands being met. One example where unions have been successful in major reform that has benefitted them is provided by the Sixth Pay Commission in India where teacher salaries were significantly increased in the late 2000s. Kingdon (2010) notes that when the Fifth Pay Commission made its recommendations in 1996, the government of UP (GOUP) negotiated the pay increases with teacher unions for four years, finally accepting the full pay award in Dec. 2000 just before the state election in February 2001. By contrast, the Sixth Pay Commission recommendations in 2008 were almost accepted by GOUP, perhaps knowing that arguing with teacher unions would merely delay the inevitable, and because an election was imminent in April 2009 anyway. This illustrates how the incentives of stakeholders as well as political considerations especially during elections can influence education reforms.

However, teacher unions are not homogeneous entities in all countries, or equally strong, or similar in nature and strength. Moreover, they are not ubiquitously perceived as interfering with school reform programmes by giving higher priority to their own 'bread and butter' issues than to students' needs. In some countries, teachers' unions have also developed their research capacities significantly in recent years. Some of the literature also finds that teacher unions cooperate with government education reforms. Languille and Dolan (2012) identify the constructive role of the Tanzania Teachers' Union (TTU) as one of several potential 'drivers of change'. They say that in contrast to other Sub-Saharan (and indeed other Asian) countries, the TTU are not considered to be able to block or disrupt government education reform. They are viewed as capable of playing a facilitating role in the reform process. In a similar vein, Mulkeen (2010) finds that whilst teacher unions have been heavily criticized for their advocacy role for better pay and conditions for teachers, unions are also responsible for engaging teachers in other activities such as policy analysis and advocacy for improved educational quality and global education campaigns. Additionally, some unions also provide teachers professional development, access to credit and a recourse in the case of unfair treatment. The study finds that advocacy work was a significant part of teacher union activities in the eight Anglophone countries it studied

(Eritrea, Gambia, Malawi, Uganda, Zanzibar, Lesotho, Liberia and Zambia), although it took different forms in each country. Even in India, where teacher unions are perceived as a strong interest group, Kingdon and Muzammil (2010) report that the secondary teachers' union in the state of Uttar Pradesh also works constructively for grievance redressal for teachers and in other ways, for example, it acted "as a watchdog by drawing attention to government irregularities in the appointment of teachers...and also raised its concern over malpractices in the examination system and in the evaluation of answer scripts of students. For instance it gave the Director of Secondary Education a list of 25 schools and colleges where organized copying was going on in Board examinations and also named teachers who had been issued fake identity cards for invigilation and facilitating copying".

3.2 The role of teachers in rent-seeking and patronage politics in the education sector

Rent-seeking (an attempt to gain economic rent by influencing policies or their implementation) and patronage politics (support provided to specific groups for instance rewarding individuals or organizations for their electoral support) are rife in the public sector in developing countries, including in the education sector. The politics of patronage suggest that it is more convenient to expand educational coverage e.g. by building more schools or hiring more teachers than to fix existing inefficiencies within the system because the former involves spending on political actors whereas the latter may involve reducing resources allocated to underperforming political stakeholders.

Beteille (2009) in her dissertation discusses how rent-seeking and exertion of political influence is prevalent among teachers in many developing countries. She cites evidence on the prevalence of discretionary and patronage-based appointments and transfers in public office (Iyer and Mani 2008; Park and Somanathan 2004; Sharma, 2009; Ramachandran et al. 2005; Wade, 1985). As a large body of evidence base indicates that working conditions and teacher satisfaction are key to retention and motivation, understanding teacher transfers is important because transfers alter teachers' working conditions. However, there is a dearth of high quality quantitative and qualitative literature in this regard on teachers in developing countries with only a handful of quality studies investigating this issue (Beteille

2009 and Kingdon and Muzammil 2003, 2012). Sharma's (2009) work in particular shows how in India many states do not have stable and transparent transfer policies. A broad qualitative literature cited by the author suggests that transfers are typically kept discretionary and conducted on subjective criteria. They allegedly form the bedrock of a patronage-based system where powerful politicians and bureaucrats oblige politically-helpful teachers with transfers of their choice, regardless of school need. From a school's perspective, such discretionary behaviour potentially distorts the overall allocation of teachers to schools and can potentially negatively impact on the efficiency and equity with which teachers are deployed².

Unlike South Asia, Bennell and Akyeampong (2007) believe that poor teacher accountability is less of a problem in Sub Saharan Africa partly due to the fact that teachers in this region are less heavily involved in party politics and because patron-client relations are not as endemic in Africa as they are in South Asia. They note that whilst teacher absenteeism is high in most of the country studies, only a relatively small proportion of these absences in African countries are categorized as non-authorized. Citing the African example of Nigeria, Duncan and Williams (2010) say that political parties are not guided by ideas and programmes but are 'machines driven by personalities and patronage'. Thus competition for political power ultimately depends on managing patronage relationships (p10). However, within these limitations there are still many passionate voices calling for a higher quality of electoral democracy.

In a striking example of patronage politics in education in Africa, Zengele (2013) discusses how the teacher unions have taken over teacher appointment and promotion decisions in South Africa, in a manner similar to that observed in Mexico. Teacher union leaders were awarded high government posts for supporting the ANC in South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. Since then, South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) representatives are given observer status in the panel that appoints teachers but, as the author's interviews with union leaders show, when vacancies arise, these representatives

² Draws heavily from Beteille (2009).

pro-actively use their political muscle (their closeness to senior political leaders) to influence appointments in favour of union-backed candidates, regardless of merit.

3.3 Teachers' influence on the educational decision process, and the implications for educational outcomes

The most well-positioned and organized interest group exerting pressure on educational decision-making process usually is teacher unions. Kingdon and Teal (2010) state that conceptually there are two main reasons why teachers may become union members (Hoxby, 1996). The first is that they maximize the same objective function as parents, namely student achievement, but have superior information about the correct input mixes and union membership provides teachers with a collective voice to implement these input mixes. This may include for instance asking for lower class sizes or higher salaries which help to attract and retain superior teachers and which, therefore, helps improve student achievement. The second potential reason for teachers joining a union is that they have a different objective function than parents or school management, possibly one in which school policies that directly affect them, such as teacher salaries, receive greater weight than policies that only indirectly affect them, i.e. membership of a rent-seeking teachers' union. A rent-seeking union may block reform of incentives to improve instruction, e.g. by tying salaries to seniority rather than to performance and by protecting ineffective teachers from dismissal. Under rent seeking, unions may also lower student achievement if their pursuit of higher salaries diverts resources away from other school inputs that raise achievement and if teacher union strikes disrupt teaching. Finally, since teachers interact with other inputs in order to produce education, rent seeking unions could lower the efficiency of the other inputs, such that more money for schools may not matter (Lemke, 2004; Hoxby, 1996). For the above reasons, the sign of the relationship between teacher union membership and student achievement could go either positive or negative, and is thus an empirical question.

The literature investigating the implications of vested interests on educational access and quality has largely emerged through the economics discipline. More recent literature has focused largely on teacher unions and the potential negative impact on educational quality as measured by students' learning outcomes (Hoxby 1996 and Woessmann 2003). Kingdon

and Teal (2010), for instance, examine the relationship between teacher unionization, student achievement and teacher-pay, with data from 16 major states of India. Using stringent empirical techniques (pupil fixed effects regression – where a pupil’s achievement across different subjects is related to the characteristics of the different teachers that teach those different subjects), the authors find that union membership strongly reduces pupil achievement. In addition, union membership is shown to substantially raise pay. Thus, unions are seen to both raise costs – within a school, a union member earns a wage premium of 14.9% over non-union members – and reduce student achievement. Most recently, Lott and Kenny (2013) have provided quality evidence from the US that indicates that students in states with strong teacher unions have lower proficiency rates than students in states with weak unions.

Kingdon and Muzammil (2013) explore how teacher politicians and teacher unions influence school governance by presenting evidence on the political penetration of teachers, the activities of teacher unions and the stances of teachers’ organizations on various decentralization and accountability reform proposals over time in Uttar Pradesh, India. Using a different dataset to Kingdon and Teal (2010), they ask how student achievement varies with teachers’ union membership and political connections. Teacher effort is likely to be greater in governance systems where there is a good system of school and teacher accountability. However, teachers may not be only passive accepters of that wider ‘school governance’ environment; they may also consciously shape it to achieve certain working conditions that determine their effort levels. Teachers may influence that environment through their organizations (unions’ negotiations with government) and, possibly in a more far-reaching way, through their direct participation in politics, that is, as teacher legislators who get a say in education-related legislation. The authors find a substantial negative relationship between teachers’ union membership and student achievement, as well as between teachers’ political connections and student achievement. A student taught by a teacher who is both a union member and politically connected has about 0.20 standard deviations lower score than his/her counterpart in the same school who is taught by a teacher who is neither a union member nor politically connected. Kingdon and Muzammil (2013) find that low teacher effort is the channel through which teachers’ political

connections reduce student achievement; however, low effort could not be confirmed as the reason for the lower achievement of students taught by unionized teachers.

In some instances, studies have shown that the negotiation process between unions and governments can be so prolonged that it significantly undermines the achievement of educational goals. Mahlangu and Pitsoe (2011) argue that the power struggle between government and union negotiators in South Africa undermined the process of negotiation with one of both parties negotiating in bad faith with the result that public education has declined and poverty has increased and political tactics have been used to obscure the true problems.

A recent study by Alif Ailaan (2015) that looked at the state of teacher unions' in Pakistan noted that historically, teachers' associations and unions in the country have been 'able to score several victories in negotiating better service conditions. Accusations that these organizations are weak and disorganized therefore do not ring entirely true. At the same time, teachers' associations and unions almost never engage government on issues of student wellbeing, learning outcomes or even teaching methodology. The singular focus of teachers'

bodies tends to be to air service conditions grievances and institutional grievances. This has lent credibility to accusations that these associations and unions are parochial, and may not be genuine stakeholders in the education reform discourse.' (p. viii). More interestingly, the authors of this report argue that the leadership positions in these organizations are themselves subject to elite capture by men and their development into organizations truly representing the teaching profession is further curtailed by patronage and rent-seeking by the political elites and the leadership of the teachers' associations and unions. In '(using) of teachers as cogs in parties' and politicians' electoral machinery', the effective development of these organizations is therefore severely undermined.

3.4 What mechanisms are available to teacher power groups?

Murillo et al. (2002) state that the impact of unions on student performance depends on the channels and kinds of political markets in which unions operate, and not necessarily on the

existence of the union itself. They highlight key channels that have been used by unions in Argentina to influence decision-making. First is that union characteristics have an important effect on teaching days lost to strikes; as teaching days are one of the stronger explanatory variables in determining student outcomes, one could argue that unions have a negative impact in this regard. However, unions would counter this argument with the view that strikes are instrumental in improving teachers' working conditions and education budgets and therefore improve learning outcomes. This paper does not confirm or refute the latter, but it does show that the means used by unions to have their demands met have strong and negative effects on student learning. The second of these relates to the tenuring of teachers which has an uncertain net effect on learning because whilst tenured teachers may display higher student outcomes, they are also seen to be more absent. While unions may be able to increase the share of salaries in the education budget, there is no strong union effect regarding increasing public expenditure on education or on increasing teacher salaries. The authors' present evidence that union strength is positively correlated with lower pupil-teacher ratios (PTRs) and that union participation and job satisfaction are negatively correlated. An additional channel through which unions can influence decision-making has been discussed by Santibanez and Rabling (2008). The authors find that the number of teachers increase (despite there not being an equivalent rise in child population numbers) with every election period which indicates the Union's influence over elections and the concessions it is able to obtain from the government in exchange for increasing its membership. In a later paper, Murillo and Ronconi (2004) empirically analyze teacher strikes and increasing militancy of teachers across the 24 Argentine provinces during the 1990s.

Similarly, Santibanez and Rabling (2006, 2008) using Mexico as an example suggest that union strength alone cannot fully explain the relationship between unions and educational quality. There is much more relating to unions such as the union's fragmentation and political alignment with mainstream factions. These factors in particular seem to be associated with student test scores. Additionally, union's influence when measured by things such as whether teachers constitute a more highly paid group in the state (similar to professionals) also appear to affect test scores and increase or attenuate the effects of union strength. State-level factors also play an important role. For example, whether there

has been the implementation of an effective accountability system, whether the state has instituted progressive reforms (such as competitive teacher recruitment processes) etc., all appears to also impact on student outcomes.

Other studies have also examined how the mechanism of the power play between and within teachers and politicians has influenced decision-making within weak accountability systems. Beteille (2009) argues that rapid school expansion in India and in much of the developing world has had to contend with limited financial resources and poor accountability measures. Allocating limited resources across competing uses is itself difficult, but when these resources are misused and political pressures undermine educational accountability mechanisms, universal schooling programs are severely compromised. The two key accountability problems discussed by the author are widespread teacher absenteeism and the manipulation of teacher transfers, and how these are influenced by political factors. Using representative primary data from government school teachers in seven district-level teacher labour markets in India, the author finds strategic linkages between teachers and politicians which potentially complicate policy attempts at influencing teacher accountability. Evidence suggests that teachers who are politically active are also more likely to be absent. This lends support to the theory that at least some teachers believe they can get away with absences because they are protected by powerful connections. The manipulation of transfers suggests another type of accountability breach because it involves the circumvention of formal rules. Evidence in this regard suggests that transfers are typically characterized by informal transactions between teachers on the one hand, and politicians, bureaucrats, or politically-connected people on the other. This undermines the ability of the system to function along professional lines and official criteria. Patrinos and Kagia (2007) confirm the existence of these political dynamics among teachers and suggest some solutions as highlighted in the conclusion of this review. Iyer and Mani (2008) argue that the power play between politicians and bureaucrats is also a factor generating significant inefficiencies within the systems in developing countries.

4. Landscape View of Teacher-related Reforms: Bangladesh, India & Pakistan

Preliminary research being drawn up for India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in this section starts with describing/reviewing policy areas and recent reforms related to teachers. We have ring-fenced the past 10 to 15 years for the review of policy developments and reforms, and the review is concentrating on identifying developments and reviewing reforms that fall in the following teacher-relevant policy areas: i) retention and deployment, ii) professional development (in- and pre-service training), iii) teacher responsibilities (including changes in pedagogical practices, in school and out of school responsibilities), iii) accountability and monitoring. We will examine the role teachers have played (if any) in initiating, developing and supporting/opposing the above reform initiatives. Moreover, wherever possible, we aim to identify how teachers have supported or resisted key reform efforts and why.

There are similarities in policy reforms introduced in India and Pakistan in almost all areas. Recruitment policies and processes have evolved to rely more on eligibility or entrance tests (administered by states in India, and by an independent private body in Pakistan) and less on academic and professional degrees alone. The move has been made partly in an effort to improve the quality of teaching staff being inducted, and to reduce as far as possible political influence. Mismatch between need and supply of teachers remains in both countries. Rural and impoverished areas lack good teachers. Revisions in deployment and transfer policies have either not been made, or remain ineffective. Professional development policies in both countries have received considerable attention over the past decade or so. Pakistan, in particular, has made considerable strides in revising its in-service teacher training mechanisms by introducing continuous professional development mechanisms using a cluster-based approach to maximize the number of teachers that can be trained. The CPD (Continuing Professional Development) program operates as a cascade model where a smaller cadre of master trainers fans out at the district level to train teachers in school. This is a significant departure from the old school, off-site training methods where a small number of teachers would be selected to go to provincial capitals for a specified number of days. The CPD model in Punjab, Pakistan is the most advanced, though KP and Sindh have also developed a cluster-based, cascade model of in-service training. While

there is some mention of cluster based training in some states in India, predominantly in-service training remains along the lines of old-school off-site training. Accountability and monitoring policies in both countries have historically focused on teacher attendance and not on teacher performance. For Pakistan this is particularly true. Punjab has only recently linked performance evaluations to student tests controlled through the provincial department of staff development.

It should be noted that the evidence presented in this report is more skewed towards India mainly because there is more literature on India than on the other countries. India presents an interesting example due its sheer size and diversity. There has historically been more interest in India due to many reasons and this is captured in the greater emphasis in the resultant literature.

4.1 Bangladesh

In the past two decades, the primary education sector in Bangladesh has gone through a number of important reforms to improve learning outcomes. Key recent developments (including teacher reforms) in Bangladesh's primary education sector are: (a) timely delivery of primary school textbooks (a decade ago, only a small fraction of primary schools used to receive textbooks in the first month of the school calendar year; now almost all schools receive book on time); (b) introduction of nationwide exams for students at the end of primary and junior secondary school (previously the first public exam would be the secondary school completion exam); (c) upgrading of teacher pre-induction training; (d) increase in teacher pay in government schools; (e) nationalization of over thousands of registered non-government primary schools (RNGPS) (f) optimizing teacher recruitment and promotion norms.

Primary school teachers in Bangladesh are not formally organized in unions so that scope for collective bargaining is limited. Nonetheless, there are different bodies through which school teachers occasionally put considerable pressure on the government to realize their demands. Moreover, party-linked teacher politics is common as political affiliation instead

of merit often determines teachers' selection and promotion in government primary schools.

There is little documented evidence that teacher associations played proactive role in highlighting the problem of delay in textbook delivery. Neither there is any evidence on their role in (c) the recent changes in teacher pre-induction training. This relates to sub-component 1.6 of Component 1 Learning and Teaching of the “Third Primary Education Development Program” (PEDP-3) (Government of Bangladesh 2015). It has been upgraded from Certificate in Education (12 months course) to teacher training include the introduction of Diploma in Education (18 months course). Bangladesh has a large teaching force (approximately 500k of which majority teachers are in government primary schools) who're trained by 56 “Primary Training Institutes” (PTIs). Since teacher pay is linked to training, there is significant demand for formal training certificates. In addition, systems for teacher recruitment, deployment and promotion have been strengthened through the introduction of public examination system where the assessment has been sub-contracted out to outside agencies. These reforms are not the outcome of active campaign by teacher associations.

As a matter of fact, there is no research study on the role teacher unions/associations have played in promoting or implementing reforms in Bangladesh. The common perception is that teacher associations in Bangladesh limit their demands to policy changes that directly affect teacher welfare and pay with little concern for school quality and student learning. In this study, therefore, we will examine in a later section the role that teacher politics played (if any) in supporting/opposing reform initiatives (d) - (f) since recent movements of major teachers' associations explicitly referred to demands for pay rise and nationalization of teaching jobs in non-state schools. In the absence of academic work, we largely rely on government and donor reports on primary education sector along with newspaper coverage of teacher strikes and other non-cooperative activities organized by teacher associations to realize their specific demands.

4.2 India

In India, the Right to Education Act 2009 has put the power of the constitution behind government to ensure universal access to primary education for all. The Act has been a significant policy development that has triggered/propelled reforms in a number of related areas, including revision of the recruitment processes, introduction of pre-service training criteria, and revision of transfer policies. The objective is to streamline the system and direct sufficient resources where needed in order to achieve the goal of universal primary education. A comprehensive NUEPA report covering 9 states in India by Vimala Ramachandran et al. details (2015) some of these reforms and changes. This overview draws heavily on that report.

Recruitment is a state level policy issue in India with state policies being guided by national imperatives (ASA for primary and RMSA for the universalization of secondary education). Each of these reform initiatives includes an element of teacher-related aspects. For example the of RTE mandated teacher-student ratios has necessitated both an expansion of the teacher labour force as well as a re-examination of their deployment with posts being filled in one of two ways: promotion of existing teachers, or hiring of new teachers. Typically, recruitment procedures are fairly standard across the states and involve a series of tests and qualifications to be completed and met by the candidates, including minimum academic requirements, entrance tests, and sometimes interviews (now more or less non-existent) . Independently conducted entrance tests have gained importance over the years across the states with far less emphasis being placed on academic degrees.

The Teacher Eligibility Test (TET) has gained significant importance since 2009 despite having been in existence before the RTE Act. The rationale for including the TET as a minimum qualification for a person to be eligible for appointment as a teacher includes (a) setting national standards and benchmarking teacher quality in the recruitment process; (b) inducing teacher education institutions and students from these institutions to further improve their performance standards; and (c) sending a positive signal to all stakeholders that the Government lays special emphasis on teacher quality. However, the TET has faced challenges in implementation not least in the form of resistance from teachers. For example, with only 1% of teachers in Chennai (Tamil Nadu) clearing the TET, this

recruitment reform faced 'stiff resistance'³ with teachers and other stakeholders questioning not only the quality of training providers but also the quality of the content of the test as well as its applicability. Some states have also witnessed large-scale corruption in the implementation of the TET, predominantly Uttar Pradesh, where the Director of Education was jailed and the High Court had to stop the appointment of those teachers who had passed the TET because of widespread evidence of cheating (Equity, Effectiveness and Efficiency of Teaching Services). The performance of teachers in the TET in state after state has been abysmal typically with less than 6% of teachers passing the test. This low pass rate has also raised concerns about the usefulness and quality of academic and professional degrees and the resultant shortage of teachers in schools with states aiming to get around these issues by requesting eligibility criteria to be waived temporarily, for example allowing teachers without Bachelors degree to sit for the test or recruiting untrained teachers (Ramachandran et al. 2015).

There is also concern that recruitment across some states of India is heavily politically driven (Ramachandran et al. 2015). The authors argue that in contrast to the transparent and efficient recruitment system in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh and Odisha, in states such as Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, the teacher recruitment process is heavily influenced by political interests. In Rajasthan, for example, whilst it would appear that recruitment is systematic, in actual fact Ramachandran et al. (2015) argue that it is driven mainly by political considerations particularly during crucial voting time periods. Similar political motivations drive recruitment of teachers in Jharkhand and Punjab also appears to suffer a similar fate with pressure groups forming the driving force of key decisions. There is also a large gap between recruitment and actual appointment of the teacher in most states with the main reasons for the delays include court cases relating to unqualified candidates being recruited, errors in TET and document verification⁴.

Governments around the world have also resorted to employing locally sourced, often untrained, personnel on fixed-term contracts as a low-cost solution to meeting teacher

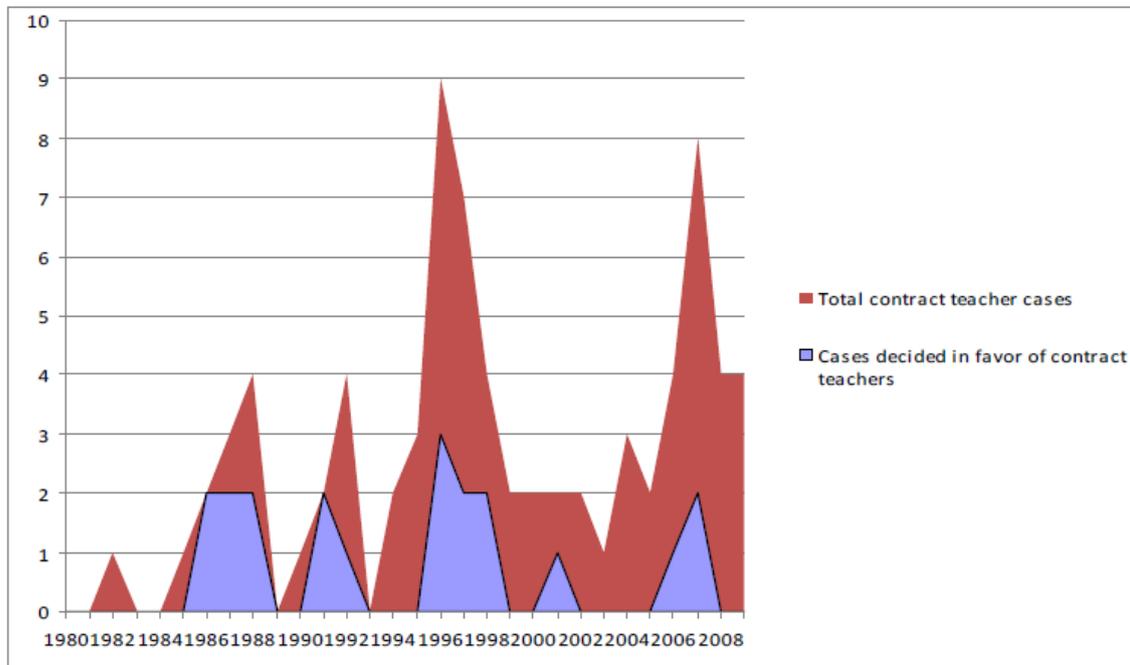
³<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/education/news/1-of-state-teachers-passed-eligibility-test/articleshow/15720170.cms>

⁴ *Teachers in the Indian Education System: Synthesis of a Nine-state Study*. Rep. New Delhi: National University for Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), 2015.

shortages in the face of constrained financial budgets. Research has indicated that in most instances, these teachers perform no less well than their regular counterparts in part due to higher accountability pressures as well as lower social distance between the teachers and their pupils (Kingdon et al. 2013). As a reform effort, every state in India has recruited at least some contract teachers over the past 15 years, with the exception of Karnataka. However, the tides appear now to be turning with Rajasthan announcing that it would no longer recruit any more contract teachers as of 2014 and a court case found the recruitment of unqualified people as teachers to be 'illegal and unconstitutional'. This controversial reform has been the subject of much debate as well as resulting in several court cases on the de-professionalizing of the teaching cadre as well as the ad hoc nature of hiring which has the potential to reduce the motivation of those hired on a fixed-term basis. This reform has met with resistance from teachers, both regular as well as those being hired on fixed-term contracts. The practice of hiring contract teachers has opened up several debates (and court cases) in India on de-professionalizing the teaching cadre versus building greater accountability into the system. Equally worrying is the notion that a teacher is from a lower 'social status' when people start commenting that anyone with minimum educational qualification can become a teacher. Contract teachers themselves have begun rallying themselves into organized groups in order to fight for regularization, often resulting in violent conflicts between police and contract teachers (Robinson & Gauri, 2011). This has major sustainability implications due to the fact that these teachers have exhibited diminishing returns in subsequent contract periods and many have argued that their regularization will lead to a teaching workforce with equally low motivations as the existing workforce. However, this workforce will be made up of a larger proportion of unqualified teachers. Robinson & Gauri (2011) examine Supreme and High Court cases involving contract teachers in India and find that the Indian Judiciary, whilst recognizing the conditions of contract teachers' service, have however become increasingly less sympathetic to contract teacher demands (Figure 2). This has resulted in teachers seeing the streets as being the only arena within which their grievances can be heard and potentially remedied. This example has highlighted how the Indian Judiciary has been a key player in this particular reform initiative. Crucially, the paper also highlights the fact that these courts could engage with the government in dialogues that can guide labour policy implementation

that not only achieves better pupil outcomes but at the same time better working conditions for teachers.

Figure 2: Supreme Court Judgements For and Against Contract Teacher Claims



Source: Robinson & Gauri (2011), p. 14.

In terms of reforms aimed at teacher deployment, a teacher's initial posting has traditionally been centrally determined in India i.e. technically speaking a teacher cannot choose which school he/she would like to teach at (with the exception of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu where teachers choose the schools from those citing a vacancy). The school or the head on paper have no choice in determining which teachers they can hire. However, inefficient deployment is commonplace indicating that staffing decisions are not only inefficient or non-existent but also potentially manipulated. Evidence has indicated that connections and corruption play an important role in facilitating transfer in India (Kingdon et al. 2014, Ramachandran et al. 2015). Ramachandran concludes that effective teacher transfer policies are rare in India and where they do exist, (Karnataka and Tamil Nadu), they are relatively recent. Transfer policies in these states have been implemented using an IT-based system

with checks and balances as opposed to on a discretionary and subjective basis⁵. In case of the latter, transfers allegedly form the bedrock of a patronage-based system where powerful politicians and bureaucrats oblige politically helpful teachers with transfers of their choice, regardless of school need. From a school's perspective, such discretionary behaviour potentially distorts the overall allocation of teachers to schools and can potentially negatively impact on the efficiency and equity with which teachers are deployed⁶. Teacher transfer has been a contentious issue in several states of India (Rajasthan, UP, Punjab and Jharkhand) with many studies documenting this (Bêteille 2009, Sharma and Ramachandran 2009) where in the absence of clear policies, teachers are seen to 'game the system' to take advantage of the political maneuvering opportunities provided whilst correspondingly becoming victims in the transfer-posting process. An interesting example of a recent reform initiative is provided by the case of Rajasthan where the government placed a total moratorium on transfers since 2012. However, even such initiatives can be open to political intervention and in this instance teachers have reported that politically networked teachers have even distorted this well-meaning reform (Ramachandran et al. 2015)⁷.

Policies related to professional development and training differ by state. None of the states in Ramachandran et al.'s (2015) study were seen to have an effective policy for in-service training of teachers with training seen to be carried out in an ad hoc manner. In almost all instances, it was almost exclusively funded by two Centrally Sponsored Schemes (SSA and RMSA) which meant that it was subject to availability of the associated modalities, priorities and most crucially to the availability of the allocated funds. The incidence of training also varies significantly across states with no reciprocal data collection recording quantity or content. The incidence of training is allocated in a very ad hoc manner resulting in many teachers not receiving adequate, if any, training. Given the difficult conditions within which they are expected to work (multi-grade teaching setting, lack of materials and resources), quality training provision is even further necessitated before coming to any conclusions as

⁵*Teachers in the Indian Education System: Synthesis of a Nine-state Study*. Rep. New Delhi: National U for Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), 2015.

⁶Kingdon, Geeta G., Angela Little, Monazza Aslam, Shenila Rawal, Terry Moe, Harry Patrinos, Tara Beteille, Rukmini Banerji, Brent Parton, and Shailendra K. Sharma. *A Rigorous Review of the Political Economy of Education Systems in Developing Countries*. Rep. no. 2203. N.p.: Education Rigorous Literature Review. Department for International Development, 2014.

⁷ *Teachers in the Indian Education System: Synthesis of a Nine-state Study*. Rep. New Delhi: National U for Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), 2015.

to whether teachers are meeting necessary expectations. In addition to this, where teachers *are* performing well, this is often not being recognized due to weak performance appraisal mechanisms leaving teachers understandably demoralized.

The salary of regular teachers in Indian states in recent years has gone up manifold and in many states more than a 100 percent. This is largely as a result of the reform aimed at increasing the take-home pay of teachers under the 'Sixth Pay Commission'. The pay increases were agreed in late 2008 but are applied retrospectively from 1st January 2006. In addition to salary increases, the 6th Pay Commission also provided for increases in other benefits, in particular saying that the Children's Education Allowance and Reimbursement of Tuition Fee will henceforth be "up to the maximum of Rs.1000 per child per month subject to a maximum of 2 children. Hostel subsidy may be reimbursed up to the maximum limit of Rs.3000 per month per child" (GOI, 2008, p225). Kingdon (2010) shows that after the implementation of the 6th Pay Commission, salaries of regular primary school teachers in Uttar Pradesh increased by 115 percent, 101 percent increase for high school teachers and 103 percent increase for senior secondary school principals. Similar findings are reported by Jain and Dholakia (2009) who show the increase in salaries to be close to 285 percent in 2006 with a further increase by 200 percent in 2011. This gap in teacher earnings and the earnings of the rest of the population has had a major negative consequence of increasing the economic and social distance between teachers and students particularly as many teachers belong to upper social groups/castes whilst the pupils they teach tend to come from disadvantaged backgrounds. In this instance, the social distance can generate prejudices to the detriment of the learning outcomes for the students (Rawal and Kingdon 2010). Teachers' have played a crucial role in propagating this agenda. When the Fifth Pay Commission made its recommendations in 1996, the government of UP (GOUP) negotiated the pay increases with teacher unions for four years, finally accepting the full pay award in Dec. 2000 just before the state election in February 2001. By contrast, the Sixth Pay Commission recommendations in 2008 were almost accepted by GOUP, perhaps knowing that arguing with teacher unions would merely delay the inevitable, and because an election was imminent in April 2009 anyway. This illustrates how the incentives of stakeholders as well as political considerations especially during elections can influence education reforms.

4.3 Pakistan

Changes in recruitment policies over the years in Pakistan have been aimed at: i) hiring a better qualified teaching force (higher qualification requirements, B.Ed minimum); ii) strengthening merit based recruitment, and a reduction of political interference (by introducing independent testing, and by giving District Management Officers (DMOs) greater authority in teacher selection); iii) reducing deployment imbalances (by shifting the recruitment process towards local recruitment). It is unclear how many of these changes have come about as a result of consultation with teachers, or with teacher unions. There are only very scattered accounts available on how teachers have viewed these changes. However, a recent report on teacher unions in Pakistan (Alif Ailaan, 2015) notes that teacher organizations have played an instrumental role in waging successful campaigns to change teachers' recruitment procedures (p. 31). Overall, these changes in recruitment procedures are aimed at improving the professional status of teachers and to this end, teacher organizations have been instrumental in bringing about positive change.

Historically, teacher recruitment has been initiated at the provincial level, and has been based on academic and professional qualifications of the candidates. Permanent contracts and lifelong tenure are often mentioned as key reasons for low accountability of teachers, resultant low effort and incentives for corruption and political interference in the recruitment process. As a result, Punjab province experimented with contract hiring between 2002 and 2008 with the view of improving teacher accountability and effort. Following a complete ban on teacher hiring between 1997 and 2002, new teachers were recruited only on a contract basis. The minimum qualification requirement was also raised to a Bachelors degree (a shift from 12 years of education and a college degree compared to the earlier 10 years of education and a high school degree). The policy was designed primarily to introduce high-stakes accountability by linking contract termination to unsatisfactory performance⁸, and to induct better qualified teachers (Habib, 2010). Habib

⁸ Was there any evidence on how teacher performance will be determined at that time? Most recently, standardized school tests conducted on a monthly (quarterly?) basis conducted by DSD are used as the basis for establishing teacher performance. From SAHE (2014): These include (i) 100% enrolment and retention of students, (ii) the quality of education (measured by the PEC, Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education and other exams set by the Quality Assurance Authority, (iii) punctuality and discipline and (iv) overall performance recorded in the teacher's PER. Further, teachers' contracts may now be subject to immediate

(2010) in her study suggests that the contract terms, specifically those relating to transfers and leave options, led to dissatisfaction among hired contract teachers. Lower salaries and greater workloads de-motivated these teachers and led to high absenteeism. Further, political pressure inevitably led to the regularization of these contract teachers, making the contract terms defunct. Hence, the contract policy had a limited impact on teacher absenteeism and accountability. The dismissal clauses in the contracts of teachers hired in 2003 onwards were revoked as a result of judicial action and political pressure. It should be noted that the role of teacher unions or collective action by other teachers in these developments has not been clearly documented. Other provinces have also experimented with the contract teacher policy with questionable success. Newspaper accounts demonstrate severe dissatisfaction of contract teachers with pay and work conditions. Teachers were reported to hold mass demonstrations, go on strike and boycott classrooms in different parts of the country⁹ with many skirmishes becoming violent and news reports showcasing instances of police brutality and the government aiming to curtail their organizations and voice¹⁰.

Similarly to neighboring India, three of the four provinces – Sindh (in 2012), Punjab (in 2013) and KPK – have revised the merit prerequisites for recruitment to include an independent testing in addition to the degree requirements. ¹¹ National Testing Service (NTS) is an independent privately owned testing service which is being contracted by the government in Pakistan to administer tests for a broad range of posts across a number of government departments. NTS first emerged as an affiliate of the Higher Education Commission for selection of candidates for medical colleges and engineering universities in 2002 as a response to a need for standardized tests for candidates. With increased credibility the

termination whereas the 2002 policy required a one-month notice period. Previously, contract terms penalizing high absenteeism or poor performance were not strictly enforced, which meant that contract teachers were less accountable. Clearer performance measures and a stricter termination policy aim to counter this and improve the accountability structure of contract teachers.

⁹ <https://usilive.org/teachers-to-strike-in-pakistan-tomorrow/>

¹⁰ <http://www.teachersolidarity.com/blog/pakistani-teachers-beaten-by-police>

¹¹ In Sindh, the move was part of the Sindh Education Sector Project, supported by the World Bank. It had a Disbursement Linked Indicator (DLI), which called for merit-based school specific recruitment of teachers. The province has also introduced the Teacher Recruitment Policy 2012. As per the policy, a candidate has to obtain at least a 60% score in the written test to qualify (SAHE). In Balochistan, teachers are selected under the Aghazi Haqooq-i-Balochistan package received short-term contractual employment. While initially tensions existed between the finite contract and permanent teachers, later the contract teachers started being turned into permanent employees either through political lobbying or through the courts. Baluchistan does not yet use NTS for selection (SAHE).

education departments in Sindh, Punjab and KP now use the NTS as a means for gauging teacher quality during recruitment. The NTS aims to test teachers for content knowledge and not pedagogy, given that the former has been identified as the main weakness in the case of teachers in Pakistan. It is not clear if the test has some basic coverage of curriculum with weightages across simple to difficult concepts. These tests would need to be evaluated for a better understanding of the extent to which they achieve their objective (IDEAS). There appears to be no empirical evidence of teacher reactions to this particular reform.

Policy has also shifted towards local hiring which is aimed at reducing political interference within the recruitment process. Historically, hiring has been done at the provincial level, i.e. the selection for province wide teaching posts from a pool of teachers applying from all districts happens at the provincial level. The Punjab Public Service Commission – a provincial body responsible for hiring all public servants – makes a decision about hiring, and the provincial education department appointed the teachers to districts. While the centralized decision-making was to counter imbalanced deployment issues, the policy has not been successful. There have been longstanding tensions with teachers preferring to remain close to their home districts. A semi-ethnographic study by Bari et al. (2013) on teacher deployment and transfer practices in Punjab revealed that a majority of transfer requests were regarding moving closer to hometowns, particularly by female teachers. These tensions also created incentives for corruption and political interference. Thus, patronage politics and nepotism continue to be rife at various levels and at important gateways in the Education Departments which results in middle-men (clerks) having discretionary power in matters of transfers, postings, recruitment and promotions (Bari et al., 2013) and with better-connected teachers achieving their desired outcomes at the expense of others, often more deserving ones.

Historically, teacher performance has been defined in terms of attendance, and the teacher accountability mechanism has concentrated on gathering information on this as well. While centralization is common to all four provinces there are variations in the mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation and accountability (SAHE 2014). Recently, the KP Government has also hired monitors who visit schools to check absenteeism and use android phones to

record their visits (SAHE, 2014)¹². Anecdotal evidence suggests that the measure has begun to reduce absenteeism. However, there is concurrent evidence (Alif Ailaan, 2015) that teachers have resisted some of these reforms aimed at improved monitoring particularly in Punjab and KP. This report has highlighted teachers' reservations about excessive monitoring and the associated penalties, reportedly *ad hoc* and subject to the same political manipulations as other issues, which arise as a consequence of education department and donor-appointed monitors. Newspaper articles also showcase instances of teacher organizations leading teachers on 12 May 2015 in Larkana, Sindh, to 'boycott their duties' in reaction to the education department of Sindh placing a biometric system aimed at checking absenteeism and identify the many 'ghost employees' that exist within the system¹³.

In response to several observations about the low quality of pre-service training, there have been several efforts to reform this area. Due to the poor quality of the earlier pre-service programs, efforts have been made to replace them with newer, more intensive, programs. It is noteworthy that international development partners have spearheaded most of these reform efforts. Nevertheless, while these efforts have resulted in the development of new programs, the older certificate-based programs continue to be offered by some institutions. Among the notable reforms are the ones supported by UNESCO and USAID under the Strengthening Teacher Education in Pakistan (STEP) project. STEP resulted in a number of useful reports on the state of teacher education in Pakistan. It also helped develop the National Professional Standards for Teachers. The most significant contribution of the STEP project was in the form of its influence on policy recommendations for teacher education which ultimately fed into the National Education Policy (NEP) 2009. A cluster approach to teacher training has been focused on as an efficient and cost-effective means of providing in-service training in recent years in order to deal with the existing fragmented approach. The clustered approach to teacher training was institutionalized by the Directorate of Staff Development (DSD) in the Punjab in 2004 and these clusters form the backbone of the in-service teacher education system of the province even today. Of note is the fact that private sector has gained increasing importance in the provision of this training raising quality

¹² <http://www.dawn.com/news/1082089>

¹³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1181351>

considerations. However, the public sector continues to play an important role in the professional development of teachers in the country.

According to a recent report on teacher unions in Pakistan, one of the key role teachers' organizations have played in recent years is in waging successful campaigns for the betterment of their own salaries (Alif Ailaan, 2015). The government of Pakistan has diligently revised government (and teacher) salary scales in the country. These salary revisions have successfully occurred in 1981, 1983, 1991, 1994, 2001, 2004, 2008 & in 2011¹⁴. Since then, there have been further revisions in the basic pay scale (BSP) of all government sector employees, including teachers¹⁵. Table 1 shows that over a three year period (2008-2011), government teacher salaries (basic pay) were revised by about 40%. According to the Alif Ailaan report (2015), all teacher organizations have tended to converge around some core issues, with salary increase often being one of the most prominent and persistent demands.

Table 1: Basic Pay Scale revisions for Teachers, 2008-2011, Pakistan

Teacher type	Basic Pay Scale (not including benefits and allowances)					
	2008		2011		% change over 3 years	
	(Rs./month)		(Rs./month)			
	Min Salary	Max Salary	Min	Max	Min	Max
Primary School Teacher	3820	10720	6200	17600	38	39
Elementary School Teacher	4920	16320	8000	26300	39	38
Secondary School Teacher	6060	20160	10000	34000	39	41
Head Teacher	9850	24650	16000	40000	38	38

Source: Adapted from UNESCO (2013)¹⁶, Table 4.1

In Pakistan, teacher organizations have also vehemently and almost unanimously opposed the privatization of education. Teachers have tended to view with extreme suspicion the mushrooming of private schooling across the country and the support the government has

¹⁴ http://unesco.org.pk/education/documents/2014/publications/Status_of_Teachers_in_Pakistan.pdf

¹⁵ <http://www.itech soul.com/government-employees-new-revised-pay-scale-2015-bps-budget-2015-16>

¹⁶ http://unesco.org.pk/education/documents/2014/publications/Status_of_Teachers_in_Pakistan.pdf

provided to the meteoric rise of the private sector. Teachers have argued that this has resulted in low and often unqualified entrants entering the profession, lowering its status and given the government the opportunity to revise the terms of government teacher contracts (by offering temporary contracts, or linking performance to pay) or even more drastically with government schools being offered for example to the Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) under a Public-Private-Partnership scheme which demotivates them and puts their jobs at risk. Teachers have resisted these changes by repeatedly striking and lobbying, with several strike actions reported in 2016: on 1 February, 2016, a demonstration was held in Rawalpindi led by the Punjab Teachers' Union (PTU)¹⁷, followed by several others (including one in Layyah, Sindh, on 17 January, 2016)¹⁸. At the time of writing this report, a newspaper article (dated 22 March, 2016) cited teacher unrest in Punjab over this issue and in particular with the provincial education department's circular handing over 145 government primary schools in Rawalpindi district to PEF and the government 'relieving 590 teachers of the privatized schools and (handing) over their services to the executive district office, education (and) to 'adjust them in other schools''. Teacher unions have 'warned' the government of Punjab that they will resist this move vehemently and wage resistance by demonstrating and 'taking to the streets.'¹⁹

Later in this study, we examine case-studies illustrating examples of specific reforms that have been implemented in the South Asian context in detail and analyze the role that teachers have played in the design, implementation and subsequent success or failure of the reform in question.

5. Data analysis: further investigations

This section provides a snapshot view of teacher remuneration, their satisfaction, their key concerns, their status within society, job satisfaction, and their political engagement. We do this using simple descriptive statistics and data from rich and unique teacher, household and labour force surveys from the three countries. Some of this analysis was previously

¹⁷ <http://www.teachersolidarity.com/blog/teachers-in-pakistan-fighting-schools-privatisation>

¹⁸ <http://nation.com.pk/national/17-Jan-2016/teachers-up-against-schools-privatisation>

¹⁹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/1070143/schools-privatisation-teachers-warn-to-resist-punjab-govt-move/>

conducted by the authors and this paper uses some of the key findings from it²⁰. Additional simple analysis using these older data sets as well as more recently collected data has also been undertaken in this section. It must be noted that this is mainly descriptive in nature and in no way aims to establish or identify causal relationships.

Data sets used	Details
Labour Force Surveys (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh)	For different years, mostly 2000 and 2008
Research Consortium on Educational Outcomes and Poverty (RECOUP), household surveys	Pakistan (2007), India (2008). Household surveys sampling over 4000 individuals in both countries
RECOUP Teachers Survey	Sample of 1000+ teachers in UP and Bihar focusing on their political involvement, characteristics, views and opinions
SchoolTELLS (India)	Data collected from schools (and teachers) in rural UP and Bihar, India in 2008. Sample of 850+ teachers, eliciting political views, involvement etc.
SchoolTELLS (Pakistan)	Data collected from schools (and teachers) in rural Punjab in 2010. Sample of 350+ teachers eliciting information on their characteristics, political views etc.
ABL Teachers' Survey (India)	A recent data set from rural Tamil Nadu eliciting 50 teachers' views on different aspects such as the key concerns put forward to unions etc.
Alif Ailaan Voice of Teacher Survey (Pakistan)	Sample of 850+ teachers from across 15 districts of Pakistan representing all provinces with information on their characteristics, teaching practices etc.

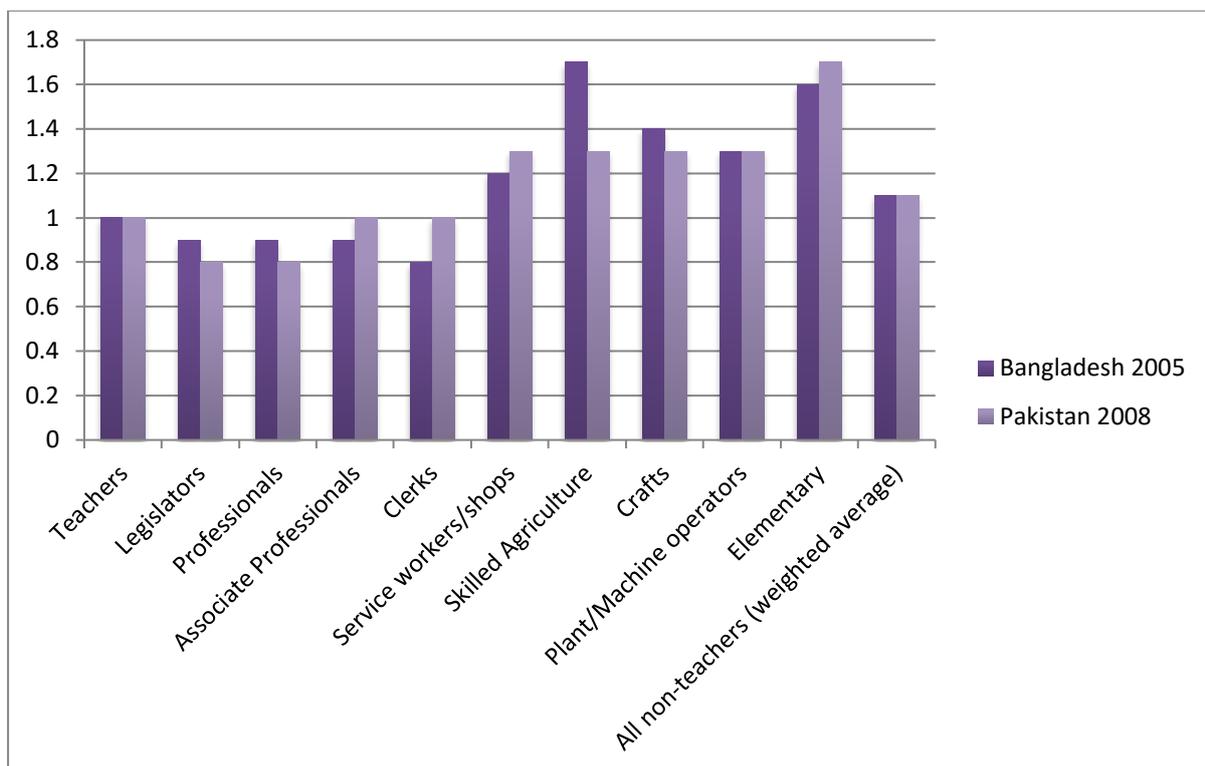
5.1 Remuneration

²⁰ Dunder, H., Bêteille, T., Riboud, M. & A. Deolalikar (2014), Student Learning in South Asia: Challenges, Opportunities, and Policy Priorities, Directions in Human Development, The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Teacher pay is a powerful force affecting not only who is attracted to the profession but also their attitudes, effort and ultimately their effectiveness once in the job. Teacher rewards play a significant role in determining both the quantity as well as the ultimate quality of teacher supply and retention within the cadre. An examination of teacher remuneration also provides valuable insights into the strength of teachers' political power as teacher lobbying for improved salaries are a reflection not only of their concerns but also of the power they can yield as a political force. Additionally, salary related reforms could potentially provide an important tool in the hands of education policy makers and countries, can engender greater teacher accountability and ultimately better student outcomes by altering the incentives faced by teachers through teacher pay structure reforms. Given that teacher salaries typically constitute the greatest proportion by far of government expenditure in education, a discussion of teacher salaries is critical within the broader education reform discussion.

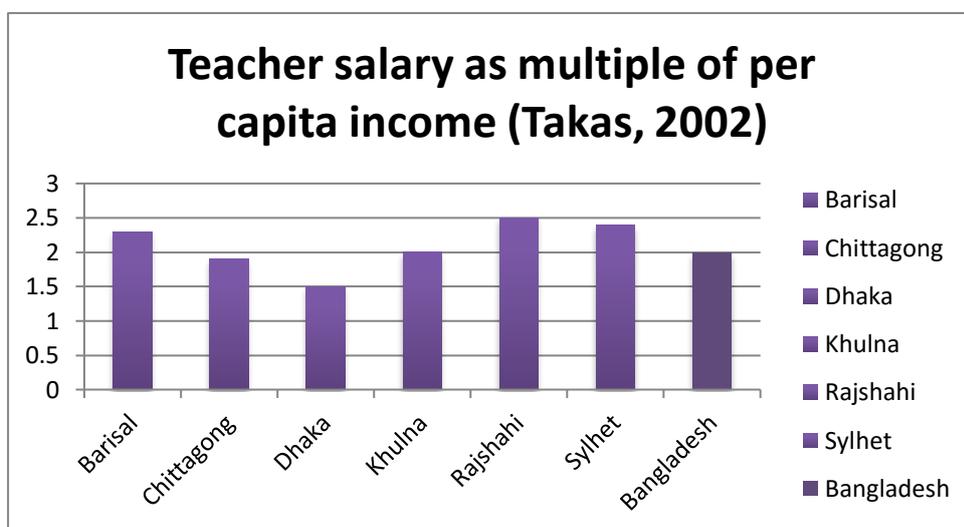
The following figures furnish us with a measure of how affluent teachers are with respect to the average person in the country. Not only does this show the regard in which the profession is held, but it also provides a measure of the economic and social distance between the teacher and the taught. From the figures below, there is evidence of the heterogeneity of teacher salaries as compared to other professions as well as a multiple of per capita GDP. This heterogeneity exists across the 3 countries as well as within the countries across provinces/districts/states. Figure 3 illustrates that on average in Pakistan and Bangladesh, teachers are not very different (in terms of salary) to other comparable professions although they are marginally better than some of the other non-teaching occupations.

Figure 3: Ratio of teacher salary to salary in other occupations: Bangladesh (2005), Pakistan (2008)



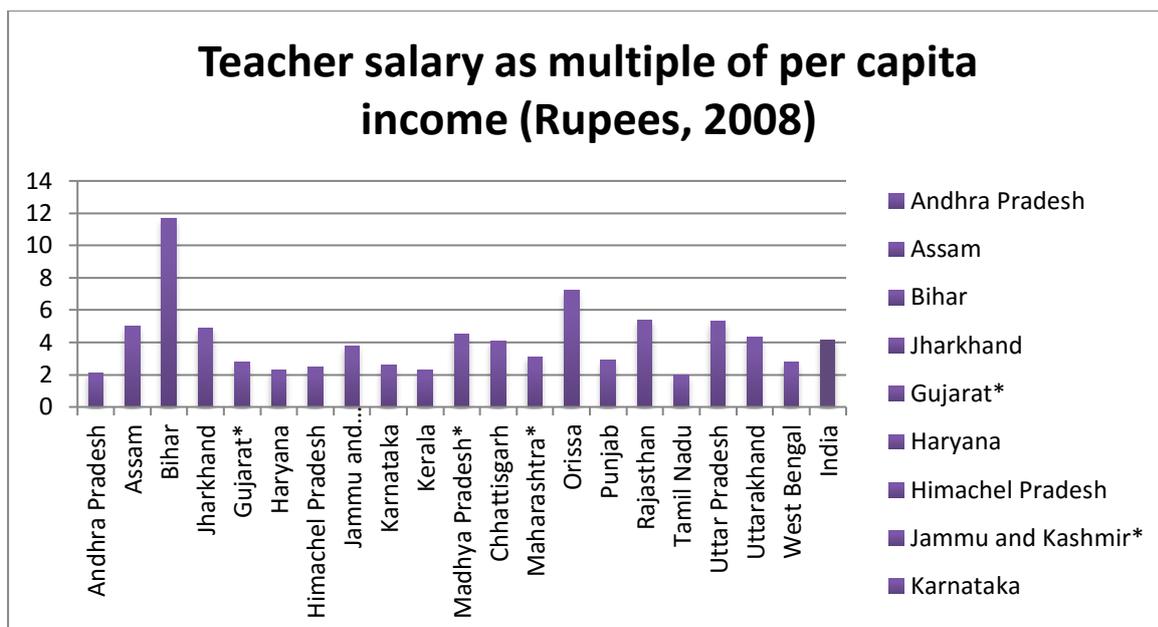
Source: Authors' adaptations from Dundar et al. (2014)

Figure 4: Teacher salary as a multiple of per capita income – Bangladesh (2002), by district



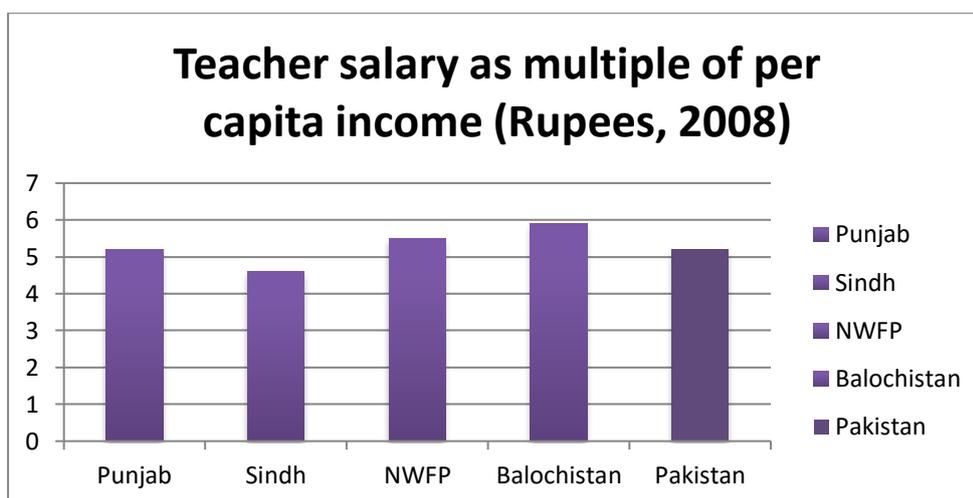
Source: Authors' adaptations from Dundar et al. (2014)

Figure 5: Teacher salary as a multiple of per capita income – India (2008), by state



Authors' adaptations from Dundar et al. (2014)

Figure 6: Teacher salary as a multiple of per capita income – Pakistan (2008), by province



Source: Author's adaptations from Dundar et al. (2014)

Figures 4-6 demonstrate that teachers are paid several times more than the average person with similar qualifications (aged 18 or more, wage workers with at least 10 years of schooling) in all three countries, with some parts of each country demonstrating extreme

levels of this. For example, in Bihar (India), a teacher earns nearly 12 times as much as the average person, in Balochistan (Pakistan) she earns as much as 6 times as much. On average, of the three countries, Pakistan has the highest average multiple of teacher salaries as compared to per capita GDP (5.2), than India (4.2) and Bangladesh (2). This comparatively high salary has been shown by previous research to ultimately affect learning outcomes negatively due to the social and economic distance it engenders within the educational system (Rawal and Kingdon, 2010). Theories on role modelling can explain why children perform better when taught by teachers with similar social characteristics as themselves. This is due to the fact that these teachers provide the children with successful and achieving examples of individuals from a similar social background and thereby improve these children's effort in and attitudes towards education. Teacher discrimination towards children of different gender and demographic characteristics as themselves may also negatively affect student outcomes. This discrimination, even if not actual but only perceived, has been shown to affect academic performance of students (Lavy, 2008) and education related stereotypical beliefs can affect teacher behaviour within the classroom as well as children's confidence and effort levels. There is now a growing literature examining these gender and ethnic interactions between students and teachers and the resulting impact on student outcomes. Several research papers have shown that having a demographically similar teacher improves student outcomes (Dee, 2005, Dee 2007, Lindahl 2007, Ammermuller and Dolton, 2006, Aslam and Kingdon, 2011).

Another way of examining the desirability of teaching as an occupation is to compare the hourly salary teachers get with that received by non-teachers (with similar qualifications). This is particularly important for females who show a preference for the occupation because they are able to achieve a better work-home balance. Table 2 below shows that across all three countries and over an 8 year period, teachers in these countries are relatively better off than other individuals with similar credentials.

Table 2: Teacher hourly salary versus non-teacher hourly salary

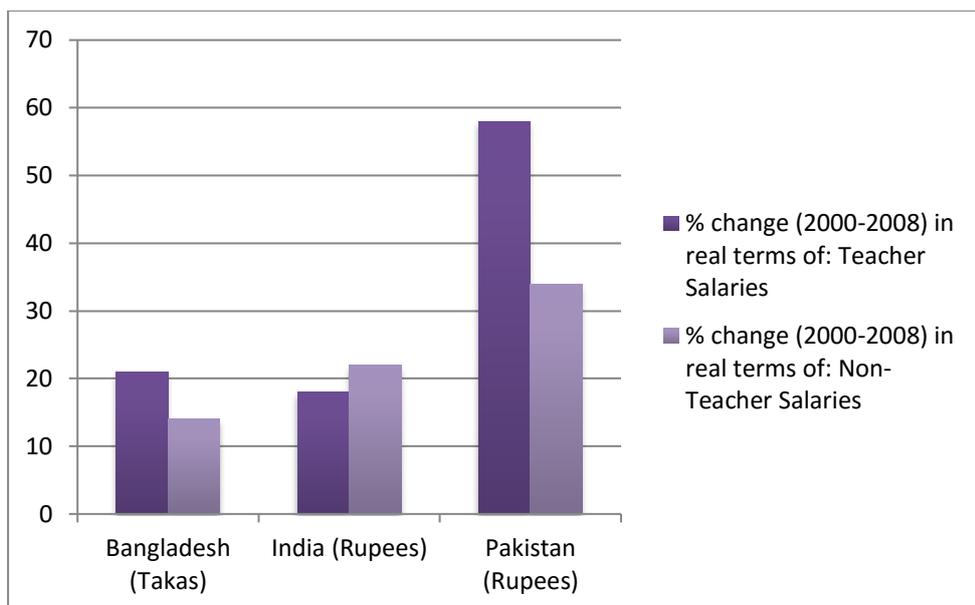
2000	2008

	Hourly teacher (T) salary	Hourly non- teacher (NT) salary	% difference in T and NT salary	t-test	Hourly teacher (T) salary	Hourly non- teacher (NT) salary	% difference in T and NT salary	t-test
Country	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d) = (a) – (b)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h) = (e) – (f)
Bangladesh (Takas)	22.7	17.8	21.6	-8.6 ***	26	20.1	22.7	-5.9 ***
India (Indian Rupees)	22.5	18.6	17.3	-3.9 ***	38.7	33.2	14.2	-5.5 ***
Pakistan (Pakistani Rupees)	27.6	22.2	19.6	-5.4 ***	67	48.2	28	-18.8 ***

Source: Dundar et al. (2014)

However, are teachers better off in real terms i.e. have we seen an increase in real teacher salaries over this 8 year period? Figure 7 below shows that the largest comparative increase in real terms has occurred in Pakistan with teacher salaries increasing 58% as compared to non-teacher salaries (34%) followed by Bangladesh where teachers' have enjoyed an increase of 21% in their salaries in real terms as compared to 14% for non-teachers with similar credentials. Conversely, in India, non-teachers (22%) have witnessed relative improvements in their salaries more so than teachers (18%).

Figure 7: Teacher/non-teacher salaries, % change in real terms (2000-2008)



Source: Authors' adaptations from Dundar et al. (2014)

5.2 Teacher satisfaction

Salaries are also a reflection of the status of the profession and the regard with which it is held in society. Despite the misconception that teacher salaries are low in the South Asia region, our analysis above has shown that on the contrary teachers, when compared with other professions, are relatively well paid. In fact in some cases, the economic distance created between student and teachers due to high teacher salaries is so large that it could be seen as having a negative impact on student outcomes. After the 6th Pay Commission teachers' salaries in India have become three to four times the average per capita GDP for any State and up to as high as 11 times per capita GDP in some States. Given their relatively high remuneration and the fact that teachers in the government sector in the region enjoy effectively un-sackable status, the next stage of this analysis examines whether these factors translate into high levels of job satisfaction and motivation of teachers in the cadre.

Teacher motivation and satisfaction is a widely debated issue and is believed to play a critically important role in achieving educational goals. A wide variety of factors determine teachers' satisfaction including workload, class size, professional development and pay among others. These factors are important not only in recruiting the right mix of persons but also effectively retaining them. Low motivation impacts on teacher behaviour and shows itself in attitudes to attendance, punctuality, time on task, and ultimately the

performance and output of teachers in terms of student achievement (Haq and Islam 2005). Much of the empirical evidence base on this issue, however, is based on data from developed countries. Boyd, Grossman, Lankford, Loeb and Wyckoff (2009) and Hanushek, Kain and Rivkin (2005) study how the work environment affects teacher transfers (and retention) and find that work environment in US schools is a significant determinant of teacher mobility. A more recent study by Gilpin (2011) in the US finds that the work environment of a teacher can be a much larger determinant of teacher attrition than the wage differential in alternative occupations.

Using RECOUP (2007, 2008) data from India and Pakistan, Table 3 compares teachers' and non-teachers' responses to subjective well-being questions on satisfaction with life, their finances, current work etc. Keeping the usual caveats about the lack of generalizability of the data and small sizes in mind, the results are incredibly telling. This table appears to suggest that when compared to persons in other occupations, teachers in India and Pakistan are relatively more satisfied with their finances and current work. Not only are teachers relatively better paid than non-teachers of similar credentials, they generally work fewer hours, enjoy better hourly pay and report being considerably satisfied with their finances and work conditions in quantitative terms.

Table 3: How satisfied are teachers compared to non-teachers (wage workers), India (2008) and Pakistan (2007)

PAKISTAN (RECOUP 2007)	Teachers	Non- teachers	t-value (a) – (b)
<i>Percentage reporting:</i>	(a)	(b)	(c)
Being very satisfied with life	39.6	24	-3.33 ***
Being very satisfied with finances	20.8	10.8	-2.86 ***

Being very satisfied with current work	29.7	20.8	-2.01 **
Feeling in full control of their life	52.5	55.7	-0.61

INDIA (RECOUP 2008)	Teachers	Non-teachers	t-value (a) – (b)
Percentage reporting:	(a)	(b)	(c)
Being very satisfied with life	20	11.2	-1.59
Being very satisfied with finances	14.3	5	-2.35 **
Being very satisfied with current work	20	7.1	-2.79 ***
Feeling in full control of their life	88.6	69	-2.47 ***

*Source: RECOUP (2007) for Pakistan based on a sample of approximately 100 teachers and 630 non-teachers in wage work; RECOUP (2008) India based on sample of approximately 40 teachers and 700 non-teachers in wage work. * Satisfaction is measured using the following subjective well-being questions: 'All things considered, how satisfied is [individual] with life?' with coded responses ranging from 1=very satisfied – 5 = very dissatisfied; 'How satisfied is [individual] with their financial situation?' with responses coded as 1=very satisfied – 5=very dissatisfied; 'All things considered how satisfied is [individual] with their current work?' with responses coded as 1=very satisfied – 5 = very dissatisfied etc. These variables were re-coded into dummy variables equalling 1 if person is fully satisfied, 0 otherwise.*

In two more recent surveys (ABL India, 2015 and SchoolTELLS, Pakistan 2010), teachers' perceptions with regards to some key statements were gathered and are presented in Tables 4 and 5 below. It is clear that teachers perceive themselves as a cadre facing lots of problems and difficulties that their local political leaders are unsuccessful in addressing. They are acknowledging teachers' participation in organized union/association activities. Whilst in both countries teachers appear to be in favour of performance-related-pay (as measured by learning achievement), the teachers in our sample from India are highly resistant to any such absence-related performance measures.

Table 4: Teachers' perceptions, % agreeing to given statements, Tamil Nadu, India (2015)

% teachers agreeing to statement below:	Fully Agree	Agree	Partially Agree	Disagree
Teachers in this district have lots of problems and difficulties.	6	10	50	33
Generally local political leaders are successful in solving teachers' problems.	0	0	13	88
Teachers of our district participate actively in union meetings and events.	4	17	58	21
Teachers producing high learning achievement should be rewarded by being given better salary.	24	58	10	8
Teachers who are often absent from school should be given lower salary.	2	4	8	85

Source: Authors' calculations from ABL Teachers' Survey (2015)

Table 5: Teachers' perceptions, % agreeing to given statements, Pakistan (2010)

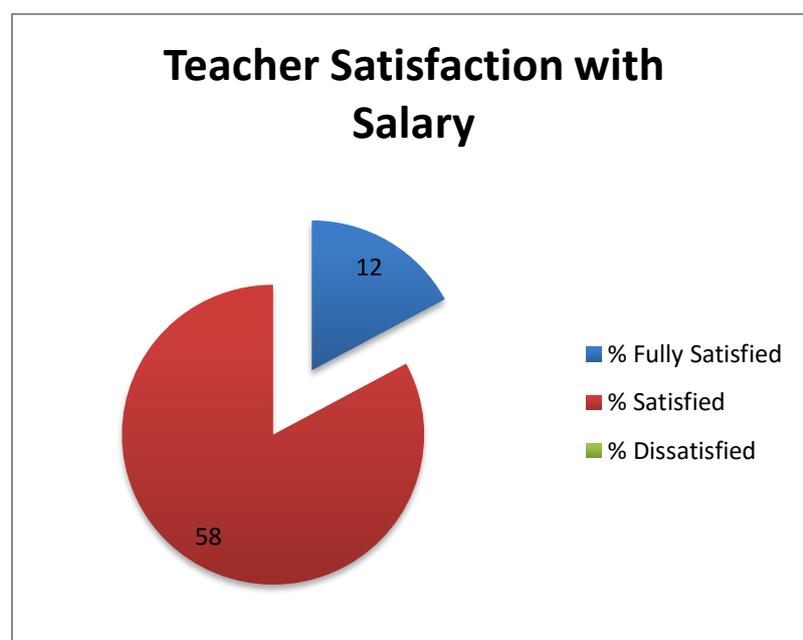
% teachers agreeing to statement below:	Fully Agree	Agree	Partially Agree	Disagree
Teachers in this district have lots of problems and difficulties.	78	12	6	4
Generally local political leaders are successful in solving teachers' problems.	16	25	17	42

Teachers of our district participate actively in union meetings and events.	25	28	19	27
Teachers producing high learning achievement should be rewarded by being given better salary.	89	8	1	2
Teachers who are often absent from school should be given lower salary.	59	20	7	14

Source: Authors' calculations from SchoolTELLS Pakistan (2010)

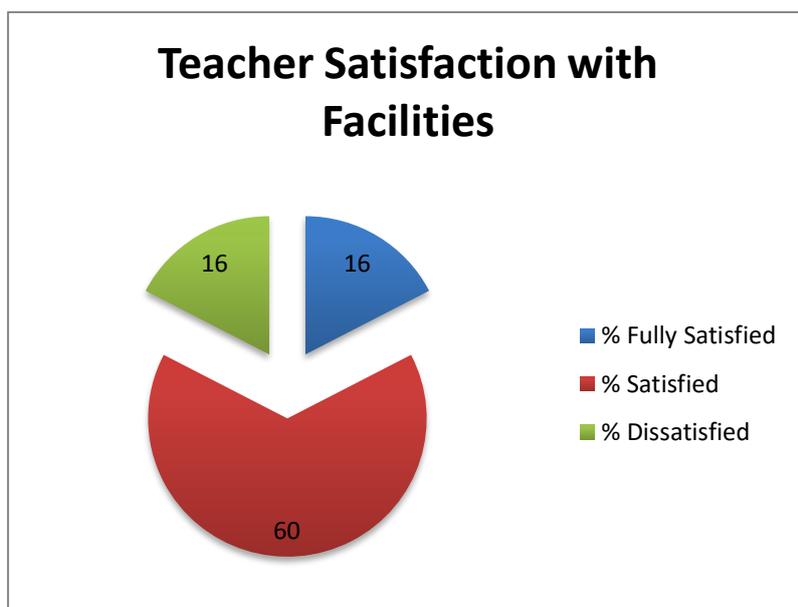
The Tamil Nadu teachers' survey also revealed that 12% of the teachers reported being 'fully satisfied' with their current salary levels and 58% reported being satisfied (Figure 8). No teacher in the sample reported being 'dissatisfied' with her current salary level. On the other hand, levels of satisfaction with facilities were less positive as shown by Figure 9.

Figure 8: Teacher satisfaction with current salary, Tamil Nadu (India, 2015)



Source: Authors' calculations from ABL Teachers' Survey (2015)

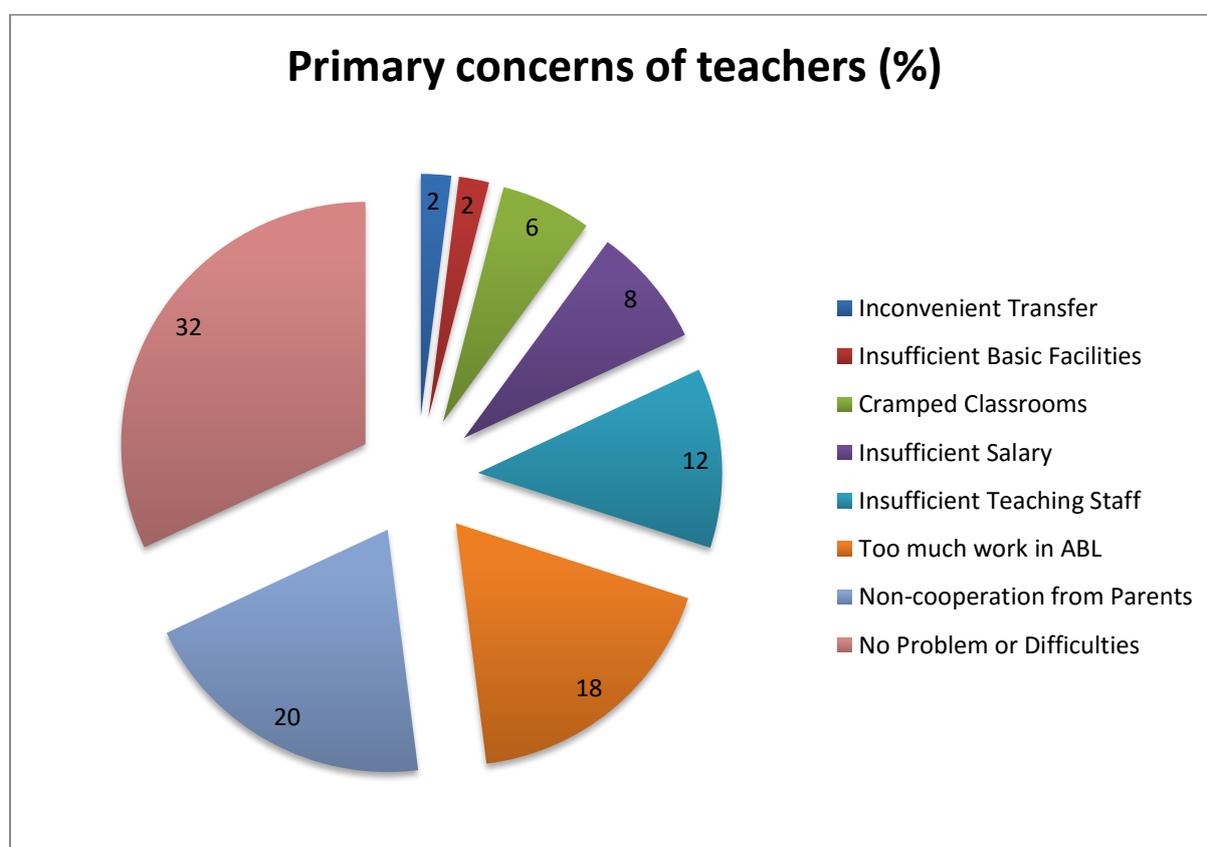
Figure 9: Teacher satisfaction with current school facilities, Tamil Nadu (India, 2015)



Source: Authors' calculations from ABL Teachers' Survey (2015)

A small sample of teachers in rural Tamil Nadu (50) report dissatisfaction mainly with parents and their workload (as shown in Figure 10 below). Interestingly, data collected from a larger sample of teachers in rural India (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh) and rural Pakistan (Punjab), whilst also showing dissatisfaction with parental and student cooperation, moreover highlights salary related issues as a primary concern for teachers (Table 6).

Figure 10: Primary concerns of teachers, Tamil Nadu (India), 2015



Source: Authors' calculations from ABL Teachers' Survey (2015)

Table 6: Primary concerns for teachers, India (2008) & Pakistan (2010)

Pakistan	Primary Concern for Teachers (%)
Insufficient Salary	32.5
Students/Guardians Non-Cooperation	14.4

No Problem or Difficulties	11.9
Promotion	11.4
Unavailability of Teaching Staff	5
Salary not given on time	4.7
Insufficient Basic Facilities	4.7
Other	15.4

India	Primary Concern for Teachers (%)
--------------	-----------------------------------------

Salary not given on time	32.1
Unavailability of Teaching Staff	11.4
Insufficient Salary	11.3
Students/Guardians Non-Cooperation	6
Arrears not given on time	5.1
Promotion	4.6
Others	29.5

However, despite these findings, teachers' feelings of discontent with their current pay and work load are widely documented in newspaper articles and educational reports. There is qualitative evidence from a study by Khan (2004)²¹ that appears to suggest that the occupational status of teaching as a profession has declined over time with teachers in Pakistan commanding less authority and power than those in other professions. This study also cites the findings from a national study designed to find out how to attract quality students into the teaching profession that found that only 29 percent male and 54 percent female students saw teaching as their first profession of choice. These students consider the following features as important considerations for choosing a profession: respect in society, promotion opportunities, job security, personal interest, guarantee of a pension, and further professional development opportunities as important factors in choosing a profession (p. 11). The author also claims that government school teachers repeatedly exhibit dissatisfaction with the hiring of unqualified and untrained teachers on contracts or within the private sector.

²¹ <http://datatopics.worldbank.org/hnp/files/edstats/PAKstu06a.pdf>

In India, the large economic disparity created by high government teacher salary (as a result of the 6th Pay Commission), as compared to other teachers within the education system (contract teachers, private school teachers etc.), has also led to protests as well as extreme dissatisfaction amongst this latter group particularly due to the fact that they have been shown to exhibit higher levels of effort (as proxied by lower absence rates and higher time on task) as well as better pupil outcomes (Kingdon 2010²², Atherton & Kingdon 2010).

Larger salaries do attract more able individuals to choose teaching as a career. In the SchoolTELLS survey in India (2008) regular teachers have higher test scores in a teacher test, i.e. they appear to be drawn from a higher part of the ability distribution in the population than are para teachers and private school teachers. However, there is also evidence in the same dataset that despite being paid four times as much, regular teachers are less motivated, i.e. apply less effort than para teachers: their absence rate of 25% (1 out of every 4 school days) is double para teachers absence rate of 12%, and their self-reported teaching time on a typical day is 75% rather than 83% for para teachers. Other studies also report substantially higher absence rates for regular than para teachers (EdCil, 2008; NCAER, 2008; Sankar, 2008). That paying teachers better clearly does not increase effort casts doubt on declared rationale for the Sixth Pay Commission Salary increases and highlights the importance of other factors that mediate effort such as the extent such as accountability and threat of dismissal. Government school regular teachers face no credible threats to dismissal or accountability pressures, e.g. they are rarely dismissed despite widespread shirking and, in these circumstances, even very large across the board salary increases are unlikely to be a productive investment (Kingdon 2010).

There is, therefore, a need to look beyond financial motivations to aspects such as responsibility, transparency of governance and autonomy. Within the profession across the region there appears to be a need to change teachers' self-image from that of a secure government employee to a well-respected and significant profession. Comprehensive and effectual teacher policy therefore needs to ensure an adequate supply of effective teachers,

²² http://ceid.educ.cam.ac.uk/publications/WP29_GK_SixthPay.pdf

efficient teacher deployment practices, training systems that equip teachers with the prerequisite skills, incentives that motivate and a management and career structure that results in high-quality performance from teachers.

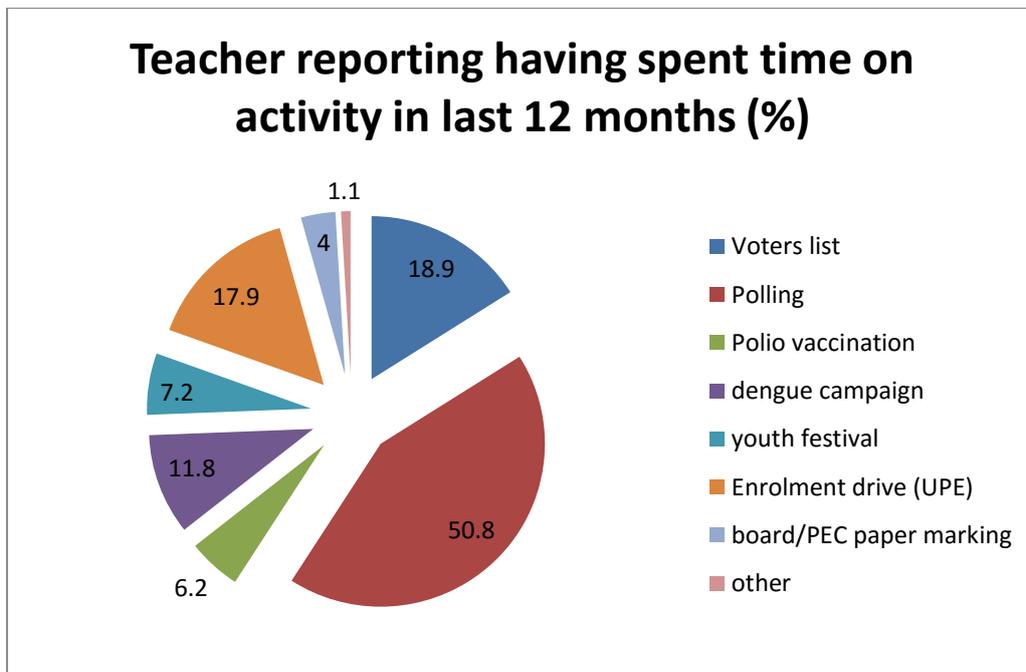
Evidence in recent years has also indicated that building incentive mechanisms into teacher salary structures can help improve student outcomes. For example, Muralidharan and Sundararaman's (2011) study based on a randomized evaluation of a teacher incentive program Andhra Pradesh, India, finds that teacher performance pay in government-run schools led to significant improvements in student test scores, with no evidence of any adverse consequences of the program. Whilst additional school inputs were also seen to be effective in raising test scores, teacher incentive programs were three times as cost effective. Another study corroborates these findings: Duflo and Hanna (2009) find that attendance-related bonuses to teachers boosted both teachers' school attendance rates and student learning outcomes in Rajasthan, India. In a study of how to make teachers more accountable,

Bruns et al. (2011) assess evidence on two kinds of policies: contract teachers and performance-related pay. Contract teachers consistently show high effort and better or equal student outcomes (as compared to regular teachers) and at a far lower cost per student, at least in the short run. However, it is often not clear in these contexts how many teachers stay in the system and how long they are prepared to stay as fixed-term contract teachers before migrating to more secure state systems. The evidence on bonus pay also appears to be positive. However, whilst being considered a powerful means of improving school quality in developing countries, it is critical to remember the context of these studies and also note that strong opposition to such reforms and elite capture may significantly undermine these initiatives as seen in this particular review of India. There is also the possibility that when combined with other interventions, there is a further aggravation of existing inequalities.

Teacher dissatisfaction also appears to stem from unfair workload and activities that often lie outside the realm of teaching but are relegated to teachers nevertheless. Several 'non-teaching' duties distract teachers from their teaching obligations and include activities as diverse as training outside school vacations, election duties, invigilation of government

examinations to ‘quite alarming’ tasks such as migration surveys, livestock surveys, family planning drives and even immunization campaigns²³. Simple statistics from Alif Ailaan’s Voice of Teacher Survey (2015) depict the extent of non-teaching obligations teachers report having to undertake.

Figure 11: Teachers’ reports of non-teaching activities they have spent time on in the last 12 months



²³ *Teachers in the Indian Education System: Synthesis of a Nine-state Study*. Rep. New Delhi: National University for Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), 2015.

Source: Authors' computations from Voice of Teachers Survey, Alif Ailaan (2015)

Many teachers in South Asia are also seen to be offering private tuition outside regular school hours which may impact their performance in school as well as altering their incentives to teach whilst in school. Evidence from SchoolTells India (2008) is presented in Table 7 below which indicates teachers' views on how many teachers take private tuition across different school types.

Table 7: Teacher views on which teachers take private tuitions

Take Private Tuition						
	UP			Bihar		
	Gov.	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Gov.	Private Aided	Private Unaided
Primary						
You	4.35		32.18	8.09		70.00
Know others	2.10		14.23	7.43		7.89
Secondary						
You	1.33	7.84	14.61	3.86	25	80.00
Know others	50.64	33.62	49.24	52.72	75.75	36.00

Source: Kingdon (2009, Mimeo), calculations based on SchoolTELLS India (2008)

A recent report on Voice of Teachers²⁴ in Pakistan (SAHE & Alif Ailaan, 2014) reported an overwhelming majority of teachers as being dissatisfied with the amount of non-teaching duties they were assigned. According to their estimates, government teachers in their survey spent on average 50 days/year on tasks that did not have a direct link with teaching. The resultant dissatisfaction and discontent is reflected in several blogs and newspaper

²⁴ SAHE and Alif Ailaan. *The voice of teachers: learning from teachers across Pakistan*. Rep. Islamabad: Alif Ailaan, 2014.
https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/731/attachments/original/1419857490/VOT_English_Web.pdf?1419857490

reports in Pakistan for instance where teachers' anger is visible in the dialogue between the Sindh government and teachers. Reported on the Teacher Solidarity website, the blog states how the Government of Sindh's purported proposal to ban all teacher union activities to improve and to prevent them from being politically active resulted in teacher staging a protest²⁵ and a further protest demanding timely payment of salaries²⁶. The fact that there are always two sides to the story are clear from this blog²⁷ – the government wanted 'teachers in classes' and 'the teachers could not agree more' and had apparently 'angered the government by boycotting election duties' which had resulted in the government wanting to ban their union activities. One example of the kinds of obligations teachers find themselves under was brought to light during a data collection exercise conducted for the purpose of this report (see later, Focus Group Discussion Box 3). The respondent lamented the pressures that teachers faced: '*... recently, a cricket match was held between two schools in Qaddafi Stadium just a day before when the board exams of Grade 10 students were about to commence, teachers were given the task to ensure that at least 500 students from each schools are present at the stadium to watch the match.*' (FG Respondent, 12 March, Lahore 2016). Such unreasonable and ad hoc demands are likely to frustrate teachers and take them away from their teaching responsibilities in equal measure.

Whilst a recent study²⁸ in India in 9 states noted that after RTE 2009 nonteaching duties have been streamlined and clearly specified, there did not appear to be a formal government order or notification to this effect. In different states teachers reported varied issues wherein their teaching times were compromised: Tamil Nadu teachers performing election and census duties and distributing incentives and textbooks (having to go to the block office to collect the incentives in the first place), Mizoram teachers noting lack of administrative support to purchase items from outside school for a school programme, Jharkhand teachers still performing 'mandated duties' including out-of-school surveys and census duties. The overall view of teachers was that whilst on paper the RTE Act purported

²⁵ <http://www.thesindhetimes.com/sindh/female-primary-teachers-stage-protests-against-secretary-education-in-larkana/>

²⁶ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/print/71590-unpaid-for-11-months-junior-school-teachers-protest-for-salaries>

²⁷ <http://www.teachersolidarity.com/list/PK>

²⁸ *Teachers in the Indian Education System: Synthesis of a Nine-state Study*. Rep. New Delhi: National U for Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), 2015.

to have reduced teachers' non-teaching obligations, in reality teachers' are still responsible for undertaking several 'mandatory' duties that have nothing to do with teaching²⁹.

5.3 Extent of teacher politicization in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan

There is evidence to suggest that the teaching profession is heavily politicized in the three countries with teacher organizations often being highly well structured and capable of having profound clout in meeting their demands through political action. Members of the teaching cadre, organizing themselves into influential groups is not inherently a negative attribute, particularly if they are able to use their significant political penetration to lobby for reforms aimed at improving not only teacher quality but also the educational system and also the learning outcomes of the students they teach. The following section examines not only the strength of unions in the three countries in question but also provides an analysis of the types of agenda items that teachers have typically put forward for their unions to engage in. This will provide evidence as to whether unionization or the organization of teachers into formal groups has the potential to be detrimental to school functioning and performance and whether teachers use these systems to advance their own self-interest and in particular to promote legislation that benefits them and oppose reforms that are not advantageous to them personally. Whilst there is significant anecdotal evidence to suggest the extensive political penetration by teachers in South Asia, robust evidence of this is far more limited. The exceptions are 2 recent papers – Beteille et al. (2016) in India and the Alif Ailaan report (2015) in Pakistan, and their findings and evidence are discussed below. There is far less empirical evidence available in Bangladesh.

5.3.1 Bangladesh

Trade unions are common in Bangladesh. Examples include: *Bangladesh Free Trade Union Congress*, *Bangladesh Ganotantrik Sramik Federation*, *Bangladesh Jatio Sramik League*, *Bangladesh Jatiyo Sramik Jote*, *Bangladesh Jatyatabadi Sramik Dal*, *Bangladesh Labour Federation*, *Bangladesh Mukto Sramik Federation*, *Bangladesh Sanjukta Sramik Federation*, *Bangladesh Trade Union Kendra*, *Jatio Sramik Federation*, *Jatyo Sramik League* and *Samajtantrik Sramik Front*. They vote regularly to elect new leaders and other office-bearers

²⁹ Ibid.

and engage in collective bargaining with employers. Most of these unions are, however, led by individuals who're directly involved in national level politics; many trade unions are de facto active wings of mainstream political parties (as is also evident from the names of trade unions listed above). Labour unrest in the industrial sector is quite common, particularly in the country's readymade garment factories. But these protests are often dismissed on the ground that they're instigated by opposition political parties and don't reflect genuine interests of the workers. Given their overwhelming dependency on national level political parties, labour unions in Bangladesh could not develop independently. It's common for union leaders to be beaten up and fired from work.

In contrast to industrial workers, school teachers in Bangladesh don't have a formal union. However, most of them belong to one the many associations of teachers. These include (a) Bangladesh Primary Teachers Society, (b) Bangladesh Primary School Teachers' Association, (c) Bangladesh Government Primary School Assistant Teachers' Association and (d) Primary School Assistant Teachers' Forum. No research is available on the structure and history of the existing teacher associations. Teachers of different designations and school types group together to form their respective associations primarily because pay related grievances and employment conditions vary across designations and between state and non-state schools. For instance, according to Bangladesh's largest newspaper, Daily Prothom Alo, there are at least four different associations for primary school assistant teachers –“Bangladesh Primary Assistant Teacher Society”, "Bangladesh Primary School Assistant Teacher Society", Bangladesh Government Primary School Assistant Teacher Society” and Bangladesh Primary Assistant Teacher Forum” (Daily Prothom Alo, 19 Sep 2015).

Teachers rarely demand better provisions for teacher training and professional development systems. This is similar to labour unions in the country's industrial sector, whose focus is almost always on issues of low wages and poor work conditions (e.g. lack of welfare facilities such as healthcare and child care). Moreover, akin to labour organizations in the industrial sector, some teacher associations are linked to national political parties. Therefore the National Education Policy 2010 (p. 77) emphasized on the need to reduce the influence of national level politics on the country's education sector: “It is urgently required

to free the educational institutions from the influence of party politics. To realize this objective, guidelines have to be prepared and strictly implemented.”

Public spending on education in Bangladesh is lower compared to India and Pakistan. Bangladesh’s educational expansion was achieved in partnership with more than 12 different non-state providers. In the non-state sector, not only fewer teachers are employed, average teacher pay is also lower (Asadullah 2006).³⁰ This meant that scaling up of the primary education sector was possible even with relatively low spending on teacher salary. On the other hand, the heterogeneous nature of governance and institutional structure across 12+ types of schools operating in the primary education sector is likely to have limited the scope for collective bargaining and organized teacher politics.

Overall, labor movement in Bangladesh is weak in all sectors of the economy. Moreover, Bangladesh ranks poorly in terms of institutional quality and rule of law (Asadullah, Savoia and Mahmud 2014). During the tenure of the incumbent government (which continued for a second term in power following a controversial election that was boycotted by all major opposition parties), the space for dissent has narrowed considerably. At the same time, individual reward for pro-establishment politics is significant. The functioning of bodies governing educational institutions is heavily politicized; not only are governing committee members selected on the basis of political allegiance, politically influential individuals also influence the recruitment of teachers (World Bank 2014). Even a teacher’s posting from one government school to one located in a more favorable location depends heavily on the teacher’s political connections (Sandhu and Rahman 2012).³¹ Activities of teacher associations should be interpreted in this governance-challenged educational environment. Box 1 below illustrates the examples of 2 recent reforms and studies what role, if any, teachers have played in the process.

³⁰ For instance, registered non-government primary school teachers are eligible for 90% salary support from the state through Monthly Pay Order (MPO) system. In reality, teachers make no more than what is provided by the government, particularly in rural areas (Sommers 2014).

³¹ According to the recent World Bank Education Sector Review for Bangladesh, “political support, rather than adherence to quality criteria, appears to be more important for the continuation of MPOs [Monthly Pay Orders]. As a result, MPO schools—constituting some 98 percent of secondary schools in Bangladesh— perform well below the expected level (World Bank 2013).

Box 1

Have teacher associations played an active role in transforming teaching and learning practices in primary education in Bangladesh?

A study of Two Reforms

Historically the government of Bangladesh has emphasized reforms that favored improved educational access instead of tackling the question of quality as the former proved politically popular and easier to deliver (Hossain et al 2002). According to Hossain et al (2002), “quality reforms usually entail costly and uncertain benefits, with the costs borne by organized groups such as teachers (Corrales, 1999)”. This also explains why teacher associations in Bangladesh have historically not fought for reforms that would directly improve school quality. Their focus instead was on wages and other associated pecuniary benefits.

Over the past decades, the primary education sector has gone through a number of important changes under the "Primary Education Development Program" (PEDP). While in the last 10 years, the policy focus has shifted significantly to the issue of education quality, teacher associations didn't play a leading role in this shift. Rather, these changes seem to be primarily driven by civil society bodies including international donors, development partners, local NGOs that run a nationwide network of primary schools and consortium of smaller NGOs (e.g. CAMPE).

Under PEDP3, a number of teacher association representatives are invited to the “Joint Annual Review Mission” (JARM). When formulating the National Education Policy 2010, the Government of Bangladesh constituted a committee where two leaders of teacher associations served as members – President of Bangladesh College Teachers Association and President of Bangladesh Teachers Association. However, the document doesn't recognize teacher associations for their contributors to the country's educational development. As a matter of fact, the entire document has no reference to teacher unions, organized teacher politics and/or teacher associations. As pointed out earlier, teacher associations in Bangladesh are fragmented and pursue a single-focus agenda of improving financial well-

being of teachers. Below we briefly discuss some of the reforms that can be linked to learning outcomes and/or have been influenced by “teacher politics”.

i. Increase in Teacher Pay in Government Schools

In Bangladesh, teacher pay is perceived to be poor at all levels of the education sector, particularly in the non-state sub-sector (Haq and Islam 2005).³² There is suggestive evidence that demand for better pay may impact learning outcomes in Bangladesh. A recent World Bank study attributes low performance and motivation of College (i.e. post-secondary) teachers to low levels of remuneration (World Bank 2014). Evidence shows that secondary school teachers in rural Bangladesh are generally satisfied with teaching, but not their pay. They are generally satisfied with their profession, and those teachers who are satisfied with their profession and their salary tend to have students with higher learning outcomes (World Bank 2013).

In 2015, the government of Bangladesh approved the 8th National pay scale gazette for its civil servants or employees including government and government aided school teachers (effective from July 2015). Basic salary range in the new Pay Scale is Taka 78,000 and Taka 8,250 across a total of 20 grades. Compared to the earlier pay scale, the salary hike is nearly 100% across almost all professions (Education News bd24, 2015). Head teachers of government schools were awarded 2nd class grade in new national pay scale.

The recent pay rise was not because of compelling evidence on the effect of teacher pay on student outcomes. As a matter fact, primary school head teachers are much better paid compared to those in other non-state schools, particularly in rural locations. Instead, it is part of an across-the-board rise in pay within the public sector. At the same time, it may have been a response to past campaigns by associations of teachers for higher pay. For instance, Bangladesh Primary School Teachers’ Association led by Abdul Awal Talukdar

³² Based on a sample survey of 215 teachers (which comprised of 75 government primary, 45 registered non-government primary and 100 secondary school teachers), low salary was identified as the most common source of job dissatisfaction – as many as 22.5% sample teachers held this view (Rashid and Ritu 2013).

called for continuous strikes between 15 and 24 January 2013 demanding higher grade point for teachers as per national pay scale (Manob Kantha, 27 Jan 2013).³³ According to one newspaper report (BD News24, 2014), a pay rise was approved soon after the incumbent government was re-elected for the second term in January 2014.³⁴ Despite the salary increase, teachers made fresh demands once the national pay scale was announced in 2015 -- government primary school teachers abstained from teaching for several days demanding that their salary is upgraded to grade 10 of the new pay scale (The Independent 2015).

This has coincided with nationwide unrest and strikes by university teachers over the issue of pay disparity between teachers and government bureaucrats despite the fact that as per the 8th government pay scale, salaries of teachers and non-teachers have been increased twofold (Daily Prothom Alo, 22 Sep 2015). Teachers of government primary schools as well as state-run universities observed work abstention for around a month in protest against the eighth pay scale. 13,000 teachers of 37 public universities under the banner of Federation of Bangladesh University Teachers Association (FBUTA) abstained from work since May 2015 accusing the government of not fulfilling its electoral pledge of constituting a separate pay scale for teachers. They were joined by around 15,000 teachers at public colleges and around 400,000+ teachers at around 63,000 government primary schools. As per the new pay scale, trained and non-trained assistant teachers would enjoy 13th and 14th grade in pay structure. The Primary Assistant Teachers Federation, a platform of four organizations of assistant teachers of the government primary schools, however demanded upgrading their salary up to 11th grade, one grade below that of head teachers (Jai Jai Din 17 Sep 2013).³⁵ Association of head teachers of government primary schools also demanded

³³ This involved government as well as non-government schoolteachers. The month long strike during January 2013 led to forced closure of schools throughout the country as teachers gathered in the capital city Dhaka to join the protest march (Manob kantha, 27 Jan 2013).

³⁴ The post of public primary school headmaster was upgraded from third to second class-gazetted officer. The salary scale for assistant teachers was also raised. Basic pay of trained headmasters stood at Tk 6,400 -- an increase of Tk 900 -- while those not trained at Tk 5,900 instead of previous Tk 5,200. Basic pay of trained assistant teachers increased from Tk 4,900 to Tk 5,200 (grade-14) while those untrained would get Tk 4,900 (grade-15) against their previous pay of Tk 4,700. There are more than 350,000 assistant teachers in primary schools across the country. The Ministry of Public Administration on Nov 26, 2013 approved the move to increase pay scales and grades of primary school teaching posts (BD News24, 2014).

³⁵ The four organisations of assistant teachers of primary schools are — Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Society, Bangladesh Primary School Teachers' Association, Bangladesh Government Primary School Assistant Teachers' Association and Primary School Assistant Teachers' Forum (The Independent 2015).

upgrading their status in the new pay scale (Daily Star 2015). To realize their demand of salary equivalent of 11th grade in the recently announced 8th pay scale, assistant teachers abstained from teaching from 4th October. However, teacher associations in Bangladesh are fragmented. The “government primary school head teachers association” gave into government pressure too early whilst other factions such as “government primary school teachers association” continued the campaign for higher pay. Eventually the nationwide teacher strikes and demands for higher wages subsided under threats of legal measures against dissenting teacher leaders by the government (Daily Prothom Alo 08 Oct 2015).

ii. Nationalization of RNGPS

Another recent change that has direct impact on student learning and is likely to have been initiated by teachers’ movement is the nationalization of registered non-government primary schools (RNGPS). Students of RNGPS systematically under-perform in national level examinations compared to government and other non-state (e.g. NGO-run) schools. Therefore nationalization of these schools is a potentially effective strategy through which the quality of RNGPS could be improved as full government ownership would increase the allocation of teaching and non-teaching resources. On 09 December 2012, the Prime Minister formally announced that all of the 26000 non-government schools would be nationalized (Manob kantha, 27 Jan 2013).

The nationalization of RNGPS has to be seen in a historical context. The Awami League government in 1973-74 nationalized 36,000 community schools which today operate as fully government primary schools. Furthermore, the National Education Policy (approved in 2010) also stressed that “The process of nationalization of primary education will continue. The responsibility of primary education cannot be delegated to private or NGO sectors.” (p 12). At the same time, the decision to nationalize such a large number of schools is likely to be a political one in an election year since school teachers are potentially a powerful voting bloc in rural areas (World Bank 2013).

The announcement to nationalize RNGPS has created additional challenges for ongoing

reforms in the primary education sector. RNGPS previously had no provision for head teachers. In post-nationalization phase, these posts will be filled through a careful selection process. However, RNGPS teacher associations have demanded that teachers recruited in pre-nationalization years must be regularized and/or promoted to head teacher position. Non-government school teachers staged continuous strike to press home a 17-point agenda which included the demand of giving civil servant status to 470,000 teachers of the newly nationalized 27,000 government primary schools (Manob kantha, 27 Jan 2013).³⁶ Second, the demand for nationalization spread to other sub-sectors of the education sector as leaders of two association of non-government colleges, Bangladesh College Teacher Association (BCTA) and Bangladesh Principal Council (BPC), also demanded nationalization of the country's education system to ensure quality education and eliminate discrimination in the sector (Daily Star (2012)).³⁷ Third, following the government announcement, 103,854 teachers of the pre-existing government schools demanded increased status (Manob kantha, 27 Jan 2013). Assistant teachers also demanded provisions to select head teachers from assistant teachers instead of recruiting head teachers from outside (Daily Prothom Alo, 19 Sep 2015).

The recent nationalization of RNGPS has also created conflicts w.r.to ongoing reform initiatives. Under PEDP 3, a key "disbursement linked indicator" (DLI) is strengthening systems for teacher recruitment, deployment and promotion. To curb political interference and corruption, this has been centralized based on public examination where the assessment has been sub-contracted out to outside agencies. The proposal for establishing promotion and recruitment rules for primary and head teachers has already been approved by the Ministry of Public Administration (MoPA). The Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) and Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) have been working to maintain a transparent and fully merit-based teacher recruitment system. However, this process will be undermined if the current stock of RNGPS teachers is converted into

³⁶ This movement was led by Bangladesh Teacher Society (Nazrul) and "Shikhok-Kormochari Songrami Okkiya Porishad". They were joined by teachers of the 6848 independent government recognized madrasas employing 34,000 teachers who also abstained from classroom teaching between 27th and 31st January to realize the demand for nationalization of their jobs (Manob kantha, 27 jan 2013).

³⁷ Their other demands included elimination of discrimination in salary, allowances, increment, promotions, and educational facilities as allocated for their government counterparts; appointing non-government college teachers to education administration (Daily Star 2012).

government teachers (World Bank 2013).

Overall, two features of the education system in Bangladesh are likely to have affected the relationship between teachers and the government in turn curbing the political power of the former. First, the pluralistic structure of Bangladesh's primary education system (i.e. over a dozen of providers running schools) is likely to have reduced the scope for group mobilization. Moreover, NGO providers like BRAC have been running a nationwide network of thousands of primary schools since the 1990s. NGO teachers are mostly female, always recruited from local communities and possess much lower educational qualifications (e.g. holding secondary school examination certificate) compared to their counterparts in government schools. Yet NGO schools have succeeded in attracting millions of children from poor families and delivering superior quality education relying on contract teachers with a fraction of public sector pay.³⁸ These aspects of Bangladesh's education sector may have undermined the political power of school teachers in the state-sector.

Second, non-government (non-NGO) primary school teachers are systematically under paid then their state counterparts. This is also true when compared to the state-aided RNGPS teachers and non-government secondary school teachers.³⁹ All types of primary schools except government primary schools are under-resourced and suffer in terms of financial conditions and the ability to pay teachers since non-state schools are funded by local donations, government subvention, and personal and individual support (Haq and Islam 2005). Prior to the recent pay rise and nationalization of non-government schools, teachers in government primary school earned almost twice the average monthly salary of their counterparts in registered non-government primary schools. Government primary school teacher pay was also 16% higher than that of secondary teachers (Rashid and Ritu, 2013).

³⁸ On average, a BRAC school teacher receives a monthly salary of Tk. 1250 - 1650 (equivalent to USD 18 - 24) depending on the school's location and the level of the class that they teach. For further details, see <http://www.unesco.org/ui/litbase/?menu=4&programme=28>

³⁹ While secondary school teachers are paid around two-thirds more than primary school teachers (Haq and Islam 2005), less than 3% of the country's secondary schools are state-owned.

Approximately 50% of the primary schools and 98% of the secondary schools in Bangladesh operate in the private sector. The majority of these non-state schools closely follow public sector salary structure because almost all the recognized schools in Bangladesh receive regular aid from the government towards payment of teacher salaries (Asadullah 2006). Salary of newly appointed RNGPS teacher is 70 percent that of a government teacher which rises to 90 percent with more than five years' experience in the form of subvention received from the state.⁴⁰ However, the allowances are much smaller for RNGPS teachers (e.g. house rent is 50% of the basic pay for government teachers while it's only Taka 100 for RNGPS). Consequently the gross income differential between the two groups of teachers is very large. For a comparison of government and RNGPS teachers, see Haq and Islam (2005).⁴¹ Since financial grievances and ill-being serve as the most common ground for collective action, the relatively superior pay in the state sector (and the fact that pay improves with seniority only in the government sector) may have undermined political coordination and mobilization across various ranks of government teachers.

5.3.2 India

Teachers in India are organized into several hundred unions, some registered with the state government and others with the central government. Beteille et al. (2016) note that there is no centralized database to help estimate the number of teachers unions that operate in the country and whilst the number of teacher unions at the state level has grown consistently over the past few decades there is significant heterogeneity in membership rates, with some states reporting under 10 percent membership, and some over 75 percent. According to the authors, a majority of the unions are not formally aligned with any political party. Table 8 below depicts union membership rates as cited by Kremer et al. (2005).

⁴⁰ Under the "monthly payment order" (MPO) system introduced in 1981, teachers of recognized non-governmental schools were paid up to 50% of the basic pay of a government school teacher. In 1999, this increased to 80% of basic salaries against sanctioned posts of aided secondary schools (Asadullah 2006). Following further increases, MPO now accounts for 100 percent of the basic salaries of the government secondary school teachers (World Bank 2013).

⁴¹ Another reason for the pay discrepancy is the fact government school teacher salary increases significantly with respect to career progression -- those with 10 of years of service experience earn one-third more than the average government teacher. However, total salary of non-government primary school teachers hardly varies with respect to the length of their service. This results in a three-time pay gap in the average salary of government primary school teachers and their non-government counterparts with 10 or more years of service (Rashid and Ritu, 2013).

Table 8: Union Membership in India (%)

	% member of a union
National	2
State	27
Local	16
Not member	55

Source: Kremer et al, 2005

A large majority of teacher unions within India are typically organized at the state level and tend to be fairly influential politically. This arises as a direct consequence of the fact that negotiations on employment contracts and terms and conditions thereof take place at the state level⁴². There are, however, three large national-level unions with state-level branches: the All India Primary Teachers Federation (AIPTF); All India Secondary Teachers Federation (AISTF), and All India Federation of Teachers Organizations (AIFTO).

There is evidence to suggest that in many major reform efforts (such as the District Primary Education Program) there were no systematic procedures to provide mechanisms for consultation between the unions and government on education-related issues (even where the reforms were directly relating to the benefit of the teachers themselves). When they did occur, rather than being a regular and professional exchange between the government and unions, the consultations tended to be random. Beteille et al. (2016) state that teachers actively resisted these reforms, particularly when they related to the democratic decentralization and hiring of local teachers. Similar resistance was faced when this democratic decentralization was being implemented in Madhya Pradesh when locally hired teachers were being employed on contracts rather than 'jobs for life'. Disgruntled teachers embarked on a series of protests and instituted a raft of legal cases challenging the whole policy (Beteille et al. 2016). Another example of a large-scale reform which met with resistance from teacher unions is provided by the flagship *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*. In a similar vein, teacher unions were also not consulted. However, they lobbied independently

⁴²Beteille, Tara, Geeta G. Kingdon, and M. Muzammil. "Teachers Unions in India: Diverse, Powerful and Coercive." *The Comparative Politics of Education: Teacher Unions and Education Systems around the World*. Ed. Terry Moe and Susanne Wiborg. N.p.: Cambridge UP, 2016. N. pag. The content in this section is taken from Kingdon et al (2016). The paper details the role of teachers unions in

at the state and national level and played an important role in influencing the final form that the programme took.

Box 2:

Impact of Teachers Unions on Education Policy and Practice in India, some examples

(summarized from Beteille et al. 2016)

The effectiveness with which unions are able to achieve their objectives depends upon their power, which in turn depends upon their political influence and the strategies they adopt. Unions in India adopt a number of indirect mechanisms to achieve their goals: (1) representation in the upper house in the state; (2) election-time credible threats; (3) organized strikes; (4) court cases; and (5) direct involvement in politics.

The following are examples of instances where teacher organizations have lobbied against key educational reforms in India:

Increasing salaries of teachers: Every time there has been a Pay Commission to revise pay scales of central government employees, AIPTF (and its state-level counterparts) have lobbied actively to ensure state governments make teacher pay scales consistent with central government pay scales. Such lobbying has been very successful.

Thwarting measures to ensure a code of conduct for teachers: implementation of a code of conduct for teachers has proved very difficult. Example: Uttar Pradesh in 2002, the then Education Minister Om Prakash Singh advocated a set of rules governing the conduct of teachers. Teachers, however, rejected the proposal straightaway, saying “conduct can be improved through ‘self-evaluation’ and not by imposition of rules”. “Besides” they pointed out, “politicians should first have a code of conduct for themselves, before designing one for teachers”.

Opposing Decentralization: A lot of opposition came when the Draft Bill for the Right to

Education Act was circulated in 2005. The Bill comprised certain provisions for elementary schools such as school based teacher cadres and the constitution of SMCs for each school with wide powers. The powers of SMCs in the Draft Bill included teacher appointments, salary disbursement to teachers and the ability to take disciplinary action against teachers (e.g. cut pay based on absences). The provision of a school-based cadre implies that once a teacher is appointed in a school he/she cannot easily seek transfer to another school. Eventually, when the final version of the Bill was enacted (2009) the power of SMCs was significantly reduced.

Ensuring a stable student-teacher ratio across schools: Unions have strongly opposed transfers to adjust student-teacher ratios. Teachers have little say in these transfer decisions. Teachers unions have opposed efforts to “rationalize” the teaching force, as a result of which, many schools either have too many or too few teachers.

Regularizing contract teachers: A number of states, such as Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha have strong contract teachers unions, which due to their sheer size, are politically powerful entities that have been able to successfully lobby for regularization of their teachers. In many states, prominently Madhya Pradesh, the unions of these teachers won several concessions.

Freeing teachers from non-academic work: Teachers unions at the national level and the state level have fought long and hard to free teachers from non-academic work. Such work, which could range from conducting a cattle census in the village to cooking meals for the mid-day meal scheme, clearly took away time that the teacher had during the day to teach. The RTE Act has taken a strong stand on this, prohibiting the deployment of teachers for non-educational purposes.

Teacher Eligibility Test: Across states, teachers and unions have strongly criticized the quality of the teacher eligibility test, arguing that it tests theoretical knowledge and not skills required for the classroom.

5.3.3 Pakistan

According to a recent report (Alif Ailaan, 2015), there are between 25 to 30 active teaching unions and associations in Pakistan (among over 60 associations have little activity beyond what exists on paper), with an estimate membership of 60% of the total government teaching force. Table 9 illustrates some of the key statistics relating to these organizations.

Table 9: Teachers’ organizations in Pakistan

Association (Established)	Scope	Type	Claimed Membership
Govt. Association (1956)	Teachers Balochistan	All-Cadre Association	40,000
Watan Association (1998)	Teachers Balochistan	All-Cadre Association	5000
Mutahida Asataza Pakhtunkhwa (2013)	Mahaz Khyber KP	All-Cadre Association	10,000-15,000
All Primary Association (2007)	Teachers KP	All-Cadre Association	10,000-15,000
Punjab (1937)	Teachers Union Punjab	All-Cadre Union	150,000 – 200,000
Senior Staff (1950)	Association Punjab	Cadre-Based Association	10,000
Primary Association (1951)	Teachers Sindh	Cadre-Based Association	100,000
Mehran’s Association (1984-85)	Teachers Sindh	All-Cadre Association	5000-10,000

Source: Alif Ailaan (2015)

The only evidence on the landscape of teachers’ organizations in Pakistan comes from the Alif Ailaan report (2015). In what follows, we present a summary of their key findings.

In Pakistan, there are only two teachers associations which work at the national level: Muttahida Mahaz Asatza (MMA) and Tanzeem-e-Asatza. The extent to which these unions have successfully represented their members has varied across geographical regions with some being particularly successful whilst others have not. One of the key findings of the aforementioned report is that both government and teachers' organizations do not engage in consultations and tend to view each other with suspicion and hostility. As in India, it appears that across the different provinces in Pakistan, little or no formal channels exist that guarantee teacher association participation in the formulation and assessment of education policies. One possible reason for this is the enduring suspicion of collective bargaining in general within the country. Stronger and older teachers' bodies such as the Punjab Teachers Union (PTU), Primary Teachers' association (PTA) Sindh and Government Teachers' association (GTA) Balochistan have historically been accorded with some bargaining legitimacy by governments. There is evidence of conflict at the local level between district education departments and teachers' associations on matters relating to teacher transfers, deployment and dismissals. Outdated legislation such as the Punjab Employees Efficiency Discipline and Accountability (PEEDA) Act 2006 have resulted in teacher dismissals for negligence of duty without an inquiry and are based solely on the assessments of department officials, and have been the bone of contention between teachers and their employers.

As in India and Bangladesh, some teachers' organizations are party-based associations, and function as the teachers' wing of political parties (for example the Pakistan People's Party etc.). Consequently, this formation tends to predominantly exist in areas where those specific parties are more powerful. Some party-based associations function more as spaces wherein teachers can deliberate and lobby for education policy and curriculum reform whilst others tend to function more as vehicles for the dispensation of employment and other forms of patronage to party loyalists in times of government and vehicles of opposition to rival parties' governments in times of opposition.

Most of the teacher organizations tend to put forward grievances relating to terms of employment and service conditions, physical working conditions, lack of investment in

teachers' capacity, non-teaching duties, issues relating to privatization, staff rationalization, monitoring issues, corruption and political patronage and interference. One of the main grievances brought forward relates to terms of employment and service conditions. In Punjab, for examples, after the commencement of the Contract policy of hiring fixed-term contract teachers in schools in 2003, contract-based teachers vehemently fought for regularization often with success (Punjab Educators Association, which culminated in a Supreme Court decision in their favor in 2007). Teachers have also protested against poor working conditions and multigrade teaching, demanding better and more specifically qualified staff deployment. As one would expect, resistance has also been historically presented across the provinces in opposition to increased monitoring and arbitrary punishments (e.g. Punjab PEEDA Act). Finally, corruption, political interference and patronage e.g. in the form of nepotism have been at the forefront of some teacher battles relating to transfers in particular and allocation of PTC/SMC funds.

5.4 Grievance redressal

This section uses primary qualitative data and case study examples to conclude our research. The objective of this section is to highlight what key teacher grievances are, what their perceptions about different educational aspects are and who they turn to for grievance redressal. This section uses data specifically collected for the purposes of this study in the form of a Focus Group Discussion organized by IDEAS to gather 6 union representatives from various unions in Punjab, Pakistan to elicit their views on what the core teacher grievances are and whether they turn to their unions for redressal. This section also uses some other data sets as well as evidence from other reports to highlight these issues.

The Alif Ailaan report (2015) argues that teacher grievances in Pakistan consistently point to two main issues: service grievances and institutional concerns with 'most teachers' associations echo(ing) the same grievances, indicating that the collective experience of nearly seven hundred thousand teachers across the country (Pakistan are) broadly repetitive and similar.' (p. 31) These encompass (among other things) issues around salary,

promotions, service terms and conditions, opposition to English as a medium of instruction and the burden of non-teaching duties and obligations as among their core concerns. The key findings from the FGD presented in Box 3 below corroborate these findings.

Box 3:

Focus group conversation with Union Representatives in Punjab, Pakistan

March 10, 2016

This focus group discussion was organized by IDEAS, Pakistan to collect primary data for the International Commission on Global Education Opportunity project on the Political Economy of Teachers. There were 6 respondents (5 males, 1 female) representing the following associations from Punjab province:

- Elementary Teachers Association
- Punjab Government Teacher Association
- Punjab Teachers' Union
- Punjab Association of Subject Specialist and Senior Staff Association &
- The Muslim Teachers' Association.

The focus group asks the respondents their views on the following questions. Their responses are grouped into categories indicating their views.

Question1: What are the key concerns of teachers in Punjab?

Recruitment

Recently the required minimum qualification of teachers has been moved to B.Sc./M.Sc. instead of F.Sc. This has been good for schools because new teachers are fresh and students enjoy studying with them. But the new teachers are no happy. An M.Phil. teacher is hired at Scale 17 and has a salary similar to clerks (around 15,000 rupees). They would not like to stay in teaching for the long term (female)

Deployment

In Primary schools, only two teachers are appointed in a school whereas they are expected to teach five classes.

Working conditions

Women's issues are similar to men's issues with regard to teaching in general but they also face some female-specific issues. When the *faujjs* from the monitoring cell come for inspection their behavior is uncomfortable for many female teachers – while men can assert themselves, women are not so easily listened to. There are also issues of female *pardah* (female)

There is also a transport issue, specifically for women. Allowance from the government ranges from 1500 to 3,000 rupees depending on scale. This is insufficient to cover monthly cost of transport. The issue is not just of cost but also of overly long distances (female)

Salary & promotion

Salary increment is no more than 5-7% which translated into merely Rs.1200-2000.

The system of promotions is not clear. The government says that the requirement is to improve qualifications to get promoted but even after that they are not sure how and when it will happen (female)

Teachers are paid so little that they have to give extra tuitions and supplement their incomes in other ways (female)

There is a good change as young teachers are coming but they don't stay for long as the pay is less. They come on contract basis and leave before they become permanent (female)

Non-teaching duties

Apart from teaching, there are various others tasks that teachers are supposed to perform.

Effort & accountability

Primary teachers face extreme burden as far as their performance is concerned. They are expected to deliver 100% result and nothing less!

With the new monitoring system in place, the teachers are not allowed to take a day off even in case of death in family. Due to this, on those days when monitoring staff does not

visit the school teachers do not come even if there is not any genuine issue.

Visits by the monitoring cell are unproductive because many people tend to lie to the monitors about their attendance and holidays etc. This is because they come only once in a while and there is no way to keep daily checks (female)

There is hardly any monitoring of schools to see whether they are functioning well. The DEOs and EDOs are supposed to visit schools, but many go to the zonal head and tell the school representatives to bring their registers to the zonal head to check attendance of teachers.

Assessment

Students are taught by Primary school teachers where as their exams are marked by BSc teachers which means both students as well as teachers' performance is not measured according to fair means.

Pedagogy and syllabus

The syllabus also gets changed every year and the new books are not easily available until half of the academic year has already passed.

Policy & teacher consultation

The Government keeps on switching the medium of instruction from English to Urdu, without taking teachers into confidence

There is lack of enrollment (in schools) because of English medium policy.

Lack of clarity of roles in the education department.

Government policy has been divisive in provincializing teachers.

Corruption is rife in the education department

Government might involve head teachers in the policy making but they definitely don't take our inputs before devising any educational policy (female)

How have teachers' unions been able to engage with these concerns, and what role have they played in amplifying them? Do they act as mediators between the government departments and teachers?

Associations themselves don't know what the problems are.

There is no forum for teachers' views. No support is provided by the Education Secretary. Secretary is not ready to talk to any union. There is no formal method or forum for talks with the government. Only when we announce a strike does the government become attentive towards us.

Teachers' union opinions are not asked for in any policy making decisions.

Only those union members who have any political connections can access the government officials.

The unions have been pressurized over the years and have been quashed under this pressure. Before if teachers had any issues they could consult union leaders who would find a solution or steps to make things better. Now there is no systematic mechanism within the unions.

(Notes from meeting, 12 March 2016, Lahore, Pakistan)

The FGD respondents also collectively agreed that whilst historically their concerns had been 'listened to' this was not the current state of affairs with one respondent claiming '*the future is dismal for unions as they are seen with suspicious eyes.*' There was also general dissatisfaction with a lack of communication channels to voice views and concerns with the government resulting in teachers needing to resort to strike action and even then one female respondent stated that the teachers were prevented from leaving schools to join in the strike action. Whilst unions in Pakistan do tend to reflect their members' voices, however they themselves have not escaped from institutional challenges with many organizations suffering from lack of professionalism, financial constraints and elite and political capture. Additionally, they lack the support of legal frameworks therefore often resorting to informal and individual means of negotiation rather than operating as collective bargaining agents (Alif Ailaan, 2015, p. 16).

The previous box illustrates that FGD respondents often mentioned salary increases as their key concern. One respondent stated '*We have been demanding increase in salary but it has been increased by only a meager amount (1500-3000 rupees depending on teacher's scale).*'

Several newspaper articles collectively show evidence of teachers striking or threatening to strike over salary issues with one particularly disturbing article suggesting that teachers were threatening to commit suicide and go on hunger strike for not being paid their salaries on time in a part of Pakistan⁴³.

Unions in India also provide a mechanism through which teachers can air their concerns and potentially mitigate them through communication and collaboration or more radically through lobbying, demonstrating or through strike action. Moreover, political engagement by teachers may also be a means for them to garner favours that benefit them directly. As mentioned in the sections above, relatively little data has tended to exist on the political activity of teachers, but an early unique and bespoke survey of 1220 teachers in 258 schools in two Indian states, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar presented some interesting statistics (Kingdon, 2009, Mimeo). The survey⁴⁴ covered government and aided and unaided private schools (aided schools are fully funded by the state and have limited autonomy, while unaided schools are fully autonomous fee paying schools) at both the primary and secondary level and asked questions relating not only to teachers characteristics, but also their activities other than teaching (such as provision of private tuition), union and political connections and activities, transfer postings, participation in strikes/protests and educational litigation, attitudes towards teaching, problems faced by teachers, perceptions of cheating and corruption in teaching and perceptions of students of different genders and castes.

Both these states - Uttar Pradesh and Bihar - are bicameral states in that their legislatures have an Upper House (called the Legislative Council) and a Lower House (called the Legislative Assembly). This yields two possible types of connections, those connected to Members of the Legislative Council (MLC's) and those connected to Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLA's). The table below (Table 10) depicts the extent of politicization of teachers in these two states with a vast majority of publically paid teachers (those in government or private aided schools) reporting membership of teacher unions in both

⁴³ <http://www.teachersolidarity.com/blog/primary-teachers-in-pakistan-threaten-suicide-over-unpaid-salaries/>

⁴⁴ The data collection was funded by the RECOUP Research Programme Consortium on Outcomes of Education for Pro-poor Development. We gratefully acknowledge the comments of Dr. Rukmini Banerjee, Mr. Sarvendra Vikram Singh and Dr. Pedro Vicente in improving the questionnaire, and the assistance of Mr. Pranav Chaudhari of Sunai Pvt. Ltd. in collecting the data. The data were collected in 2007-2008.

states. The table also shows that secondary school teachers (at least in these 2 states) are more likely to be politically connected than primary school teachers as they form the Electoral College from which teacher politicians are chosen.

Table 10: Extent of Politicization of Teachers in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, India (2008)

	Government			Private Aided			Private Unaided		
Bihar									
	Primary	Secondary	Total	Primary	Secondary	Total	Primary	Secondary	Total
Met or know MLC	0.05	0.34	0.17		0.25	0.25	0.05	0.00	0.03
Met or know MLA	0.08	0.21	0.13		0.75	0.75	0.10	0.20	0.13
Unionized	0.71	0.87	0.78		1.00	1.00	0.04	0.40	0.15
Uttar Pradesh									
	Primary	Secondary	Total	Primary	Secondary	Total	Primary	Secondary	Total
Met or know MLC	0.05	0.23	0.10		0.48	0.48	0.06	0.23	0.15
Met or know MLA	0.07	0.26	0.12		0.35	0.35	0.06	0.20	0.14
Unionized	0.85	0.84	0.85		0.85	0.85	0.05	0.37	0.22

Source: Kingdon (2009), mimeo

There are a number of different ways in which unionization and political connections may benefit teachers, from higher pay to obtaining favourable transfers to gaining support in disputes. Officially no such benefits should exist, with pay being bureaucratically fixed to seniority and qualifications in government and private aided schools. The table below (Table 11) shows a disaggregated picture of some possible benefits to unionization and political connections. Politically connected indicates that the respondents has met or knows either a MLA or a MLC. There are noticeable differences in all outcomes to either being a union member or knowing a politician. Unionized and politically connected teachers are on average paid more, are more likely to have received a transfer, more likely to vote on block and have been involved in an education related court case than those who are not. However, these differences in means for the groups are no means conclusive, rather may reflect shared characteristics among politically connected members which may increase their pay, or make them more likely seek transfers.

Table 11: Potential benefits to teacher politics and unionization, India (2008)

		Salary per month (Rupees)		Have personally been involved in court case	
		Bihar	UP	Bihar	UP
Union member	No	4831	8840	0.02	0.03
	Yes	11004	13003	0.06	0.08
Met or know MLA	No	8160	8096	0.04	0.06
	Yes	15736	13976	0.13	0.11
Met or know MLC	No	3099	7306	0.04	0.04
	Yes	10271	10290	0.10	0.18
Politically connected	No	6894	6891	0.04	0.04
	Yes	11576	10644	0.09	0.14
		Have you had a transfer in the last 5 years?		Vote on block	
		Bihar	UP	Bihar	UP
Union member	No	0.13	0.21	0.24	0.27
	Yes	0.27	0.29	0.42	0.57
Met or know MLA	No	0.21	0.27	0.36	0.44
	Yes	0.38	0.33	0.45	0.59
Met or know MLC	No	0.20	0.26	0.35	0.42
	Yes	0.39	0.46	0.48	0.63
Politically connected	No	0.20	0.26	0.35	0.42
	Yes	0.36	0.38	0.46	0.61

Notes: Politically connected is equal to one if respondents report having met or knowing either an MLA or MLC.

Source: Kingdon (2009, Mimeo)

In the RECOUP questionnaire, teachers were explicitly asked the problems they wished unions to take up with government. Table 12 reports teachers' self-reported responses to a list

of issues they wanted their union to take up. We include here the responses only from teachers who are a member of a union. While there are slight differences across states, in the main the reasons for joining a union are clear – to ensure higher salaries and timely

payment of salaries. Only a quarter of teachers in Bihar and 14% in UP state benevolent reasons such as improving facilities for pupils, while over 2/3rd of teachers state explicitly they think unions should campaign for higher wages. Salary issues aside, unionized teachers listed a number of other requests, with approximately 1 in 5 teachers wanting the teacher union to assist in transfer and promotions, 18-20% asking for better working conditions, 23-33% complaining about infrastructure and 18-29% asking for an extra teacher.

Table 12: Teacher responses on what agenda should the teacher union follow? (%), India 2008

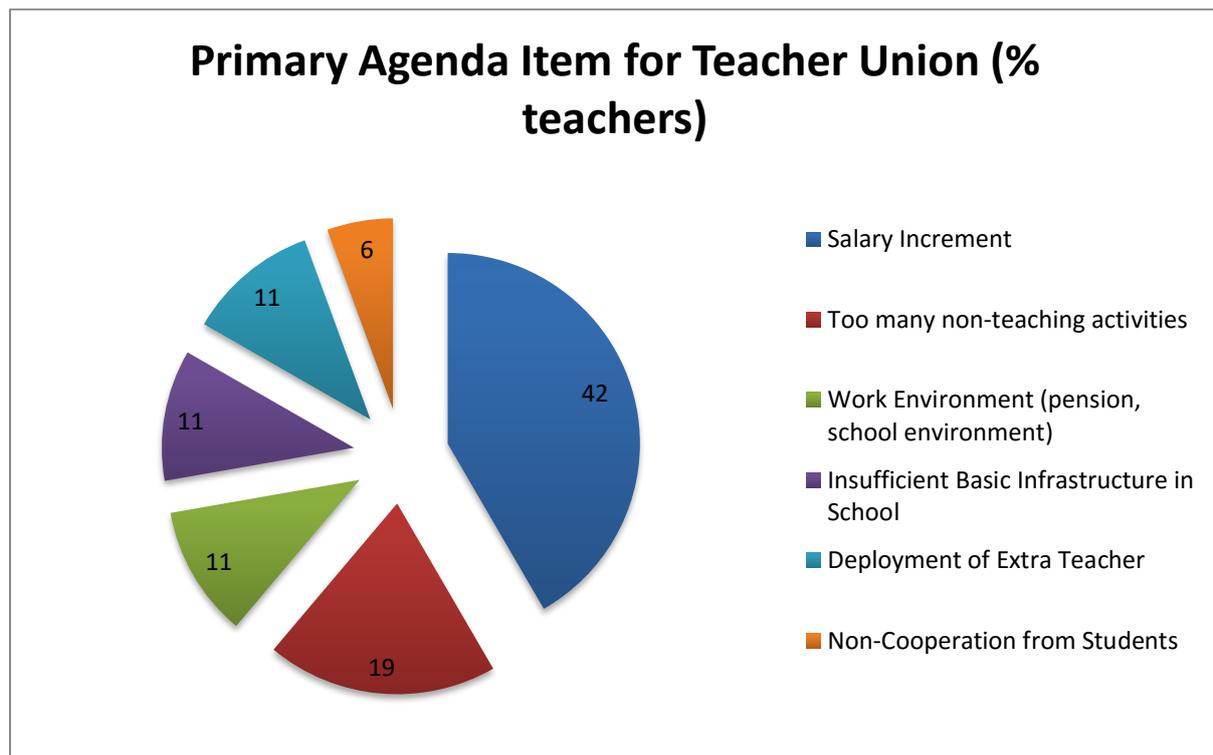
Answers from unionized teachers only		
	Bihar	UP
Raise salary	70	66
Non teaching duties	27	14
Working conditions	18	20
Insufficient infrastructure	33	23
Deployment of extra teacher	18	29
Better facilities for pupils	26	14
Lack of learning material for teachers	6	2
Salary not on time	40	38
Training	17	8
Transfer and promotion	22	20
Insufficient teachers	15	35
Non-cooperation students	3	6
Non-cooperation parents	13	25

Source: Kingdon (2009, Mimeo)

A more recent survey, albeit at a much smaller scale (50 teachers), in Tamil Nadu (ABL Teachers' Survey 2015) also paints a similar picture with 42% of the teachers entreating their unions to support salary increments followed by 19% complaining about non-teaching obligations and 11% not satisfied with their work environment (Figure 12). This data also reflects the non-altruistic nature of teachers' demands to their unions. SchoolTELLS India

(2008) presented similar results with salary-related issues (increment and timing of salary payment) being cited by 40% of sampled teachers as being the main issues brought forth to their teacher unions for discussion.

Figure 12: Primary agenda items brought to the attention of teacher unions (% teachers), Tamil Nadu, India (2015)



Source: Authors' calculations from ABL Teachers' Survey (2015)

6. Conclusion and recommendations: Teaming up with teachers to transform education systems

'The problem is well understood by teachers, they should be provided the opportunity to provide solutions. The problem is that teachers are not part of the solution'.

(FGD Respondent, 2016)

This section summarizes the key findings of this report and aims to provide direction for the future in light of varied evidence presented. We provide two examples that showcase two contrary states of play – one instance where teachers do not appear to have been consulted

at all during a major policy shift and another where they were fully engaged and taken on board an innovative and pioneering pedagogic shift. Both reforms were radical in nature and directly impacted teachers and ultimately affected their pupils. However, as can be seen in Box 4 below, the efficacy of these two reforms have been influenced by the approach adopted by policy-makers and the levels of engagement and communication they had with one of the most critical stakeholders and implementers – the teachers.

Box 4: Contrasting states of play – the case of two reforms

This case study identifies 2 different reforms – one in Pakistan that changed the medium of instruction in government primary schools from Urdu to English in 2009 and was met by intense dissatisfaction and resistance from the teachers. The other reform discussed is the Activity Based Learning reform which was undertaken in the state of Tamil Nadu in India. This reform, despite being a complete pedagogic shift that effectively required significantly greater effort on part of the teachers, was nevertheless successfully rolled out across the state and has been lauded both nationally as well as internationally as an acclaimed educational reform. The contrasting ways in which the governments across the two countries involved and engaged the teachers provide an interesting example of how reform efforts can be successfully undertaken *with* teachers irrespective of teachers' initial reservations.

Scenario 1: Medium of Instruction – The Language Conundrum in Pakistan

One major reform which has come to light as particularly controversial in Pakistan is that relating to the medium of instruction in government primary schools in the country. In March, 2009, the Government of Punjab (GoP) announced a radical and significant policy shift aimed at introducing English as the medium of instruction in public schools from almost immediate effect. This policy shift, in principal meant that all instruction in Mathematics, Science and Computer Science was to be undertaken in English from grade 1.

Teachers have shown solidarity in vehemently opposing this reform and the respondents of the FGD expressed similar views with one respondent claiming that *'The unions were never*

asked about changes in the language policy...teachers are against the policy of teaching English in secondary school as after studying for so many years in Urdu and/or Punjabi it is difficult for students to move to English...teachers (themselves) also find it difficult to teach in English.' The strength of teacher resistance and pressure was demonstrated in February 2014 when the provincial government in Punjab announced that it would revert its decision to implement English as a medium of instruction in government schools. The government announced that amidst pressure by teachers, it had decided to switch back to Urdu for teaching until grade 3. Whilst teachers welcomed this decision, they claimed that even using English as medium of instruction from grade 4 is detrimental for a child's learning experience. However, the education department reiterated that there would be no review of this matter in the near future despite teacher demands that this provision be extended further to grade 5⁴⁵. As a result of this controversy, the British Council recommended that policy makers should involve teachers and head teachers in consultations prior to implementing policies, help teachers in developing lesson plans in order to facilitate effective teaching according to program requirements and most importantly incentivise teachers, for example in relation to this reform teachers should have been appropriately incentivised to improve their language skills in order to effectively deliver the reform and for it to have its intended outcomes. This was highlighted in a report produced by the Directorate of Staff Development in partnership with Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA), which revealed that 62 per cent of the private schools' teachers and 56 per cent of those in public sector lacked basic knowledge of English and that most of the remaining teachers were found to be at beginners' level⁴⁶. This provides an example of a situation where teachers' opinions were not garnered at all in the design or implementation stages, and crucially they weren't even equipped with the appropriate tools (English Language training) to implement the reform adequately. Consequently, this provides an example where on the surface teachers have been portrayed as simply resisting change. However, in reality they were faced with a reform that placed unreasonable job expectations on them, given their existing skill levels, without supplemental training or resources that would have enabled them to effectively implement this agenda whether or not they agreed with it⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/684708/medium-of-instruction-english-to-urdu-and-back/>

⁴⁶ https://www.britishcouncil.pk/sites/default/files/peeli-oyo_report_final_with_correction_low_res.pdf

⁴⁷ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1049643>

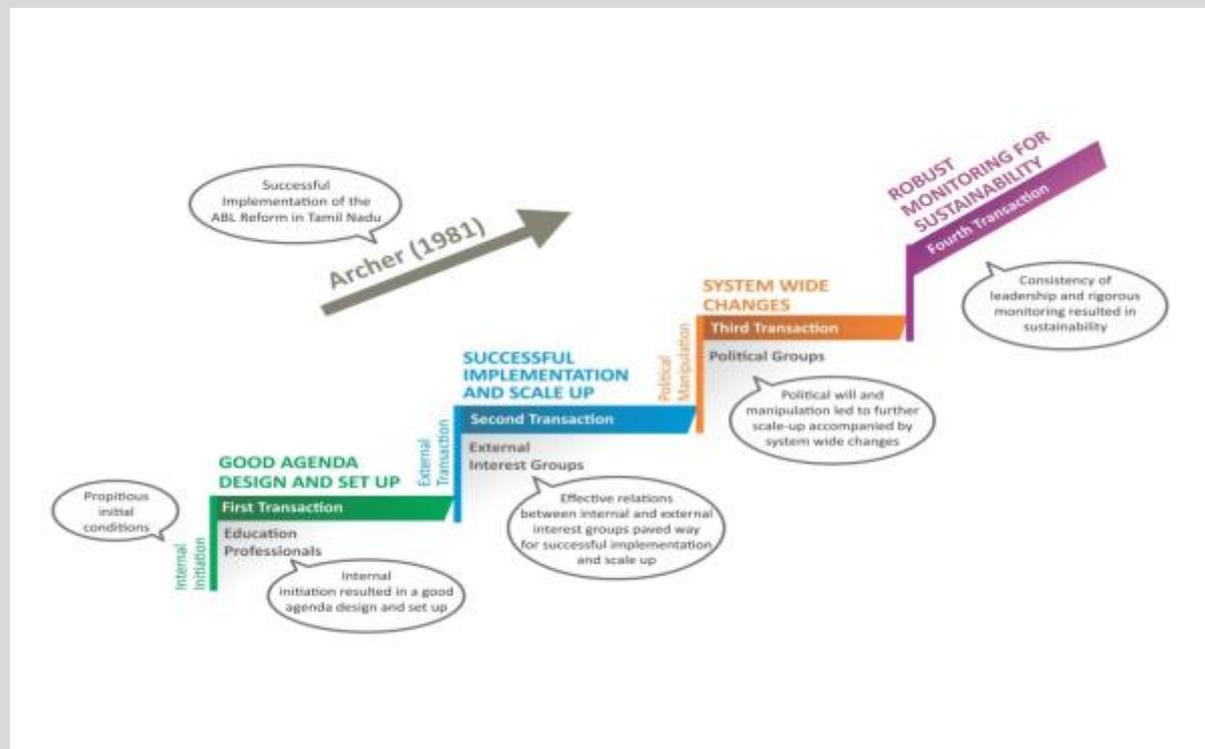
Scenario 2: Activity Based Learning - India

(Aslam & Rawal, 2016, Synthesis Report on Activity Based Learning, funded by Department For International Development)

ABL, introduced in Tamil Nadu, India, provides an example of a pedagogical innovation that involved a pioneering re-modelling of not only the physical classroom space but also the role of the teacher that resulted in a pedagogic shift that allowed teachers to effectively deal with large class sizes, encouraged children to take control of their own learning, as well as leveraging the use of learning materials and peer-peer learning. What makes this story exceptional is that not only was it a significant departure from the status quo, but it was accepted and supported by all stakeholders (including teachers) and then replicated in an exceptional manner. From its humble beginnings as merely an idea, to being piloted in only 13 schools in Chennai district, it then became the norm of schooling across a state – Tamil Nadu – far larger than many countries. Furthermore, this remarkable initiative then emerged in various guises the world over despite limited robust evidence of its effectiveness.

Tamil Nadu's ABL programme has been cited as a successful anomaly from the political economy perspective (Kingdon & Bedi, 2016). ABL was not only effectively designed, but the reform was also successfully implemented and scaled-up as per the design, albeit with some resistance. Furthermore, this educational change was advanced by an apparently smooth system-wide change and support in terms of teacher training and curriculum change. It was also accepted and upheld by critical stakeholders especially teachers. To add to this, the ABL reform has withstood the test of time, being sustained over the past eleven years, even with the state government changing three times in the given period. Archer's (1981) theoretical model can be used to explain Tamil Nadu's overall ABL execution phenomenon with its three types of transactions (internal initiation by education professionals, external transaction involving relations between internal and external interest groups and political manipulation by political groups). In addition to these, two further elements have been

identified by Kingdon and Bedi (2016) in recent research – firstly, ‘initial propitious conditions’ and secondly, a fourth transaction classified as ‘stringent monitoring for sustainability’. A summary of the theoretical framework as applied to ABL in this study is depicted in the figure below:

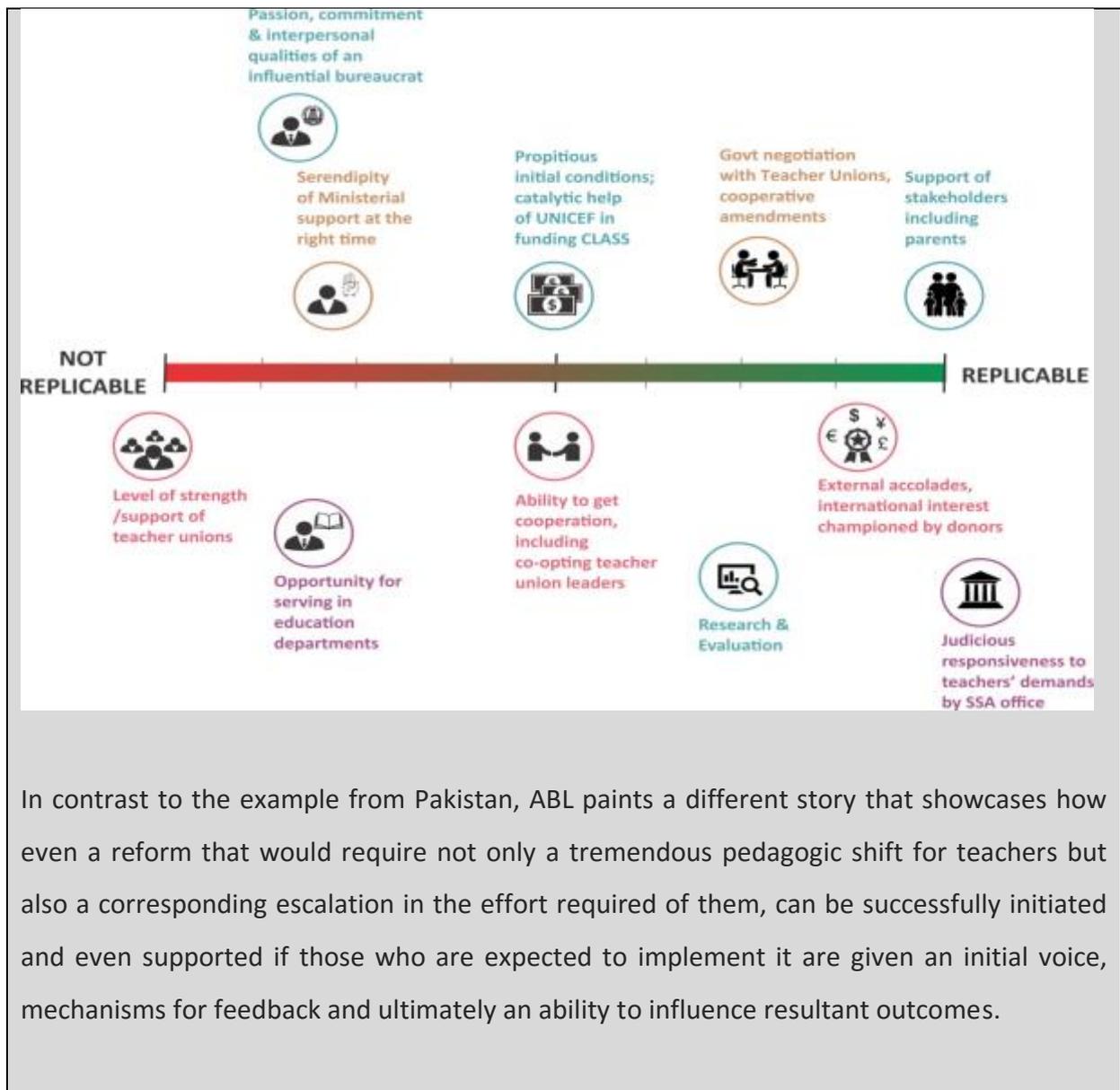


The effectiveness of this reform has been attributed to several factors including propitious initial conditions, key champions to the cause who held crucial education positions in government, the management of effective relationships, leveraging the system ensure training requirements were met etc. Among them, however, the role of teachers was critical. A unique feature cited as key to the this success story has been the generation of a critical mass wherein volunteer teachers were directly involved in the design and testing of the cards used in this reform in the early stages as well as the ability of newly recruited teachers to drive the design process further. A ‘sense of ownership’ was also key in driving this reform to successful fruition. The roll out of ABL in Tamil Nadu indicates that the sensitization to the ABL programme by observing the original pedagogy in its fullest form was the most powerful catalyst to ensure that teachers become agents of change and feel a strong sense of ownership. In cases where there was a truncated training of a week or ten days, as in the case of a late adopter neighbouring state, Puducherry where this reform did not see similar success, there is an

inadequate understanding of the value of ABL. Where this was compounded by a tardy delivery of teaching materials, books and cards, the teachers were unable to teach a full ABL pedagogic approach, and it fizzled out. Collaboration and involvement of teachers into the design and ultimate roll out of the reform appear to be critical features in its success. This was coupled with system wide changes that involved training of teachers in this new pedagogy as well as effective 'political management' that reduced opposition to the reform, ensured sustained availability of funds and co-opted the key stakeholders into taking this reform forward.

With teacher unions providing an importance voice and avenue for recourse, a crucial question to ask is why they accepted, permitted and supported ABL in Tamil Nadu despite the fact that the methodology demanded more effort from them? Kingdon and Bedi (2016) propose four potential reasons for this. Firstly, they suggested and supported the view with evidence that teacher unions in Tamil Nadu are relatively weak. Secondly, they highlighted the fact that jettisoning ABL was not a priority in the list of teacher union demands and therefore it took lower priority in their core demands from the state. Thirdly, the degree of opposition was low potentially due to the fact that where the small proportion of teachers did resist, this was handled through negotiation and cooperation. Finally, the majority of teachers inherently believed that ABL was a good methodology with potential to improve student learning.

Factors explaining the successful implementation, scale-up and sustainability of ABL in Tamil Nadu, India



Teachers' political presence is now starting to be documented in the South Asia Region. This study has indicated that teachers are a powerful force in many parts of India, Pakistan and to some extent Bangladesh. This research has shown examples of instances where teachers are a force for good and even in situations where they have been perceived to be a destructive force, in actuality it can be argued that this was a stance of last resort. Ensuring that the strength and influence of the teaching cadre is channelled for the benefit of students rather than for their own personal gain should be seen to be as important a policy goal as any. Resultantly, in many situations, governments find themselves caught in low-level equilibriums particularly in relation to teacher remuneration. Historically, governments operate at extremes of the spectrum, either giving in completely to teacher demands or

totally ignoring their voice. Going forward, striking a balance between these two is necessary for the constructive involvement of teachers into the reform process both to garner their own professional status and service provisions as well for the improvement of educational quality and equity for the larger student population.

In light of the changing global educational environment, the agenda the world over is shifting from one focusing on access/quantity to one driven mainly by quality considerations. Most of the reforms undertaken to increase access have not met with much resistance and this not surprising as these reforms constitute the creation of more jobs for teachers, increased resources as well as increases in their power along with increased visible benefits for politicians. Conversely, the quality-focussed reforms of late have met more resistance the world over as these have typically involved job-losses, required greater accountability and effort, enhanced monitoring and generally placed greater scrutiny and pressure on teachers and the expectations from them (Grindle, 2004: 6). In light of this, governments the world over need to recognise that this new landscape requires an adapted and more visionary approach. Maintaining a status quo or turning a blind eye to teachers' organised affairs is no longer a viable or desirable option.

Some of the key policy pointers emerging from our discussion in this report are listed below:

- **Collaboration and consultation with teachers:** Ensuring that when policies are designed at the upper tiers of government, ground realities are borne in mind. Crucial to this is recognizing that teachers play a pivotal role in the implementation of policies, many of which have a huge impact on their day to day workings. Additionally, effective policy implementation and subsequent results cannot be expected if the teaching force, a crucial stakeholders are held at arm's length and viewed with suspicions when they can rightly be the key driving force in the policy team. This research would, therefore, encourage with all stakeholders from the beginning through to the end of the policy journey. And whilst teachers may present resistance to reforms (especially those that directly affect their own wellbeing), this has been shown to be successfully alleviated through negotiations, adapting policies in light of teacher input where necessary and most importantly by keeping channels

of communication open and transparent. For example, where policies affect teaching work-loads or require a different skills set, mechanisms should be put into place to provide support to teachers to meet these needs.

- **Encourage well-structured teacher organisations:** Teacher unions, associations and organisations in the three countries studied have been found mostly to be largely excluded from the reform discourse. Well-structured organisations can be useful mechanisms not only for voicing concerns or discontent of the teachers but also an effective means for channelling government ideas. However, elite capture, politicisation and organisational dysfunction have meant that not only do the union members feel disheartened and unable to express their views but the governments are also increasingly wary of their activities. An unfortunate consequence of this is the culmination of teacher discord into boycotting classrooms or even violent conflicts. The ultimate loss is that of the student. However, by both governments and unions working together could result in gains in each of them respectively but most importantly for the students.
- **Professionalization could provide legitimacy and credibility:** It is important for the government to encourage the development of professionally strong and credible associations to drive quality education. Effectively functioning and legitimate organisations that can effectively set quality standards among their participants are key to this process. One possible solution that may work in certain contexts would be for the government to encourage unions/associations to become ‘professional organisations’ responsible for setting their own standards as with doctors, lawyers etc. These associations should also be backed with legitimacy and credibility throughout the reform process.
- **Develop School Management Committees:** In South Asia, School Management Committees (SMCs) have been an under-utilised resource. SMCs could form a truly representative body where all are stakeholders involved because they comprise of parents, teachers and community members. This unique composition, if given the

appropriate structure, legitimacy and voice, could provide a useful avenue for dialogue between those on the ground administering policy and those creating it.

- **Make key appointments in government utilising teacher expertise:** Lessons from the ABL case study highlight the importance of influential leaders or champions of reform. The ability of government to make key appointments and form skilled technical reform-design teams can be a driving force that provides impetus and propels the reform agenda whilst garnering the support of crucial players (Grindle, 2004). Our report appears to suggest that these teams should incorporate members of the teaching force or constitute individuals who are known to be held in esteem by the teaching body. An example of this is provided by the role played by MP Vijaykumar in the promotion of the ABL agenda. The dynamism of Vijaykumar has been highlighted as a critical component in not only catalysing the initial reforms but in also championing the cause and managing effective relationships in order to generate in order to generate a critical mass of support.
- **Professionalise the teacher force:** steps can be taken by governments to ensure the establishment of acceptable minimum qualifications for the teaching cadres as well as the establishment of a professional body or association to oversee the conduct of members within the teaching profession. Giving teachers more influence over the curriculum and budgets or through creating opportunities for collaboration through mentoring programmes and career ladders can all have a positive impact on teachers' commitment and efficacy. However, such initiatives cannot be implemented in isolation. To ensure meaningful change, they must be coupled with improvements in teachers' pedagogy and content knowledge.
- **Provide teachers with the requisite tools:** SchoolTELLS surveys in India and Pakistan have attempted to measure teacher competencies in rural areas and are strikingly revealing of poor levels of competence especially amongst Maths teachers. There is a noticeable lack of content knowledge and inability to explain the curriculum as well as a poor ability to spot mistakes made by students. Teachers themselves acknowledge that they have difficulties in Mathematics teaching further highlighting

an often raised concern with a lack of subject specific teachers (Dundar et al. 2014). This coupled with the fact that policies often presume a given level of skill amongst teachers has resulted in several policies not achieving the desired outcomes. For example, the medium of instruction policy in Pakistan would have benefitted greatly had teachers been initially consulted and subsequently given the requisite training. Even a lauded programme such as ABL has been mired by inadequate training and materials. It is unfair to expect teachers to deliver on the weighty expectations of policy without appropriate apparatus and support. Policy makers are duty bound to ensure adequate provision of this at the design stage and a crucial aspect of that is to involve teachers from the start.

Finally, whilst this report has provided a landscape view, a crucial point to note is that there is no silver bullet and all prescriptions must be individually tailored to respond to very specific local needs and challenges.

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