Teacher Status
A Symposium

Edited by Anjum Halai

THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY
Institute for Educational Development

Teacher Status
A SYMPOSIUM

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Aga Khan University Institute for Educational Development
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Preface

In most societies, teachers’ role is considered to be pivotal in education process. However, in Pakistan, teachers’ role has not yet been fully recognized by the State or the society. Teachers are also under-valued, under-supported, and under-paid (Memon, 2007). Although all education policies highlight the importance of teachers in education there is a lack of viable framework for professional ethics and standards. Hence, there is a growing concern among teachers and others about the low status of teaching profession, which has badly affected their self-esteem, morale and self-efficacy. This issue has been further endorsed by the Government of Pakistan (2006) in its White Paper on Education. While not enough research is conducted in Pakistan to understand the issues and dilemmas of teacher status, a generally held opinion amongst educators and others indicates that the profession has suffered due to lack of academic standards, content knowledge, professional knowledge and competence, professional ethics, teachers’ professional autonomy and working conditions, recognition of teachers’ work, teachers’ poor preparation, negative image in society about teachers, teachers’ own image about themselves, and their low salary and other incentives.

Since teaching has not received its due recognition in Pakistan, a school graduate prefers to pursue higher/professional studies for medicine, law, engineering, accounting, etc, but not towards teaching. All key professions have their own professional bodies (i.e., Pakistan Medical and Dental Council, Pakistan Engineering Council, etc) but such professional organization does not exist for teaching profession. Hence, it has become a ‘subsidiary’ rather than a ‘core’ profession for many graduates in Pakistan.

In today’s fast paced world, teaching has become a highly complex and multidimensional. Hence teachers require updated and adequate knowledge of curriculum, assessment, professional knowledge and skills, positive attitude, academic pursuit, organizational and interpersonal skills for preparing young generation to meet the challenges of 21st century. Education reforms have become a world-wide agenda for enhancing quality of education. However, these reforms have yet to address the issue of teacher status, especially in the developing countries. In order to make these reforms successful, it is imperative that teacher status be elevated to empower them through professional autonomy, trust, confidence and respect. Hence, it is also essential for them to keep updating their expertise, knowledge and skills (UNESCO, 1966).
the Aga Khan, in his speech during the inauguration of AKU IED on November 18, 1994, said, ‘... the professional who does not have access to continuing education, dialogue with engaged peers or an important degree of control over professional work is both constrained and dispirited by these manifestations of low status’ (p.2). This implies that teachers are successful when they act as ‘life long learners’ and facilitators of students’ learning.

Through elevation of their status, teachers would become more creative agents of positive change and responsible for socialization and developing young as ‘inquiry-oriented minds’. Fullan (2003) has rightly said that teachers have to make difference at much deeper level. To him ‘...teaching a child to read is an important contribution, but inspiring him or her to be an enthusiastic, lifelong reader is another matter’ (p.29). Teachers’ improved performance, professionalism, accountability, academic and professional honesty, empowerment, and professional autonomy would also change the society’s perceptions. Therefore, teachers need to act like charismatic leaders (Fullan, 2001).

Issues of teacher status are often linked to the low salary package and lack of incentives which could be partly correct, however it should also be seen in a broader context by analyzing it from different perspectives, such as teachers’ morale, professional competence, academic qualification, and socio-economic structures. Merely recognizing teaching as a profession will not help improve teacher status until practical measures are taken. It is a collective responsibility of the government, teachers, educators, civil society, and professional organizations to develop a framework for enhancing teacher status.

The Aga Khan University–Institute for Educational Development (AKU-IED) has embarked upon the task of enhancing teacher status through improved professionalism, professional competence and knowledge. All programmatic activities of AKU-IED are geared towards enhancing teacher status in the country. It is evident that AKU-IED has begun transforming teachers as ‘critical reflective practitioners’ and ‘agents of positive change’ in their educational institutions.

In order to provide a platform for the community of practitioners and policy makers for identifying key policy measures that can help enhance teacher status in the country, AKU IED conducted a two-day national research seminar on Teacher Status in February 2007. The seminar critically examined the issues and dilemma of teacher status from three perspectives: i) professional competence
and knowledge, ii) socio-cultural, and iii) economic aspects. Three key papers were presented followed by interactive discussions and dialogues on the status of teachers and its related issues. The seminar provided a vibrant avenue where teachers, teacher educators and others actively participated.

The seminar deliberations and discourses have been documented in a monograph form, possibly the first attempt in the country to examine teacher status through dialogue. Every possible effort is made to ensure that this monograph has captured the gist of all discussions and recommendations for the policy makers, civil society and community of practitioners including educators, practitioners, and researchers to rethink teacher status so that this profession could be brought at par with other professions in the country.

The seminar’s Organizing Committee deserves credit and congratulations for their hard work and timely publication of the monograph. Well done!

Muhammad Memon, PhD
Director AKU-IED

References


### Institutional Abbreviations Used

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<tr>
<td>AEPAM</td>
<td>Academy of Educational Planning &amp; Management</td>
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<td>AIOU</td>
<td>Allama Iqbal Open University</td>
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<td>AKU-IED</td>
<td>Aga Khan University Institute for Educational Development</td>
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<td>BOC</td>
<td>Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing</td>
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<td>IER</td>
<td>The Institute of Education and Research</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>MAP</td>
<td>Mathematics Association of Pakistan</td>
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<td>NEAS</td>
<td>National Education Assessment System</td>
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<td>PITE</td>
<td>Provincial Institute for Teacher Education</td>
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<td>SAP</td>
<td>Science Association of Pakistan</td>
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<td>SHADE</td>
<td>School Headteacher Association for Development of Education</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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Introduction

Anjum Halai, AKU-IED, Karachi, Pakistan

Current global imperatives such as Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals focus on quality as an integral element of education, and Pakistan is a signatory to these global initiatives on provision of quality education. Moreover, various education policies have increasingly made commitments to the provision of quality education. (e.g. Ministry of Education, 1998, 2002). However, the current status of education shows that there are several issues in provision of quality education in Pakistan. Many of these issues pertain to the status of teachers and the teaching profession.

Given the significance of issues pertaining to teachers’ status, AKU-IED organised a research symposium on this theme. A purpose of this symposium was to engage researchers, practitioners, academicians and other stakeholders in deliberation on issues regarding teachers’ status, and to develop recommendations for policy makers and other stakeholders in addressing the issues identified. At the symposium, teachers’ status was examined from at least three main dimensions: knowledge dimension; socio-cultural dimension; and, economic dimension.

Knowledge Dimension: Presentations and discussion under this dimension took account of research on issues related to teachers’ knowledge and competencies and their implications for low teacher status. Issues explored included teachers’ inadequate knowledge and preparation, low proportion of qualified teachers, minimum teacher qualification, teacher preparation, continuing teacher education, and other related policy initiatives.

Socio-cultural dimension: Papers and discussion under this dimension considered research and situation analysis of societal perceptions of teaching and teachers and their implications for the status of teachers. Teachers’ role in society, teachers’ selection, government’s perception of teachers’ role and status, and related policy initiatives were some of the issues covered.

Economic dimension: This dimension was based on research and situation analysis pertaining to teachers’ financial status and related issues such as their
salary, rewards, recognition and remuneration, and related policy initiatives, and the implications of these for teachers’ status in society.

Participants in the symposium represented a range of stakeholders in education including teachers, policy makers, academicians, practitioners, educational managers, parents and students. Key figures from the field of education and/or development in Pakistan were invited to deliver papers on the three dimensions noted above. In addition to these formal invited papers the symposium also featured panel and group discussions where a larger cross section of participants deliberated on issues and questions that arose as a result of the papers presented. These discussions were meticulously recorded and documented.

This monograph comprises of five chapters. The first four chapters are keynote papers that were presented in the symposium. Chapter 1 presents the authors’ perspective on status of teachers and identifies a range of issues and challenges that arise because of the low status accorded to teachers and teaching in Pakistan and more broadly. Chapter 2 deliberates upon the quality of teachers’ subject matter knowledge and their pedagogical competence in the light of the findings of some empirical studies and its implications for status of teachers and teaching. Chapter 3 looks at teacher status from an economic dimension i.e. working conditions, remuneration and other material benefits. The fourth chapter draws upon the life histories of three teachers to consider the factors rooted in our society and culture which contribute to a perceived low teacher status and its implications for the teaching profession. Finally, the fifth chapter is a synthesis of the keynote presentations, deliberations and discussions during the symposium and draws implications and recommendations for policy and practice.
Perspectives on Teacher Status: Issues and Challenges

Nilofar Vazir, AKU-IED, Karachi, Pakistan
John Retallick, AKU-IED, Karachi, Pakistan

Introduction

Teaching and learning are fundamental elements of human societies. The desire and necessity for education is inherent in all human beings and modern societies have established schools to facilitate this process. In fact, the very survival and advancement of humanity depends on the ancient and noble profession of teaching.

The importance of teachers and the societal expectations placed on them can be seen in the formidable task of translating into reality the vision outlined in the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) and reaffirmed in the 2000 Dakar Framework for Action. Teachers are at the forefront of the struggle to achieve EFA goals. Furthermore, the constitution of UNESCO adopted in London on 16 November 1945 begins with these words: “Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed”. This underlines the importance of teaching in the modern world as well as the importance of fostering a competent and motivated teaching force, since the values of peace must be taught and learnt (Sheikh & Iqbal, 2003).

The development of an effective education system in Pakistan has been marked by a slow growth pattern. There are many reasons for this though an important one is that the pivotal role of teachers as key players in the development of a quality education system has not been sufficiently recognized. Teachers have not been regarded as an essential factor in the quality of education and the prominent and respectable position that teachers once held among the masses has been undermined. Whilst it is accepted that there are many hard-working and dedicated teachers in schools in Pakistan, the situation is such that their efforts are largely unrecognized because the overall status of teachers is low.

From a historical perspective, there has been a continuous downgrading of the status of teachers in Pakistan over the past thirty years or so. Nowadays, teaching in Pakistan is generally characterized by low efficiency and weak performance due to low self-esteem, inadequate salary structures, shortage of
teachers at all levels of education, an over-crowded curriculum and lack of subject content knowledge. Inadequate preparation of prospective teachers is a major issue in maintaining standards and ensuring the quality in education. Abbasi and Khokar (1994, p. 1) state some reasons for despair: “teacher training suffered due to an insufficient training system, multi-grade classrooms taught by a single teacher, over-crowding in classes, lack of equipment, short supply of textbooks and lack of proper physical facilities.”

The authors further contend that some of the over-arching issues and problems are:

- heavy theoretical training;
- imbalance of distribution of staff with particular reference to males and females and rural-urban distribution;
- inadequately staffed, managed, equipped and monitored institutions;
- lack of optimizing lessons and gains from foreign-aided programs;
- insufficient and loose collaboration, coordination and communication among the various departments; and,
- lack of policy analysis and strategic planning, implementation and evaluation.

A move from the dominant conventional training to open learning approaches, a need to motivate the teaching force, and adequate research to inform alternatives for effective training are all urgently required. From an international perspective, Hargreaves and Earl (1996) explain that such shortcomings can be addressed if certain features of schools are made more conducive for teachers and teaching, such as the nature of the act of teaching, the concept of teacher thinking and the pedagogical influences on student learning. Amidst all the challenges, teachers survive conflicting pressures and have the potential agency for bringing about change. Although there are constraining structures within which teachers and others must operate, there is an enduring optimism that once teachers understand the oppressive conditions they can be empowered to fight against them and transform education (Gore, 1993).

The purpose of this paper is to raise various perspectives on teacher status along with some issues and challenges. The position we take is that the status of teachers and teaching in Pakistan is unacceptably low and must be enhanced if the overall quality of school education is to be improved. It is widely known that there are serious problems in school education, particularly in the government
sector and in rural areas (Khan, 2005). We wish to argue that an important path to reform is to enhance the status of teachers.

The Meaning of Teacher Status

The status accorded to teachers has a significant impact on the composition of the teaching force and the quality of teaching. Attracting skilled and committed individuals and retaining them in the teaching profession is a prerequisite for ensuring high quality education. The ILO/UNESCO (1966) recommendation concerning the status of teachers defines ‘status’ in the following words:

The expression “status” as used in relation to teachers means both the standing or regard accorded them, as evidenced by the level of appreciation of the importance of their function and of their competence in performing it, and the working conditions, remuneration and other material benefits accorded them relative to other professional groups.

Status is a relative term and can only be assessed in relation to its environment and the dynamics of society. The status of the teaching profession cannot be considered in isolation from the status of the education system in general. Differing concepts of education influenced by different cultural traditions also affect the status of teachers.

The ILO/UNESCO recommendation puts forth the following guiding principle for the status of teachers:

The status of teachers should be commensurate with the needs of education as assessed in the light of educational aims and objectives; it should be recognized that the proper status of teachers and due public regard for the profession of teaching are of major importance for the full realization of these aims and objectives.

Arising from the definitions, there are various perspectives on teacher status that will help to illuminate the issue. These include teaching as a profession compared with other professions, the social and economic status of teachers relative to other occupations and the extent of involvement of teachers in educational decision-making.
Teaching: Is it a Profession?

A profession is considered to be a vocation founded upon prolonged and specialized intellectual training which enables a particular service to be rendered. The term profession has been traced to sixteenth-century England where it probably referred primarily to divinity, law and medicine. Over the ensuing centuries other occupations have come to be regarded as professions and those who study the development and nature of professions tend to agree that certain criteria distinguish professions from other endeavours. These criteria include:

- Knowledge based on scientific theory
- An orientation to provide service
- A unique function
- Control over standards of education and training
- An extended period of professional socialization
- Some form of licensure or certification
- Licensing or certification boards staffed by members of the profession
- Influence over legislation related to the profession
- Relatively high prestige, earning potential, and power
- Relative autonomy
- Norms of practice or professional ethics
- Strong sense of professional identification by members
- Involvement based on career commitment


Does teaching satisfy the criteria of a profession? A consideration of the above criteria suggests that teaching is only a quasi-profession because it does not meet all the criteria to the same extent as other professions such as architecture, engineering, law or medicine. Duke (1990) however, suggests that an historical review of the criteria indicates that teaching has steadily progressed towards a greater degree of professionalization. It is also evident that more progress has been made in some countries around the world than in others.

The basic aim of teaching is to promote learning. Whilst that appears to be a simple proposition, it is actually a complex issue. The complexities arise from the varied conceptions of education, learning and other functions of schooling. Hence
the debate continues; what is worth learning and who is to determine what is worth learning? What is the purpose of schools and who is to decide what schools are for? What should teachers teach and how should they teach? In considering such questions a variety of perspectives on teaching unfold and uncertainties about the precise status of teaching as a mode of employment continue.

Teachers get paid for what they do. In that sense they are professionals rather than amateurs, and are entitled to be regarded as members of a profession. However, the words ‘profession’ and ‘professionalism’ can be interpreted in different ways. First, it does not follow from the fact that people get paid for what they do, that they are professionals. Second, those who have achieved ‘professional’ standards in some sphere of paid employment e.g. plumbers or carpenters, are not necessarily regarded as professionals.

From the perspective of professional education, Carr (2003) argues that the role and status of ‘reflection’ as a form of knowledge in teacher education and training may raise doubts about a very precise analogy between teaching and say, medicine. For instance in professional curriculum content, although there is no doubt that at least some teachers require scientific knowledge no less than doctors, there may be important differences between the ways in which such knowledge is utilized or implicated in the enterprises of medicine and education.

Teachers need more or less advanced knowledge in order to have content to teach their students, whereas doctors need knowledge (such as anatomy or physiology) to enable them to treat their patients. Whereas the enabling knowledge that doctors need is usually acquired in the professional academy, the content knowledge that teachers need is mostly acquired prior to entry to professional education and training - either through general secondary education (in the case of many primary teachers) or in the course of pre-service university study (in the case of many secondary and some primary teachers). Hence, teachers need professional courses not so much to know what to teach but more to know how to teach. On this view, the knowledge that teachers acquire in the academic contexts of professional training is somewhat like the scientifically informed technical know-how that doctors acquire in medical school.

However, in teacher education and training the practical knowledge and expertise of teaching is not obviously of the scientifically grounded technical kind upon which medical expertise is based. Most so-called ‘teaching skills’ are probably better regarded as qualities of ordinary human communication rather than as the results of scientific inquiry. Such considerations serve to reinforce the view in teacher education and training that the expertise of teachers is best
acquired by a ‘hands-on’ practical apprenticeship in the way of a trade rather than a profession.

It is often argued that policy and curriculum formulation is not the concern of teachers and that their role is the transmission of what is considered to be socially and economically useful by those to whom they are accountable. This viewpoint threatens to ‘de-professionalize’ teaching, and reduce it to a ‘white-collar job’ rather than a profession in the sense of medicine or law. Sadly, this perspective has been widely influential in contemporary conceptions of education and teaching, especially in Pakistan. Various groups have been inclined to blame a wide range of contemporary social and moral evils on the failure of teachers to transmit ‘traditional’ or ‘socially acceptable’ values to students and hence they are said to be unprofessional.

In this light, although the use of ‘professional’ and ‘unprofessional’ – of a job well or badly done is applicable to any occupation, it does not follow that any occupation may be regarded as a profession. Thus, although we can speak of teaching as an activity conducive to professional or unprofessional performance, in Carr’s (2003) view it is an open question whether teaching can or should be regarded as a profession.

Whilst we agree with Carr’s position, we would argue that every effort should be made to enhance the professionalism of teachers so that teaching will emerge in the future as a highly regarded profession with similar status to other well established professions.

Social and Economic Status of Teachers

An important criterion in determining the professional and academic status of teaching is that its members should have acquired a sound background of general education, subject matter specialization and effective preparation in the methods and techniques of teaching. The academic status of teachers refers to the prestige which teachers enjoy by virtue of the education they have received in schools and colleges, their professional competence and their personal commitment to and care for their students. Other things being equal, the higher the level of education a teacher has received, the higher his/her academic status.

Social Status

Though social status is a complex phenomenon, the following elements may enable us to gain a perspective on the social status of teachers in Pakistan.
**Professional pride.** Above all else, it is the pride with which teachers regard their own profession that helps determine their status. A profession is what its members make of it. If they hold it in high esteem and are proud of belonging to it, they will guard its interests and standards. It is the authority and the power of the profession which gives it social status. In Pakistan, teachers are generally perceived to have less authority and power as compared to other occupational groups such as Police, Customs Department, Revenue Department, Central Superior Services (CSS) Officers, etc. and hence they lack professional pride.

**Values of commitment and honesty.** Teachers’ commitment to their work is a major factor in determining the social status of teachers as ascribed to them by the community, parents and students. Whilst there are many highly committed teachers, it is widely known that some teachers in rural schools do not attend school regularly. As a result, the students and the community do not accept them as good teachers. A number of factors can be attributed to the syndrome of teachers’ absenteeism though a lack of professional commitment would be an important one.

A great misfortune in the immediate past in Pakistan has been a lack of honesty in personal, professional and public life. A pre-requisite for enhancing professionalism is an improvement in the standards of honesty and integrity and on this basis other reforms will be made. If this is not forthcoming the nation cannot achieve the objective of a citizenry that looks upon personal honesty as the basis of self-respect and that views professional positions and public offices as sacred trusts (Quddus, 1990).

**Degree of public recognition.** Public recognition of the service rendered by teachers is reflected, among other things, by national awards and by teachers being invited to serve on national committees and commissions. Teachers in Pakistan are rarely given representation in administrative, developmental or legislative bodies. Teachers’ social status is not something which can be enhanced solely through legislation. What is needed is a two-track approach which provides teachers with effective training, decent working conditions and remuneration and which at the same time demands unswerving commitment and dedication from them (Zafar, 1966, p. 139).

Though these elements of social status appear to be negative, there are also some quite positive images of teacher pride and commitment that are largely unrecognized and hence unrewarded. It is worthwhile to highlight these to provide a balanced picture. For example, the initiatives of various professional associations such as MAP, SPELT and SHADE (see Baber, Sarwar, & Safdar, 2005) have been achieved through extraordinarily high levels of commitment.
from some teachers and teacher educators throughout Pakistan. These and other associations are engendering pride in teaching and improved public recognition and deserve to be supported and fostered to grow.

**Economic Status**

Income or salary clearly forms a very important aspect of economic status. Teachers are generally lowly paid and in the prevailing economic circumstances the woefully underpaid “makers of the nation” have often been driven to desperate measures to push their urgent demands. There are reports that female teachers employed by small scale private primary schools are notoriously underpaid. The remuneration paid to teachers serving in Non-formal Basic Education (NFBE) schools, Mosque Schools or Adult Literacy Centres is generally very low and there is little job security. Although many teachers living in urban areas have to travel to and work in rural areas, they are normally not offered any monetary incentive or hardship allowance.

There are thousands of graduate and undergraduate teachers in the secondary schools who have long been struggling to make both ends meet while facing up to the responsibility of a difficult and demanding job. Enveloped as they are in the misery of distressing circumstances they cannot possibly rise to the professional status that, in principle, should be theirs. Reminders of their high station and noble mission can hardly serve as substitutes for reasonably respectable emoluments. Character building which is the basic aim of education cannot conceivably be achieved through the agency or influence of teachers who are constantly oppressed by the trials and hardships of a deplorably underpaid career.

Bright young people are not choosing teaching as a career because the conditions of life and work in the primary and secondary schools in Pakistan are, to say the least, unattractive. While it is true that there is, on the whole, a considerable shortage of able and qualified teachers to fill the growing requirements of education at all levels, it is equally true that without adequate improvement in salary scales for teachers the better or even tolerable types of recruits will not be drawn to the teaching profession. Without improving the quality of teachers the numerical expansion of schools is extremely unlikely to meet the needs.

Alongside of expanding facilities for training it is clearly necessary to take steps, at the national level, to provide for some modest improvement in the hiring and working conditions of primary and secondary school teachers. In some cases we continue to pay less to teachers than to any other ordinary functionaries and
there is obviously need for a saner, more informed attitude to educational problems. Much can sometimes be made of a mere numerical increase in training institutes or the number of teachers turned out by the various training centres. The important thing is to ensure that those employed as teachers are indeed enabled to give of their very best in reasonably satisfying conditions.

No less important is consideration for improving the lot of teachers responsible for higher education, as much is expected of the university teacher – a high degree of professional competence and great deal more hard work than at present. It is important, therefore, that teachers be given emoluments sufficient to keep them reasonably contented and amenities to provide an atmosphere conducive to creative academic life. Such amenities should include adequate residential accommodation, proper medical care, and pension or contributory provident fund. University teachers should also be granted leave for advanced study and research, if their performance has indicated that such leave will be properly utilized. This should prove beneficial to the university as well as to the teachers.

**Involvement in Educational Decision-making**

The ILO/UNESCO (1966) recommendation concerning the status of teachers emphasizes that the teaching profession should enjoy academic freedom in the discharge of its professional duties, through participation in educational decision-making. It should be given a central role in the:

- Choice and selection of teaching materials and teaching aids.
- Selection of textbooks and application of teaching methods.
- Involvement in the development of new courses/textbooks.

In Pakistan, teachers have very little involvement in such matters as policy development, the process of curriculum development or writing of textbooks etc. These decisions are made by high officials or senior experts, many of whom might never have taught at the school level. However, an initiative was made to review the curriculum in the Middle School Project (1994-2004) in which teachers were involved in designing the textbooks but, unfortunately, they were never used because of late submission to schools. Again in this area, there is considerable room for improvement as a means of enhancing the status of teachers.
School Education in Pakistan

The context for this paper is school education in Pakistan. School education comprises four levels; primary (1-5), middle (6-8), secondary (9-10) and higher secondary (11-12) and there is a diverse range of schools including government, NGO and private for-profit schools as well as madrassas. It has been estimated that approximately 80% of children going to primary school in Pakistan are attending government schools while in rural areas it may be as high as 97% (Rashid, 2001).

According to the constitution of Pakistan, school education is generally a provincial responsibility though the Federal Government exercises considerable control through national policies and programmes. The status of teachers is well summed up by Rizvi and Elliot (2005) when they state: “...government primary schools in Pakistan are characterized by large numbers of under-educated, under-trained, underpaid and, most important of all, undervalued government primary school teachers...” (p. 35).

Whilst the problems of school education in Pakistan have been well documented over many years, a reminder of some of the issues was given at a recent seminar (9 June, 2006) when Dr Syed Irtefaq Ali, former Vice-Chancellor, University of Karachi highlighted the deteriorating condition of education in the country. Ali (2006) said there were 328,829 schools in the country but 17% of these had no roofs, 39% were without drinking water, 62% without electricity, 50% without toilet facilities and 46% didn’t have boundary walls. He added that there were 30,000 ghost schools, 40% of children did not go to school while the dropout rate was 45%. Another speaker at the seminar, Dr Manzoor Ahmed, former Vice-Chancellor, Hamdard University, “was critical of the centralization of education and emphasized that bureaucratization of education should be abolished forthwith, adding that the trend had harmed the education system” (Ahmed, 2006).

At the time of establishment of Pakistan in 1947 most teachers were employed on an ad hoc basis and they not only continued service but were promoted in the following years again on an ad hoc basis. No uniform method of selecting teachers on lower levels was devised and no training facilities for them were provided on a nation wide scale. The methods of teaching and examination too are what they were several decades ago.

From the beginning the private sector had a major share in providing education through schools at various levels. Private schools were run by societies motivated by the cause of promoting education as well as by individuals making their living
through teaching. No detailed figures about the share of private owners and societies are available, but the breakdown between the government and private sector is known. Qaisrani & Sarfaraz (1998, pp. 177-178) point out that the government owned 4 per cent of primary schools, whereas the private sector owned 43 per cent of these schools. The figures for ownership of middle and high schools were 3 per cent and 9 per cent for government, and 47 per cent and 83 per cent for the private sector respectively. The rest of the schools, i.e., 53 per cent of primary schools, 50 per cent of middle schools, and 8 per cent of high schools, were run by various local bodies. Since the government was not able to meet the educational needs of the population with its given resources, the private sector continued to play an important role in providing education.

One important change that took place over the years was the greater role of the private sector in providing education at higher levels, and the increased involvement of government in primary and middle level education. Before 1972, the government owned 93 per cent of primary schools and 88 per cent of middle schools, and the private sector operated 40 per cent of high schools and 51 per cent of colleges. The role of local bodies declined significantly during this period and the share of educational institutions managed by them came down to less than 10 per cent in the case of primary and middle schools and colleges, and 26 per cent in the case of high schools. Due to the nationalization of educational institutions in 1972, the role of the private sector and NGOs for provision of education was briefly interrupted, but they resumed their functioning in 1979 with the result that, by 1990, 5000 educational institutions were being run by non-government enterprises and organizations to provide education from the primary to university level.

Due to lack of availability of any reliable research and documentation regarding the role of non-government enterprises and organizations, it is not possible to draw a detailed map of NGO involvement in education between 1947 and 1990. Some insights based on qualitative studies present the following picture of NGO schools:

- The majority of schools run by NGOs are located in urban areas, and less than 50 per cent of these schools are owned by NGOs.
- A large number of teachers in these schools lack training and earn a salary much below that of government school teachers, with longer hours of work.
- The teacher-student ratio in these schools is mostly between 1:20 to 1:40, which is much better than the teacher-student ratio in most of the government schools.
- The minimum fee charged in these schools is Rs. 50 per month, which shows the community’s capacity to avail of fee-based services, provided they are reasonable.

**Profile of Teachers in Pakistan**

Teaching is one of the largest professions in the country with more than 1 million people employed including about 0.6 million in public sector Pakistani schools, colleges and universities and the rest in the private sector. Tables 1 to 4 show the number of teachers employed by level, gender and location (2004-2005).

**Table 1: Public Sector**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary*</td>
<td>36,150</td>
<td>35,603</td>
<td>71,753</td>
<td>179,239</td>
<td>90,144</td>
<td>269,383</td>
<td>215,389</td>
<td>125,747</td>
<td>341,136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>8,867</td>
<td>12,322</td>
<td>21,189</td>
<td>49,558</td>
<td>40,516</td>
<td>90,074</td>
<td>58,425</td>
<td>52,838</td>
<td>111,263</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>34,706</td>
<td>30,015</td>
<td>64,721</td>
<td>73,823</td>
<td>22,748</td>
<td>96,571</td>
<td>108,529</td>
<td>52,763</td>
<td>161,292</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Sec</td>
<td>5,205</td>
<td>5,941</td>
<td>11,146</td>
<td>9,936</td>
<td>3,788</td>
<td>13,724</td>
<td>15,141</td>
<td>9,729</td>
<td>24,870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,122</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>1,709</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8,562</td>
<td>6,306</td>
<td>14,868</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,486</td>
<td>2,524</td>
<td>6,010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84,928</td>
<td>83,881</td>
<td>168,808</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84,928</td>
<td>83,881</td>
<td>168,808</td>
<td>312,556</td>
<td>157,196</td>
<td>469,752</td>
<td>410,654</td>
<td>250,494</td>
<td>661,148</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Private Sector**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>8,242</td>
<td>50,718</td>
<td>58,961</td>
<td>13,079</td>
<td>23,040</td>
<td>36,119</td>
<td>21,321</td>
<td>73,758</td>
<td>95,080</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>17,013</td>
<td>68,355</td>
<td>85,368</td>
<td>18,998</td>
<td>28,849</td>
<td>47,847</td>
<td>36,011</td>
<td>97,204</td>
<td>133,215</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>24,461</td>
<td>72,108</td>
<td>96,569</td>
<td>9,542</td>
<td>12,360</td>
<td>21,902</td>
<td>34,003</td>
<td>84,468</td>
<td>118,471</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Sec</td>
<td>4,249</td>
<td>6,661</td>
<td>10,910</td>
<td>4,908</td>
<td>1,610</td>
<td>6,518</td>
<td>9,157</td>
<td>8,271</td>
<td>17,428</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53,965</td>
<td>197,843</td>
<td>251,808</td>
<td>46,528</td>
<td>65,859</td>
<td>112,387</td>
<td>100,493</td>
<td>263,701</td>
<td>364,194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Estimated by AEPAM @ 5% / Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics Division, 1999-2000
Table 3: Other Public Sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Urban Male</th>
<th>Urban Female</th>
<th>Urban Total</th>
<th>Rural Male</th>
<th>Rural Female</th>
<th>Rural Total</th>
<th>Total Male</th>
<th>Total Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>2,813</td>
<td>3,642</td>
<td>6,085</td>
<td>4,193</td>
<td>10,278</td>
<td>6,914</td>
<td>7,006</td>
<td>13,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>1,392</td>
<td>2,148</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>1,415</td>
<td>2,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>1,368</td>
<td>2,323</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>2,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Sec</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree Colleges</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,317</td>
<td>6,190</td>
<td>9,507</td>
<td>6,151</td>
<td>4,241</td>
<td>10,392</td>
<td>9,468</td>
<td>10,431</td>
<td>19,899</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Other public sector means institutions not run by Ministry of Education or provincial education department

Table 4: Total (Public + Other Public + Private)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Urban Male</th>
<th>Urban Female</th>
<th>Urban Total</th>
<th>Rural Male</th>
<th>Rural Female</th>
<th>Rural Total</th>
<th>Total Male</th>
<th>Total Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary*</td>
<td>45,221</td>
<td>89,135</td>
<td>134,356</td>
<td>198,403</td>
<td>117,377</td>
<td>315,780</td>
<td>243,624</td>
<td>206,512</td>
<td>450,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>26,636</td>
<td>82,069</td>
<td>108,705</td>
<td>68,573</td>
<td>69,388</td>
<td>137,961</td>
<td>95,209</td>
<td>151,457</td>
<td>246,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>60,122</td>
<td>103,491</td>
<td>163,613</td>
<td>83,385</td>
<td>35,115</td>
<td>118,500</td>
<td>143,507</td>
<td>138,606</td>
<td>282,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Sec</td>
<td>9,838</td>
<td>12,850</td>
<td>22,688</td>
<td>14,865</td>
<td>5,401</td>
<td>20,266</td>
<td>24,703</td>
<td>18,251</td>
<td>42,954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter Colleges</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,122</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>1,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree Colleges</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8,963</td>
<td>6,690</td>
<td>15,653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate Colleges</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,486</td>
<td>2,524</td>
<td>6,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>142,210</td>
<td>287,914</td>
<td>430,124</td>
<td>365,235</td>
<td>227,296</td>
<td>592,531</td>
<td>520,614</td>
<td>524,627</td>
<td>1,045,241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Including Mosque Schools

Teacher Education and Training

In Pakistan, there are 90 Colleges of Elementary Education which offer teacher training programmes for Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) and Certificate in Teaching (CT) to primary school teachers. For secondary school teachers there are 16 Colleges of Education offering graduate degrees in education and 9
university departments that train teachers at the master’s level. There are only 4 institutions which offer in-service teacher training. Besides these, the Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, offers a very comprehensive teacher training programme based on distance learning; its total enrolment is about 10,000 per annum of which 7,000 complete various courses every year.

Two issues are of central concern when considering teacher education and training in relation to the status of teachers. The first is that the development of teachers is generally viewed narrowly as ‘training’ rather than more broadly as ‘teacher education’. Training implies the imparting of specific skills that teachers can use on a daily basis. Whilst that is necessary, teacher education is concerned with providing a critical understanding of the social and cultural contexts in which those skills are located so that teachers are able to question, analyze and reflect on their practices. Teacher education, inclusive of training, is necessary for the development of teaching as a profession and the enhancement of the status of teachers. Following from this, the second issue is the urgent need to review and update the curricular of teacher education institutions to make them more relevant to the needs of teachers and more current in terms of international developments in the field of teacher education.

Table 5: Teacher Education/Training Institutions in Pakistan (2004-05)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces/Regions</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Area</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FANA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJK</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>227</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>275</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Academy of Educational Planning and Management, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan
Problems of Teachers in Pakistan

The following have been identified as major problems of teachers in Pakistan:

- Lack of availability of transport, security and residential facilities in remote rural areas. This has emerged as one of the important problems, especially for female teachers.
- Non-transparent appointment practices. It is often observed that appointments of teachers are based on non-merit considerations.
- Poor management and evaluation practices. Performance reports are not always based on actual performance.
- Politicization. Frequent transfers of teachers for subjective or political considerations frustrate many teachers. This is of special concern and hardship for female teachers and rural school teachers.
- Student-teacher ratio. Over-crowded classes and a high student-teacher ratio, especially in the urban schools, is a perennial problem. It not only creates disciplinary problems but also affects the quality of education.
- Corruption in connection with retirement, pension payment and medical bills. At times, teachers are subjected to undue tension regarding the disbursement against their claims for pensions or medical bills.
- Additional assignments. Duties on national tasks like census, elections etc. have emerged as a problem as they result in the loss of instructional time for children.
- Contractual appointments. Teachers are being given contractual appointments which lack job security.
- Schools without walls. Teachers sometimes have to teach in schools without walls and without rooms in extreme weather conditions in rural areas (Sheikh & Iqbal, 2003).

Government Policies and Initiatives Related to Teachers

Since the 1990s, the Government of Pakistan has adopted a series of policies and programmes to improve the access to, and quality of, primary education. Realizing that both indicators rely heavily on the availability and quality of teachers, the emphasis on recruitment of academically qualified teaching staff, certified to teach, has been an essential component of every education policy and initiative.
Social Action Programme

In the 1990s, the Social Action Programme (SAP), launched by the Government of Pakistan, greatly emphasized the need for good quality teachers. It also realized that the lack of availability of female teachers in less developed and rural areas posed a problem for the functioning of girls’ schools. To overcome this problem, SAP underlined flexibility of qualification and age in the recruitment rules for female teachers in these areas, with preference for teachers from the local community. In the lesser-developed provinces of NWFP and Balochistan, special monetary allowances were provided to female teachers.

National Education Policy

Teacher training forms an important part of the policy targets included in the National Education Policy (1998-2010) (Ministry of Education, 1998). The main objectives outlined in the National Education Policy in relation to teacher education include the following:

• To increase the effectiveness of the system by institutionalizing in-service training of teachers, teacher trainers and educational administrators.

• To upgrade the quality of pre-service teacher training programmes, by introducing parallel programmes of longer duration at post-secondary and post-degree levels.

• To make the teaching profession attractive to the young talented graduates by institutionalizing a package of incentives.

• To develop a viable framework for policy, planning and development of teacher training programmes, both in-service and pre-service.

The Policy stresses some key policy provisions for the training of teachers:

• Both formal and non-formal means shall be used, to provide increased opportunities of in-service training, to working teachers preferably at least once in five years.

• The curriculum and the methods of instruction in teacher training institutions shall be reviewed and revised, for bringing them in line with modern trends in this field.

• Special incentives shall be provided to attract and retain talented students in the teaching profession.
• A special package of incentives shall be provided to rural females to join the teaching profession.

• A new stream of technical and vocational training shall be introduced in the pre-service teachers’ training institutions, initially at post-degree level.

• A new cadre of teacher educators shall be created.

Education Sector Reforms and the National Plan of Action for EFA

More recently, the Government has built on the National Education Policy by developing a comprehensive package of educational reforms with medium term targets - the Education Sector Reforms (ESR) Action Plan for 2001-2005 (Ministry of Education, 2001). Besides enactment and enforcement of the Compulsory Primary Education Ordnance and the rehabilitation and upgrading of physical facilities in existing primary schools, the main thrust of ESR is improvement in the quality of education through teacher education and training.

The provinces have launched major teacher training initiatives through their own and federal budgets since 2001. Over 175,000 teachers and lead trainers have received training at primary, middle and secondary levels.

The ESR also serves as a foundation of the National Plan of Action (NPA) for EFA developed as a long-term framework (2001-2015) to achieve EFA goals. Based on three five-year phases, the NPA relies on a set of strategies which include improvement in the quality of education through a variety of teacher-related measures such as:

• merit-based recruitment of teachers;
• checking teacher absenteeism;
• revamping in-service training for existing teachers;
• reforming and strengthening in-service teacher training; and,
• institutionalizing the incentives and accountability system for teachers to improve their performance.

Teacher Status and the Quality of Teaching

An important element of the status of teachers is the ‘competence’ they show in the performance of their professional work. Consequently, teacher status is closely related to the issue of quality of teacher performance. If the performance of teachers is weak they will not have high status in the society, therefore an
improvement in quality is necessary to enhance the status of teachers. Three aspects of improving quality are of central concern to school education in Pakistan:

- **Curriculum reform.** The Federal Ministry of Education (2006) has announced major changes in the ‘scheme of studies’ for classes I to XII which will improve the curriculum being taught in schools.

- **Time available for teaching and learning.** The Federal Ministry of Education (2006) has announced an extension in the number of academic days from 170 to 210 to begin from academic year 2007.

- **Teacher performance.** The issue of teacher performance places the quality of teaching and learning at the forefront and complements other reform efforts currently underway.

Until recently the focus of improving education has been on increasing access and enrolment and while that is still important there is now a trend towards improving quality. Various strategies have been tried to increase enrolment, such as provision of free textbooks, relaxation of restriction on uniforms, providing edible oil and financial scholarships. “These strategies have resulted in an increase in enrolment, but the critical questions of retention, quality of teaching and learning, evolution of the school as a learning organization … are still unanswered” (Sindh Education Foundation, 2003, p. 44).

In this paper the teacher is viewed as an individual with a degree of agency but located within a complex structural, social, cultural, gendered and physical context (Day, et al., 2006). That is to say teacher performance and status are seen to be formed and shaped, in part, by their own personal biographies, decisions and responses though perhaps, in larger part, by the context of their work. The context includes the bureaucracy and policies of the Department of Education, social and cultural issues of language, religious beliefs, gender and family situations along with the physical conditions of schools ranging from shelterless schools to various types of buildings and grounds with more or less resources.

From an international perspective, Hargreaves (1999) comments:

> ... we have come to realize in recent years that the teacher is the ultimate key to educational change and school improvement. The restructuring of schools, the composition of national and provincial curricula, the development of benchmark assessments – all these things are of little value if they do not take the teacher into account ... (it is) what teachers do at the level of the
classroom that ultimately shapes the kind of learning that young people get (and) what goes on inside the classroom is closely related to what goes on outside it. (p. vii)

Teacher performance refers to “what teachers do at the level of the classroom” whereas teacher status is largely “what goes on outside it”. It is important to realize that “the quality, range and flexibility of teachers’ classroom work are closely tied up with their professional growth – with the way they develop as people and as professionals” (Hargreaves, 1999, p. vii). As people and professionals, teachers have a range of attributes in areas such as knowledge, skills and attitudes which enable them to perform the work of teaching.

- **Knowledge** – this refers to what teachers know or their content knowledge. Teachers can only teach what they know, or putting it another way, teachers cannot teach what they don’t know. Teachers’ content knowledge derives from their own educational background (this has implications for recruitment of the right people) along with their pre-service and in-service training.

- **Skills** – this refers to what teachers can do or their ability to teach using pedagogical content knowledge i.e. the knowledge and skill to teach particular content in ways that produce student learning. Teachers’ skills derive from their pre-service and in-service training and from the in-school systems of supervision and support.

- **Attitudes** – this refers to the way that teachers view their job and their profession and may be seen in terms of morale or job satisfaction. High teacher morale is a disposition, willingness or motivation to work hard and to the best of their ability with the interests and care of students as the highest priority. Factors such as salary, prospects for promotion, transfer policies and working conditions can produce low morale (or low job satisfaction) but they don’t necessarily produce high morale. High morale is more likely to come from a sense of satisfaction with the job of teaching i.e. producing student learning.

Any consideration of teacher status raises the question of what constitutes quality teaching and learning. A Pakistani perspective on quality may be seen in Jaffer et al., (2001) who conducted research to identify the concept of a ‘good teacher’ from the viewpoint of children, parents and teachers and also to identify factors contributing to good teaching. The findings reveal that:

The ideal teacher is seen by almost all stakeholders as a soft, loving and courteous person who is neat, clean and well dressed,
regular and punctual and upholds high ethical values. The ideal teacher teaches well. S/he establishes a good rapport with children, plans her lesson, explains well, uses AV aids and activities to teach, gives and checks home work, and avoids punishing children to a large extent. (p. 7)

Factors that contribute to good teaching in the view of teachers and heads were a good physical environment (school facilities), a supportive administration (democratic, respectful, cooperative, trusting, guiding), cooperative colleagues and refresher courses. They also identified three types of factors outside the work place contributing to teacher development. They included home factors (good training at home, role model, conducive environment), education (exposure to good teachers), personal attitude of the teacher towards teaching and life in general, and continuous self-development of the teacher, including exposure to the media (p. 61).

Factors Affecting Teacher Performance and Status in Pakistan

The first definitive nationally representative study of schooling in Pakistan was by Warwick & Reimers (1995). Though produced over a decade ago it still captures the essence of many of the problems of teaching and learning in this country. The book sets out to explore:

... what affects student learning in Pakistan’s government-sponsored primary schools. It looks at how the student’s own background, school organization, teachers, teacher training, gender, school facilities, and educational innovations influence learning.... (p. 7)

Warwick & Reimers (1995) suggest that five conditions are necessary for a successful school system:

• Access – schools available to all children close to home
• Enrolment – all children should enrol in school
• Teachers – sufficient and competent
• Learning – students should learn what is taught in class
• Completion – students should stay at school long enough to become literate.
They argue that Pakistan fails to meet all those conditions, particularly in rural areas and for girls. Regarding teachers they say: “Among the greatest problems facing Pakistan’s primary schools are the shortage, the low quality, and the poor morale of their teachers” (p. 29).

In a recent research study (Retallick, Tejani, & Balouch, 2006) (see Note 1) a number of factors were identified as contributing to weak teacher performance and low status of teachers in government primary schools in Sindh. The factors were recruitment, training, salary/promotion/transfer, supervision and gender. It is likely that such factors are relevant to other provinces as well. The research was a qualitative study involving individual and focus group interviews with key stakeholders of the government sector in two districts. Stakeholders included education officials, teachers, parents and students.

Recruitment

A focus on the status of teachers raises the issue of recruitment of good teachers as an important factor though Warwick & Reimers (1995) state that:

Pakistan faces enormous difficulties in recruiting new teachers and drawing the best talent to the field. Primary school teaching has the lowest status of any profession and offers few chances for promotion ... the heavy use of politics in hiring teachers adds to the stigma on that profession. ... Primary school teaching has come to be seen as work attracting those with dubious academic skills who happen to know politicians. (pp. 29-31)

Prior to 1995 there were many unqualified teachers appointed through ‘source’ (political interference) or poor selection methods/criteria (only based on the interview or written test; other aspects were ignored). The result is that a considerable number of teachers do not have sufficient content knowledge or teaching skills to work effectively as teachers though they have been in the service for many years. There is also a lack of subject specialists particularly in English, mathematics and science.

A recruitment ban has been in place since 1995 and this has caused problems of teacher shortage and closed schools, particularly in rural areas. Some contract-based recruitment occurred in 2000 and they have since been regularized. According to the latest SEMIS data (July, 2006) there are 83,638 primary teachers in Sindh with an average teacher-student ratio of approximately 1:40, which is a reasonable figure. However, there is a problem of deployment
resulting in over-staffing in urban schools and under-staffing in rural schools (Rizvi, Shamatov, & Siddiqui, 2006).

The effects of this situation on teacher performance are:

- Shortage of teachers in rural schools has led to multi-grade teaching for which teachers are not well trained; hence there is a decline in the quality of teaching.
- Many schools have only one teacher with a large student group and some are closed because of non-availability of teachers.
- Because of the low qualifications of teachers they lack the required content knowledge to deliver quality education, particularly in a multi-grade situation.
- Some schools have sufficient teachers but limited classroom space resulting in classes sharing rooms and teachers taking turns at teaching their classes while the other class sits idly waiting for their turn.
- In the past most of the recruitments were politically influenced and the hands of the administration are tied because of the ‘source’ element when issues of low performance are reported.

These problems have caused a decline in community confidence in schooling and a consequent lowering of the status of teachers. However, the Department is now in the process of recruiting up to 12,000 teachers with some 2,000 already selected. A new policy is currently being finalized for new appointments to be on school-specific, 3 year contracts which can be extended if competency as a teacher is proven. If the teacher tries to get transferred from that school, the contract will be cancelled. In case of applying for another position, the teacher will have to resign from the current position.

To make the new recruitment policy transparent it will be based on points using the following criteria:

- Academic qualification (minimum Intermediate)
- Professional qualification (minimum PTC)
- Competency test
- Residence (this has maximum points)
- Gender (10 extra points in the case of female candidates).

The effect of this policy change will be to increase the number of female teachers who live close to their school. This will improve community confidence in
schooling since it will provide more teachers in rural primary schools, improve teacher attendance and reduce incentives for rural teachers to move to urban areas. The move to local recruitment is generally welcomed because it overcomes the problem of transport to school that many teachers face, particularly females. These reforms should improve the status of teachers provided that the new policy is implemented effectively and then properly monitored and evaluated over time. In the past an important issue has been a large gap between policy implementation and evaluation, particularly in relation to teacher recruitment and deployment. For example, such policies have not taken into account the subject expertise of teachers and the needs of schools. Hence, it is often the case that teachers with very little knowledge in mathematics and science are called upon to teach these subjects. Likewise, the policy claims to provide equitable access to quality teacher education for both male and female teachers and rural and urban teachers. In practice this is often not the case.

**Teacher Education and Training**

Warwick & Reimers (1995) found that a teacher’s formal education prior to entering teacher training had a much closer relationship than teacher certification with student achievement in mathematics and science. This suggests that teacher training was of very little value as a factor in quality teaching and learning at the time of that research.

More recently, Kardar (2005) describes the arrangements for teacher training as a confused institutional maze which “partially explains their ineffectiveness in achieving the objectives for which they were set up” (p. 6). In Sindh, Government Elementary Colleges of Education (GECEs) provide teacher training courses for primary and middle schools. These institutes along with some other training centres are under the administrative control of the Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing (known as BoC). Kardar (2005) comments that they “are characterized by poorly maintained buildings, underutilized facilities (with hardly a few trainees as students) and under-funded for non-salary components ... (they) are contributing little to training of manpower and development of human resources” (p. 6).

**Preservice training**

Because there has been virtually no recruitment for the past 10-11 years it is not surprising that there has little pre-service training. Generally, teachers are employed first and then given some initial training though it is not good quality
training. The content of initial training is poor quality when 60-70% of schools are single teacher schools but the training is not covering aspects such as multi-grade teaching or an integrated curriculum approach to teaching.

Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing (BOC): The Bureau of Curriculum and Extension was established in 1972 to develop the curriculum and educational materials and manage in-service teacher education. Subsequently, the Bureau took over the administrative and academic control of the Government Elementary Colleges of Education (GECEs) and also became the certifying and examining body for the entire range of pre-service training courses. Other than the regular pre-service training courses, the Bureau also undertakes short in-service courses on special topics, mostly through donor-funded projects, though it has very limited staff resources now.

Provincial Institute for Teacher Education (PITE): The PITE was established under the ADB assisted Teacher Training Project in the mid-nineties and is an attached institution of the Department. However, it does not have a full-time faculty of its own and is functioning with borrowed faculty from the GECEs. It has just 5 regular staff members - 4 of whom are on secondment from the GECEs. After initial attempts at providing diploma and BEd courses, it has now restricted its operations to provision of in-service training. It does not have a regular program and conducts training on the request of either external donors or under schemes assigned by the provincial government. Current pre-service training has very little affect on improving the quality teachers’ performance as the contents and teaching methods used at the GECEs are the old and traditional ones. The contents of the training do not match with the new curriculum and the present-day needs of the teachers. Teaching is generally restricted to the lecture method with no follow-up tutorial and no use of methods that the students are expected to use in school when they become teachers. Hence, there is a dire need to revitalize and upgrade the pre-service training system.

In-service training

Whilst pre-service training is a bleak picture there has been and continues to be a large effort towards improving in-service training through aid agencies such as World Bank, UNICEF and ESRA. There is some evidence of success such as shown in ESRA Pakistan (2005) which is a quantitative study of the outcomes of professional development in two provinces (Sindh and Balochistan) conducted by assessment specialists. The objectives were to examine whether:
• teacher behaviour changed as a result of in-service training,
• students taught by those teachers showed increased academic achievement,
• headteacher performance changed as a result of in-service training.

Using a pretest-posttest method the study clearly shows that teacher performance improved as a result of training: “The statistical analyses show that overall teachers in Sindh performed significantly better after the training” (p. 6). In relation to gender, female teachers scored significantly higher than male teachers.

Student achievement was also measured using a pretest-posttest method in Mathematics and Urdu and the finding was that students performed significantly better in the posttest than in the pretest for each subject. In Mathematics, female students scored significantly higher than male students with the score increase also being higher for females. Also in Urdu, female students scored significantly higher than males though in this case the score increase was similar.

What this study clearly demonstrates is that high quality in-service training can be an important factor in improving teacher performance and student learning. It also suggests that females may benefit more than males from such training.

There are many agencies participating in teacher training activities either directly with district governments or through the provincial government with little coordination being provided by either government on the types and contents of courses. For example, in the case of district Khairpur three different agencies (UNICEF, ESRA, and PITE) are training primary school teachers simultaneously, in some cases the same teachers and headteachers. Another example is that of the headteachers, supervisors, LCOs and RPs attending training conducted by five different institutions.

Some strengths of in-service training:

• Most of the teachers in the districts have attended in-service training courses.
• New learner-centred teaching methods have been introduced.
• Training has been given on lesson planning.
• Some training for multi-grade teaching has been provided.
• Teachers are aware of low cost and no cost teaching resource material.

_Some weaknesses of in-service training:_

• Many teachers are not implementing the new approaches and ideas due to lack of support and follow-up in their classrooms.

• Different donors are coming with different training packages and taking teachers from the schools creating a problem of teacher absenteeism.

• Lack of coordination between donors and district officials.

• Content and quality of in-service trainings are not always high.

• Sometimes teachers selected for training are on ‘source’ and are not really interested in learning; they are attending more for the TA/DA.

• Because they are project-based the training programs will be wound up soon and may not have lasting effects.

Whilst there has been extensive in-service training it has largely been located in the major cities/towns and remote areas have not been well served. The training has been offered in central locations and has not been school-based which means that many teachers will drift back to their pre-training practices fairly quickly. The major needs for training in content areas seem to be in English, mathematics and science. The current training is reported to be having some positive effects on lesson planning, child-centred teaching and teachers’ use of low cost/no cost resources. However, the lack of proper follow-up makes it doubtful that such practices will continue for long into the future.

The whole system of pre-service and in-service training needs better co-ordination and an upgrade in quality to improve its effectiveness. Such reforms are necessary to improve the quality of teaching and the status of teachers.

**Salary, Promotion and Transfer**

Primary teachers are appointed in BPS-7 or BPS-9, depending on their academic and professional qualifications. After the revision recently proposed by the Government of Pakistan in _Budget 2006_, the salaries have been raised. However, there were mixed responses received from the field with teachers and department officials saying the salaries are very low to, at best, sufficient. Of course, this has an impact on the satisfaction levels and morale of teachers. Low salary doesn’t attract good teachers. It also does not lead to respect for teachers
or decent social status. Many teachers commented that economic pressure leaves them with stress hence it adversely affects their performance.

The current promotion policy does not provide any incentive for primary teachers to pursue a career at the primary level and it actually gives an incentive for good teachers to leave primary school teaching and move to higher levels. With the promotion of a teacher comes the reappointment letter which leads to transfer of the teacher to a middle or secondary school teaching position. The Annual Confidential Report (ACR) system does not seem to be an effective mechanism for promotion as it has become a mere formality.

Whilst seniority is seen to be the fairest basis for promotion, it does not reward competence or merit and is a very slow process. There is no encouragement or reward for meritorious performance as the current policy considers seniority as the main criterion. This has a negative impact on the motivational level of teachers who question the reason for putting in extra effort if there is no tangible return. There needs to be more flexibility in the promotion system to encourage teachers to perform well and be able to stay in the primary school.

Transfer of staff from BPS 1 to BPS 16 comes under the purview of the district governments which have a close understanding of their own teacher needs. Unplanned and unwanted transfers de-motivate teachers and pose difficulties in discharge of their duties which leads to low performance on the part of the teachers. There has been a general ban on transfers though it seems that teachers have been transferred within UCs or sub-districts if they have strong reasons or can access ‘source’. The ban on transfers has caused difficulties for females who get married and want to move to their husband’s location but are unable to do so.

Inadequate policies on salary, promotion and transfer have a direct affect on lowering the quality of teacher performance. Low performance of teachers results in low social status so it is important to improve the administrative policies that govern teachers’ work in order to improve the status of teachers.

**Supervision of Teachers**

Supervision is generally viewed as a two-pronged process; monitoring of performance and supporting teachers to improve their performance. A recent teacher management study (Issues and Policies Consultants, 2005) concluded that: “The monitoring and supervision activities being performed by the education department tend to be perfunctory in nature, patchy in their implementation and largely ad-hoc reactions to political demands or episodic
complaints or responses to specific needs as and when they arise ... (and there is a) lack of adequate equipment and vehicles to perform monitoring and supervision” (p. 7). Further, “there was little by way of on-going instructional support to teachers, perhaps because the provision of such guidance was beyond the capacity of some district officials and because they saw their role more as administrators than educationists” (pp. 8-9).

The management processes of a school and the system, including supervision, affect how teachers work and how well students learn. Management and supervision are often seen in terms of rules and regulations which impose controls on staff whereas in recent times there has been increasing emphasis placed on leadership in education. Leadership is concerned with inspiring people towards a vision of school improvement and quality education. The notion of ‘pedagogical leadership’ has a particular relevance for enhancing the quality of teaching and learning (Memon & Bana, 2005).

In the provinces each district has an Executive District Officer (EDO) (Education) who is responsible to the District Coordinating Officer for the functioning of government schools. There is then a number of District Officers for Education (DOE) followed by Deputy District Officers (DDO) at the district level. At the tehsil level is an Assistant District Officers (ADO) followed by supervisors of primary schools and in some cases learning coordinators who are supposed to have direct contact with schools. In regard to supervisors Warwick & Reimers (1995) comment that “during their rare appearances at schools they may observe classes and talk with teachers, but they do not have the time or inclination to be managers or leaders” (p. 92).

In 1979 learning coordinators (LCs) were appointed by the Government of Pakistan with World Bank support. It was intended that they would visit ten to twenty schools at least once a month, observe teachers in the classroom, inspect their lesson plans, make suggestions about how they could improve their teaching and take other steps to raise the quality of teaching (Warwick & Reimers, 1995, p. 92). Initially LCs were trained under the World Bank funded Primary Education Project (PEP) and they were separate from the district system which caused some tension, though the intention was that they would eventually be incorporated into the system. From the beginning, the innovation caused problems because LCs were not part of the system and they were not always well accepted. In 1985 PEP funded training ended and the provinces took more control over LCs. Since then it appears that LCs are spending less time supporting teachers to improve and more on routine administration duties. “The system within which they work pushes them away from the role of helper to
teachers and towards actions manifesting authority and control ... learning coordinators thus seem to have had only a modest impact on the quality of teaching” (Warwick & Reimers, 1995, pp. 97-8).

Sindh Education Foundation (2003) studied some of the critical issues associated with the education system from the perspective of the Sindh Government’s Compulsory Primary Education (CPE) Ordinance promulgated in December, 2001. The researchers concluded that there are problems generically associated with the system which pose a challenge for CPE. In particular they mention that “the role of the supervisor has emerged as being the most critical link between the schools and the department of education” and “the role of the supervisor needs to be revitalized and they should work as support mechanisms for the schools” (p. 3). However, “contrary to such a vital role, the supervisors are always pushed for time and resources. They can never visit schools frequently and when they do visit, they typically go with a top-down attitude of commanding and controlling rather than supporting the school. Overall, monitoring and supervision is done very sporadically by either observing a few classes, holding random tests or merely relying on the principal’s feedback about the school” (pp. 29-30).

One of the major recommendations of the study focused on the role of supervisors who were initially known as ‘learning coordinators’ with a task of facilitating teaching-learning processes. Now their role has been diminished to mere policing of schools and collecting information. The report says “it is imperative to revitalize the role of the supervisors in the school context as the data from the field suggests that schools are yearning for guidance and can find it nowhere ... not only does the supervisor’s role need to be re-energized but they also need to be provided with the relevant facilities (such as transportation) to perform their functions effectively and efficiently” (pp. 41-42).

The major finding of the research was that the system does not have the capacity i.e. capability and resources, to deliver effective supervision and teacher support to the schools. Whilst some supervisors have a healthy, balanced concept of supervision that includes both monitoring and support though regular school visits, most do not. They are not clear about their role and they are unable to carry it out effectively, particularly in relation to helping teachers to improve their performance in the classroom. They have not been adequately trained to perform the role of providing the school-based support to teachers. They do not have a written job description or proper orientation and there is a shortage of female supervisors. In practice the system of supervision and teacher support is not working effectively in the majority of schools.
The major reasons for this situation are:

- Department officials are not clear about the support aspect of their role and most of what supervisors do is administrative monitoring. They do not have written job descriptions or proper orientation.

- Most supervisors do not have the capability (knowledge, skills and attitudes) to carry out the role effectively, particularly in relation to helping teachers to improve their performance in the classroom. Their understanding of supervision is limited to “inspection” of schools. They go to schools to check what is ‘not good’ or ‘bad’, rather than also looking at what is working well. Because of that there is very limited identification of good practices.

- There are not enough supervisors, particularly female supervisors, to carry out the work required. Some supervisors have up to 60 schools to look after.

- They do not have sufficient resources, such transport, to get to the schools as often as they should, particularly in the case of females. There is a disincentive for them to visit schools because they have to personally bear the cost of travel as no TA/DA has been available in recent years.

- There has been a breakdown of trust and positive relationships between teachers and supervisors. Teachers do not have confidence in their supervisors to provide the help that they need and many supervisors avoid going to schools and doing the work that they are supposed to do.

- Most of the supervision is at the level of headteachers. When supervisors visit schools they mostly meet the headteachers only and do not have a relationship of trust with the teachers.

- There is a feeling of threat amongst supervisors that teachers are now getting training in modern teaching methods with which they themselves are not very familiar. In the past they would throw their weight around by exercising the authority of their position, but they are more reluctant now because of their lack of knowledge about the recent teaching methods and practices that the teachers are fast becoming familiar with.

- An important factor in the power of their position is that of conducting examinations which is totally controlled by the supervisors. Teachers are scared of the consequences of challenging anything that comes from the supervisors as they think that supervisors might fiddle with the examination papers and alter their results.
• Overall, the system of accountability is very weak and therefore both teachers and supervisors are getting away with poor performance with few repercussions as it is very difficult to dismiss a permanent employee. This situation is not conducive to improving the quality of teacher performance and is therefore in need of reform if teacher status is to be enhanced.

Gender

Pakistan explicitly takes account of gender in government schools with mostly separate schools for males and females (though there are some coeducational schools). There are complex and different relationships involving the gender of teachers and the schooling of boys and girls though it is clear that schools are strongly implicated in perpetuating the gender divide, largely to the disadvantage of girls. For example, Qureshi, Pirzado, and Nasim (2007) claim that:

Our observations of schools in rural Sindh and further discussion with teachers revealed that girls sweep classrooms, fetch drinking water and ensure the supply of chalks and maintain blackboards. Boys, on the other hand, lead school assemblies and are in charge of classroom discipline. ... This pattern of boys’ and girls’ activities in schools suggests that management and leadership positions are for boys (men) and maintenance and house-keeping functions are for girls (women), a reflection of practices in the wider local society (p. 138).

A significant issue in rural girls’ primary schools is their inability to retain women teachers with adequate training. Most of the female teachers come from the cities and for them to live in a rural village can be a frightening and uncomfortable experience. Hence many do not stay very long. A girl’s access to education depends on her family’s willingness to send her to school and that is dependent on many factors including the value placed on education, accessibility to school, school environment, quality of teaching and learning, economic and social costs of sending girls to school. “The overall state of school can play a part in changing a family’s perceptions and can contribute to securing their willingness to educate girls. If the school is not ready to cater to the educational needs of the girl child and cannot offer an enabling teaching-learning environment then families alone cannot be blamed for discriminating against girls’ education” (Sindh Education Foundation, n.d., p. 44).
The results of a survey reported in Sindh Education Foundation (n.d., p. 44) indicated the following barriers to girls’ education in 5 districts surveyed:

- Household constraints and demands for girls to work at home
- Poverty
- Discrimination against girls and in favour of boys’ education
- Lack of female teachers in schools
- Accessibility to school/lack of transport facilities
- Opportunity cost of sending girls to school
- Socio cultural constraints.

However, the report also points out “that 86% of respondents were convinced that education is necessary for girls, which means that if schools succeed in offering an encouraging learning environment, communities would take initiative in sending their daughters to school ... any intervention designed for the promotion of education should be geared to improving the educational processes in the school rather than being confined to increased numbers of children in schools” (p. 48, my emphasis). Increasing the number of female teachers is also a priority issue.

A broader socio-cultural perspective is adopted by Farah and Shera (2007) in their review of policies and programmes for girls’ education and they conclude:

Educational improvement is dependent on several interactive factors. Neither teacher training nor learning materials on their own can ensure better teaching, and neither scholarships nor free meals in school are sufficient to keep girls in school. The range and complexity of critical factors that influence educational access and quality need to be identified and addressed more carefully. Promoting gender parity and equality in education at all levels requires affecting the socio-cultural and economic context. The right to education promised by the policy cannot be claimed by women unless their rights in other spheres of life are recognized and given (pp. 37-38).

The research revealed that gender is an important factor in teacher performance though not necessarily at the level of the classroom. Teachers reported that the issues facing male and female teachers in the classroom are much the same but in the wider family, community and even national context the females suffer discrimination. Further research involving classroom observation of male and female teachers would be useful to validate this point. Some key issues affecting female teachers are:
• Low standard of life and disempowerment due to lack of education of women
• Unsupportive government policies for female teachers
• Lack of family support for female teachers
• Low level of community support for female teachers and sending girls to schools
• Lack of academic and professional development opportunities for female teachers
• Lack of girls schools’ especially at elementary and secondary level in rural areas of Sindh
• Lack of awareness regarding the other benefits of girls’ education besides getting employment
• Lack of support mechanisms (most female teachers are not sufficiently mobile to get support and facilitation from the system; they need the support persons to come to them)
• Poor access to information
• Fewer opportunities for female teachers to express their ideas and experiences
• School buildings often have no toilet facility and proper boundary wall
• Location of girls’ schools is a problem if they are close to boys’ schools or any place where there is a lot of presence of males
• Lack of counselling at school and community level especially to address the question; “what will our girls do after getting education?”
• Lack of wide exposure of female teachers and girl students to broaden their outlook and improve their confidence etc (in the case of local teachers there is little opportunity for girls and teachers to experience a diversity of interactions)
• There should be a policy of age relaxation regarding the recruitment of female teachers and admission of girl students.
Emerging Issues and Challenges

It is clear from the above analysis that major reforms are needed to upgrade the quality of school education and improve the status of teachers in Pakistan. To improve the status of teachers the most important emerging issues are:

- Reform the system of pre-service and in-service education and training of teachers
- Develop capacity for effective and supportive supervision of teachers in all schools
- Encourage the recruitment and professional development of female teachers.

In line with these issues the following challenges must be faced to improve the status of teachers:

1. The need to develop an overall strategy for teacher development and improvement at the provincial and national levels based on the establishment of faculties of education in multi-disciplinary universities in each province (where such do not already exist). Existing GECE’s could be upgraded to become affiliated colleges of the faculties of education and PITE’s need also to be upgraded for the overall improvement of teacher education and training.

2. Provision of a functional and effective system of supervision of the schools at district level with an emphasis on teacher support to improve teacher performance and student learning outcomes.

3. Mobilizing governments at all levels to address the issue of community and family support for female teachers and revise policies to encourage the recruitment and development of female teachers.

Conclusion

The importance of teachers cannot be overestimated. They are the ultimate key to educational change and school improvement. Schools, systems and ministries spend large amounts of time and funds, besides inviting foreign donors as experts who are far removed from the realities of the context, deliberating the restructuring of schools, the composition of national and provincial curricula, and the development of benchmark assessments. However, all these things are of little value if they do not take the teacher into account. It is important to
understand that teachers do not merely deliver the curriculum. They develop, define and reinterpret it too. It is what teachers think, what teachers believe and what teachers do in the classroom that ultimately shapes the kind of learning that young people get (Hargreaves, 1999). This is the reason why there is a growing need to place the status of teaching at the top of our research, policy studies and improvement agendas.

Policy-makers often have superficial, stereotypical, and one-dimensional views of the work of teachers. They can become so obsessed with neat and tidy reform programmes in teaching strategies or in curriculum content, that they overlook all the complex, messy and multifaceted aspects of teaching, working, organizing and caring that are both integral to and unavoidable aspects of a teacher’s day. As Acker (1999, p. viii) points out in her intensive ethnography spanning several years, the life of difficulty, the dedication, the complexity, the busyness, the messiness, the agony, the ecstasy and sometimes the sheer rib-cracking hilarity of teachers’ working lives needs to be understood by policy-makers.

For some reformers, improving teaching is a matter of developing better teaching methods, of improving instruction. Training teachers in new classroom management skills, in active learning, co-operative learning, one-to-one counselling and the like is the main priority because educational conferences recommend such to successive governments in Pakistan. These things are important, but we are also increasingly coming to understand that developing teachers and improving their teaching involves more than giving them new ‘tricks of the trade’. We are beginning to recognize that, for teachers, what goes on inside the classroom is closely related to what goes on outside it. The quality, range and flexibility of teachers’ classroom work are closely tied up with their professional growth - with the way in which they develop as people and as professionals. Unfortunately, most teachers do not think about teaching as a career, therefore professionalism lies only with a few committed persons.

Teachers’ lives studies conducted in Pakistan e.g. Bashiruddin (2002) and Halai (2001) reveal that teachers teach in the way they do not just because of the skills they have or have not learned. The ways in which they teach are also rooted in their backgrounds, their biographies, which largely determine the kinds of teachers they become. Their careers including their hopes and dreams, their opportunities and aspirations, or the frustration of these things, are also important for teachers’ commitment, enthusiasm and morale. Also important are relationships with their colleagues, either as supportive communities who work together in pursuit of common goals and continuous improvement, or as individuals working in isolation with the insecurities that sometimes brings.
Teachers of children in the years before adolescence have a profound influence on their learning and their lives. In primary schools in Pakistan, children spend most of the school year with a single teacher in a single class as members of one community. In their waking hours, they see more of their teacher than they do of their parents. Teaching in primary and elementary schools is without a doubt one of the most important roles in society in terms of its capacity to shape the hearts and mind of our future citizens. This is often overlooked because in an exam-oriented Pakistan whatever status teachers have, to a large extent, comes from teaching secondary classes (Vazir, 2003).

As we are coming to understand these wider aspects of teaching and teacher development, we are also beginning to recognize that much more than pedagogy, instruction or teaching method is at stake. Teacher development, teachers’ careers and teachers’ relations with their colleagues along with the conditions of status, reward and leadership under which they work all affect the quality of what teachers do in the classroom. The status of teachers in Pakistan must be improved.

Note 1: At the time of the Symposium the final report of the research project was still under review.

Note 2: We wish to thank Dr Anjum Halai for her helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

References


Chapter 2

Teachers’ content knowledge and pedagogical competence: Issues for teacher status in Pakistan

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Introduction

Education is one of the important elements for socio-economic development of a society. According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), there are five ‘energisers’ of human resource development—education, health and nutrition, the environment, employment, and political and economic freedom. Out of these, education is the basis for all other factors. This is the reason why every country, whether developed or developing, invests large sums of money in education (Hallak, 1990). If a country intends to attain a prominent position in the comity of nations and wants to improve the quality of life of its citizenry it needs to invest in its human capital. The single most important element that needs due recognition and attention of social leaders is none other than education.

Governments in Pakistan have always attached great importance to the vitally important education sector. However, it is disheartening to note that the state of affairs of the national system of education is far from satisfactory. If we analyze the situation retrospectively we find that since Pakistan’s independence in 1947 the education system in the country has taken great strides in terms of quantitative expansion. For example, we have achieved a literacy rate of about 53 percent as compared to about 10 percent in 1947. Similarly, the number of institutions during the past sixty years has increased many times; and, so has the rate of enrolments in schools and colleges. We have witnessed an unprecedented increase in the number of universities and institutions of higher education during the last decade or so. But what about the quality of education in these institutions? A lot needs to be done in terms of qualitative improvement. Daily, we read in newspapers, and listen to the criticism made by general public and socio-political leadership, regarding low quality of education in our institutions. Appreciating the extent to which such criticism is genuine and justifiable and understanding the factors that are responsible for the dismal state of affairs of the national education system needs a careful scrutiny and analysis.
In this paper I will limit my discussion only to school education and will deliberate upon the quality of teachers’ subject matter knowledge and their pedagogical competence in the light of the findings of some empirical studies, and its implications for teacher status in our society. I will first deliberate upon the multidimensionality of the teaching-learning process and will then focus upon the role of the teacher for enhancing quality of education, particularly students’ achievement. Lastly, I will conclude with a discussion on the quality of teachers in the country and, consequently, reflect upon programmes of teacher education, both pre-service and in-service.

Nature of teaching-learning activity

Whenever the plight of education in the country is discussed and an analysis of declining quality of education made, teachers are made scapegoats and all blame is heaped upon them. This is tantamount to taking a very simplistic view of education and even in the case of teachers, various attributes of teachers are not taken into consideration. Teaching and learning is a very complex and difficult phenomenon. It is more complex than we know and more difficult than we appreciate (Iqbal, 2006). Reflecting on the complexity of the process, O’Hara (2004) says:

Good teaching is a complex, a highly skilled activity requiring judgments on how to act. Becoming effective as teacher will depend upon the acquisition of skills and knowledge through personal experience, the support and training received from other professionals, making reference to the literature on the subject and developing a good understanding of how students learn. (p. vii)

The job of teachers is not only to convey factual information to young learners but also to develop their understanding of the world around them and to promote their intellectual abilities. However, the process becomes quite difficult because of the fact that students’ learning is mediated by a host of factors, including teaching methodologies, subject matter content, abilities of the learners and the strategies adopted by them. Although the outcome of learning can easily be estimated, the process of learning is so intricate, implicit, tacit, and hidden that neither the teacher nor the learner can fully anticipate what is going on in the ‘black box’ (Iqbal, 2006).

Out of the wide array of factors affecting the teaching-learning processes, two living components or elements are by far most important. These are the learners or students themselves, and the teacher—the main actor of the classroom drama.
The process of learning can only succeed when teachers fully know their subject matter and effectively communicate it to students by adopting appropriate pedagogical strategies, and only as long as students have a clear view of their abilities, have good study habits, use effective study skills and adopt effective cognitive strategies to acquire new knowledge and information.

**Teacher quality**

Despite the fact that the learning process is difficult and complex, and despite the fact that it is mediated by a host of variables, the teacher factor is by far considered the most important one. In the words of Jacques Hallak, “quality of education depends on the quality of teachers” (Hallak, 1990, p. 159). A number of other researchers have also argued that teacher quality is a powerful predictor of students’ performance. In her analysis of teacher preparation and students’ achievement across states in USA, Darling-Hammond (2000) reports that measures of teacher preparation and certification are by far the strongest correlates of student achievement in reading and mathematics, both before and after controlling for student poverty and language status. She contends that measures of teacher quality are more strongly related to student achievement than other kinds of educational investments such as reduced class size, overall spending in education, and teacher salaries.

Similarly, Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin (1998) identify teacher quality as the most important school-related factor influencing student achievement. They conclude from their analysis of 400,000 students in 3,000 schools that, while school quality is an important determinant of student achievement, the most important predictor is teacher quality. In comparison, class size, teacher education, and teacher experience play a small role. Hanushek (1998) estimates that the difference between having a good teacher and having a bad teacher can exceed one grade-level equivalent in annual achievement growth. Likewise, Sanders (1998) and Sanders and Rivers (1996) argue that the single most important factor affecting student achievement is the teacher, and the effects of teachers on student achievement are both additive and cumulative. Further, they contend that students with lower achievements are the ones most likely to benefit from increases in teacher effectiveness. Taken together, these multiple sources of evidence—however different in nature—all conclude that quality teachers are a critical determinant of student achievement.

Since the last few years, and particularly since the Musharraf era, there is much ongoing debate and discussion regarding quality of education in Pakistan. Many reforms have been initiated that aim at improving the quality of education in our
schools and colleges. As I said earlier, so far no well-planned and comprehensive study has been undertaken to find out correlates of student achievement and indicators of quality in Pakistan. However, studies like the ones that I have described shed light over what quality means. In the policy climate of standards, benchmarks and reforms, these findings make a strong case for gaining a better understanding of what teacher quality is and why it is important.

Empirical evidence documenting the critical role of teacher quality in realizing student achievement implies that teacher policy is a promising avenue toward better realizing goals of efficiency, equity, and adequacy in public education. Indeed, in many countries around the world, recommendations for reforming the preparation of teachers have become commonplace in reports aimed at improving public education. However, one is utterly dismayed to learn that this component of vital importance has been totally neglected in our efforts to improve quality of public education system. There is a need to first analyse various important attributes of teachers and then to address these attributes in order to bring any qualitative change in the academic environment of our institutions.

**Important attributes of teachers**

Having argued for quality of teacher as an important determinant of students’ achievement and, consequently, promoting quality education, the next logical question to ask is what particular attributes and characteristics of teachers are more pertinent in mediating students’ academic and intellectual progress. Folk wisdom and the general popular view about teachers’ effectiveness is that teachers’ mastery of a particular method of teaching is the only answer to all educational ills. This view dates back to the nineteenth century normal school era and pertains to behaviouristic tradition. As Wragg (1984) puts it, ‘Master of Method’ of the Normal School era is not sufficient to implement effective teaching in modern schools:

> Today there are several factors which combine to require level of skills, understanding, imagination and resilience from teachers which go infinitely beyond rudimentary commonsense and mechanical competence fostered by the normal schools of the last century. (p. 1)

Reflecting upon my own experience of teaching at different levels and having been involved in the business of teacher education for more than twenty years, I am of the view that effective teaching involves at least three important
attributes. These attributes are: (i) teachers’ knowledge of subject matter or content; (ii) teachers’ knowledge of pedagogical skills; and, (iii) their competence in using these skills.

**Subject knowledge** matters a lot. I would like to assert that professional training matters only provided you know the subject matter. Without having command over a particular subject, no teacher is expected to deliver. A good grasp of subject knowledge gives confidence to teachers and, as a result, they not only enjoy good teaching but also good reputations among students and colleagues. Without a strong knowledge base, pedagogy has no meaning, utility or effectiveness.

Next comes **knowledge of pedagogical skills**—knowing how and how well to deliver content to a wide variety of audiences. Knowledge of pedagogical skills empowers a teacher to address the intellectual needs of a diverse student population keeping in view the ecology of a particular classroom and school environment.

**Professional competence** implies using a variety of teaching methodologies depending upon the nature of the content and concepts, and the level of competence of students. It also means being skilful enough to switch from one skill to other as and when needed.

The interaction of these skills is clearly demonstrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Components of effective Teaching

Arends (1994) considers three important prerequisites for effective teaching: academic ability of the teacher; interest in wellbeing of students; and, producing good results in terms of students’ achievement and social learning. However, he considers these characteristics insufficient unless teachers also possess four higher level sets of attributes. These attributes are: a strong knowledge base; a
repertoire of best teaching skills, strategies and procedures; ability to reflect upon one's own performance; and, lastly, an ability to implement and carry out the process of life-long learning.

Figure 2: Prerequisites of effective teaching. Source: Arends (1994)

Schulman (1987), on the other hand, elaborates his concept of effective teachers in terms of knowledge of seven different aspects. These categories of teachers’ knowledge are:

1. Content knowledge or knowledge of the particular subjects
2. Pedagogical content knowledge
3. Knowledge of learners and their characteristics
4. General pedagogical knowledge
5. Knowledge of educational context
6. Curriculum knowledge
7. Knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values (pp. 2-3).

**Quality of teachers in Pakistan**

The above propositions provide a perspective in which we can analyse and evaluate the quality of teachers in Pakistan in terms of their content knowledge and pedagogical skills. Such analysis consequently will also reflect upon the quality of both pre-service and in-service education of teachers that is being imparted in our institutions. But first, let me confess at the outset that in our country no research has been conducted such as the ones I have just reviewed. In the recent past a Teacher Education Project was initiated in all the four provinces of Pakistan. This project was completed with the help of the Asian Development Bank. Dozens of studies were conducted under this project, the
very purpose of which was to feed data into policy planning and to carry out informed decisions in this field.

One is utterly dismayed, however, to learn that despite spending a large amount of borrowed money, nothing substantial has been achieved in this regard. Results of none of these studies have been made public, let alone utilized for making policy decisions. Policy decisions that have far reaching consequences for teachers and teacher education in the country are still being made on the bases of personal intuition and choices.

However, quite a good number of studies have been conducted pertaining to students’ achievement in different subjects and at different levels. Information regarding various teacher-related factors has also been gathered. Results of these studies reveal very interesting and surprising facts about effectiveness of teachers and effect of teacher-related factors on students’ attainments. I will now very briefly present results of some of these studies.

First, I will refer to studies conducted by AEP&M in collaboration with BRIDGES Project of Harvard University, USA, in 1989. Second, two studies were conducted by the IER, University of the Punjab, Lahore, in 1994 and 1995. Third, about a decade after the first study, a second study was conducted by AEP&M in 1999. Finally, a fourth study was conducted by UNESCO in 2002. Results of these studies are compared in the following table.

Table 1: Comparison of students’ achievement across various studies in % mean scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Area</th>
<th>BIDGES 1989 (National) Grade 5</th>
<th>IER 1994 (National) Grade 5</th>
<th>IER 1995 (Punjab) Grade 5</th>
<th>AEP&amp;M 1999 (National) Grade 4</th>
<th>UNESCO 2002 (National) Grade 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math/ Numeracy</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu/ Literacy</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamiyat</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S/ Life skills</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total(Sci., Math,</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isl. Studies)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results of these studies do not provide any explicit reflection on quality of teachers. However, poor performance of students across different subjects and across studies spread over a period of more than a decade is a clear indication of what competencies teachers have in terms of their knowledge and pedagogical
skills. In the BRIDGES study, Reimers & Warwick (1991), attempted to find out the relationship between teachers’ academic as well professional qualification and concluded that while academic qualification of Pakistani teacher was correlated with students’ achievement, their professional qualification was found to have no effect at all.

Mirza, Hameed, and Iqbal (1995) adopted a different approach in which they tried to rank order the correlation between students’ achievement and different attributes of teachers. Tables 2 and 3 depict these results for class IV and V respectively.

Table 2: Correlation between teacher attributes and students achievements in class IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of Competencies</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R Rank</td>
<td>R Rank</td>
<td>R Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>0.19 2</td>
<td>0.37* 1</td>
<td>0.06 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>0.02 6</td>
<td>0.10 5</td>
<td>0.03 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>0.16 4</td>
<td>0.30 2</td>
<td>0.18 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical</td>
<td>0.19 3</td>
<td>0.27 3</td>
<td>0.15 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.08 5</td>
<td>0.08 6</td>
<td>0.14 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>0.19 1</td>
<td>0.21 4</td>
<td>0.18 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.33*</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < 0.01

Source: Mirza, Hameed & Iqbal (1995)

Table 3: Correlation between teacher attributes and students achievements in class V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of Competencies</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R Rank</td>
<td>R Rank</td>
<td>R Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>0.36** 2</td>
<td>0.46* 1</td>
<td>0.24 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>0.23 4</td>
<td>0.08 6</td>
<td>0.32 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>0.33* 3</td>
<td>0.28 3</td>
<td>0.34 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical</td>
<td>0.41** 1</td>
<td>0.31 2</td>
<td>0.49* 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.11 5</td>
<td>0.13 4</td>
<td>0.12 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>0.05 6</td>
<td>0.13 5</td>
<td>0.04 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.41**</td>
<td>0.35*</td>
<td>0.45*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < 0.01; **p<0.001

Source: Mira, Hameed & Iqbal (1995)

It is evident from the results in tables 2 and 3 that although pedagogical and cognitive competencies have been ranked overall 1 and 3, respectively, for grade V, both these competencies have been ranked lower for grade IV.
The above quoted studies pertain to achievement of primary grade students where generalist teachers are commonly employed in many countries around the world. At this level of education the effect of teachers academic and professional qualification does not seem to have a profound effect.

In contrast, studies conducted with grade 8 students depict a relatively clearer picture. For example, in a baseline survey of grade 8 students’ achievement under Middle Schooling Project, Mirza, Iqbal, Abiodullah, Nosheen, and Rehman (1999) found that although higher academic qualification of teachers had slightly positive effect on students’ achievement, but their professional qualifications did not. Table 4 gives mean percentage scores of students of teachers having different academic and professional qualification.

Table 4: Qualification of teachers and students composite mean score in grade 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic qualification</th>
<th>% mean score</th>
<th>Professional Qualification</th>
<th>% mean score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>33.55</td>
<td>PTC</td>
<td>36.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.A./F.Sc.</td>
<td>34.65</td>
<td>OT/A/DM</td>
<td>42.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A./B.Sc.</td>
<td>33.92</td>
<td>SV/CT</td>
<td>33.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.A./M.Sc.</td>
<td>35.18</td>
<td>B.Ed.</td>
<td>34.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M.Ed./M.A. Edu</td>
<td>22.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mirza, Iqbal, Abiodullah, Nosheen & Rehman (1999)

Table 5 shows the effect of experience of teachers. It can be found that students of teachers having 5-9 years experience performed relatively better, although this is not of any significance.

Table 5: Experience of teachers and students’ achievement in grade 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience in years</th>
<th>Student Composite % mean score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 4</td>
<td>32.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>35.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>34.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>32.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td>34.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mirza, Iqbal, Abiodullah, Nosheen & Rehman (1999)

The UNESCO study (2002) was conducted by independent researchers and it tried to find out the relationship between teachers’ attributes and their students’ achievement. Table 6 provides values of correlation between students’ performance and teachers’ qualification and their mastery of competencies.
Table 6: Correlation between teachers’ attributes and students’ achievement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers’ Attributes</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ qualification</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ mastery of</td>
<td>+.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>competencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is interesting to find out that teachers’ qualification is negatively correlated with students’ achievement, although their mastery of competencies has a positive correlation value. The results of this study are intriguing in the sense that contrary to popular belief, and contrary to the findings of the BRIDGES study (Reimers & Warwick, 1991), higher teacher qualification does not affect, in any significant way, performance of their students in all the subjects the test was administered in.

National Assessment Studies 2005 and 2006

Two studies were recently conducted under the auspices of the NEAS in 2005 and 2006 respectively. The 2005 study was a series of achievement tests pertaining to mathematics and Urdu for grade four; the 2006 study pertained to Urdu, mathematics, science and social studies. The 2005 study was conducted on a sample of about 12,000 students randomly selected from schools all over Pakistan. Findings of the study pertaining to teacher factors are depicted in tables7, 8 and 9. Some important findings are as under:

1. Teachers’ academic qualifications ranged from Secondary to Master’s degree level but there was no significant difference in the students’ mean score and level of teacher qualification. This is despite the fact that 15% of mathematics teachers and 13% of Urdu teachers held a Master’s degree in the relevant subject.

2. Teachers’ professional qualifications ranged from PTC to BEd and there was no significant difference in students’ mean scores in Urdu or mathematics, associated with teachers’ professional qualifications.

3. Reported teaching experience of teachers ranged from 0-5 years to 26 years and above. Students’ means scores were significantly higher in Urdu and mathematics if they were taught by teachers who reported teaching experience in the range of 16-20 years.
Table 7: Teacher academic qualification and students’ achievement (2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Qualification</th>
<th>% Maths</th>
<th>Maths Means</th>
<th>% Urdu</th>
<th>Urdu Means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>430.02</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>368.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>427.87</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>387.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>402.75</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>355.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>420.70</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>369.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: None of the differences are statistically significant

Table 8: Teachers’ professional education and students’ achievement (2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers' Training</th>
<th>Urdu Mean</th>
<th>Maths Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PTC</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Ed</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: None of the differences are statistically significant

Table 9: Achievement scores in relation to teaching experience (2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching experience (in years)</th>
<th>% Maths</th>
<th>Maths Mean</th>
<th>% Urdu</th>
<th>Urdu Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>411.82</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>357.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>414.54</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>354.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>421.92</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>374.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>433.95</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>390.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>428.35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>338.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 and above</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>427.73</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>372.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: None of the differences are statistically significant

Results of the 2006 study were analysed on a different pattern. Instead of finding a correlation between teachers’ academic and professional qualification, and students’ achievement, the relationship between different curricular competencies of teacher, aspects of teacher training and student achievement was measured. Secondly, achievements of both students and teachers were compared on the same test. Table 10 gives a comparison of students and teachers’ scaled mean score on tests of different subjects while Table 11 gives scores of students in relation to different aspects of training. In both studies, the mean was set as 500 and standard deviation as 100. Achievement scores of teachers and students were compared with this pre-set mean score. Seen in this context, although the mean score achieved by teachers is significantly higher than the achievement score of students, one can clearly visualise that the scaled
The mean score of teachers does not reflect their mastery of subject matter content. In social studies the scaled mean score of teachers is relatively higher and more satisfactory. But, in the rest of the subjects, including mathematics, science and Urdu, the mean score is far from satisfactory.

Table 10: Scaled mean score of teachers and students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Scaled Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>620*</td>
<td>404</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>564*</td>
<td>382</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>660*</td>
<td>467</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>784*</td>
<td>496</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Difference highly significant

Table 11 presents the mean score of students in relation to training of teachers pertaining to different academic and pedagogical aspects.

Table 11: Achievement of Students in relation to teacher training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects of Training</th>
<th>Scaled Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Content</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>n.s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>n.s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Curriculum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>n.s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical thinking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>n.s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Solving</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>n.s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The mean score of both the teachers who received training in these components and those who did not is almost the same or statistically insignificant. These results reveal that whatever training teachers received in different content areas or different pedagogical aspects, did not affect their performance in any significant way. There is a need to analyse these results more deeply to isolate the effect of different contextual factors, including teachers’ subject matter knowledge and their pedagogical skills.

Implications for teachers status

I have reviewed a few studies carried out in the field of teacher education. Although all these studies are inconsistent in their methodology and analytical approach they are, however, consistent in their findings. All these studies, except that of Reimers and Warwick (1991), confirm that teachers’ academic as well as professional qualification does not affect students’ achievements. Findings of these studies are in contradiction with those conducted elsewhere. All those involved in the business of education, particularly in teacher education, must take cognizance of the situation and act accordingly. In the presence of these findings we lose arguments in discussing the importance of teacher education. Results of these studies actually provide tools and justification for political leadership and general public for adopting measures that not only will have far reaching consequences for teacher education, but for the entire system of education as well. There is a need to carefully scrutinise results of these studies and to isolate the effect of the teacher variable in order to inform policy and to affect policy decisions.

Elsewhere (Iqbal, 1999), I have discussed the failure of teacher education programmes in Pakistan in detail and have identified various possible reasons behind it. We need to analyse teacher education programmes being implemented in different teacher education institutions with reference to both pre-service and in-service education.

Pre-service education of teachers

Teacher education in Pakistan is considered far from satisfactory by the social leadership as well as the general public. In virtually all public debates and discussions, teachers are generally held responsible for the low quality of education. While it may be too much to expect from teachers in the absence of an enabling environment there is, at the same time, a need to revisit the nature of professional education of teachers, both pre-service and in-service. The basic
The purpose of pre-service education is to prepare prospective teachers to meet challenges that they have to face in the classroom in coming days. Keeping in view the nature of the job, the status of teachers, and future responsibilities a teacher is expected to carry out, pre-service training programmes are structured to include three components including academic preparation, pedagogical skills and practice/student teaching (Arends, 1994). Reflecting upon the quality of pre-service education in the country, the National Education Policy 1998-2010 gives the following remarks:

The teacher training programmes have an imbalance among the courses, pertaining to academic knowledge of the subject, content of school curriculum, teaching methods, teaching practices and curricular activities. This is because of the short duration of most of the existing teacher education programmes. (MoE, 1998, p. 48)

On the whole there are many factors contributing to an effective teacher education programme but the ones that may change the whole scenario are:

- entry requirements relating to pre-service education of prospective teachers;
- duration of the programme and practice teaching;
- nature of guidance provided during practice teaching; and,
- role of trainee teachers.

Entry requirements

There are over 110 institutions imparting teacher education in the country. Although the academic environment of all these institutions differs depending upon their infrastructure and the nature of the faculty, almost all public sector institutions have similar entry requirements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions Type</th>
<th>Institutions Type</th>
<th>Enrolment By Stage</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>27,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>27,079</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Competence of teachers in their subject matter content depends to a larger
extent on their previous academic preparation. I have collected data regarding choice of subjects of students seeking admission in a pre-service education programme of the largest teacher education institution in Pakistan. I have tried to analyse how many school subjects these students opted for in their Bachelor degree programme. A result of this analysis is given in Table 13.

Table 13: Prospective teachers’ choice of subject and graduation level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
<th>Percentage of Students having School Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2003</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2004</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2005</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2006</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-2007</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident from the results that the percentage of prospective teachers choosing two or three school subjects at graduation level is quite little. The situation becomes even more grave if we take into account the percentage of students having no school subject with those having only one.

**Duration of programme and practice teaching**

All teacher training programmes, whether PTC, CT or BEd, have been one year long in duration. Recently, in some areas, a diploma programme has been introduced that is extended over a period of one and a half year. However, all these pre-service education programmes have been offering practice teaching of four weeks’ duration. Both the overall duration and the duration of practice teaching has been considered grossly inadequate by teacher educators. During this brief duration, teachers are unable to develop an understanding of new terminologies and vocabulary of the discipline of education and are also unable to develop competence in teaching skills. With the advent of the 21st century, there is a global trend of integrating various disciplines of knowledge to facilitate greater and better understanding. Teacher training programmes are no exception to this: The United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK), and Japan are the main examples where practice sessions are made up of three integrated stages. In UK the minimum duration of practice teaching is 18 weeks.
Guidance and feedback

The major aim of practice teaching is to provide feedback to trainee teachers on various aspects of their performance. During practice teaching supervisor teachers monitor and guide the trainee teachers. In order to assess the quality of guidance and feedback provided to the trainee teachers at an institute of teacher education, Iqbal and Rehman (1997) analysed 3823 lessons delivered by a group of trainee teachers. Table 14 shows their findings.

Table 14: Number of lessons observed by the supervisor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of lessons reviewed:</th>
<th>3823</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of lessons unobserved:</td>
<td>3278 (85.74%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of lessons observed:</td>
<td>545 (14.25%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observed lessons were then further classified on the basis of remarks or feedback provided to the trainee teacher by the supervisor. The results are shown in Table 15.

Table 15: Nature of remarks and feedback provided by the supervisor to trainee teacher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supervisor’s Remarks</th>
<th>No. of items</th>
<th>%age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lessons observed with no remarks</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words/phrases of encouragement</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple remarks (stating what went well)</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>4.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestive remarks (feedback and guidance)</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>545</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.25</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results reveal interesting practices: A large number of lessons i.e. 85.74% were not even observed by the supervisors. Whereas in 7.74% of the lessons observed (i.e. combined categories 1 and 2 in tables 14 and 15) teachers did not provide any feedback whatsoever to trainee teachers about their strengths or weaknesses. In a limited number of lessons observed that is, in 4.13%, teachers only provided simple remarks such as short statements pointing out what went well during the lesson. In only 2.38% of lessons observed did teachers give quality feedback to trainee teachers that included statements of strengths of pupil teachers and suggestions for improvements in areas of weakness. Such a situation leaves the pupil teacher with no other option but to learn through trial and error. While the trial and error method can be quite useful in some cases, it
is certainly not suitable in this situation: Until, and unless, student teachers are able to observe themselves through video recordings, which is not the case here, the only way for pupil teachers to learn about their errors is through observing experienced and skilful supervisors.

However, even the performance of skilful and competent supervisors is greatly affected by the number of pupil teachers assigned to such supervisors. The supervisors scrutinised in this study had to monitor 20 to 25 pupil teachers each, in addition to instructing regular classes. Hence, the quality of their guidance was bound to be less than expected. Therefore, it is vitally important to reduce the strength of pupil teachers assigned to a single supervisor from 25 to 10, or at most 12, in order to improve the quality of supervision and guidance. There is also a need to increase the duration of practice teaching.

A serious attempt must be made to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Practice teaching is the component that provides opportunities to practise teaching skills and to also develop competence of trainee teachers in the subject matter component.

**In-service education**

The National education policy (MoE, 1998), criticized the quality of in-service education in the following words:

> In-service training programs for teacher educator are almost non-existent. There is no institutionalized arrangement for providing regular training to teacher and teacher educators. Sporadic training opportunities, if any, lack in quality. (p. 48)

Initial or pre-service education of teachers, no matter how intensive and rigorous it may be, cannot be considered effective and sufficient for preparing teachers for their lifelong career. As Hallak (1990) suggests, teacher training today can no longer be limited to a two or three year course of study prior to entering the profession.

As in any other profession, in-service training is an important element in the process of professionalisation and is compulsory in many developed and developing countries. Principal No. 6 of UNESCO recommendations concerning the statutes of teachers states: “Teaching should be regarded as profession; it is a form of public service which requires of teacher expert knowledge and specialized skills acquired and maintained through rigorous and continuing study.”
There are a host of studies that point to the ineffectiveness of in-service education of teachers in Pakistan. The reason is that the cascade model of training has the least effect on teachers’ performance in actual classroom settings. Such a training model becomes only effective and helps in the transfer of skills only if five essential components are present (Joyce & Showers, 2002). These components are:

1. **Theory.** Presentation of the theory or rationale that defines the value, importance, and use of the skills.
2. **Demonstration or modelling of the skills,** typically by the trainer.
3. **Practice.** Opportunities for learners to practice the skills, both while under the direction of experts, and over time in more natural settings.
4. **Feedback.** Timely and constructive feedback on learners’ practice, so that they can understand what they are doing well and what needs further refinement.
5. **Follow-up or coaching.** Long term guidance and assistance so that what was practiced in training sessions or other simulations is transferred to the actual work setting.

Research indicates that it takes at least 20 to 25 practice trials over approximately 8 to 10 weeks to transfer moderately complex new teaching skills and strategies appropriately and consistently into classroom instruction (Joyce & Showers, 1995, 2002). Moreover, it often takes 3 to 5 years to implement changed instructional practices school-wide (Fullan, 2001). Statistical studies of the magnitude of gains (effect sizes) from the training model show how different combinations of the five components impact training outcomes. The higher the effect size, the greater the gain in knowledge, skill, or transfer to actual classroom use.

For example, data in the knowledge column of Table 16 indicates that effect size increases as each training component is added. In other words, the presentation of theory alone results in a 0.15 gain in teachers’ knowledge of the training topic but when demonstration, practice, and feedback are added, it results in a 1.31 gain. Interestingly, when transfer to use in the classroom is the desired outcome of training (the Transfer of Training column of Table 16), it is found that a gradual addition of training elements does not appear to impact transfer noticeably. However a large and dramatic increase in transfer of training—effect size of 1.68—occurs when, in class, coaching is added to an initial training experience comprised of theory explanation, demonstrations, and practice with feedback (Joyce & Showers, 1995, p. 112).
Table 16: Effect Size for training Outcomes by Training Components

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training Components &amp; Combinations</th>
<th>Knowledge</th>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Transfer of Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory, Demonstration</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory, Demonstration, practice</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory, Demonstration, practice, Feedback</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory, Demonstration, Practice, Feedback, Coaching</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence, there is a need to design in-service training courses on a sound footing. In-service education must be viewed and considered in conjunction with pre-service education. That is, to be effective, in-service training programmes should be designed to fit the pre-service levels of teacher training.

Secondly, in today’s era of exponential growth of knowledge, the concept of continuous professional development (CPD) is widely recognised. In addition to formal in-service education, many other opportunities for professional growth must also be availed. These opportunities include summer courses, seminars and workshops, curriculum revision committees, membership of professional bodies, reading professional journals, writing research papers, and keeping abreast of new knowledge and developments in the field. I would like to reiterate that teacher development should be viewed as a multidimensional and continuous phenomenon. Hence, instead of looking at pre-service and in-service education as separate components, these should be viewed as interlinked and intertwined. Development of competence among teacher takes a long time and much effort: Figure 3 below shows the various aspects related to practice of teaching.

Figure 3: Factors influencing the practice of teaching
Lastly, recent advances in the field of cognitive and social psychology reveal that active participation of learners is of paramount importance for effective learning. Social interactionists such as Bruner (1996) and Vygotsky (1978) have argued convincingly for the need of high-quality interactions between two or more individuals as a mean of fostering one’s personal, social, physical and cognitive development. Teacher educators must provide a suitable learning environment and plan an appropriate curriculum to implement constructivist learning. While adopting measures for improving teacher education, principles of adult learning by adults. Over the last few years there has been a paradigm shift in the philosophy and practices of teaching. Reeves and Reeves (1997) have discussed the following change that has been initiated.

Table 17: Theoretical framework for adult learning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interactive learning Dimensions</th>
<th>Instructivist</th>
<th>Constructivist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical Philosophy</td>
<td>Instructivist</td>
<td>Constructivist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Theory</td>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>Cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal Orientation</td>
<td>Sharply Focused</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task orientation</td>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>Authentic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of motivation</td>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher role</td>
<td>Didactic</td>
<td>Facilitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta-Cognitive Support</td>
<td>Unsupported</td>
<td>Integrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative learning strategies</td>
<td>Unsupported</td>
<td>Integral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Sensitivity</td>
<td>Insensitive</td>
<td>Respectful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural flexibility</td>
<td>Fixed</td>
<td>Open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion**

Teacher status has many dimensions including economic status, social status and academic status and these components are all interlinked. However, academic status is the key component that leads to the other factors. Low quality of teachers and lack of competence in subject matter knowledge and pedagogical skills is one of the reasons why teachers have lost their pride and prestige. The quality of education in the public school system is a matter of concern for us all.
Lack of quality in these schools is widening the gap between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots. Children of general public—people who cannot afford the high fee charged by private school systems—are left at the complete mercy of the public school system and its teachers. As teachers, we belong to the same stratum of society; hence, it becomes mandatory for us to raise the standard of education in these schools. This cannot be achieved without improving teacher education.

References


Chapter 3

Status of Teachers: The Economic Dimension
Sajjad Akhtar, CRPRID, Islamabad, Pakistan

Introduction

Status of teachers is a multi-dimensional concept and a difficult and intangible element to measure. As defined in the 1966 ILO/UNESCO Recommendation, it consists of (a) appreciation of the importance of their function, (b) competence in performing it, and (c) working conditions, remuneration and other material benefits accorded to them relative to other professional groups. As a UNESCO Report of 2003 succinctly put it:

Assessing the status of the teaching profession in Pakistan (as in other countries) requires understanding the teachers competencies, autonomy, commitment, social position, remuneration and the degree of public recognition of the significance of education and the teaching profession.

As the title of the paper suggests, this discussion partly focuses on the subset of the third dimension, that is, remuneration and other material benefits. Not only is this dimension more observable and measurable than the other two dimensions, but can even become debatable and provocative, depending on the strength and involvement of various interest groups and how far the data is assumed to be reliable.

Let me now pose a general question here: Does the remuneration that a person draws from his employment reflect his economic status?

In many developing countries, including Pakistan with its long history of feudalism, strong cultural, tribal, and ethnic backgrounds, wealth, whether acquired or inherited, interacts with non-economic factors to define economic status, perceived or real.

This is even more true in rural areas. With increasing urbanization, importance of the above-mentioned factors is gradually eroding but it will still be some time
before Pakistani society becomes egalitarian, diverse and tolerant, and where remuneration and occupational status will largely define the economic status.

When economic status is assessed in a relative sense, through the telescope of remunerations, a number of relevant issues arise. These include:

- How underpaid or overpaid are individuals in the teaching profession compared to individuals in other professions with the same qualifications and experience?
- Are remuneration gaps narrowing or widening over time?
- Within the teaching profession, are there significant earning differentials across gender, region, institution type (private or public) and by qualification and trend over time?
- What is happening to returns to qualifications and experience?

The scanty evidence from a few other countries primarily in Africa, South and Latin America, on inter-occupational differentials is as follows:

- In Cote d’Ivoire, Argentina and Bolivia, studies found no clear pattern of over- or under-payment.
- In case of Bolivia, hourly earnings of teachers are comparable or even better than similar workers in other occupation.
- For South Asia the issue is under-researched: One study found that the average primary teacher’s salary in the region as a multiple of GDP per capita is 4 times as compared to India’s 3.2 times and Sri Lanka’s 1.3 times.
- A recent study by Asadullah (2006) of teacher’s pay in Bangladesh concluded that “teachers are significantly under-paid in comparison to people of similar human capital and other characteristics. This finding is robust to smaller working hours in teaching. Teachers in semi-government sector are the most disadvantaged. Within the public and private sectors teachers do not experience low pay in comparison to non-teachers once the differences in the observed characteristics are controlled”.
The rest of the paper is organized as follows: The next section presents a stylized theoretical framework of determinants of teacher’s remuneration. This is followed by a brief discussion of the data source and choice of variables. Intra-occupational differentials in earnings during 1999-2000 and 2005-2006 are then discussed, followed by a detailed examination of differentials in the remuneration of primary teachers by various socio-demographic dimensions. The, using a simple Mincer model, returns to qualifications and experience of primary school teachers and changes during 1999-2000 and 2005-2006 are estimated. These are then re-estimated using a dichotomous variable approach and finally, the paper presents the summary and conclusion that is arrived at.

Determinants of Remuneration: A Stylized Framework

In a more operational and down-to-earth economic sense, if remuneration defines economic status than what are its primary and secondary determinants for the teaching profession? Does the remuneration vary by the level of education the teachers impart? The rest of my theoretical discussion will centre around the stylized framework presented in Figure 1 (see Appendix), which highlights the determinants of remuneration within the teaching profession.

The first row of boxes that feed into the remuneration can be termed as primary determinants of remuneration in the teaching profession. They are experience plus training, qualifications, gender, type of institution, province of location whether located in urban or rural areas and compensating differentials in terms of number of hours and flexibility. Remunerations are generally positively related to experience, training and qualifications of the teaching individuals but rise with discrete jumps across qualifications and rise rapidly in younger age as one accumulates experience, and then taper off in later years. This could also be a function of pay structure and scales of individual countries and public versus private institutions.

In a theoretical and ideal sense, gender pay differentials across the same qualifications and experience should not exist. However in practice, gender discrimination in an explicit or overt form, combined with how the market and individuals value family responsibilities differently leads to disparities in remuneration.

Explaining pay differentials across the public-private institutional spectrum is a challenging assignment. Working conditions and flexibility, tenure or contractual arrangements, supply and demand at various levels of qualifications determining
the rent seeking behaviour of employees as well as employers are some of the factors determining these differentials.

Spatial differences also lead to differential remuneration. Usually pecuniary incentives are offered to teachers working in remote areas/rural areas and thus may introduce remuneration differentials between urban and rural areas. Similarly, generous incentives need to be offered for teachers prepared to work in backward regions whether urban or rural. In case of Pakistan, Baluchistan is a province where the average remuneration may be higher than other provinces.

Secondary determinants are categorized into 3 categories:

1. School teachers working in primary, secondary or high school
2. College teachers
3. University teachers and professors

A priori, remuneration provided to school teachers is negatively affected by excess supply relative to demand at this level. Non-tenured contracts offered by the growing private sector may keep the pay structure of school teachers depressed. Lack of or limited promotion opportunities at the primary level among this category also affects remuneration.

Females belonging to well-off families and/or wishing to supplement household incomes as second earners may accept lower remuneration and smaller hours in pay contracts. Similarly, un-married young females, waiting to be married may also accept lower pay for a part-time occupation. Non-teaching allowances, opportunities for private tuitions, and moonlighting at coaching centres have a positive impact on overall remunerations and earnings.

Secondary determinants of remuneration for college teachers are similar to school teachers except for the fact that opening up the education sector to private sector has increased demand relative to supply and therefore may have had salutary impact on remunerations in the last 7 years. Offsetting this positive impact is the issue of teachers entering into non-tenured contracts with the private sector, which may depress remunerations. Honoraria for preparing examination papers and checking answer books is another source of income that adds to the remuneration of the college teachers.

Highly qualified university teachers and professors have opportunities to supplement their income through research consultancies and also through a
generally vibrant overall demand for their skills arising out of the setting-up of many private universities. Moreover, governments’ attempts to strengthen the quality of higher education by hiring expatriate faculty has increased the remuneration of this category in the teaching profession. Publication opportunities have also opened chances for rapid promotion, which are not available to school and college teachers.

**Empirical Evidence: The Data Source and Variables**

No large scale data sets specifically designed to investigate the economic status of teachers are available in the country nor is there a movement to conduct such surveys at regular intervals. Regularly conducted National Education Management Information System (NEMIS) surveys could easily become a source of such information with the addition of only a brief module. There has been only one survey of nearly 200,000 teachers conducted under NEMIS by the Punjab government and that was in 1992. Why the practice of collecting such information was discontinued will remain a mystery and researchers in education and labour economics need to demand such data from the authorities. Hopefully, the empirical evidence presented in this paper will reinforce the justification of collecting such data at intervals of at least 5 years.

Labour force surveys conducted by the Federal Bureau of Statistics almost every year or two have eight single digit occupational classifications. Within those eight classifications they have defined two categories as Professionals (major group 2) and Technical and Associate Professionals (major group 3). Both these major groups are further sub-divided into two-digit classifications of four occupations each. One classification in the two-digit series relates to teaching professionals under both major groups 2 and 3 (see the appendix for a detailed definition of these sub-groups).

The sample of teaching professionals (all employees) under both these major groups from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) 1999-2000 and 2005-2006 are picked for within-group detailed analysis, while major groups 2 and 3 are picked for intra-group examination of earnings differentials. Remuneration is defined in labour force surveys as earnings in cash, kind and bonuses.
Intra-occupational differentials in earnings

Table 1 gives and compares the average monthly earnings of teachers versus other professionals under the two-digit classification of Professionals for the years 1999-2000 and 2005-06.

Table 1: Major Group 2 (Professionals)—Intra-Group Earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical, mathematical</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>9473</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and engineering Science</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science Prof.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Science and Health</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>9213</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Professional</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>6272</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(College, Univ., Secondary,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary, Special education,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Professionals</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>4995</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>6367</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F-test 23.28  64.50

We note the following from Table 1:

1. In the years between the two surveys, the remuneration share of all other professionals has increased at the cost of teaching professionals. The latter’s share has come down from 50 to 25 percent in the sample. This is probably a reflection of increased demand for professionals in non-teaching professions, intra-occupational mobility due to low salaries or tougher/raised entry qualifications/criteria for entry.

2. In nominal terms the earnings of all professionals have almost doubled during the 7-year period. However, average earnings of teaching professionals have recorded the highest growth at 240 percent. As per official estimates the inflation rate during the period was 37 percent, thus indicating a real increase in earnings of all professionals. Moreover, a significant F-value indicates that the mean earnings of all sub-occupations are statistically not equal to each other.
3. In the period 1999-2000, average earnings of teaching professional were 98 percent of the mean; now they are 16 percent above the mean earnings of the group.

4. Coefficient of variation measures within-group dispersion in earnings. In some sense it is a soft measure of earnings inequality within each group. Between the two periods, the inequality has remained more or less stable except for a marginal narrowing in case of teaching professionals and a widening of the gap in case of other professionals.

**Technical and Associate Professionals**

Table 2 compares the mean earning status of two-digit occupations under Technical and Associate Professionals for the year 1999-2000 and 2005-2006. The majority of these professionals fall under the category of teaching associate professionals and are, by definition, mostly primary school teachers. Between 2000 and 2006 they have further increased their share of remuneration from 58 to 64 percent, understandably due to government’s commitment to strengthen the primary education sector at least quantitatively.

Note that the average monthly earnings of this group are nearly 50 percent of the mean earnings of the professional group (including the teaching professionals) in both years.

**Table 2: Major Group 3 (Technical and Assoc. Professional)—Intra-Group Earnings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Avg. CV</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Avg. CV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical, mathematical and engineering Science Prof.</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>5492 62</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9157 93</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Science and Health Professional</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>3122 51</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>5207 85</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Assoc. Professional</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>3566 105</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>6882 88</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Assoc. Professionals</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>4663 68</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>7049 73</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>1219</td>
<td>3893 88</td>
<td>2861</td>
<td>6866 89</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-test</td>
<td>17.99</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We note the following from Table 2:

1. The teachers have gained their share at the expense of the shares of the remaining three sub-groups.

2. In 1999-2000, average earnings of teachers was slightly below the overall mean; in 2005-2006 these are slightly above average earnings of the group. As a group, teachers continue to show the fastest growth in nominal earnings during the period. The value of F-test is highly significant, indicating that the average means of each of the sub-group are statistically different.

3. In contrast to the professional group, within-group dispersion in earnings has narrowed noticeably for the teaching group, while widening appreciably or marginally for the remaining 3 sub-groups. Thus, broadly speaking, earnings of teaching professionals have converged more towards the mean during the period; in other words, inequality in earnings within this occupation has reduced.

**Primary Teachers: Disparities within socio-demographic attributes**

Table 3 gives the comparative view of status of monthly earnings of male versus female teachers from the major group 3. The remuneration share of female teachers increased only marginally during the 7 year period from 35 to 39 percent in the sample survey. However the inter-gender disparity increased substantially. In 2000, female teacher earnings were 87 percent of male earnings; in 2006, these earnings reduced to 71 percent.

In addition, the nominal growth in female earnings was less than male earnings. T-tests provide a partial view as the disparities need to be investigated in terms of average qualification, experience, and inter-gender differentials.

Moreover this is an earnings estimate rather than the salary estimate. As breadwinners, males may be under more pressure to earn more through tuitions and second teaching jobs while females earning figures may just be a reflection of the salary component. The dispersion in earnings, or inequities, within the female group has remained higher than that within the male group. However, it is interesting to note that this disparity has narrowed marginally in the female group while it has widened in case of males during the period.
Table 3: Earning Differentials by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Avg</td>
<td>CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3728</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3129</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-Value</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Urban-Rural Disparities

In Table 4, we give the average earnings of teachers in rural and urban areas. Although the average earnings of teachers in urban areas is lower than rural in absolute terms, the non significant T-values indicate that statistically they are equal. Moreover, growth in nominal earnings of teachers residing in urban areas was only slightly higher than those residing in rural areas. In both areas the inequalities have marginally increased during the seven-year period.

Table 4: Regional Differences in Earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Avg</td>
<td>CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>3418</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>3636</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-Value</td>
<td>-1.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Public versus Private Institutions

Although the remuneration share of individuals teaching in private institutions increased during the period, the disparities in earnings between individuals working in the two types of institutions widened during the period (Table 5).

Mean earnings of primary teachers in private institutions, which were 56 percent in 1999-2000, reduced to 46 percent of mean earnings of those working in public institutions in 2005-2006. Note also that even with lower mean earnings of those employed in private institutions, disparity or earnings inequality within the sector have widened significantly. The comparatively higher growth of mean earnings in public schools during the period further reinforced institutional disparities.
However, one cannot entirely ignore the possibilities that these disparities might mask differences in employment contracts, for example, more flexible working hours between the two types of institutions, proximity to residential areas and better environment. Single young females from more well-off or conservative backgrounds may consider a teaching occupation as less of a career and more a transitory phase before they are married.

In short, one needs a lot richer data to unambiguously establish whether or not partial privatization of the education sector has led to ‘exploitation’ in the real sense and whether, in fact, it has increased the ranks of working poor in the teaching profession.

Table 5: Earnings Differentials by Type of Institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Avg</td>
<td>CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>2135</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>3786</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-Value</td>
<td>-5.85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provincial Disparities

Table 6 shows the mean earnings of teachers residing in the four provinces. The remuneration share of primary teaching professionals in Baluchistan and Punjab increased marginally at the cost of Sindh and NWFP. The nominal growth in earnings of teaching professions during the period is similar except in NWFP where it is 218 percent.

One reason for the higher absolute mean earnings in Baluchistan in both periods is the remoteness of area and the subsequent hardship allowances that teachers in other provinces may not be entitled to. However, the differences between the mean earning of Baluchistan and the province with lowest mean earning narrowed from 73 to 80 percent during the period.

Intra-province earning disparities increased substantially in Baluchistan and NWFP. In Punjab the earnings inequality decreased marginally while in Sindh the decrease was modest.
Table 6: Earnings Disparities by Province

<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Avg CV</td>
<td>% Avg CV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>34.7 3413 98.4</td>
<td>39.6 6624 97.3</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>27.8 3622 80.3</td>
<td>25.7 7126 67.2</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>25.8 3153 59.0</td>
<td>21.2 6883 97.1</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>11.7 4322 29.1</td>
<td>13.5 8288 78.8</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F-test 3.57 1.40

Returns to Qualifications

Table 7 compares the returns to qualifications in 2000 and 2006.

Table 7: Returns to Qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% X CV</td>
<td>% X CV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>35.6 3282 80</td>
<td>25.3 6294 111</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>33.8 3553 91</td>
<td>26.9 6338 97</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>24.6 3783 61</td>
<td>28.7 7062 68</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate</td>
<td>6.0 3649 28</td>
<td>19.0 8955 70</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F-test 1.135 1.605

We infer the following from the data:

1. The remuneration share of degree holders and post-graduates increased at the cost of the share of matriculate and intermediate-qualified teachers. In fact, remuneration share of post-graduates increased three times, from six to nineteen percent, in the sample. Better qualified teachers, even at the primary and secondary level in the teaching profession, either due to demand-pull or supply-push factors, can contribute to the improvement in the quality of teaching over the long-run.

2. The statistically non-significant low F-value for 1999-2000 indicates that there were no returns to qualifications, as the mean earnings are statistically equal. This situation improved considerably by 2005-2006, where the F-test is highly significant and average returns rise monotonically with qualifications.
Moreover, in 1999-2000, the mean earnings of teachers with post-graduate qualifications was 10 percent than those with matriculate qualification. This difference rose to 42 percent in 2005-2006. The highest growth in nominal earnings took place for the post-graduate category followed by those with matriculation qualifications.

3. Correspondingly, the intra-qualifications dispersion in mean earnings have increased more rapidly for teachers with post-graduate degrees, followed by holders of matriculate qualifications. In other words, the premium on non-degree skills and experience may have also improved in the teaching profession.

Returns to Schooling and Experience

Research by Chisti et al. (1998) on teacher’s returns to schooling in Pakistan, based on the huge data set of Punjab for 1992, suggests that returns to experience are 3-4 times higher than returns to schooling. This was partly due to the dominance of the public sector in the hiring of teachers, the fixed nature of contracts, and automatic promotions within grades based on experience rather than qualifications. This section investigates whether this relationship has changed in the last 15 years and, if so, to what extent. Table 8 presents the regression results of a reduced form model to explain variation in earnings through the dynamics of years of schooling and experience.

Table 8: Returns to Schooling and Experience

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.18)</td>
<td>(9.10)</td>
<td>(8.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(8.99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(-6.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R2</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>17.46</td>
<td>82.77</td>
<td>70.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>1724</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S= No. of Schooling Years
X= No. of experience Years
The first regression estimates the returns to schooling. These were 3.1 percent in 1999-2000 and improved to 4.8 percent in 2005-2006. While still low by international standards, the increase has been more than 50 percent in the seven-year period.

The second set of regression in the Table 8 gives the returns to experience. If one compares these results with the first set, the returns to experience are roughly twice the returns to schooling.

In other words, since the early nineties they have come down from 3-4 times to only double. Flexibility in wage contracts, labour market, greater inclusion of the public sector, attrition, and better-qualified fresh recruitment may now have narrowed the returns between schooling and experience.

When one accounts for both years of schooling and experience, as in the third set of regressions, the returns to experience are now only 20-50 percent higher than returns to schooling (7.5 versus 6.2 in 2000 and 9.3 versus 6.5 in 2006). Thus, one can debate the proposition that returns to schooling have risen faster than returns to experience and the implications of this are for the economic status of the teachers.

**An Extended Modelling Framework**

In the above partial analysis of earnings separated by each of the attributes and based on a naïve model of only experience and schooling, the impact of other left-out variables may result in under- or over-estimating the impact of the attributes under study.

Thus, to ascertain whether incremental rates of returns are due to experience only or are also influenced by teachers’ main qualification levels and other attributes such as gender, teaching in private/public institutions and location of school and province, we estimate an aggregate Mincerian model using a dummy variable approach.

The results for 1999-2000 and 2005-2006 and, as comparison, the results of Chisti et al. (1998) are presented in Table 9.
Table 9: Returns to schooling and experience—a multivariate dummy variable approach

<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>7.75</td>
<td>91.027</td>
<td>7.925</td>
<td>121.737</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPR</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>6.423</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>10.147</td>
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<tr>
<td>EXPR2</td>
<td>-0.0007</td>
<td>-4.183</td>
<td>-0.0003</td>
<td>-0.0006</td>
<td>-4.984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TG-Male</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>1.070</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>3.904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA-Private</td>
<td>-0.598</td>
<td>-11.091</td>
<td>0.153</td>
<td>-0.698</td>
<td>-18.330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TE-Inter</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>2.644</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>0.151</td>
<td>4.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TE-Degree</td>
<td>0.364</td>
<td>7.164</td>
<td>0.280</td>
<td>0.377</td>
<td>9.782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TE-Post graduate</td>
<td>0.450</td>
<td>5.674</td>
<td>0.478</td>
<td>0.601</td>
<td>14.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOC-Urban</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>1.650</td>
<td>0.043</td>
<td>0.130</td>
<td>4.567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOC-Punjab</td>
<td>-0.268</td>
<td>-4.839</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.123</td>
<td>-2.759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOC-Sindh</td>
<td>-0.242</td>
<td>-3.952</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.160</td>
<td>-3.462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOC-NWFP</td>
<td>-0.276</td>
<td>-4.583</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.124</td>
<td>-2.605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R2</td>
<td>0.420</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.501</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-test</td>
<td>42.331</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>158.633</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TG = Teacher’s Gender  SA = School Administration  TE = Teacher’s Education  SLOC = School Location

Once you control or account for other attributes, the returns to experience fall further as compared to the estimates from the naïve model. In fact the returns to experience are now slightly higher than (4.2 versus 3.1 percent in 1999-2000) or similar (4.9 versus 4.8 percent in 2005-2006) to the ones obtained from the naïve model estimating schooling returns.

For the year 1999-2000, a priori signs and magnitudes support many results of the partial analysis, except in the case of males, urban/rural, and returns to qualifications. Male earnings are statistically not different from those of females and earnings increase monotonically with qualifications. The 2005-2006 estimates are even more confirmatory of the partial analysis except in case of urban/rural divide. Between the two years the returns to all the attributes have risen including equalization of provincial disparities with respect to Baluchistan.
Summary

Using the primary data of individual employee earnings from Labour Force Survey 1999-2000 and 2005-2006, this study presents preliminary findings on the earning differentials, inequities and growth trends of teaching professionals classified under Major Group 2 and 3 in the Labour Force Survey. The major findings are as follows:

1. During the period 1999-2000 and 2005-2006, growth in nominal earnings of teaching professionals has been highest among the sub-groups represented in Major Group 2 (Professionals) and 3 (Technical and Assoc. Professionals).

2. In the category of professionals, mean earnings of teachers were equal to the mean earnings of the group in 1999-2000; they are now 16 percent above the mean earnings. However they are still 72 percent (as opposed to 66 percent in 1999-2000) of the mean earnings of the group classified as the physical, mathematical, and engineering science professionals. In addition, their share in the sample has declined from 50 percent to 25 percent in 2005-2006.

3. In Major Group 3 where the teaching associate professionals are mostly primary teachers, the average earnings of teachers is just the average earnings of the group in 2005-2006 and they are 75 percent of the mean earnings of the highest paid group. Within the primary teachers category, the earnings inequality has narrowed in 2005-2006 from 1999-2000.

4. The growth rate analysis indicates that nominal earnings of male primary teachers, those residing in urban areas, teaching in public schools, belonging to NWFP, and those with post-graduate qualifications, have risen faster than other comparative groups during the last seven years.

5. Simple statistical analysis indicates that earning differentials based on gender, region, type of institutions and qualifications are significant in 2005-2006.

6. Returns to schooling and experience of primary teachers are estimated from a simple regression model. The returns to experience are twice that of returns to schooling. Results from the Punjab Study of 1992 indicated that the former were 3-4 times of the latter.

7. A multivariate dummy variable approach estimated the returns to each year of experience at 4.9 percent in comparison to 3.1 as estimated in the Punjab
Study of 1992. In addition, the return to selected socio-demographic characteristics of primary teachers is higher in 2005-2006 than the corresponding returns in 1999-2000. The differentials in earnings among the provinces also narrowed during the 7 year period.

References


Appendix

Sub-Major Group 23: Teaching Professionals

Teaching professionals teach the theory and practice of one or more disciplines at different educational levels, conduct research and improve or develop concepts, theories and operational methods pertaining to their particular discipline, and prepare scholarly papers and books.

Tasks performed by workers in this sub-major group usually include: conducting classes, courses or tutorials at a particular educational level, for educational or vocational purposes, including private lessons; conducting adult literacy programmes; teaching and educating handicapped persons; designing and modifying curricula; inspecting and advising on teaching methods and aids; participating in decisions concerning the organization of teaching and related activities at schools and universities; conducting research in their particular subjects to improve or develop concepts, theories or operational methods for application in industrial and other fields;

This sub major group includes:- a) College, University and higher education teaching professionals, b) Secondary education teaching professionals, c) Primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals, d) Special education teaching professionals, and e) Other teaching professionals

Sub-Major Group 33: Teaching Associate Professionals

Teaching associate professional teach a range of subjects at the primary and pre-primary education levels, organize educational activities especially for children below primary school age, or teach physically or mentally handicapped children, young adults, or those with learning difficulties.

Tasks performed by workers in this sub-major group usually include: preparing programme of learning and giving instruction in arrange of subjects at the pre-primary and primary education levels; planning and organising activities designed to facilitate children’s development of language or physical and social skills; adapting curriculum to suit the particular group mentally or physically handicapped persons, or those with learning difficulties, and teaching them using Braille, lip-reading and other special aids and techniques; engage in other
teaching activities including teaching how to fly aircraft or drive motor vehicles or other engines.

This sub-major group includes:- a) Primary education teaching professionals, b) Pre-primary education teaching associate professionals, c) Special education teaching associate professionals, and d) Other teaching associate professionals.

Figure 1: Teacher’s Status: An Economic Dimension
This chapter is based on a preliminary secondary analysis of three life histories of teachers from Pakistan; more detailed analysis is under process. The life histories of two male teachers and one female teacher were constructed by researchers as part of their PhD and Master’s dissertations (Halai, 2002; Khan, 2004; Shah, 2004). First, the concept of secondary analysis of qualitative studies/data is discussed and then the life history method is explained very briefly. Brief life histories of the three teachers are abstracted from the dissertations in broad brushstrokes to help answer the question: How are teachers’ conception of their teaching practice related to their status in society? Finally, I have undertaken a cross case analysis, comparing the three teachers’ life experiences to draw insights about the factors that influence teachers status.

There is a growing body of literature on secondary analysis of qualitative studies and the secondary analysis of qualitative data (Heaton, 2004). However, at this point the distinction between the two kinds of secondary analysis—those that analyze raw data again and those that analyze the studies—is not very clear. Estabrooks, Field, and Morse (1994), for instance, state that aggregate analysis that involves the synthesis of findings from several qualitative studies is called a form of secondary analysis. Heaton further clarifies that the analysis of studies could be called secondary analysis if a new question is asked which is different from the question/s asked in the original studies. Hence, I have classified this paper as a secondary analysis as it explores a new question which is different from those addressed in the original studies. Furthermore, as qualitative research is based on the premise that the researcher is the instrument of research, the problem of the researcher not having “been there” needs careful

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1 The cross case analysis has focused on issues that are common or different in the three cases based on issues related to status such as (a) gender (b) professional development (c) ethnicity and socio-economic background (d) conception of school teaching and (e) subject loyalty
attention (Heaton, 2004). To overcome this problem very few secondary analysis of qualitative data are based entirely on others’ studies or data. The story of Munazza is based on the author’s own PhD dissertation. However, Ikraam and Gul’s stories are both taken from M.Ed. dissertations—the first of these was supervised by the author and the other was supported by providing literature and some methodological guidance. Hence, the author knows two studies first hand and the third study too is not entirely unfamiliar.

**Life history**

Goodson has characterized life history as “the life located within its historical context” (1992, p. 2), while Bertraux defines it as “sociologically read biography” (1992, p. 210). However, I have used the conception of life history method described by Smith, Kleine, Prunty, and Dwyner. They describe it as a method that involves stories or narratives recalling events in an individual’s life and obtained with the help of lengthy interviews. It includes the stories of significant others to embed in a broader context. Life history method has a post-modernistic stance to knowledge; that one can know only partially, knowledge is not only in the mind and in actions but in the context. Life history method also suggests a shift from knowledge base essential for teaching to a mode that stresses personal agency. It allows us to see the personal as the professional and vice versa and it foreshadows a more equitable power relationship between the researcher and the researched.

The semi-structured in-depth interview is a central feature of the life history method. This could, and often does, include informal and formal conversations with people in the context of the school. The feature that differentiates life history method from other biographical methods of research is that this method gives space to include the voice of significant others to embed it in a broader context. Observations and document analysis are often included in the data generation process. However, it is important to understand that life history helps us to understand teachers’ theorizing rather than theorize about teachers. The three studies on which this paper is based all use unstructured life history interviews to interview Munazza, Gul and Ikraam. They have also observed their class teaching and analyzed relevant documents.
Lives of the three teachers: Munazza, Gul and Ikraam

I have used the lens of teacher practice and its relation to the status of teachers to summarize the life history of the three teachers: Munazza, Gul and Ikraam. The selection of the portrayal has been guided by some principles laid down in Dollard’s seminal work (1935) on criteria for life history.

Munazza’s story

Munazza’s family includes eight sisters and one brother who belong to the Mohajir community. Her grandparents migrated to Pakistan from Allahabad, India in 1947. She had two brothers, but lost her elder brother at a very young age. He had just completed Inter-Science and was ready to go to an engineering university, when he died very suddenly. His death has been very traumatic for Munazza and her siblings. She has been particularly affected as she was the one with him during his last moments.

As a teacher, when she sees boys in her class, she wants to make sure that they study and do well in their exams. She sees it as her role as a teacher not only to complete the curriculum but to teach in such a way that students get good marks and are then able to get admission to professional institutions. She relates her own example where she had good marks and got admission into a medical college in Sindh but not in Karachi; hence she could enter into any sort of medical profession that she was very interested to follow. As a result, she realizes the importance of marks and tries hard to teach students in a way that they will get good marks.

Munazza declares school life as being the best part of her life. She liked primary school years more than the time she spent in secondary school and, in turn, liked secondary school more than her college years. School, particularly primary school, was like home to her with her own class teacher and a room. Her favourite teacher in primary school was Miss Iffat. However, her science teachers were not very good. In the primary science classes, it really did not make too great a difference as students had to learn short answers to questions given at the end of the chapters. However, in secondary science classes she found her science teachers to be very poor teachers. They did not have any concept of providing explanations. In particular, the physics teacher did not explain any content properly. The teacher asked students to read aloud from the textbook and that was all; if students asked her to explain further she would get angry at them. No activities were conducted in the science classes to illustrate concepts.
and very limited oral explanations were given. Munazza wondered about how she developed her interest in science because her science teachers certainly did not inspire her. She was the first person in her family to study science—her three elder sisters had not taken up this field of study. Starting at a young age, Munazza was very interested in science activities and engaged in activities illustrated in science textbooks with her younger siblings.

Munazza consciously tries not to teach in the way her science teachers taught her and uses lots of demonstrations to illustrate concepts to her students. She teaches general science to grades seven and eight, chemistry to grade nine and *Islamiat* to grade eight. In grade nine, the stress is on completing the syllabus and ensuring that the students learn the answers to important questions so that they can regurgitate it for the their Board Exams. However, in grades seven and eight, where examinations are school-based, she feels free to engage in more demonstrations and hands-on activities for teaching science.

Munazza has a great deal of difficulty in managing her class but she does not believe in demeaning punishments such as making students sit on the floor or making ponytails in their hair because they are long. She thinks that one reason for her difficulty in class management is her inability to use harsh punishments with her students.

Munazza had always like the idea of teaching and would often have her younger siblings sit across from her and “teach” them. Her father bought a full sized blackboard for her so that she could write on that rather than scribble on the walls while “teaching”. During the long break after her *Inter-Science* she decided to occupy her time by teaching in a local school. However, teaching was not her first choice for a profession—she wanted to be a doctor but as she could not get into the medical school of her choice she decided to pursue a Bachelor of Science (BSc) degree in chemistry and microbiology. As her college ended at noon and so she continued to teach in the afternoon school that she had joined after her *Inter-Science*. She continued to teach throughout her undergraduate programme, only leaving the job close to her final exams.

After complete the Bachelor of Science programme, Munazza wanted to work in a pathology or microbiology laboratory for at least some time so that she could make use of her knowledge of vaccines, tuberculosis tests, cancer, etc. that she had studied in microbiology and biochemistry. However, her father thought that the *mahol* (working environment) in laboratories is not good. He believed that teaching is the best and most respectable profession for women and that is what
she should take up. Since she liked to teach and already had experience of teaching in schools, Munazza accepted an offer to join the Karachi Model Secondary School (KMSS) as a teacher. Her younger sister was already a teacher of mathematics and science at that school. However, Munazza wanted to work for some time in a laboratory in order to learn more about the practical side of science. She regretted not being able to do that, but she also made clear that she enjoyed teaching and felt very strongly that if one chooses to teach then one must do it sincerely.

Munazza found that she learnt much more about her subject while teaching than she had ever learnt as a student. As a student, she was dependent on the teacher and whatever the teacher thought was considered important to learn. But as a teacher in a coeducational school she found that students, particularly boys, come up with all sorts of questions and she had to be well-prepared in order to respond appropriately to those questions.

At KMSS, there is no regular system of making lesson plans. In the first school where she began her teaching career there was an expectation that teachers will make formal lesson plans before teaching the lessons. All kinds of teaching materials from demonstration activities to worksheets had to be planned ahead of time. For this purpose Saturday were set aside for teachers to do their planning and for preparation of materials for teaching. It was here that Munazza really learnt how to teach. In contrast, in KMSS, teachers were not expected to make formal lesson plans for submission to the principal. Hence, Munazza does not make a formal lesson plan but does have a mental plan. The night before her lesson, she does “look” at the lesson that she has to teach the next day. When thinking about a lesson she usually does not have a particular approach or teaching strategy in mind. She admits that she has had no training in teaching in the form of a degree or diploma so when she teaches she keeps in mind the way she was taught. More often, however, she teaches in a way that she was not taught, using concrete materials and demonstrations to illustrate science concepts.

In her own words Munazza is a “sincere” teacher despite the fact that she did not want to become a teacher. But at the time of the study Munazza was working towards getting a graduate degree, hoping to get an opportunity to teach at college level – she may still may be teaching in a school or may have opted to teach in a college instead.
**Gul’s story**

Gul is a young male teacher of mathematics residing in Karachi. His ancestors had migrated from the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan more than 40 years ago. He comes from a large family of seven brothers and one sister and belongs to the Pakhtun tribe. Gul’s brother was very good in mathematics and Gul took encouragement from him. However, his desire to become a teacher was ignited by an excellent mathematics teacher who taught him in school.

His home environment was very religious and his parents first gave him religious education at home and then sent him for formal schooling in a government primary school. He has sweet memories of his primary school and still has fond memories of one teacher in particular who was soft spoken and taught by telling good moral stories. His favourite subjects were Urdu and Islamiat and he was scared of mathematics. He had difficulty in particular in understanding word problems. Rote memorization was the standard manner of teaching.

When Gul went to secondary school, he realized that life in secondary school was a little bit different than that in primary school. Here, the teachers taught specific subjects and the school building was bigger and he felt more independent because he was able to come and go to school by himself. Miss Khalida was a mathematics teacher that Gul still remembers: although “chalk and talk” was the standard method of teaching, Miss Khalida had a special teaching style and, as a result, he started taking an interest in Mathematics. Mathematics was seen as a dry and difficult subject but through practice and hard work he was able to score 33% in the middle exams. They were the highest marks in the class—all the other students failed even to get this minimum score. Mr. Najam was his mathematics teacher in class ten. He was very dedicated teacher and would utilize his free time to teach them. His hard work paid off and he obtained a first division in Matric scoring 88% marks in mathematics. According to Gul, “This brilliant success was a very significant event in my academic life, as it paved the way for me to pursue mathematics for further studies.” Gul attributed this success to his concentration and practice and the hard work of his teacher.

Gul then entered a government college and found college life to be totally different from school life. There were far fewer restrictions but the experience was both exciting and frustrating. The frustration was mostly due to the change
in the medium of instruction. Science and mathematics were taught in English while Gul had, till then, only studied in an Urdu medium school. In addition, due to disturbances in the city, colleges remained closed often and Gul learnt most of the things through private tuitions. However, he passed his Inter-Science and entered the BSc programme in the same college, studying physics, mathematics, and statistics. According to Gul, studying physics and statistics supplemented his learning of mathematics, because they mostly contained mathematical problems. However, overall, the situation of the college was the same as he had experienced during his secondary schooling years (FSc). In college, teaching was done through the lecture method and was notes-based, so they copied down the lectures and made notes out of them.

Before getting admission into the Bachelor of Science (BSc) programme, Gul had also obtained admission in a private technical institute in Karachi, for a three years’ Diploma in Associate Engineers (DAE). It was equivalent to FSc and all the same subjects of FSc were taught in the diploma program except for Urdu, and other technical subjects. Studying in the technical institute was beneficial for Gul as he got an opportunity to re-study science subjects such as physics, chemistry and mathematics, which reinforced his learning. Gul studied for the BSc and the DAE simultaneously and completed both of them at the same time. After that he joined a private firm in Karachi as a junior sub engineer. He worked for two years as a sub-engineer but found himself unfit for private service and decided to join the teaching profession. Before he started to teach formally he had already experienced teaching while tutoring students in a coaching centre. His desire to become a “formal” teacher was so strong that Gul picked up his studies again and entered the Bachelor of Education (BEd) at Government College of Education, Karachi. While he was working on his BEd he got an opportunity to teach in a private school. According to Gul this was very helpful for him as he was able to apply his learning about teaching in the school. After teaching for five years in a private school a turning point came in his life when he was selected as a high school teacher (HST), through the Sindh Public Service Commission, and was posted in the school where currently he is teaching, “I was jubilant on the realization of my dream of becoming a full-fledged teacher.” He was asked to teach mathematics to grades 6 through 10. Gul had always been keen for a job in the government sector as he felt that in the private sector there was always a tension in his mind due to non-security of his job.

A good mathematics teacher is a person who is like a guide and a friend of the students. Most importantly s/he should be realistic, and an expert in content.
the teacher is not clear about a concept s/he should not teach that concept to the children. As Miss Afsar used to say, and I quote, “If a teacher is not clear about a concept and teaches that concept to the children, then misconception transfers from teacher to children, which is a loss, and there is no remedy for this loss”.

Gul considers himself lucky that he was selected to attend the Visiting Teacher (VT; now, Certificate in Education) programme at AKU-IED in 2002. This was his first experience of professional development and it had a great impact on him. According to him the unique learning environment of AKU-IED opened new horizons of learning for him. Before the VT programme he believed that he was a competent teacher with sound subject knowledge. But the VT Programme taught him a great deal, specially that knowledge could be constructed, rather than giving it in the form of set rules and principles. He also learnt how to become a reflective practitioner and through constant reflection he tried to improve his own teaching skills.

Gul was also selected to do the one-year Advanced Diploma Program in Subject Specialist Teaching (ADDIST) – Mathematics, at the AKU-IED. This programme was more field-based and learner-focused. For the first time in his professional life he realized that teaching could be a kind of research and he conducted a small-scale action research titled *Impact of Cooperative Learning on Children’s Mathematics Learning* during this program. The most significant things that he learnt during this programme was the preparation of unit plans and learning to reflect on his teaching. Facilitators from AKU-IED observed his lessons and gave him feedback after each lesson, which enabled him to improve his teaching. During fieldwork, he received extensive experience of designing activities for classroom teaching and then putting them into practice.

Teachers always played an important role in Gul’s academic life. Although he did not like mathematics in primary school, his teachers’ encouragement later made him interested in the subject. He was then further inspired by another teacher in class ten. This latter teacher’s teaching approach was based on ‘explanation’ method where he emphasized understanding over rote learning and Gul ascribed his success in matriculation examination to this teacher’s encouragement. He also further alluded that he became enthusiastic to learn mathematics in his future academic life.

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1. School’s head-miss when Gul joined the school
Ikraam's story

Ikraam belongs to a remote mountain village in the Chitral region of the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan. The village is situated about 76 kilometres away from the town of Chitral. Most of the people of his village belong to the middle class and farming is their main source of income. Ikraam’s ancestors emigrated from Afghanistan and settled in the village where they speak Khowar, a Chitrali language. Ikraam’s father completed matriculation and served as a warehouse clerk in the Government Food Department of Chitral for 30 years. Ikraam’s mother is a housewife. She has looked after Ikraam and two sets of twin siblings. Their income was supplemented by farming.

Ikraam’s father is well-known and is respected in his community for his honesty and service to the local people. As he is educated, he values education and he sent all his children to school despite heavy financial burden. As a child, Ikraam lived for some time with his maternal grandparents and visited his parents once a week. His grandmother took him to school for admission. Corporal punishment was common and Ikraam still remembers the time he was in Class 2 when he was hit on the head with a cane for reciting the answer very softly. Ikraam started bleeding from the head and the teacher stopped the blood loss by applying naswar on the wound. Ikraam did not remove his cap for three days to hide the wound from his father.

After completing his primary education, Ikraam moved to a secondary school in another village about 10 km away from his home. Ikraam lost all his friends who went to different schools and, as a result, he felt both lonely and homesick living with this aunt, from where he could only visit his home every weekend. The new school was quite different from the previous one because here, teachers were specialized in each subject and there were also more students. Ikraam felt very uneasy in secondary school till the time that one of his cousins was admitted to the same school.

Mathematics was Ikraam’s favourite subject; however, he also developed an interest in science because the science teacher taught students very well. For Matriculation, on his parents’ advice, Ikraam chose to study science, as his father wanted him to become a doctor, though he was not sure what he would do with science. Having teachers who could teach science and mathematics was always a problem in his schools. Ikraam still remembers his science teacher in Class 9 who taught differently; he engaged the students in practical work and also provided explanations. During Ikraam’s life as a student of science, this
teacher’s teaching had impressed him the most. The teacher’s main characteristic was that he involved the students in learning experiences and, most importantly, whenever the students faced a problem they could easily approach him.

Other experiences of learning were based on rote learning of the scientific concepts. For example, Ikraam had memorized the definition of atom, but he did not understand what an atom was. He knew the formula of water but did not know what H and O stood for. Whenever students asked their teachers for an explanation, they did not get a satisfactory response. They studied science without relating it to their daily lives. In such a situation, science seemed hard and difficult for him; Ikraam reflects that he could have become a doctor if he had learned science with understanding.

After completing his school education Ikraam joined the Degree College Chitral. He chose to study biology in spite of his interest in mathematics. During college, his studies went well but he got into a religious argument with one of his classmates; as a result, he left the college and was sent to Karachi. In Karachi, he joined the FSc programme in a local Government College. The standard of studies was not very high and he could not do well in FSc, so he then started BSc in a Federal Government programme in Karachi.

Due to financial problems, Ikraam was unable to continue his academic education after graduating; however, he managed to find a job in an office. Knowledge of computers was essential in his office so he joined a Diploma Programme in Computers. His interest in computers increased steadily and, through his teachers, he was sent to the Dubai branch of his institution as an instructor. Then, die to the incident known as “9/11” his job in Dubai could not be continued and he ended up joining the same institute in Karachi as an instructor. However, he felt that his own learning had stopped and he also wanted to serve his community so he offered his services to the school as a computer teacher and continued to work in the institute on a part-time basis.

Computer classes were held on a weekly basis at the school where Ikraam taught. Students would come to the computer lab in different groups and, usually, two or three students would share one computer. Ikraam taught basic computer skills to students; however, as computer teaching began to be integrated into subject teaching, Ikraam was asked to teach science to Class 8 and this is how he became a science teacher.
In the beginning, Ikraam had to spend a great deal of time to prepare himself before going to teach the students. During his teaching, Ikraam tried to relate science concepts to the students’ daily lives. The students would read sections from the book and he would explain the content to them, and then dictate notes that the students copied and memorized. In short, he taught exactly how he was taught, encouraging rote memorization. He had a superficial understanding about science and how it could be learned and taught. While Ikraam did realize that the traditional chalk and talk method was ineffective, he did not know how else to teach.

Ikraam had entered into the teaching profession without getting any professional training. In June 2003, he was given the opportunity to attend a professional development course at AKU-IED. The environment of the classroom and the attitude of the facilitators were very friendly and encouraging and he slowly gained confidence. According to Ikraam he gained immensely from the course at AKU-IED. He has referred to the training as a major turning point in his professional life as a teacher. He got ample opportunities to enhance both his content knowledge and his pedagogical skills. In particular, Ikraam learnt about teaching strategies such as cooperative learning, group work, activity-based teaching and other child-centred teaching approaches—all of which were entirely new for him. He learnt that it is extremely important to elicit students’ prior knowledge about everyday science phenomenon to understand their misconceptions and to provide them opportunities to correct them. This course also enhanced his skills in resource development. Now when Ikraam sees things such as a straw, box or a plastic bottle, he thinks of ways to use these materials as resources in his science teaching. He previously thought that because he does not have a laboratory, he could not teach students about things such as acids and bases, but he learnt that everyday materials such as lemon juice could be used to teach these topics. Before attending this course, he understood the curriculum to be the textbook and that he had to teach it. He now understands that the curriculum includes all the learning experiences that are provided to the students for their holistic development. Now, he uses the textbook as just one of many resources rather than something to be followed rigidly. Ikraam, however, feels that though he has learnt much he still has a lot to learn to improve his pedagogical skills.

Ikraam is an eldest child and his parents are keen to see him married, but he feels that, first, he has to fulfil his school sponsorship commitments. Although he has been teaching for many years but he does not have a formal degree. He is very ambitious to continue his professional growth and get a formal degree in
teaching by enrolling into a Bachelor of Education (BEd) programme. He is optimistic that with a professional degree he will be able to get a job in the government education department or even open his own school and serve the community. Apart from his school activities, he does social work in his free time.

**Issues related to status**

**Teaching does not necessarily require formal training**

Munazza was a teacher in a private school even before she completed her Bachelor degree. Similarly, Gul was exposed to informal teaching initially in a tuition centre and then in a private school before he chose to take it up formally by getting training. Ikraam was also able to take up teaching before he formally made a decision to take up teaching as a career. Hence, exposure to teaching in private schools or in coaching centres encourages teachers to “become teachers” in the “informal” sense. However, it is seen in all three life histories that teachers at some point have to make a “formal” decision to take up teaching as a career.

Becoming a teacher is a complex process and, as a result, one sees in the life histories that two of the teachers say they decided to become teachers “formally” much after they were already teaching for some time. This formalization was seen by Gul in the form of undertaking formal training such as a BEd programme. Similarly, Ikraam also expressed his desire to do his BEd as a route to a government job as a teacher. It is interesting to note that despite both Ikraam’s and Gul’s open admiration for the professional training offered by AKU-IED, both refer to the BEd as the formal path to teaching. Munazza, in contrast to Gul and Ikraam, has had no formal teacher training at all and, for a number of reasons, she has expressed no desire to engage in any form of professional development. Instead, she has chosen to do her Masters in Islamic Studies.

However, this ability to drift into teaching is the very aspect of teaching that reduces the status of teachers. Teachers who have not invested any time in an educational institution, learning how to teach, do not see themselves as professionals. Hence, it is relatively easy for individual to enter and leave the profession. In his story, Ikraam has mentioned the possibility of opening a computer institute in his residential colony. There is not tacit but a very open understanding that if one is not doing “anything else” then one can start teaching. Or, if there is a break in formal studies than one can start teaching in
a private school. One could argue that this is also the case of college and university teachers—they too do not require any teacher education before beginning to teach. However, they are required to have at least a Master’s degree in their subject before they can teach at college or university level. Hence, subject expertise is required. In addition, there is such severe competition for the few college lecturers’ positions available in both public and private sectors that it discourages “drifting” into such a position.

Gender

From the three life histories it seems that gender has a huge impact on the choice of a profession, but the stories also break some stereotypes. It is Munazza rather than Gul or Ikraam, who clearly did not want to become a teacher but her father in particular felt that this was a profession more appropriate for women. Despite her obvious commitment to her students, Munazza yearns for another life—in a science laboratory. And, contrary to general stereotyping it is both Ikraam and Gul who want to become teachers. Gul leaves a job as an engineering associate to continue with his teaching.

Notwithstanding the above, the patriarchal nature of Pakistani society is reinforced in the roles played by the three teachers. Munazza, largely due to her father’s wishes, continued to teach after her BSc rather than take up a job in pathological laboratory. However, the two men, despite teaching being seen as a vocation of less status and value still get their way and decide to teach. That the decision to teach remained in the hands of the male teachers but was made by others for the female teacher is an interesting dimension. Lortie (1975) has also shown his awareness of a gender division in teaching. He has reported that women teachers in their twenties do not get deeply involved in their careers as they are “hedging their bets” to cover contingencies related to husband and children. These socio-cultural dimensions affect teaching because they have impact on the professional development of teachers. This is one reason that Munazza says, “agar chhorni pari tu chhor doongi (if I have to leave [teaching], I will).”

Young female teachers are at a very difficult stage of their lives—a “waiting stage” where they cannot make many long-term decisions about their lives because the big decisions of marriage and career are yet to be made. Hence, they do not commit to professional development in the way that we see Gul and Ikraam. In a highly patriarchal society like ours, men are “allowed” to accept and take-up whatever sponsorship commitments that they make and can be sure that
their family will support them in every way. However, this is not the case with women. Munazza is not sure whether she'll be able to honour any commitments she makes to her school if decisions related to her marriage are made.

**Teachers as transmitters of knowledge, not creators**

All three teachers conceptualize teaching as transmitting all the knowledge that they have about a subject to their students through appropriate pedagogical strategies. Even the two teachers who have had professional development through AKU-IED have a relatively superficial understanding of their role as reflective practitioners. Both Gul and Ikraam mention that they still need more professional development and need to learn from others, such as faculty of AKU-IED, to get a better understanding of pedagogy, evaluation and monitoring, and other similar areas. Except for a very brief mention by Gul of his experience as a researcher in the ADDIST programme, there is no mention of the development of knowledge by the teachers.

If teachers do not take ownership of the problems of their practice and continue to look to the University professors to offer solutions to the problems of their practice through research, then the profession of teaching will not grow. And if the profession does not grow or, even worse, is not even seen as a profession, teacher status will remain low.

**Teaching as researching the interface of content and pedagogy**

All three teachers have very clearly mentioned that they understood the content that they were expecting to teach much better through teaching it than by learning it as a student. What each one tacitly acknowledges is that “subject content” is not a fixed body of knowledge – it is different for different people. The subject content of say physics is different for a student and is different for a teacher. The teacher needs to know not only the main principles but also how best to teach it. With it goes the understanding of the nature of the subject and how best to make that come alive to the students, The iterative relation between the subject content and the pedagogy is itself a research process that has only been partially understood by educational researchers. This continues learning and researching is what keeps the challenge of teaching alive. Note that Ikraam left a more lucrative job in an office environment for teaching as he said he wanted to continue to learn. This conceptualization of teaching as a research process that is continuing whether explicit attention is given to it or not is area that could enhance teachers own self of self and their status in their own eyes.
Teaching practice and the socio-cultural, political and organizational environment of the teacher

Comparing again the lives of the three teachers, it seems that the two male teachers are very keen to become teachers. This does not appear to be the norm in urban areas where, because of the low status of teaching and low salaries men do not want to take up teaching. However, both the men covered in the studies are keen to become teachers. Gul gave up employment as an Associate Engineer to go back to teaching while Ikraam returned from Dubai and took up teaching as a computer teacher in a school. In contrast, it is Munazza who did not want to become a teacher and at the time of the study too she would have been willing to take up alternate employed that would use her knowledge of microbiology. All three teachers are urban-based; however, both the male teachers have connections to the North. Ikraam is from Chitral and Gul has connections to the NWFP. Does this account for the male teachers valuing becoming a teacher? Is being Mohajir (a descendent of immigrant), who are the most highly educated community in Karachi, responsible for Munazza’s desire to go into a profession other than teaching? These are questions that will need more probing.

Discussion

Though this is a preliminary secondary analysis, it does bring into spotlight how strong and effective professional development can enhance the status of a profession in the eyes of the practitioners. All three teachers started teaching “informally” before they had made their final decisions to continue to teach as a career; yet, the two male teachers received, in their own words, professional development which were “turning points” in their lives. This helped them to see their own career and their role in it in a new light that enhanced their view of both teaching and their view of themselves. “Effective” professional development makes a huge difference in the way teachers’ perceive themselves. Both Gul and Ikraam define AKU-IED’s professional training as the turning point of their lives. Note that Gul also completed a Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree but the impact of that programme is not described as a critical factor in his life. Ikraam too attributes his professional development at AKU-IED as a life-changing experience. In contrast, Munazza, who has had no professional development despite teaching for eight years, and despite her commitment and sincerity to the profession, still thinks of the possibility of working in a laboratory at least for some time.
It is my claim that good professional development creates pride and a commitment to teaching that brings with it its own social status. Social status is a complex phenomenon and in Pakistan, professional pride and commitment and public recognition help to define it. Through their professional development Gul and Ikraam reached a stage where professional pride has helped them develop a deep value for what they are doing and this is evident from the way they story themselves. Hence, professional development is not only essential from the perspective of being an essential knowledge base for teaching but also from the concept of developing teacher status.

“Good” professional development can come only from trained, professional teacher educators. My biggest recommendation is that we should not only focus on teacher development but on the development of teacher educators as well – to pay attention to those who teach our teachers and to improve the conditions of their practice.

References


Chapter 5

Status of Teachers and Teaching: Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations

Anjum Halai, AKU-IED, Karachi, Pakistan

This chapter brings together and synthesises the significant issues presented in the keynote papers and discussions. The synthesis revolves around the following key but interrelated questions.

- What do we mean by “teacher status” and how do we know it?
- Why are teachers and teaching perceived to have a low status?
- What are the implications of low teacher status for the quality of schooling? Where do we go from here?

Teacher status: indicators and inferences

Teacher status is a complex, multi dimensional concept rooted in the socio-cultural context and, hence, not easy to define. This was well illustrated throughout the course of the symposium. To unpack the notion of status, the following ILO/UNESCO (1996) recommendation concerning the status of teachers was employed:

The expression “status” as used in relation to teachers means both the standing or regard accorded them, as evidenced by the level of appreciation of the importance of their function and of their competence in performing it, and the working conditions, remuneration and other material benefits accorded them relative to other professional groups.

Deconstructing the statement above provides us with key phrases and indicators to help us understand the term “status”. But, these phrases and indicators such as “standing” or “regard accorded to teachers” are non-tangible and have to be inferred from the context and the circumstances within which teachers are situated. The papers and discussions provided ample contextual and circumstantial evidence to show that, in the case of Pakistan, teachers and
teaching are perceived to have a low status. For example, it was pointed out that these days not many young and newly-qualified persons want to join the teaching profession.

Akhtar (Chapter 3) provided figures to show that over a period of six years starting from 2000, the share of remuneration of all other professional has increased at the cost of teaching professionals. The latter’s share has come down from 50 to 25 percent in the sample. This suggests that the fact that a large number of newly-qualified young people are going to professions other than teaching could be partly due to the low status that teaching enjoys.

Similarly, panellists comprising parents, educational managers, a teacher from a rural school, and students, provided experiential evidence to show that teachers and teaching were increasingly held in low regard. A teacher from a rural school in Sind illustrated through her life history the trials and tribulations emerging from a highly bureaucratic structure and political meddling in the schools that led to transfers and other issues which affected the morale of the teachers.

Vazir and Retallick (Chapter 1) also confirmed that political meddling and “source” has led to recruitment of teachers who do not necessarily meet the criteria of merit. Participants in the seminars also confirmed that political interference was a greater issue in rural schools where those who were powerful locally used their influence in matters of teachers’ recruitment, deployment and transfers.

It can be inferred from this situation that teachers in a local rural setting are unable to withstand and resist pressure from those in positions of influence and power. However, the discussions also yielded an alternative interpretation that teachers also use the local influence to their advantage and not necessarily in the interest of professional conduct and ethics.

Halai, through her life history studies of three teachers (Chapter 4), provided conclusive evidence that society does not perceive teaching (particularly at primary levels) as a high-status profession. For example, the science teacher who was one of the teachers studied by Halai considered her teaching position as a transitory phase in her life. She was constantly on the lookout for better career opportunities and options, and continuing her teaching role was not an option that she considered.

In conclusion, it was established that low status of teachers and teaching is reflected in the inadequate and low level of teacher preparation, qualification and
professional development. However, as the following discussion will show, the indicators of low status of teachers and teaching described above are also the factors that contribute to it.

Factors contributing to low status of teachers and teaching

Deliberations in the symposium established that teachers and teaching are accorded a low status in Pakistan. More significantly, these deliberations provided some understanding of the range of factors and the complex inter-relationship between these factors that contributes to the low status of teachers and teaching. What follows is a discussion of these factors, their inter-relationships and the implications they raise for a way forward.

Teachers’ salaries, benefits and working conditions: inequities, disparities and related issues

Salary, rewards and benefits are usually seen as indicating the relative position of a profession and the status it enjoys. However, Akhtar questioned the generally held belief that teacher status is low due to the low salary and other benefits provided to the teachers generally. He pointed out that it is difficult to draw conclusions based on salaries and remuneration because the National Education Management Information System (NEMIS) databases do not provide information on teachers’ salaries. He then went on to employ the data drawn from the labour force survey (for 1999-2000 and 2005-2006) conducted by the federal bureau of statistics, which takes into account remuneration which are earning rather than salaries alone. This data was used to draw inferences about the share of teaching profession as compared to other professions; growth in teachers’ remuneration as compared to other professions; and, the disparities and inequities within and across the profession/s. Akhtar problematised the notion of judging the status of a profession on the basis of salary and remuneration alone. Chapter 3 provides a detailed discussion of this aspect of teacher status.

Traditionally, the government has been the major educational provider in Pakistan. Hence, reform initiatives and deliberations on issues of quality in education have tended to focus on public schools. However, the private sector is increasingly becoming a significant player in the field of education. According to the information provided by official sources, 18% of all schools in Pakistan were
private and accounted for 27% of all student enrolment. Private sector participation in education continues to grow, which gives more students access to education and decreases the burden on government (MoE, 2004, p. 8). Hence, issues related to the status of teachers and teaching have to take into account the comparative standing of public and private schools. As it stands, there is little documentation about the private sector in education. In particular there is lack of evidenced-based understanding about the role of tuition centres in facilitating, or hindering, the provision of quality education in our schools, and the contribution to teachers’ earning through private tuitions.

Inequities are also found in salaries within the profession and teachers’ salaries in the public sector are better as compared to the private sector. For example, Akhtar’s analysis (Chapter 3) showed that over the period 1999-2000, mean earnings of teachers in private institutions were only 56 percent as much as those in the public institutions and that these reduced to 46 percent in the period 2005-2006. A conclusion could be drawn that partial privatization of the education sector has lead to ‘exploitation’ of teachers and has increased the ranks of the working poor in the teaching profession. However, for such conclusions to be made, the disparities need to be seen in conjunction with other factors such as employment contracts, working hours between the two types of institutions, convenience in terms of proximity to residence and working environment. Single females in private institutions may have taken up teaching as a transitory phase in their lives rather than as a career. Current research and national databases do not enable such conclusions to be drawn.

Disparities in salaries, benefits and working conditions in teaching as compared to other professions was also seen as contributing to low appeal of teaching as compared to other professions. There was a general agreement that teaching does not enjoy the same status as compared to other professions, particularly in comparison to newer professions related to media and computer technology. This was evident from the increasing share of remuneration of other professions at the expense of teaching professional. This is also evident from the fact that the younger generation does not aspire to be teachers. Salary and benefits are among the reasons why that make teaching unattractive as a profession. However, comparing intra group earning of teachers with other professionals, it appears that in 1999-2000 the average earnings of teaching professionals were 98 percent of the mean; now, as shown in Chapter 3 (Table 1), they are 16 percent above the mean earnings of the group. Hence, it appears that teachers are not really lowly paid as compared to other professionals. However, this conclusion has to be treated with caution because there is paucity of reliable data that can
enable a complex analysis and also because inequities exist within the teaching profession—teachers of science, mathematics and computer technology, particularly at the secondary and higher secondary levels, generally benefit from greater remuneration than their other colleagues.

There are also gender and regional disparities in teacher quality which go beyond salaries, remunerations and benefits, and which have a role to play in lowering the status of teachers. Pakistan is a society with strongly defined gender roles, responsibilities and expectations. Munazza, the female science teacher mentioned by Halai in Chapter 4, illustrated the societal expectations from women whereby science, technology and mathematics are viewed as subjects for boys to study. She reflected the societal attitude that her role was to be a home-maker and her professional and career expectations would take a secondary position. Similarly, in their presentation, Vazir and Retallick showed that cultural traditions and barriers make it difficult for female teachers to equitably access those opportunities that may be available to their male counterparts.

In summary, teachers’ salaries and working conditions have to be seen in the context of deep rooted inequities and disparities that include inter-profession inequities, intra-profession disparities and inequities based on gender and region.

**Is teaching a profession?**

Whether or not teaching enjoys the status of a profession was discussed in some depth by Vazir and Retallick and is covered in Chapter 1. They established that in comparison to professions such as medicine and engineering, teaching does not enjoy the status of a full fledged profession; instead, it is a quasi profession.

One implication of this perception is the commonly prevalent belief that teaching does not require specialised knowledge and that teaching is innate; that is, anyone can become a teacher. On one hand, this situation negates the highly complex nature of teaching which requires specialised knowledge and skills. On the other hand, in the increasing private sector in education there is an increasing proliferation of teachers with little or no professional qualifications.

Employing Shulman’s seminal work Iqbal pointed out that there are at least seven different kinds of knowledge that are required for effective teaching. These include:

- Content knowledge or knowledge of the particular subjects
• Pedagogical content knowledge
• Knowledge of learners and their characteristics
• General pedagogical knowledge
• Knowledge of educational context
• Curriculum knowledge
• Knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values (Shulman, 1987, pp. 2-3).

However, as can be seen in Chapter 2, in Pakistan, pre-service teacher education curriculum is outdated and theoretical and does not reflect the complexity of the teaching profession. Teacher education is seen as teacher training with a limited and narrow orientation of teaching. One consequence is that teaching is seen as a routine activity with the teacher’s role and function being to transmit knowledge to students who are expected to receive the collected wisdom from the teacher and reproduce it at the time of examination. A direct implication of this view is a “de-professionalisation” of teachers: Teachers are not seen to have a role in policy formulation or decision making. Rather their’s is a limited role of transmitting socially accepted and valuable knowledge. To acknowledge the complexity of the teaching profession and to make it relevant to the today’s increasingly technological and knowledge-based society, teacher education curricula would have to be completely reformed. To keep up with the fast changing world—a world characterised by an information explosion and a global culture—teachers would need to see themselves as “learners”. It is as learners that teachers would be able to maintain an attitude of inquiry and keep abreast with developments in their area of teaching. However, this reformation of teaching and teacher development is made complex by the fact that teacher educators are not exposed to new approaches to teaching and the changing demands on the role of the teacher in the current context. Teacher education should promote the role of the teacher as learner and researcher. These roles would encourage teachers to reflect systematically on their practice, critically analyse it and, hence, improve upon it.

The current quality of teacher education raises questions about the value or premium placed on teacher education in terms of the value added to the teacher and it raises questions about the quality and professional development of teacher educators. Professional qualifications are included in minimum entry criteria for teachers in government schools. However, the quality of teacher education is so low that it is largely seen to be irrelevant and not adding to value (Chapter 2;
Mirza, Hameed, & Iqbal, 1995). The private sector which, according to safe estimates, is responsible for almost fifty percent of school education in Pakistan has mostly dispensed with professional qualifications as entry level requirements for teachers. These issues about the entry level requirements for teacher qualification, nature and quality of the teacher education curriculum and the quality of teacher educators suggest that there is need to put some mechanisms in place to regulate and monitor the quality and standards of teacher education.

**Teacher agency and voice**

A consequence of the de-professionalisation of teachers is that teachers’ agency and voice is not deemed significant in informing the policy formulation and decision making process. However, group deliberations during the symposium and research evidence showed that the teacher is the agent through which reform and development are introduced in schools and classrooms. This is also discussed by Halai in Chapter 4. In the current context of new education policy and curriculum reform in Pakistan, a strong implication of the low status accorded to teachers is that the reform effort may be thwarted if the teacher is not supported in the process of reform. There is a need to recognise the value of the epistemology of the classroom. It is in the classroom that the interaction of educational inputs actually takes place and where the teachers’ role is of paramount importance in ensuring the success or otherwise of education reform. Hence, knowledge rooted in the classroom would be crucially important to understand how quality of teaching and learning can be improved.

**Societal and media perceptions of teachers and teaching**

Symposium participants recognised that teachers play a significant role in preparing future generations for their role in the world of tomorrow. However, this significance is not apparent in the form of high regard and status for teachers and teaching in society and subsequent portrayals in the media. For example, there are factors within society that contribute to the exploitation of teachers such as general poor working conditions and unfavourable contractual agreements. Likewise, the portrayal of teachers and teaching in the media is not complementary—it is common for media to pick up negative stereotypes of teachers but there is little recognition or reward for teachers who continue to work hard and deliver, in spite of difficult working conditions. It was proposed that better linkages and partnerships should be established between schools and various stakeholders so that popular perceptions and images may be improved upon. For example, partnerships between the school and the community or
between schools and government agencies involved in education decision-making could be established for advocacy and better understanding of issues involved in quality teaching.

**Conclusions implications & recommendations for policy and practice**

To conclude, understanding teacher status is a complex issue because the “status” of teachers and teaching, is rooted in a variety of social, cultural, financial, academic and professional factors. For example, these factors include disparities in salaries and working conditions within the teaching profession and across the professions; gender and regional disparities in the quality and provision of teacher education; and a simplistic view of teaching as a routine activity which adds to the public perception that teaching is not a profession. These factors lead to certain implications and recommendations for policy, practice and research.

**Policy formulation and implementation**

- A major implication of low teacher status is that teachers are not seen as a valuable part of the decision making and policy formulation process. Rather they are seen as adjuncts to policy making and are expected to implement the decisions taken by forces in the higher echelons of the policy making bodies. Given the significance of teachers’ agency in any reform initiative in education it is crucially important that teacher’s voice be seen as a significant element of the policy formulation process.

- While principles of quality, equity and justice are incorporated in education policies, they are not followed in the process of policy implementation. For example, policies for teacher recruitment (MoE, 1998) are developed to ensure merit, equity and justice but the implementation of these policies is riddled with political interference, lack of monitoring mechanisms and absence of standards and criteria against which judgements of quality may be made.

- Research-based advocacy through media and policy dialogues should be undertaken to ensure that the public perception of teaching is improved and that research findings are shared with policy makers.
Research

- To understand and improve the status of teachers and teaching, research is needed in key areas of education including quality of schooling and classroom processes; teacher quality and teacher lives; quality and conditions of teachers’ work; and, school community partnerships.

- Research should not be limited to traditional experimental studies undertaken to “measure” quality in education. Rather, action research studies, and ethnographies of schools and classrooms should be undertaken so that the epistemology of the classroom comes to the fore to provide insights into the complex nature of the practice of teaching and related issues.

- Teachers’ professional trajectories and decisions are integrally rooted in their social and cultural environment. Hence, teachers’ biographies and life histories should be developed to provide insights into factors that facilitate or hinder their professional development and career growth. Published accounts of teachers’ lives in the Pakistan context could illustrate some of the deep-rooted socio-cultural issues and biases that lead to low teacher perception.

- Large national databases like NEMIS are being developed to facilitate data-driven decision-making. However, these databases need to include additional modules that would enable researchers and academicians to gather key information about teachers. This should include, for instance, information about teacher’s salaries at different levels of education and teacher classification with regard to areas of expertise, such as science, mathematics, computers, and general studies.

Teaching and teacher education practice and standards

- Pre-service teacher education curriculum should be thoroughly revised and made relevant to teachers’ needs, contextual appropriateness to the technological and global world, and close alignment with the real world of schools and classrooms.

- The duration of the professional degree course for pre-service teacher education should be extended so that it is in line with other professional
degrees and so that there is scope to cover the key domains of knowledge and opportunities for extended period of teaching practice in schools.

- Basic minimum standards and criteria should be in place for entering the teaching profession.
- Minimum standards and criteria should also be in place for becoming a teacher educator.
- Continuing professional development should be a requirement for all teachers.
- Continuing professional development should also be a requirement for teacher educators.
- Provision of continuing development should be seen as a process of development nurtured through field support.

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References


The Higher education Commission, Islamabad, has already initiated a reform in the BEd curriculum. http://www.hec.gov.pk/new/AcademicAffairs/Curriculum_Revision.htm has details on this.

According to the notification No. 10-25/HEC/A&C/2004/2517, dated 06 December 2006, the Higher Education Commission, Islamabad, has established the Accreditation Council for Teacher Education.

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A Symposium

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