THE UNFEASIBILITY OF PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PRIMARY-SCHOOL TEACHERS IN BANGLADESH

An analysis of

the actors and factors,

1971-2001-----------------------------------

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADP	Annual Development Plan
ADPEO	Assistant District Primary Education Officer
AL	Awami League
ATEO	Assistant Thana Education Officer
AUEO	Assistant Upazila education officer
B. Ed.	Bachelor in Education
BANBEIS	Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BPSC	Bangladesh Public Service Commission
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
C in Ed	Certificate in Education
CPE	Compulsory Primary Education
CPEIMU	Compulsory Primary Education Implementation Monitoring Unit
CSP	Civil Service in Pakistan
DDPE	Deputy Director of Primary Education
DG	Director General
DPC	Development Planners and Consultants
DPE	Directorate of Primary Education
DPEO	District Primary Education Officer
EFA	Education for All
FFYP	First Five Year Plan
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
GEP	General Education Project
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
GPS	Government Primary School
HSC	Higher Secondary Certificate
IER	Institute of Education and Research
ICS	Indian Civil Service
LGED	Local Government and Engineering Department

MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoPME	Ministry of Primary and Mass Education
NAPE	National Academy for Primary Education
NCTB	National Curriculum and Textbook Board
PCS	Provincial Civil Service
PED	Primary Education Directorate
PEDP	Primary Education Development Programme
PEQI	Primary Education Quality Improvement
PMED	Primary and Mass Education Division
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PTI	Primary Training Institutes
RNGPS	Registered Non Government Primary School
SMC	School Management Committee
SFYP	Second Five Year Plan
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
TEO	Thana Education Officer
TFYP	Third Five Year Plan
TTC	Teachers' Training College
UEO	Upazila education officer
UNO	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
UP	Union Parishad
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UPEO	UpaZila Primary Education officer
URC	Upazila Resource Centre
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All

Dedication

To the memory of my late parents

Chapter 1

Research Design and Methodology and the Investigation Outline[1]

1.1 Introduction

Teachers, particularly those working in the primary sector are responsible for making and implementing decisions that critically affect the lives and prospects of a nation's future generation, as well as the general welfare of a country. This is because primary education lays the foundation for each individual's pursuit of further learning and fulfilment of his/her potential. However, "the conceptual basis of primary school teaching has changed dramatically in the present century" (Burke, 1996:538). From being a 'craft' involving skills acquired through apprenticeship and/or a short teacher-training course that enabled teachers to carry out the traditional task of controlling schools and what goes on in them, it has evolved to a point where policy and practice have a more comprehensive theoretical basis (ibid, p.538). Thus, 'professional teachers' are not only expected to be capable of dealing with the enormous changes that have been taking place in the present knowledge and information society, but also have to be knowledge-hungry themselves; critical and reflective thinkers, more than technicians (Smith, 2004). The professional identity of the individual teacher is an important factor, therefore, in improving the self-image of teachers and motivating them to master the basic skills of teaching and to provide better vocational service (Burke, op cit p.540).

1.2 The Research Problem

Bangladesh keenest out to eradicate mass illiteracy during the periods of 2nd (1980-85) and 3rd (1985-1990) five-year plans through the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme. It is also committed to achieving the goals of Education for All (the Dakar Framework) and the

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[1]An earlier version of this chapter was presented as part of the PhD course entitle "Qualitative Research Methods" that was jointly organized by the Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway, and the University of Michigan, USA held on the 18-21 June, 2002, at which critical comments were received from Martha S. Feldman and Richard Matland.

U.N. Millennium Development Goals (MDG) for 2015 . The government and its external development partners have long been involved in delivering basic education throughout the country and recently initiated the Second Primary Education Development Programme or PEDP—II[2] in order to ensure quality education for all Bangladeshi children. Since country's independence in 1971, the task of human resource development in Bangladesh has been focused on the objective of qualitative improvement (Task Force Report on Primary and Mass Education, 1993). Despite the fact that media reports and education data stress that there have been some remarkable achievements, particularly in the last decade, (improved enrolment and completion rates, reduced drop-out rate, gender parity, introduction of a competency-based curriculum, etc), the primary sector still remains plagued by serious problems with respect to the quality and effectiveness of teaching and learning. According to a recent study:

> Taking into account the current enrolment and completion rate, it can be said that over 40 percent of the children cross their primary schooling age without the benefit of a full cycle of primary education. When the findings about learning achievement and competencies are also considered, it becomes obvious that the large majority of children of Bangladesh, as many as two out of three, are growing up into adulthood without basic literacy and numeric skills and preparation for life. (Ahmed at al 2005:xxv-xxvi)

Such findings represent a disappointing scenario regarding the learning outcomes in the government primary schools (GPS). Others have gone so far as to claim that primary teachers' behaviour in Bangladesh commonly includes caning, lack of sincerity, "private (paid) tuition", and bribery (charges for distributing free books and stipend money) (Daily Star, Dhaka, dated: 11.05.2004). These negative actions of the part of teachers may reflect the relationship between their vocational behaviour and the current value and status attached to their job.

The extent to which a specific employee has the potential to perform the duties required in a proper and effective manner is, in fact, determined by the status, significance and value attached to the work by the individual (Evans, 1989:16). "The higher the status and value afforded by an individual to an activity, the greater will be its potential as a source of job

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[2] The Primary Education Development Programme, PEDP-II, is a six-year (2003-2009) donor-supported (developed by the MoPME) primary education plan for the formal education sector. It has 10 main objectives (MoPME, 2005): (i) to introduce national standards of quality; (ii) to increase accessibility of all children; (iii) to increase enrolment, attendance, and rate of completion; (iv) to create a more learner-centred environment; (v) to integrate PEDP activities into MoPME and DPE; (vi) to decentralize education management and decision making; (vii) to strengthen the capacity of school management systems at all levels; (viii) to ensure accountability and transparency; (ix) to provide free textbooks and learning materials; and (x) to strengthen the role of parents and the community in school management and support.

fulfilment" (ibid). Status is a very important and inseparable aspect of social life in Bangladesh (Dove, 1980:20) and people compete for scarce jobs and wealth, as well as for status and prestige (Dove, 1981a). In relation to the teaching occupation in general, one national education committee (known as Shamsul Huq Commission) described the following frustrating scenario in Bangladesh:

> At present the state of the teaching profession from primary to higher levels is so poor that most qualified persons feel no attraction to this profession……Teachers in general, and especially government teachers, are generally deprived of a citizen's basic rights, including professional freedom…..They have only limited freedom to think for themselves, to put their knowledge into practice and to express their options. Those engaged in this unattractive profession are now gradually losing their standards…. (GoB, 1997: 188-189).

In the past, primary teachers were the only ones in a community with an education, so they had considerable authority particularly in rural areas acting as interpreters, letter-writers and census counters (Hossain, 1994). They were also regarded as influential and respected in the rural areas due to both their skills and also the fact that they engaged in non-manual work that required a 'modern' education. However, as time passed primary teachers in developing societies lost their capacity for fast upward social mobility (Dove, 1995). If the low prestige and value attached to this job means that individuals with talent are not attracted to the field, it is obvious that the future generations will ultimately suffer and the substantial internal and external assistance that has been mobilised for the development of the national primary education sector would be less worthwhile.

Few studies of the professions, and especially of primary teaching in the formal sector, have been undertaken in most developing nations of the Asia context. This is a paradox not only from a theoretical but also from an empirical point of view. From Parsons and onwards, there has been a tradition to ascribe professions such as medicine, law and engineering a crucial role in the processes of modernization in the West (Michelsen, 2004). As a result, the role of primary teachers in the process of nation building and national development in a developing country such as Bangladesh has long been ignored. In order to understand the dynamics of basic schooling and school teaching in Bangladesh, therefore, one has to consider who the teachers are and how they stand as an occupational group. This implies obtaining information regarding what kind of training and skills they have, how their jobs are defined within the education system, and what kind of status and power they possess in a wider societal context. In addition, it is necessary to understand the relationships and processes by which the state, as

well as teachers' vocational organizations, influence and shape the standing and competence of primary teachers within social settings. Moreover, primary teachers, particularly those working in the government primary schools (GPSs), have the responsibility of educating the majority of the nation's future generation; 61 percent of all primary school children attend government primary schools (Daily Inqilab, Dhaka, 12.05.2006; *Halkhata* (handbook), 2006). However, there is a great discrepancy between imagined and experienced vocational status, knowledge and skill, as well as about the role of primary teachers; this is reflected, for example, in public discussion in Bangladesh. Thus, there is a need to study this issue empirically.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main purposes of this study are to obtain a clearer understanding of the characteristics of primary teaching occupation in Bangladesh and to examine the development of this occupational group over the period 1971-2001 (for example, to consider teachers' perceptions of their vocational position, both today and in 1971; the extent to which they emerge as a distinct, publicly recognised occupation that controls their own work; and the extent to which it is possible to observe the factors and actors that inhibit the professionalization of primary teachers in Bangladesh). Despite the fact that there are eleven types of primary education institutions in the country, the state has the overall responsibility for all GPSs (National Education Commission, 2003). In 2005 there were a total of 37,671 GPS with a teaching staff of about 162 thousand (Daily Ajkerkagoj, Dhaka, dated 18.03.2005). In the same year a total of about 18.3 million students were enrolled in these schools, while all other types of primary schools had a total enrolment of about 6.8 million students (ibid). However, this study only considers teachers working in the public sector, i.e. in GPS.

On the basis of the above discussion of the research problem, the overall general objective of this study is:

- to examine the actors and factors that promote or inhibit professionalization of government primary-school teachers in Bangladesh.

Before going on to identify specific research questions and relevant research strategies and methods, a brief overview of the theoretical model that guides this inquiry will be provided.

1.4 Theoretical Model Employed in the Study

Theoretical models provide the premises that enable researchers to account for the data obtained, and filter their view and understanding of the 'mysteries' of actors' behaviour through a wide lens throughout their inquiries. It is important to note that each theoretical model carries with it certain sets of assumptions. In selecting the most useful theoretical perspective for the present study, the theory of professions was most relevant, particularly 'actor-based framework' of the study of occupations (the basic concepts and ideas of the theory of professions are further elaborated and operationalized in the chapter two).

1.4.1 What is Profession and Professionalization?

The term 'profession' is a much debated sociological concept and the criteria which distinguish professions from other occupations have been strongly contested. There is no agreement among scholars regarding how the notion of profession should be defined. Two major approaches can be distinguished in the literature of the study of professions: one attempts to characterize different occupational groups and their particular role in the society, while the other concentrates on the process through which an occupational group becomes a profession. It is important to bear in mind that in any analysis of the professionalization or of the characteristics and professional development of an occupation the researcher must have a clear idea of what constitutes a profession and what are its essential elements. Despite the fact that these matters are the subject of intense debate and frequent disagreement among scholars, Kocka provides a definition of profession from sociological point of view that may be workable. His suggestion is as follows:

> Profession means a largely non-manual, full time occupation whose practice presupposes specialized, systematic and scholarly training…. Access depends upon passing certain examinations, which entitle to titles and diploma, thereby sanctioning its role in the division of labour…. [Professions] tend to demand a monopoly of services as well as freedom from control by others such as laymen, the state, etc…..Based upon competence, professional ethics and the special importance of their work for society and common weal, the professions claim specific material rewards and higher social prestige. (Kocka, 1985 quoted in Burrage et al., 1990:205)

This definition distinguishes clearly between the characteristics that describe professional occupations and the demands and claims that they make, and provides clear criteria for

recognizing both. Moreover, it provides criteria that can be operationalized and measured (Burrage et al, 1990).

Nevertheless, Kocka's view reflects the Anglo-American and to some extent the continental European attributes in defining professions (Burrage et al, ibid). As I shall argue in chapter 2, it is necessary to modify Western definitions of profession in order to avoid distortion of reality in a developing country such as Bangladesh, and to adapt it to the specific context. For example, Maloney argues that "when two people meet in daily intercourse [in Bangladesh], they commonly establish relative rank one way or another; it may depend on wealth, lineage, education, rank of employment, or even a small difference in age" (Maloney, 1991:40). Moreover, higher rank grants one person the right to demand service and respect from another lower ranking person, and in return he assumes the obligations of patronage and/or *dayā* (indulgence). According to Maloney, this pattern is extended from the family to the work place and to society in general (ibid, p.43).

What I understand by a profession in the Bangladeshi context is somewhat similar to Kocka's suggested definintion, with small modifications. For me, therefore, the term profession refers to a full-time non-manual occupation with secure tenure, which bestows substantial honour, rewards and social prestige on the position holder, as well as access to authority and power. Moreover, practice of a profession presupposes specialized and scholarly training and competence, and a particular code of ethics such as altruism. Access to a profession depends upon acquisition of a specific degree or diploma. Moreover, a profession tends to demand a monopoly of the services provided, as well as freedom from control by others such as the state.

The term 'professionalization' is also used in a variety of ways in sociological analysis. However, what it means to be 'professional,' especially in the context of teaching, involves to two things (Helsby, 1995): (i) improving quality and standard of practice (some scholars, e.g. Englund (1996), call it professionalism); and (ii) improving status, regard, rewards, etc (some scholars, e.g. Hargreaves (2000), call it professionalization).

Scholars (e.g. Clark, 1990; Burrage et al. 1990) have identified the following mechanisms to ensure or guarantee professionalization:

- State recognition and the delegation of power, which gives the profession a high degree of autonomy and some legal mechanisms to enforce its monopoly over the provision of its service and the use of its title;

- Commitment to employing a body of knowledge and skill that are of special value and the result of specialized, systematic and scholarly training; and to maintaining a fiduciary relationship with clients;

- Specific material rewards, as well as higher social prestige and recognition, which give the professionals a high degree of motivation inspired by the aim of altruistic service rather than the pursuit of material and economic gain;

- Professional organizations that control recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice, as well as access to basic occupational resources.

In this study the term professionalization is used to refer to the occupation of teaching as *a process of occupational change that denotes the enhancement of both standard and quality of practice, as well as the status and level of vocational rewards*, as stressed by Helsby (1995).

1.4.2 The Actor-based Framework for the Study of Professions

For the purposes of this study, the 'actor-based' model suggested by Burrage et al (1990) has been selected as the theoretical guideline for the study of the primary teaching vocation. The question to be addressed is whether this framework contributes to our understanding and interpretation of the characteristics of the primary teaching occupation and its historical development in the context of a developing country.

Taking the theoretical framework suggested by Burrage et al (1990) as the starting point, the aim of the study was to develop it further. In the original model, **four main actors** are identified (state, training institution, professional organization and user) that are considered to **determine the form and success or failure of the professionalization of an occupation**. According to Burrage et al, these four actors are crucial, being actively engaged in the struggle of occupations to establish themselves as professions. Moreover, these actors are considered useful in exploring the critical stages of development of professions as well as occupations which, according to many criteria, do not exactly fit what scholars call professions (ibid, P.207). The 'actors-based framework' was critical for this study because it

facilitated the analysis of professionalization of occupations and general theory of professions on the basis of the role played by a limited group of actors. The issues of this study fit with their framework because the aim was to examine the development of primary teachers as an occupational group in the historical context of Bangladesh, focusing on the extent to which they emerge as a distinct, publicly recognized occupation that has controlled their own work situation since 1971. The actor-based framework helped me to explain how different actors act and why they act in a particular way in relation to the primary teaching occupation in Bangladesh. It also helped me to understand how different actors involved inhibit the professionalization of primary teaching in Bangladesh since the model claims that, "If one could identify the interests, resources and strategies of each of these four actors in a number of professions [occupations], in a number of countries, and how their interaction has changed over time, we would be able to advance general propositions about professionalization…." (Burrage et al 1990:218). The overall implication of this model for this study will be discussed in the chapter two in detail.

The four basic interacting actors that according to Burrage et al (1990) determine the success or failure of professionalization of an occupation are as follows:

The state, according to Burrage et al, is the key actor in the process of professionalization of occupational groups, being both the regulator of the practitioners' lives and the instrument of their vocational advancement. In fact, states are directly or indirectly involved in every facet of practitioners' existence, including their training, education and licensing, their relationships with other vocations, and the creation of a 'market' for their services (Larson, 1977). The power, resources and prestige of any occupation, therefore, depends largely on the policies of the state (Burrage et al. 1990:210).

Training Institutes, for Burrage et al, are another significant actor in the professional domain. This particular category of actor has jurisdiction over a fundamental resource: the knowledge on which a particular profession/occupation depends. Moreover, the status of an occupation depends on the degrees which they provide this knowledge.

Practising professionals, according to Burrage et al, are key actors in their own vocational development. For them, there are different types of vocational organizations based on, for example, activities related to interests/knowledge, lobbying , trade unions and regulatory

bodies. In order to protect and enhance their vocational interests and ensure their monopoly, as well as to maintain their vocational autonomy, practitioners use their vocational organization, ideology, resources, etc (Burrage et al, 1990).

Users of vocational services, in the view of Burrage et al (1990), are an integral part of the professionalization project because in most cases they are 'fee-for-service' clients and are the ideal users of vocational services. Users can use their resources – e.g. fees, publicity, legal and penal sanction, etc – to reward or control the vocational standard of the individual members of the profession/occupation.

1.5 Research Questions

This study has focused on the role of various actors in the professionalization process of GPS teachers in Bangladesh during the period 1971-2001. In order to achieve the stated objectives of the study and also to arrive at a clearer understanding of the problem, the overall research question is: What actors and factors are involved and impact do their actions have on the professionalization of primary teaching as an occupation in Bangladesh? The specific research questions are:

- Historically, how has the primary teaching in formal sector as an occupation taken shape: what kind of development did this occupation experience over the period 1971-2001, particularly in connection to the civil service system in Bangladesh?
- What has the role of the state been – the policies, administrative machinery, and delegation of authority – in enhancing autonomy and influencing vocational activities of government primary-school teachers (e.g. control over recruitment, certification and standard of practice)?
- What is the role of primary teachers themselves, in terms of their capacity to take collective action, the development of unions and the extent to which they are organized?
- What is the role of training institutes in providing training for the primary teachers that will uphold the basic knowledge and skills hence their effectiveness and vocational status?

- What is the role of users in relation to their trust and confidence in primary teachers' vocational knowledge/skill and their ability to work as members of a professionalized occupation; what are the users' reward/sanction mechanisms that uphold and maintain primary teachers' vocational standards, etc?

1.6 Research Strategies and Data Collection Method

The goal of social sciences is to produce an ever expanding body of reliable knowledge about the problems of society. Such knowledge about social problems would enable us to explain, predict and understand empirical phenomena that interest us. Research is a procedure by which a social scientist systematically attempts, with the support of demonstrable facts, to find the solution to a social problem or to resolve some other problem. Many attempts have been made to discuss social events from a scientific point of view and modern social sciences have an important repertoire of different methods of analysis. However, the design of an inquiry begins with the selection of a topic/problem and a 'paradigm'. The latter are important in the social sciences because they help the researcher to understand the phenomena by providing assumptions about the social world, how research should be conducted, and what constitutes a legitimate problem, solution, and criteria of "proof" (Creswell, 1994). The following is an overview of the paradigms and methods that will be most suitable for my study.

There are alternative strategies available in the field of social sciences for conducting research. All strategies have their relative strengths and weaknesses. In my opinion, none of the strategies are foolproof and can satisfy all criteria. Thus, it is rather difficult to choose a method for any particular study; it depends upon the research issue/problem, the research questions and the individual researcher. The researcher, in fact, has to make strategic decisions about which to choose, since there is no 'one right' direction to follow and each choice brings with it a set of assumptions about the social world s/he is investigating.

It should be mentioned here that social science methodologies are based on two basic systems of logic: the inductive and the deductive (Creswell, 1994). The inductive method takes as its point of departure one known case or a few known cases, and attempts to search out broader patterns. For instance, one can compare of the relationships between the state and any

particular vocation (e.g. teaching) in several countries, and identify the differences and similarities in the state-vocation relationships. In contrast, the deductive method takes as its point of departure theoretic models, and relates these to given cases in an attempt to identify the deviations and similarities. For instance, by referring to known patterns of state-profession relationships in some countries, or to presumed patterns in relevant models, one can proceed by asking if these patterns also exist in the country of study, if the case fits the category and can be understood as an example of a theoretical model, and to what extent there are deviancies.

In the context of social science research, 'paradigms' encompass both theories and methods. They are considered to evolve and to differ between disciplines/fields, and are often contested (Guba and Lincoln 1994). Two of the most widely discussed paradigms' in social science literature are (i) the qualitative and (ii) the quantitative paradigms (Philips, 1987; Webb, Beals, & White, 1986, Creswell, 1994). A quantitative study of a social or human problem is based on testing a theory that establishes variables that can be measured using numbers and analysed using statistical procedures, the aim being to determine whether the predictive generalizations of the theory hold true. It generally involves examining relationships between and among variables. In contrast, a qualitative study would have as its aim to understand/ interpret a specific social or human problem, to build a holistic image, and to report the views of informants in detail; and would be conducted in a natural setting (Creswell, 1994). By its very nature, qualitative research is sensitive to complexity and historical specificity. The qualitative method is well suited for addressing empirically defined historical outcomes and is often used to generate new conceptual schemes. Moreover, qualitative methods can be employed to great advantage in research situations where theories are underdeveloped and concepts are vague. Qualitative investigations, therefore, are often at the forefront of theoretical advancement (Feagin et al 1991). A common practice in qualitative inquiry is to explore a theoretical concept and an empirical category, thereby sharpening and clarifying the content of both the concept and the category (e.g. the concept of "patrimonialism" and the set of cases that qualify as instances). Creswell points out the following distinctions between quantitative and qualitative paradigms:

Table 1.1: Distinction between Quantitative and Qualitative Paradigm

Assumption	Question	Quantitative	Qualitative
Ontological assumption	What is the nature Of reality?	Reality is objective and singular, apart from the researcher	Reality is subjective and multiple as seen by participants in a study
Epistemological assumption	What is the relationship of the researcher to the researched?	Researcher is independent from that being researched	Researcher interacts with that being researched
Axiological assumption	What is the role of value?	Value-free and unbiased	Value-laden and biased
Rhetorical assumption	What is the language of research?	Formal; Based on set definitions; Impersonal voice; Use of accepted quantitative words	Informal; Evolving decisions; Personal voice; Accepted qualitative words
Methodological assumption	What is the process of research?	Deductive process; Cause and effect; Static design—categories isolated before study; Context free; Generalizations leading to prediction, explanation, and understanding; Accurate and reliable through validity and reliability.	Inductive process; Mutual simultaneous shaping of factors; Emerging design—categories identified during research process; Context bound; Pattern, theories developed for understanding; accurate and reliable through verification

Adopted from Creswell, 1994:5

According to Creswell, *qualitative* inquiries imply that the data are in the form of words or personal voice as opposed to numbers (table 1.1). In contrast, quantitative data are in the form of numbers based on set definitions. While quantitative data are generally evaluated using descriptive and inferential statistics, qualitative data are usually reduced to themes or categories and evaluated subjectively. For Creswell, the ontological assumption about the nature of reality in qualitative investigation entails somebody's opinion or feelings rather than fact or evidence; thus, it is multiple. Quantitative inquiry, on the other hand, emphasizes that reality is objective and singular. There is more emphasis in qualitative research on description and discovery, and less emphasis on hypothesis testing and verification (Rudestam and Newton, 1992).

My study addresses issues and questions relating to social events. More specifically: to what extent do primary teachers emerge as a distinct, publicly recognised occupation that is in

control of their own work? To what extent may we observe factors and actors that inhibit the professionalization of primary teaching in Bangladesh over the period 1971-2001? Like any other study exploring the development of a social event or situation in a particular time dimension, this study must provide detailed descriptions of the phenomena in its natural environment, as well as direct quotations from concerned individuals about their experiences, feelings, values, perceptions and actions (Rudestan and Newton, 1992:39). In order to cope with the social complexity of this inquiry and unravel the problem of the professionalization of primary teachers in the Bangladeshi societal context, research approaches drawing upon naturalistic and historical sociology were included. The historical sociology approach was selected because it allows for the analysis of social events (e.g. the process of occupational change of a particular vocation) as a 'continuous process of construction' within concrete historical contexts (Abrams 1982:16). Considering the relevant issues discussed in relation to the existing 'paradigms' in social research, I considered the qualitative research approach to be more sensible for my study, rather than the quantitative approach or other alternative strategies available in social research. One of the important reasons underlying my choice was the fact that the problem addressed in this study is socially complex. Burke argues that 'professional' arenas are characterized by complexity and the 'professional teacher' would be one who is competent to operate in such a context (Burke, 1996:534). Thus, the qualitative approach was considered the best suited option for since the development of social events or situations; for example, the occupational change of primary teachers or development of their vocational status or competence cannot be separated from the institutional and historical context in which they are embedded. Moreover, the quantitative approach was not considered suitable since it failed to come to grips with the problem, trying instead to analyse it in terms of variables and their interrelations. This is because quantitative approaches assume that the same set of causes produce the same result, irrespective of context. It must be borne in mind that different Bangladeshi regimes' have different expectations, which determine their attitudes towards mainstream primary education and GPS teachers; the teachers' vocational associations in Bangladesh are marked by differences related to their specific political interests and agendas in relation to the occupation. Such situations require that the 'uniqueness' of each regime be captured; the same causes never produce the same results because it is difficult to combine them in the same way (Ragin, 1987). Although the 'actor-based' theoretical framework suggested by Burrage et al (1990) helped to shape my research questions, I would still argue that the model is underdeveloped and that some concepts related to this model are only loosely defined (see chapter two for a detailed discussion of this).

Considering all these aspects, I decided to use the qualitative research approach in this inquiry.

1.7 Why the Case Study Research Strategy Has Been Employed

In order to examine the role of four actors in a 'holistic' manner and in 'real-life settings', this investigation has employed the 'case study' method. Feagin et al (1991) define a case study as "an in-depth multifaceted investigation, using a qualitative research method" to examine a single social phenomenon. The case study method is also identified as an empirical inquiry, which investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real-life context when the boundary between the phenomena and the context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1994:13). A case study is also time specific, contextual and particularistic in nature. Thus, the case study research design was critical for my study because it provided an opportunity to analyse and investigate the vocational development of primary teachers in Bangladesh in its real-life context. Moreover, it offered the opportunity to explain *why* certain outcomes might happen, rather than simply identifying the outcomes. It also made it possible to obtain a 'holistic' picture of the problem rather than dealing with 'isolated factors'. Given the aims of this study – to understand the characteristics and examine the development of primary teaching in Bangladesh as an occupation, as well as to identify and examine the role of major actors and factors that affect its professionalization in a historical context – it was decided to carry out the investigation using case study method in order to obtain a holistic personal viewpoint on the matter.

Having decided this matter, the next relevant question was: "A case of what?" This is a study of primary teaching as an occupation. Thus, in the broadest sense it is the primary teaching occupation that is the case. The units of observation of this study include: the national primary education system, government primary schools (GPS), the primary teachers' union and the teachers' training institute; these are the main actors or institutions actively involved in this sector, or they play an important role in the professionalization process of primary teaching in Bangladesh. The data for this study was collected from the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) and the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE); from 7 GPS (mainly in-depth studies of two government primary schools, one model and one general, located in

thanas[3] in two different districts). These were compared to identify the variations and complexity in a broader spectrum, although this inquiry is not a comparative one. Data was also collected from one national vocational union of primary teachers named the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association (BPTA) and one Primary Teachers' Training Institute (PTI) in order to study things as they naturally occur. By using the case study method, various methods of data collection could be employed, as will be outlined in the following section

1.8 Data Collection Methods

One of the strengths of the case study approach, according to Denscombe (op cit), is that it invites and encourages the researcher to 'use a variety of sources, a variety of types of data and a variety of research methods as part of the investigation'. My observations of events within the schools with relation to teachers' vocational life and activities were combined with the information obtained from documents issued by the MoPME and the DPE. The data also included informal interviews with people involved in school activities. Generally, the data collection methods employed in this study included: a visit of Thana education offices to gain an understanding of how education related local-level bureaucracy and primary teachers interact. These also helped me to identify why things happen as they do. In order to examine the changes in or development of primary teachers' vocational life and status over time, I talked with or interviewed teachers in selected schools who had recently joined the vocation, as well as some who were retired or about to retire. Bureaucrats who were in charge of education management and teachers' vocational activities, both in the MoPME and the DPE, were interviewed, in addition to the leaders of the teachers' vocational unions and users of teachers' vocational services, such as parents. The aim was to gain an understanding of their perception of the changes primary teachers had experienced or noticed; for example, what it was like to be a teacher in 1971 and in 2001. How teachers do perceives their vocational situation today compared to in 1971? How can we explain these changes over time? In order to find answers to the above-mentioned research questions, both primary and secondary data were drawn upon. An open-ended and structured questionnaire (Appendix-III) was developed to collect primary information from the GPS teachers, BPTA officials, PTI instructors and trainees, parents (guardians), relevant government officials and their political superiors.

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[3] *Thana* is a local administrative unit next to the District.

1.9 Gaining Access

Gaining access is a critical phase of doing research. It not only facilitates a researcher's access to the necessary information, but also determines what information is made available to the researcher. According to Feldman et al (2002), gaining access is a process of relationship building. Their 'relational perspective' on this process stresses that researchers must identify with those who can help them gain access and learn the art of self-presentation; they must also know how to nurture relationships once they have been established. The strategies employed to gain access to the information/ informants in this study proceeded as follows. On arriving in Dhaka, I met with the permanent secretary of the Ministry[4] of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME). I explained my research interest and requested that the secretary provide me with written official consent to conduct the research. This was necessary because Bangladesh is a hierarchical society; hence, the only individual with the necessary authority to accept or reject any application is the chief bureaucrat of the Ministry/Division involved (Jamil, 1998). After having obtained the consent of the secretary, I proceeded on to seek formal administrative approval from the Director General (DG) of the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE). This approval granted me access to all of the relevant offices and officials. It made it easy for me to meet relevant officials personally and to observe the activities of the high and mid-level officials in the DPE and other central and local level authorities (particularly at district and Upazila levels). It should be mentioned that the cooperation of two people in particular was of utmost importance, especially in providing access to policy documents in the DPE and the MoPME. The first was personal friend of mine and a mid-level officer in the DPE; the other was a high-ranking bureaucrat in the MoE, whose own research had been undertaken at the same academic institute in Norway and supervised by the same mentor. Despite having approval from the secretary of the MoPME and DG of the DPE, access to public documents both in the Ministry and DPE would have been extremely difficult without active cooperation of these two. I also faced interminable questions like: "Which donor organization supporting you [your study]?" "Are you collecting data for PEDP—II or any other (foreign supported) project?" It seems as if "project" is a popular concept among bureaucrats, particularly those working in the DPE, because a donor-supported 'project' is accompanied by financial and other (for example, training) benefits. Considering the enormous donor involvement in the

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[4] During collection of data for this study in February—August 2003, there was a separate 'Division' for Primary and Mass Education under the Ministry of Education. This was later was transformed into a separate Ministry name the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME).

primary education sub-sector, I gained the impression that employees both in the MoPME and the DPE feared that I was collecting data for donors, which made them cautious initially with regard to my research and activities, and this reflected on my enquiries. In addition to help from the above-mentioned people, my PhD supervisor Steinar Asvik's letter explaining the purpose of my field study helped to put to rest many of their suspicions and make them really cooperative and supportive later.

1.10 Units of Observation

As already stated, the data for this inquiry was collected – from the MOPME and the DPE, as well as from public schools, teachers' vocational unions, and the Primary Training Institute (PTI) – in order to examine the role of different actors involved in the process of professionalization of GPS teachers. The reasons for selecting these particular information units were as follows:

The Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) and the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE): The examination of the development of the vocational skills and standing of any occupational group over time in given society seems a daunting task. Sorting out the complex maze of vocational status of the teaching force in primary schools in relation to four actors involves scrutinizing the public policies of various regimes, the power relations between the state and the occupation, and reforms that took place during the period in question. Hence, the MoPME and the DPE were chosen as units of observation, even though the sources of information were individuals. Moreover, the MoPME and the DPE are the two nerve centres that deliver primary education in the country. The MoPME plays the main role in term of policy formulation, while the DPE is mainly involved in the policy implementation process, assisted by its field offices. Thus, in order to understand the dynamics and trajectories in government actions with regard to primary education in general and teachers in particular from the historical perspective, a number of in-service and retired officials (who had previously worked in the MoPME and the DPE were selected and interviewed. For the time dimension of the study, government policy documents and official records such as Laws, Commission/Committee reports, policy papers, etc were also obtained from these two institutions and consulted.

Public Schools: Data were also collected from government primary schools because these were the focus of activity for all four actors under my scrutiny. There were two types of government (public) primary schools in Bangladesh: model[5] and non-model or general primary schools. I carried out in-depth studies of two GPS: one was a 'model' school, as well as an 'A grade' school, that was located in the 2nd biggest city, Chittagong; the other was a non-model or general school, located in the South-Eastern district of Comilla. In addition to these two GPS, I also visited five other selected urban and rural primary schools in Dhaka, Sylhet, Comilla and Chittagong districts to gain a broader picture of differences and similarities. Thus, a total of seven schools were visited, although only two were studied in-depth. The schools I selected were 'typical instances' and some were located in the districts in which I had experience; one was my birth place and another was a place I had lived and worked for 8 years. At the time of the field study, there was only one public university in Chittagong district and I had a professional relationship with this institution. This professional link with the highest educational institution in the district helped to establish good contact and get in touch with many of the officials in the field of primary education in the district.

Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association (BPTA): I also chose to study and collect information from a national vocational union called the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association (BPTA) because this organization, according its leaders, represented about 80% of the primary teachers. With the help of an open-ended questionnaire, I interviewed 6 members of the Central Executive Committee of the BPTA (Azad-group) and 1 member of the BPTA (Amiri-Fazlu group). The members of the Azad-group were – the Chairman, General Secretary, Assistant Organizing Secretary, Finance Secretary, Women Secretary, and Assistant Finance Secretary/ President of the Dhaka City Unit – as well as two leaders of its local units in Chittagong city and Sirajdikhan Upazila in Munshigonj district. The only central leader interviewed from the Amiri-Fazlu group was the Executive Chairman. My interview questionnaire for the BPTA officials covered issues such as: What caused the establishment of a vocational union like BPTA? What is the role of BPTA in relation to taking collective action? To what extent can BPTA control entry into the primary teaching occupation; refuse to permit unqualified people to teach in primary schools; enforce a code of ethics for all its members; work to improve the working conditions, remuneration and prospects of its

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[5] In order to improve the quality of primary education, the government has converted one GPS in every Upazila into a 'Model' school. All resources are being mobilized to build up these schools as ideals. There were 481 such GP schools throughout the country that had been selected as model schools in 1999 (PMED, 1999).

members; and serve as a source of solidarity for its members. I also examined BPTA's constitutional aims, programmes and strategies in order to determine whether the declared aims corresponded with those common to trade union or 'professional association' organizations. During the field study period, I also collected BPTA's constitution, the minutes of various meetings including teachers' welfare trust meetings, its demand lists, and list of 'action programmes' adopted in different times and under different circumstances since 1971.

Cox's Bazaar Primary Teachers' Training Institute: Primary Teachers' Training Institutes (PTIs) are key institutions that have been providing basic training for the primary teachers in Bangladesh since independence. Thus, I decided to collect information from Cox's Bazaar PTI, one of the 54 PITs located throughout the country. To obtain a nuanced picture of the role of PTIs, the question raised was "What kind of role has teachers' training institutes played in maintaining the standing of primary-school teachers as an occupational group in Bangladesh." Cox's Bazaar PTI was chosen for study because it is one of the "Lighthouse PTI" included in the Norwegian government assisted project 'Primary Education Development Project for Quality Improvement' (PEDPQI); this project is a component of the broader teachers' education development in all 54 PTIs and the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE). Thus, Cox's Bazaar PTI was not only typical but also readily accessible since some of the teaching staffs were known to the researcher. These aspects were considered an advantage when it came to gaining free access and detailed information from the staff members regarding their activities and the over all performance of the institution. My observation of Cox's Bazaar PTI included an interview with the superintendent and other instructors. The interview questionnaire used covered various issues: the general characteristics of teachers' training and trainers; the courses taught and the mode of instruction that the trainers used in their classrooms; the examination system for PTI training; libraries and other support facilities necessary in order to provide specialized, systematic and scholarly training for the primary-school teachers. In addition, the researcher also attended two lecture sessions in the Cox's Bazaar PTI.

1.11 Conversation and Interviews

Interviews constitute an important means of data collection for any research project. They allow researchers to map participants' personal views and impressions of events that they

have experienced. For this reason, separate interviews were carried out with a total of 11 government officials in the MoPME and the DPE. My interview schedule also included three field-level education officials (UEO/AUEO), 13 primary teachers and 7 teacher trainers from PTI and the NAPE. Residents from local communities including SMC and PTA chairmen, local leaders, social workers, parents (guardians) were also interviewed. Two focus group (FG) discussions that averaged 2 hours each were also conducted to explore the participants' views and experiences regarding the development of vocational careers, training and status of primary teachers. One FG discussion was arranged with 6 members including male and female schoolteachers, the SMC Chairman and the ATEO; the other was arranged with 6 members including a schoolteacher, a guardian, the Union Parishad Chairman, a teachers' union representative, and a PTI instructor. The members of the FG were all selected from among the participants attending a training course organized by ESTEEM[6]. The interviews were guided by an open-ended questionnaire that focused on eliciting their views and experiences about the role of different actors.

Data were obtained in the course of formal and informal conversations with several key informants, as well as interviews. In the course of the seven months of field study, I conducted a total of 62 interviews that averaged two hours each. The key informants included a selection of in-service and retired[7] schoolteachers, high-ranking civil servants in the MoPME and in the DPE, Thana education officers, central and local leaders of the BPTA, guardians, chairmen and members of the SMC of the selected GPS, and trainers and trainees at the selected PTI. Informants[8] (heads and section heads) from leading donor agencies which

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[6]ESTEEM (Effective Schools Through Enhanced Education Management) is a project of the **Cambridge Consortium, UK** that seeks to improve primary education in Bangladesh. It is financed by the Department for International Development, UK. The Cambridge Consortium is composed of Cambridge Education Consultants Ltd, in association with (i) Cambridge Education Associates Ltd; (ii) Centre for Overseas and Developing Education, Homerton College, University of Cambridge; (iii) Development and Project Planning Centre, University of Bradford; (iv) Helm Corporation; (v) Institute of Education, University of London; (vi) International Extension College, Cambridge; and (vii) University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate.

[7] I talked with retired primary teachers to elicit stories about their lives and work in the past, which helped to locate my understanding about vocational development and the standing of primary teachers in a historical context.

[8] My interview also included key informants (list of interviewees shown in annex IV and V) such as chief Secretary; one Joint Secretary; ex-Deputy Chief (Planning); Director General (DG) of the DPE; The Ex-DG; the Director, Planning and Development at the DPE; the Deputy Director, Policy and Development at the DPE; the Director and two subject specialists from the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE), Two district primary education officers (DPEO), one Thana Education Officer (TEO) and two AUEOs, total six Chairmen/ members of the School Management Committees (SMC)/ Parent—Teacher Association (PTA), General Secretary, Finance Secretary and other key person in the leadership position of the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association (BPTA) and some selected instructors of the study PTI, guardians and teachers of the selected study GP schools

have been actively involved in the sub-sector, for example UNICEF and NORAD, were also selected and interviewed. All key informants were interviewed using a previously constructed questionnaire that covered a number of broad topics: respondent's educational and training background, vocational experience and the teachers'-union role in collective action, as well as the national education policy formulation and implementation process, how primary teachers manage their vocational lives, how they feel about their occupation, how political leadership/bureaucrats perceive primary education in the formal sector, what the state policy is with regard to the vocational development of primary teachers, how users (guardians/local elite) perceive the primary teaching as an occupation, what are sanctions/rewards that uphold and maintain the professional standing of teachers, to what extent are teachers' training institutes able to provide 'professional' training that enables primary teachers to perform their duties up to the standard etc. It is interesting to note that some public officials readily granted interviews despite the fact that they were very busy, in the hope that it would help to get continuous support from the Norwegian government for the sub-sector; this was the case because the researcher was affiliated with a Norwegian university and NORAD had been actively involved in the quality improvement of primary education in the country. Moreover, some of the public officials interviewed had received their higher education, for example MAs and short training courses abroad including some in Norway, with the financial support of NORAD.

Finally, I participated in the SMC meeting as well as meeting held in Upazila (Thana) Education Office and one monthly co-ordination meeting in the DPE. Not only were field notes kept on a daily basis, but a full, careful and immediate record of whatever I did was kept throughout the field study and interviews were tape recorded whenever this was allowed and possible. The following tables show the list of interviews:

Table 1.2 List of Interviews conducted in Dhaka

Code	Position	Dates
In the MoPME and DPE		
MOPMECS (1)	Secretary	March 2003
MOPMEJS (2)	Joint Secretary	March 2003
MOPMEDC (3)	Deputy Chief (planning)	March 2003
DPEDG (4)	Director General	April 2003
DPEEDG (5)	Ex-Director General	April 2003
DPEDPD (6)	Director (planning and development)	April 2003
DPEDDPD (7)	Deputy Director (policy and development)	February 2003
DPEADPD (8)	Assistant Director (policy and development)	May 2003
DPEADT (9)	Assistant Director (training)	June 2003
DPERO (10)	Research Officer	May 2003
DPELO (11)	Law Officer	May 2003
	Total of public officials interviewed in the MoPME & DPE: 11	
Donor Office/ Foreign Mission		
WBEE (1)	Education Expert, World Bank Dhaka Office	February 2003
FMRNE (2)	1st Secretary (Education), Royal Norwegian Embassy	February 2004
FMRNE (3)	Foreign Consultant, Royal Norwegian Embassy	February 2004
FMRNE (4)	Foreign Consultant, Royal Norwegian Embassy	February 2004
UNICEFC (5)	Chief, Child Development and Education Section, UNICEF, Dhaka Office	February 2004
	Total of people interviewed from Donor Office/ Foreign Mission: 5	
Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association		
BPTAC (1)	Chairman, Central Executive Committee (CEC), Azad Group	March 2003
BPTAGS (2)	General Secretary, CEC (Azad Group)	March 2003
BPTAOS (3)	Assiatnt Organizing Secretary, CEC (Azad Group)	March 2003
BPTAFS (4)	Finance Secretary, CEC (Azad Group)	March 2003
BPTAWS (5)	Women Secretary, CEC (Azad Group)	March 2003
BPTAEC (6)	Executive Chairman, Amiri-Fazlu Group	March 2003
BPTAPDCU(7)	Assiatnt Finance Secretary of the CEC and President of the Dhaka City Unit (Azad Group)	March 2003
	Total of people interviewed in Dhaka from the Teachers' Association: 7	
District Primary Education Office and Upazila (Thana) Education Office		
DPEOD (1)	District Primary Education Officer, Dhaka	June 2003
ATEOMTD (2)	Assistant Thana Education Officer, Mohammadpur, Dhaka	June 2003
	Total of local level education related officials interviewed: 2	
Sub total: Number of people interviewed in Dhaka 11+5+7+2 = 25		

Table 1.2 (continued) List of Interviews conducted outside Dhaka including rural areas

Code	Position	Dates
In the NAPE and PTI		
NAPED (1)	Director	February 2003
NAPESPE (2)	Subject Specialist (English)	February 2003
NAPESPM (3)	Subject Specialist (Math)	February 2003
PTISIC (4)	Superintendent—in—charge	February 2003
PTISSM (5)	Subject Specialist (Mathematics)	February 2003
PTISSSE (6)	Subject Specialist (Science Education)	February 2003
PTISSE (7)	Retired Subject Specialist (English)	February 2003
	Total of training related personnel interviewed in the NAPE & PTI: 7	
Local level Primary Education Office		
DPEOC (1)	District Primary Education Officer, Chittagong	June 2003
TEOBTC (2)	Thana Education Officer, Bander Thana, Chittagong	June 2003
AUEONS (3)	Assistant Upazila Education Officer, Narayangonj Sadar Upazila	June 2003
	Total of local level education related officials interviewed: 3	
NGO Officials		
LNGO (1)	Local NGO offical	August 2003
LNGOFO (2)	Local NGO field officer (Parent/ Guardian)	August 2003
	Total of Local NGO officials interviewed: 2	
Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association (BPTA)		
BPTAPSUU (1)	President , BPTA, Sirajdikhan Upazila Unit (Munshigonj)	March 2003
BPTACCUS (2)	Secretary, BPTA, Chittagong City Unit	March 2003
	Total of Local BPTA officials interviewed: 2	
Schoolteachers/ SMC or PTA Members (Parents/ Guardian)		
SHTZPS (1)	Head Teacher, Zikatala Government Primary School (GPS)	July/ Aug 2003
SHTMPS (2)	Head Teacher, Madarbari GPS	July/ Aug 2003
SHTGPS (3)	Head Teacher, Gunabati GPS	July/ Aug 2003
SHTSPPS (4)	Head Teacher, Senpara Parbata GPS	July/ Aug 2003
SHTRNMPS (5)	Retired Head Teacher, Naval Model GPS	July/ Aug 2003
SHTLGPS (6)	Head teacher, Laldiar Char GPS	July/ Aug 2003
ATGGPS (7)	Assistant teacher, Gunabati GPS	July/ Aug 2003

Table 1.2 (continued) List of Interviews conducted outside Dhaka including rural areas

ATRGGPS (8)	Retired Assistant teacher, Gunabati GPS	July/	Aug 2003
ATMGPS (9)	Assistant teacher, Madarbari GPS	July/	Aug 2003
ATMGPS (10)	Assistant teacher, Madarbari GPS	July/	Aug 2003
ATZGPS (11)	Assistant teacher, Zikatala GPS	July/	Aug 2003
ATZGPS (12)	Assistant teacher, Madarbari GPS	July/	Aug 2003
ATRMGPS (13)	Retired Assistant teacher, Madarbari GPS	July/	Aug 2003
SMCCG (14)	Chairman, SMC, Gunabati GPS	July/	Aug 2003
SMCMG (15)	Member, SMC, Gunabati GPS	July/	Aug 2003
SMCCM (16)	Chairman, SMC, Madarbari GPS	July/	Aug 2003
PTAMG (17)	Member PTA (Parent/ Guardian), Gunabati GPS	July/	Aug 2003
PTALLG (18)	Member PTA (parent/ local leader), Gunabati GPS	July/	Aug 2003
PTANM (19)	Member PTA (parent/ Guardian) Naval Model GPS	July/	Aug 2003
PTAMM (20)	Member PTA (parent/ Guardian) Madarbari	July/	Aug 2003
	Total of School teachers/ SMC or PTA members and Local leader interviewed: 20		
Sub total: Number of people interviewed in the local level outside Dhaka 7+3+2+2+20 = 34			
Total Number of peoples interviewed in Dhaka and outside Dhaka (including rural areas): 25+34 = 59			

1.12 Documents Reviewed

According to Good (1966), documents are defined as "reports of events" for the purpose of conveying information. A variety of official and unofficial documents relating to primary education in general and, more particularly, to vocational development of government primary teachers in Bangladesh were consulted. I reviewed a number of formal documents that outlined the duties and responsibilities of primary teachers. A variety of documents had also been collected from the Primary and Mass Education Ministry (MoPME), the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE), the District Primary Education Office (DPEO), the office files of the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association, and the Upazila (Thana) Education Office, as well as from the selected schools, the PTI and the NAPE. Secondary data was obtained from the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), the Bangladesh Bureau of Educational

Information and Statistics (BANBEIS), the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE), the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD), and the journal of the Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE). The literature reviewed for the study included multiple sources such as the official reports of the National Education Commissions/Committees; the national Five Year Plans, education statistics, teacher training manuals, the charter of teachers' duties, and articles and reports in the journals and media on primary teachers, reports of different government committees and legislative bills. Moreover, documents (e.g. the constitution, lists of demands, and minutes of meetings) about vocational union such as the BPTA were also consulted. All documents[9] served as frame of reference for subsequent observations, informal conversations and interviews; they allowed me to compare the participant's subsequent informal accounts of their activities with the official versions.

1.13 Ethics

In all types of research, ethical issues are of paramount importance. Since this study is concerned with the study of people, I was committed to interacting with participants in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect; I listened to them attentively and civilly, and showed my genuine concern. During the field research and the subsequent writing stages, I have had to maintain a caring and responsible attitude, and to respect the confidentiality of all participants. The names of the local officials, primary schools and teachers have already been changed in accordance with the prevailing ethical values in research, in order to protect the identity of the participants who played important roles in the study. Finally, all interview materials have been stored in a location to which only the researcher has access.

1.14 Credibility and "Transferability" or Validity of Data

One of the aspects of interviewing I found puzzling was the fact that the respondents would distort the truth. During the interviews it sometimes became clear that the truth was being distorted or simply 'misrepresented.' This was most common when the leaders of different

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[9] Other secondary sources from which data were collected, reviewed and analyzed were: the report of the National Curriculum and Syllabus Committee 1978; Report of the Interim Education Policy, 1979; Mid-term Evaluation Report of the UPE (IDA) Project, 1983; Report of the Experimental Cluster Training, 1983; Report of the Primary Teachers Survey, 1984; Report on Introducing Universal Primary Education in Bangladesh, 1985; The World Bank Appraisal Report, 1985; Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP II), 2003-2009; and Improvement and Development of Primary Teacher Training in Bangladesh Interim Report, 1985.

factions of teachers' unions were asked about their activities, when political party elites were questioned; when public officials were asked about government programmes and policies and their handling of donor supported projects relating to the vocational development of primary teachers; and when local-level education officials (i.e. TEO/ UEO, ATEO/ AUEO) and GPS teachers were asked about the fulfilment of their desired official/vocational duties and responsibilities. My interpretation was that every parties had a clear tendency to blame others for what was going wrong, whether inside the schools/classrooms, in the formulation/implementation of policy regarding the development of teachers' vocational knowledge, and in the sub-sector at large. Leaders of the main faction of the Bangladesh Primary Teacher' Association, for example, claimed that whatever improvement had so far been achieved in relation to the vocational development (e.g. job security) and status of primary teachers was thanks to their own efforts and blamed other factions for their failure to cooperate so they could speak with a single voice and put pressure on governments to further improve teachers' position on the bureaucratic ladder, as well as their pay and working conditions. This faction was unaware that I had already talked to the other factions, and had learned that the constant pro-government policy of the main faction which was in return for benefits from the regimes was actually an important obstacle for the further improvement of teachers' vocational competence and social status. To verify the claims of various groups, I went back to talk with the public officials with whom all factions of the teachers' unions maintained regular contact in order to help teachers solve their vocational problems, thereby justifying and legitimating their leadership. I even cross-checked the same issues raised by one leader (say the Secretary) of the BPTA while interviewing another leader (say the Finance Secretary) on a later occasion. The relevant official documents and school records were also consulted to gauge the credibility of information provided in the interviews, conversations and questionnaire. Where possible, the same strategy was adopted for teacher respondents, as well as public officials and guardians. The distortion of the truth was a problem in relation to not only discussions with individual respondents, but also to the reliability and adequacy of government statistics about primary education in general and teachers in particular. It was necessary to collect detailed independent study reports to verify such facts.

1.15 Limitations of the Study

The lack of reliable and adequate statistics from the DPE and the MoPME – for example on teachers' recruitment/retention and training, teacher-student ratios, the socio-economic

background of active teachers – to some extent limits the reliability of the findings, despite the fact that I collected detailed independent (e.g. Cambridge Consortium, Cambridge Education Consultants Limited, etc) reports to verify such facts. Another factor may be the selection of study primary schools on the basis of 'typicality', easy access and familiarity. In addition, some subjective elements may have crept into the interviews since there are numerous opinion-based questions in the questionnaire. In particular, this had implications for the reliability of information collected from the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association about its formation and activities, and the development of its relationship with the "regimes;" since research-based and published information on the BPTA was very limited, I was dependent on the interviews. Although I managed to cross-check the information with the founder members of the BPTA by means of individual and group discussions, and was granted access to official documents and files, this may nonetheless be another weakness of the study, due to the time dimension of the study (1971-2001). Furthermore, the sample size for some components of the study was rather small since it is a qualitative study. When I started this project, the 'quality' of teaching-learning in the mainstream primary schools that is GPS was not an issue of serious concern to the government in Bangladesh. Later, however, particularly under the Second Primary Education Development Program (PEDP—II), the government and its development partners initiated some basic reforms in the structure and delivery system of primary education in order to ensure sustainable quality education. The PEDP-II included measures to better the performance of the sub-sector by arranging for better training of primary teachers, SMC members and primary education related officials; upgrading the NAPE activities; upgrading and changing the syllabus in the PTI and the school curriculum, etc. Such developments in the middle phase of any study are likely to have implications for the ultimate findings of the study.

1.16 Time Dimension of the Study

The empirical target of this investigation centres on the development of the vocational status and competence of primary teachers working in the mainstream primary schools (GPSs) since Bangladesh's independence in 1971. However, this study has excluded changes made by the regime that came to power in 2001. Since 2001 the regime, guided by the PEDP-II and assisted by its development partners, has introduced many ongoing reforms in the primary sub-sector, related to teachers' training, curriculum development, etc. Even qualification-based remuneration for primary teachers has been proposed under the PEDP-II. In order to

understand the development of primary teachers as an occupational group in a stable context, therefore, the decision to limit the time dimension of this study to 1971-2001 was considered justified.

1.17 Outline of the Investigation

Research design, methodological arguments, aims and research questions related to the study have been provided in the **Chapter one**. The following chapter, **Chapter two,** critically reviews existing theories related to the study of vocations. In this chapter I have provided some general theoretical considerations for the study of profession/occupation and have argued in support of the model developed by Burrage et al (1990) that has guided the empirical analysis of this study. I have also considered the limitations of this model, as well as the problems associated with using the Western notions of 'profession' and 'professionalisation' for a study of an occupational group in a developing country context. **Chapter three** provides the presentation of what happens to the primary teaching occupation in the period I have studied. In this chapter, I have outlined teachers' vocational development in a historical context, in relation to the civil service system in Bangladesh. Some critical issues that are raised and discussed include: the organization of the civil service system in Bangladesh and the effect this has on autonomy and self-direction, as well as on other aspects of GPS teachers' vocational life; e.g. set criteria of the government to entry into the occupation and hence its professionalization.

Chapters four to seven have focused on the internal dynamics associated with the four principal actors' roles, as suggested by the theoretical model used in the study. C**hapter four** investigates the role of the state in the professionalization process of GPS teachers. In order to understand the state-schoolteachers interface, this chapter examines the nature of the state of Bangladesh and the vocational development and status of GPS teachers in relation to country's national human resource development policies, teachers' influence in the formulation and implementation of primary education policy, policies guiding teachers' career prospects and their mobility, rewards, and induction. This chapter assesses how the nature and the role of the governing elites, in particular, have contributed to the present occupational situation and status of the primary teachers in Bangladesh. The issue of donor intervention in the primary sub-sector in connection with the global goal of Education for All and how this

has affected the state policy regarding the vocational development of primary teachers has also been discussed in this chapter. **Chapter five** explores the teacher training opportunities that were available in the primary sub-sector during 1971-2001. This chapter focuses particularly on several questions: how was teacher training perceived by those immediately concerned (e.g. trainees and trainers); how was it organized; what was taught and how was it taught in the teacher training institute (PTIs); how was it learned and how was it relevant to teachers' professionalism/professionalization. **Chapter six** examines the role of the teachers' vocational union, the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association, in order to understand how it has contributed to the situation of the GPS teachers at present. To explain the present state of professionalization of GPS teachers, it was necessary to examine a number of issues: how did the primary teachers' union come into existence in Bangladesh; what impact did the prevailing environment to which teachers' union must adapt have; why do the teachers' unions work and organize the way they do; does the teachers' union in Bangladesh exhibit any features of a 'professional association'; if not, why not; does such an organizational orientation affect constructing occupational jurisdiction of primary teachers . In **Chapter seven,** the legitimate authority of GPS teachers is analysed in terms of user trust, which is an essential attribute of professionalization. This chapter examines how users perceive the teachers' vocational knowledge-base and expertise, moral character and value for universal service delivery, as well as fulfilment of their occupational obligations and responsibilities. The social control of primary teachers by educated users and the issues of informal peer control and standard setting by primary teachers themselves have also been examined in this chapter to establish how these affect user confidence and trust, and hence the professionalisation of primary teachers. Finally, **Chapter eight** concludes with a summary of the main theoretical implications and findings of the study.

Chapter 2

Professionalization of Occupations—a Theoretical Note

2.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the concept of "professionalization", including the definition of "profession" and "professionalization". Here I shall analyze the context of these two terms as used in this study in relation to the professionalization of teaching. The term "professional" has become associated with great prestige and it is widely used; for example, as a slogan to attract potential employees in recruitment campaigns, and as an organizational aim and objective to motivate employees. According to Evetts, "It is an appealing prospect for an occupation to be identified as a profession and for occupational workers and employees to be labelled as professionals" (Evetts, 2004: 4). Since I have used the sociology of professions as a theoretical frame of reference for this study, I start by clarifying my understanding of the concept of "profession" and how this may be applied to the situation of teachers. Second, I present some observations and my position in relation to the concepts of "profession" and "professionalization". Third, I relate the model that is used in this study to the process of occupational change regarding primary teaching occupation in Bangladesh.

2.2 What is a Profession?

"Profession" is a much-debated sociological concept and the criteria which distinguish professions from other occupations have been strongly contested. Since the days of Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), scholars have been interested in the division of labour between different occupational groups, some of which have come to be labelled as professions. Although the notion of profession arose in the middle ages or even antiquity, it was first in the twentieth century that serious intellectual interest was taken in the professions, primarily in the English-speaking western world. Many eminent scholars[10] have taken up the study of

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[10] Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933), T.J. Marshall ([1939], 1965), Caplow (1954), Greenwood (1957), Barber (1963), Wilensky (1964), G. Millerson (1964) Talcott Parsons ([1939], 1964, 1968), Johnson ([1967] 1972, 1995), Larson (1977), Freidson (1970a, 1970b, 1986, 2001), Abbott (1988), and Burrage & Torstendahl (1990) etc are some important and frequently cited authors.

professions in the past century, although they have not agreed as to how the notion of profession should be defined.

However, six[11] major "schools" of thought in professional discussion can be identified: (a) the traits model; (b) the functionalist model; (c) the structuralist model; (d) the monopoly model; (e) the cultural model; and (f) 'actor-based' model.

Scholarly writing in the 1930s in particular claimed that a 'profession' was an occupational group with specific features or traits. Carr-Saunders & Wilson (1933) and Marshall (1938) belonged to this *"traits school"*. Some decades later, attention shifted to the development of the professions, but there were writers such as Parsons (1951) and Wilensky (1964) who continued to concentrate on attributes; for instance, Wilensky argued that selflessness is an important characteristic of professionals. Scholarly writings in the 1970s continued this debate; for example, Leggatt identified the following criteria that he claimed determined whether or not it was sensible to speak of an occupation as a "profession":

- Practice is founded upon a base of theoretical, esoteric knowledge;
- The acquisition of knowledge requires a long period of education and socialization;
- Practitioners are motivated by an ideal of altruistic service rather than the pursuit of material and economic gain;
- Careful control is exercised over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice; and
- The colleague group is well organized and has disciplinary powers to enforce a code of ethical practice.

(Leggatt, 1970:156)

While the trait model emphasizes 'essential elements,' the *functionalist model* focuses on 'functional relevance' of professional. Scholars associated with this school include Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933), Barber (1963), Marshall (1939, 1965), Parsons (1939[1954], 1968), Goode (1957), and Braude (1961). In order to define professions, the functionalist model does not rely upon an exhaustive list of 'traits,' but rather focuses on those elements which are considered to have functional relevance for society as a whole and for the professional-user relationship in particular (Johnson, 1972:23). According to this model,

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[11] Abbott (1988) focuses on four "schools" i.e. the functional, the structural, the monopolist, and the cultural schools. T. J. Johnson (1972) and Burrage et al (1990) suggest that we might add the fifth and sixth schools—namely, the "traits school" and the "actor-based" school.

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profession is merely a means to control the asymmetric expert-client relationship (Abbott, 1988:15). Thus, this model depicted professionals as having knowledge-based skills that they employ as autonomous practitioners in a non-routine context, in accordance with a client-focused ethic that is guaranteed by a self-regulative professional body. One of the underlying notions of the functionalist model is that 'a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge' is important both for practitioners and users' context because it provides professionals a control over nature and society and such knowledge should primarily be used in the community interest (Barber, 1963: 672).

In contrast, the main idea of *structuralist model* is that "The functions disappeared and the structure alone remained" (Abbott, 1988:15). According to this model, a 'profession' is simply an institutionalized form of control, and the content of the work and the professional-user relationship are less important (ibid). This model explicitly focuses on structure and its historical evolution, theorizing profession because structure or organization is the primary means of exercising both control over and access to basic occupational resources. According to this model, the structure (e.g. professional association) is the key to control over a market, issuing licenses to practitioners, setting up a code of ethics. Authors such as Caplow (1954), Millerson (1964) and Wilensky (1964) were some renowned supporters of this "school of thought". Caplow's analysis of profession outlines the narrative of structure in the following way:

> Professions begin with the establishment of professional associations that have explicit membership rules to exclude the unqualified. Second, they change their names, in order to lose their past, to assert their monopoly, and, most importantly, to give themselves a level of legislative restriction. Third, they set up a code of ethics to assert their social utility, to further regulate the incompetent, and to reduce internal competition. Fourth, they agitate politically to obtain legal recognition, aiming at first to limit the professional title and later to criminalize unlicensed work in their jurisdiction. (Caplow, 1954 also quoted in Abbott, 1988:11)

From the perspective of the *monopoly* model, 'professions' are corporate groups with "mobility projects" aimed at occupational control (Abbott, ibid). Some eminent supporters of this school are Larson ((1977), Krause (1977), Auerback (1976) and Melosh (1982). Although not explicitly monopolist theorists, Johnson[12] (1972), Freidson[13] (1970a, 1970b) and Erichsen (1990) held related views. According to mainstream literature on the professions, the state

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[12] Johnston considered control of professional services by clients or the state as the alternatives to professional self-control.

[13] Freidson later change his position from his earlier stand on "dominance" (For example, see Freidson, 1986).

and the professions are antithetical phenomena. State bureaucracies and other bureaucratic structures are thought to threaten to professional autonomy. Terry Johnson (1982) argues that, on the contrary, a close relationship between a profession and the state apparatus "may constitute the very conditions within which occupational autonomy is possible" (Terry Johnson (1982:189)). He further claims that state formation in the modern world includes the professions, thus eliminating the profession/state duality. His thesis is that:

> ....the state is the outcome of governing; it's institutionalised residue, so to speak. It also follows that those procedures and technologies, forms of classification and notation that, in part, embody the state are embedded both in those formal bureaucratic organs that we normally identify as the state apparatus and in the agents of institutionalised expertise, the professions. In short, the state, as the particular form that government has taken in the modern world, includes expertise, or the professions. The duality, profession/ state, is eliminated. (Terry Johnson, 1995:13)

Historically, professions have developed along very different paths in different countries. In the continental Europe, professions have been shaped strongly by their close links to the state (Erichsen, 1995). Nevertheless, writers like Freidson (1970a, 1970b), Johnson (1972), and Larson (1977) brought the notion of profession into the political arena, emphasizing its role in the community and its connection to the state. What was of critical importance, according to these writers, was not the attributes of an occupational group but its ability to obtain the recognition of the state in order to safeguard a degree of autonomy and the practitioners' monopoly.

From the perspective of the *monopoly model*, state recognition and delegation of power give professions a high degree of autonomy or dominance as well as status (Johnson, 1995). This model also suggests that it is not the structure (i.e. association, training schools, etc) of the profession that leads to state recognition and the granting of such dominance, but rather the profession's ability or function (e.g. identification, exclusion, etc). Freidson (1970b) highlighted the role of state recognition and the delegation of power in giving the profession a high degree of autonomy. Freidson (ibid) further argued that the recognition and the delegation of power by the state make difference between professions other occupational groups. For Freidson, the term 'profession' refers to specialized work by which one makes a living in an exchange economy (Freidson, 1994).

The *cultural model,* on the other hand, has emphasized the cultural authority of profession in line with Parsonian notion of 'expertise as a social relation' (Abbott, 1988:15). For Parsons, it is functional specificity and technical competence that enable professionals (e.g. physicians)

to "penetrate" into the "particular nexus" of the user (e.g. patient). The issue of professional expertise or 'professionalism' is thus introduced in defining profession according to the cultural model. From the perspective of this model, the cultural authority of a profession, i.e. its expertise or professionalism, is a social relationship. Writers such as Ben-David (1963), Bledstein (1976), Jarausch (1990) and Freidson (1994, 2001) have added a new criterion for the 'professionality' of occupations, despite the fact that their perspectives are distinct. For Bledstein, 'professionalism,' by which he means expertise, provides both an ideal "metaphor and means" (Bledstein, 1976, quoted in Abbott, 1988:15) for the vertical mobility of professionals. Freidson (1994) argues that the kind of work professionals do is esoteric, complex and discretionary in character, and goes on to add that, in order to do such type of work, theoretical knowledge, skill and judgement is required that ordinary people do not possess and may not wholly comprehend. For Freidson (ibid), professional work suggests two basic elements of professionalism: (a) commitment to practicing a body of knowledge and skill that is of special value, and (b) determination to maintain a fiduciary relationship with clients.

According to the "*actor-based framework*" suggested by the Burrage et al (1990), a definition of professions should include both the "institutions" and the "claims" of the occupations (Burrage et al 1990:205). In other words, a satisfactory definition would be both institutional and political, in the sense that it will refer to claims made by the professions. They also claim that such a definition disassemble the elements of the professionalization of an occupation for the purposes of analysis and the identification of alternative routes and critical stages of professional development over time. Their definition of professions is somewhat similar to Collins' (1987) formulation: professions are "socially idealized occupations organized as closed occupational communities" (quoted in Burrage et al, 1990: 205). Burrage et al further claim that the first part of this definition "refers to the actions by which some occupations have claimed, and somehow obtained some special power or recognition and become socially idealized" while the second half "refers to specific mechanisms and institutions" (Burrage, et al, ibid).

From the above-mentioned discussion it is evident that there is no clear agreement among scholars regarding the notion of "professions". The following table illustrates the definition of profession and its essential 'elements' in relation to the six "traditions" under scrutiny:

Table 2.1 What is a Profession?

Model	Definition of "profession"	Essential elements of a profession
The traits model	A profession is an occupational group with particular features or traits (e.g. Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933; Marshall, 1938).	Presence of listed 'attributes' (e.g. professional skill and competence, the provision of training and education, organization; and altruism etc).
The functionalist model	A profession is a means to control practitioner-client relationships and the functional relevance of professionals' activities (e.g. Parsons, 1939, 1964, 1968; Goode, 1957; Braude, 1962).	Functional relevance for the society; i.e. altruism, a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge, and professional-user relationship.
The structuralist model	A profession is an institutionalized form of control, and the content of work and the professional-user relation are less important (e.g. Caplow, 1954; Millerson, 1964; Wilensky, 1964).	The structure (e.g. professional association) is the key to control over a market, issuing licenses to practitioners, setting up a code of ethics.
The monopoly model	Professions are those occupations that have succeeded in winning state recognition and delegation of power (e.g. Larson, 1977; Krause, 1977; Auerback, 1976).	State recognition and delegation of power give the profession a high degree of autonomy and dominance, and ensure a privileged place in the economy.
The cultural model	A profession consists of a group of individual practitioners who are protected by their specific "professionalism" means expertise (e.g. Bledstein, 1976; Freidson, 1994, 2001).	The professional expertise of an individual practitioner, and not the state, protects the market for professionals, which has consequences for the status and power of individual practitioners.
Actor-based model	A profession is a socially idealized occupation organized as a closed occupational community (e.g. Burrage et al, 1990).	Institutions and the claims or actions of the occupations

2.2.1 The South Asian Context and Definition of Professions

It would probably be distortion of reality, particularly in relation to this study, to define professions only on the basis of the above-mentioned Anglo-American and continental European discussions. I think it is the texture and perceptions of the members of a particular society that determines how things work and thereby determine the recognition and status granted to a particular occupational group. For example, Maloney characterizes interpersonal relationships in Bangladesh as a "complex network of obligations, dependencies, and expectations, in which people conduct their dealings with each other" (Maloney, 1991:59). She further argues that common attributes of social behaviour and attitudes of peoples and bureaucratic system in Bangladesh are: the principle of hierarchy, the exercise of inherited authority and personal force, the personalization of authority, the reliance on patronage and indulgence, the authoritarian administration, the opportunistic individualism and the lack of commitment to abstract objectives and ideologies (ibid, p.66). Indeed, the principle of hierarchy and the exercise of inherited authority and personal force in interpersonal relations are accepted as morally right and necessary and even ritualized in many ways in South Asian countries, including Bangladesh (Nicholas, 1967 quoted in Maloney, ibid). According to Maloney, "when two people meet in daily intercourse [in Bangladesh] they commonly establish relative rank one way or another; it may depend on wealth, lineage, education, rank of employment, or even a small difference in age" (ibid, p.40). In daily interaction, therefore, one person may be accorded higher rank than another, which gives him the right to extract service and demand respect; in return he assumes obligations of patronage and/or *dayã* (indulgence) vis-à-vis those of lower rank. This pattern is extended from family relations to those of work and even to society in general (p.43). She further argues that in rural Bangladesh the acquisition of abstract knowledge or higher education is deemed less important if it does not extend the person's social role and obligations in accordance with what is expected of a more highly educated person. She characterizes the notions of social role and obligation in Bangladeshi society as follows:

> Entitlement operates both above and below the self. A man is entitled to subsistence from the big people [patron] he is dependent upon, but similarly there are people entitled to dependence on him, including family members" (Maloney, 1991:41).

Another writer observed:

> The people cannot imagine a life without manifold, extensive and deep relations….the network of manifold personal relations plays in Bangladesh an important role regarding all human and existential purposes. (Herbon, 1994: 101)

Ali on the other hand, argues that top level jobs in the Bangladesh Civil Service (BCS)[14] or a higher position in the government is considered an honourable and prestigious profession because, in the eyes of Bangladeshi people in general, it provides access to authority, power and career prospects, as well as the security of a life-long job (Ali, 2004:123). According to Maloney, this development extends the source of patronage and *dayã* (indulgence) because the traditional role of the Z*aminder* (landlord) and M*ahajan* ("big man"/ merchant) – to mobilize the means to give patronage to the peasants and fulfil their demands for labour, and to get service in return – is now transferred to the government and its civil servants (Maloney, 1991:45). In fact, the state in Bangladesh has the social responsibility for creating employment opportunities for its citizens since the private sector is not so well-developed (Zafarullah et al, 1997: 8-9). Despite the fact that in recent years there has been a proliferation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and a rapid growth in the knitwear industries, it is still the public sector that is the main source of "decent" employment, especially for university graduates. Zafarullah et al (ibid) found that over 65,500 university graduates competed for only 1475 entry-level positions in the Bangladesh Civil Service in 1995. This is indicative of the fact that people working in the private sector enjoy less social prestige, in general, due to the lack of job security for employees in this highly uncertain and competitive job market compared to their counterparts in the public sector. Moreover, many of them are unable to make their mark in the private sector – by demonstrating that they have more sense, by exerting more personal force or by building a network of personal relations with governing/power elites – in order to justify the claim that they are capable of fulfilling the enhanced social role or meeting these obligations; i.e. to offer patronage and *dayã* (indulgence) to others. It should be borne in mind that by fulfilling such a social role and meeting these obligations, the person accorded higher rank gains the right to extract service and respect in the society (Maloney, op cit).

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[14] There are a total of 29 cadres in the Bangladesh Civil Service, including: "health cadre" for medical professionals; "general education cadre" for teaching at the college level, "general administration cadre", "police cadre" and "foreign service cadre". Those who enter these "cadre" posts are known as "Class I gazetted officers". Apart from these 29 cadres, there are other members in the civil service known as Class II, III and IV employees.

The concept of "profession" which I have adopted as suitable in the context of a South-East Asian country like Bangladesh, is somewhat similar to that of Kocka's suggestion in which he mentioned that a "profession" is a non manual, full time occupation entry to which requires specialized and systematic training as well as passing certain examinations. It also tends to demand freedom from others [such as the state] and monopoly of service. Practitioners' competence, vocational ethics, as well as the special importance for society and common weal ensure special material rewards and higher social prestige for the profession (Kocka, 1985 quoted in Burrage et al 1990). However, I have modified his suggestion in order to adapt it to the texture of Bangladesh society and culture. For me, therefore, *a profession is generally a full-time, non-manual occupation that offers secure tenure as well as substantial honour, rewards, social prestige and access to the authority and power. Admission to a profession depends upon acquisition of a specific degree or diploma. Thus, practice of a profession presupposes specialized and scholarly training, competence and a code of ethics that stresses such qualities as altruism. Finally, a profession tends to demand a monopoly of professional services, as well as freedom from control by non-professionals such as the state.*

2.2.2 Teaching as a Profession

In his review of teachers as an occupational group, Hoyle (2002) notes that in many countries professionalisation has been considered a major objective by teachers for more than 100 years. He observes that the education of teachers has gradually been lengthened and linked up with university education and that its scientific profile has become more clearly anchored in disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical theory. National teachers' associations have also become stronger and more successful in promoting an image of teaching as an occupation based on expert skills, as well as recognition by the state. The emergence of mass public education all over the world may have contributed to this development and increased teachers' social status and occupational prestige among their immediate clients.

According to Sykes (1990:253-73), teaching is usually viewed as a form of professional activity because it requires a great deal of specialized knowledge. Teachers' professional status is grounded in the reality that teaching children is complex work and in order to perform successful teachers requires a high level of education and specific vocational training (Rowan, 1994:4-17). It has been assumed that the establishment of teaching as a profession

implies that teachers emerge as a publicly recognised expert group, the members of which possess certain knowledge-based skills acquired through formal training that is especially geared to the tasks of teachers. This knowledge-base has been referred to as a "pedagogical content knowledge, i.e. the combination of subject matter knowledge and the knowledge of how to teach a subject" (Shulman 1987, quoted in Goodson and Hargreaves 1996:6). Entailed in this positive conception has also been an assumption that teachers' possession of expert knowledge more or less automatically will ensure them the professional autonomy and social status of an occupational group; that they will have more control over their own work and career options, as well as better working conditions, including salary.

In recent discourse, a distinction has been made between "teaching as a profession" and "the professionalism of teaching" (Hargreaves, 2000). While the former refers to the social status of teachers as an occupational group and the extent to which they have achieved control over certain tasks, the latter refers to teachers' competence and skills (Hargreaves, ibid). The "professionalism of teaching" approach is more concerned with what kind of skills teachers have and what they need in relation to their tasks as educators. Thus "professionalism" in teaching implies that teachers are competent and capable of carrying out their tasks in a proper way. However, Engvall argues that "professionalism for teachers depends in large part upon the trust that teachers are able to justifiably evoke from the parents of their students and from their students themselves" (Engvall, 1997:20).

The traditional assumption was that professionalism was simply a consequence of teaching becoming a profession. More recently, this link has been challenged and it has been claimed that the professionalisation project of teachers may inhibit professionalism in so far as it creates a distance between teachers and their immediate clients (Hargreaves, 2000:152). In this view, the stronger a profession teaching becomes, like medicine or law, the less concern teachers will show for the learners and their families. Darling-Hammond et al. (1983), however, have proposed a useful four-way typology of conceptions of teachers' work that can be summarized as follows:

- *Teaching as labour*: the activities of the teacher should be rationally planned, and programmatically organised by administrators, with the teacher merely responsible for carrying out the instructional programme;

- *Teaching as craft*: teaching is seen in this concept as requiring a repertoire of specialised techniques and, as well as mastering the techniques, the teacher must acquire rules for their application;

- *Teaching as profession*: the teacher needs not only a repertoire of specialised techniques, but also the ability to exercise judgement regarding when these techniques should be applied – and hence a body of theoretical knowledge;

- *Teaching as art*: teaching is based not only on professional knowledge and skills but also on a set of personal resources uniquely defined; techniques and their application may be novel, unconventional, and unpredictable. (pages)

Before describing the actor-based theoretical model that I have used in my analysis of the occupational change or vocational development of primary-school teachers as an occupational group over the study period in Bangladesh, I will clarify what I mean by the notion of professionalization.

2.3 What is Professionalization?

Like the definition of "profession", the term "professionalization" has also taken different routes during its long passage. It has provided sociologists the means of encompassing variations and seeming inconsistencies in the development of the concept. In general, professionalization has several usages, only the main ones of relevance to the current discussion will be considered here:

Firstly, it refers to some sort of change in the occupational structure. According to Erichsen, professionalization is to some extent "a process of occupational change" and it has two distinct characteristics: occupational struggles for control over practice, and the conditions and content of occupational activities (Erichsen, 1990:30).

Secondly, the term is used in a way which places more emphasis on the efforts of professional organizations to control the entry, certification and practice of a specific occupation; membership, therefore, may be regarded as the major indicator of the degree of professionalization. For example, Theodore Caplow describes the professionalization process in the following way:

> Professions begin with the establishment of professional associations that have explicit membership rules to exclude the unqualified. Second, they change their names, in order to lose their past, to assert their monopoly and most importantly, to give themselves a level capable of legislative restriction. Third, they set up a code of ethics to assert their social utility, to further regulate the incompetence, and to reduce internal competition. Fourth, they agitate politically to obtain legal recognition, aiming at first to limit the professional title and later to criminalize unlicensed work in their jurisdiction (Caplow, 1954:139-40 and quoted in Abbott, 1988:11).

Caplow's analysis indicates that there are clear sequences of functions acquired in the professionalization process.

Thirdly, professionalization is viewed as a process the purpose of which is to exhibit "essential" attributes. Hoyle (1985), for example, defines professionalization as a process whereby an occupation meets the criteria attributed to a profession: (i) a body of knowledge, (ii) exclusiveness, (iii) lengthy training, (iv) control over practice or autonomy, and (v) a code of ethics etc. In other words, professionalization is viewed as a process whereby occupations have become, or seek to become a profession that is recognized publicly, in accordance with the degree to which they meet the alleged criteria. Erichsen has mentioned that scholarly writings, mainly in the 50s and 60s (e.g. Wilensky, 1964, Vollmer & Mills, 1966, Greenwood, 1957), have defined the notion of professionalization as a route through which an occupation passes different stages in order to be qualified as profession (Erichsen, 1990:28).

The above-mentioned discussion implies that the process of professionalization is also a multi-route project and that the term has been the subject of intense debate and frequent disagreement. However, scholars (e.g. Clark, 1990; Burrage et al. 1990) have identified the following mechanisms to ensure or guarantee professionalization:

- State recognition and the delegation of power, which gives the profession a high degree of autonomy and some legal mechanisms to enforce its monopoly over the provision of its service and the use of its title;

- Commitment to practicing a body of knowledge and skills of special value that are the result of specialized, systematic and scholarly training; and to maintaining a fiduciary relationship with clients;

- Specific material rewards and higher social prestige and recognition, which mean that the professionals have a high degree of motivation based on an idea of altruistic service rather than pursuit of material and economic gain;

- Professional organization as a means of exercising control over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice; and over access to basic occupational resources.

2.3.1 Professionalization of the Teaching Occupation

The concept of professionalization has two different meanings when used with reference to teaching (Helsby, 1995 quoted in Hargreaves, 2000). Firstly, it refers to the *quality* of what professionals' do, their conduct and outward behaviour, and the standards which guide this (Englund, 1996). Some scholars call this professionalism since it means improving the quality and standards of practice. Secondly, it relates to *status and standing* of professionals; to how teachers feel they are viewed by the general public in relation to their status, standing, regard and level of professional rewards. In this second meaning, professionalization implies improving status and standing. Hargreaves argues that these two concepts are often presented as supplementary projects (improved standards will lead to improved status), but in teaching "stronger professionalization does not always mean greater professionalism" (Hargreaves, 2000:152).

Nevertheless, in the present study I think the two definitions of Erichsen (1990) and Helsby (1995) are complementary, and provide a workable framework for the study of professionalization of primary teaching occupation in Bangladesh. This is the case because both writers recognize professionalization as a process of occupational change or a number of stages through which an occupation passes en route to qualification as profession. Therefore, I have used the term <u>professionalization,</u> as suggested by Helsby (1995), to refer to *a process of occupational change or development that involves the enhancement of the standard and quality of practice, as well as of the status and level of professional rewards.*

2.4 Actors that Characterize the Professionalization of Occupations

While professionalization refers to a process, the *trait model* represents a checklist for measuring the degree to which an occupation is professionalized, and is fundamentally

ahistorical (Johnson, 1972:27). This model's "claims for professional status are themselves the major conditions for professionalization" (Johnson, 1972:31). Wilensky (1964:142-6) suggested the following stages of professionalization in the American context:

- the emergence of a full-time occupation;
- the establishment of a training school;
- the founding of a professional association;
- political agitation directed towards the protection of the association by law; and
- the adoption of a formal code .

Critics of the *trait model* claimed that it failed to map its parameters, i.e. the key 'actors' that are engaged in the struggle to establish occupations as professions.

Many of the authors belonging to the *functionalist model* have focused mainly on functions rather than specific agents or actors in defining the notion of professionalization of an occupation. However, functionalist theorists such as Barber (1963) clearly acknowledge the role of specific groups or organizations in the professionalization process, which may be viewed as "actors" in a professional domain. Barber (ibid) referred four "essential attributes" in defining professional behaviour: (a) a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge; (b) primary orientation to the community interest rather than to individual self-interest, i.e. altruism; (c) a high degree of practitioners' self-control through a code of ethics imposed by an association; (d) a system of rewards (monetary and honorary). From Barber's analysis one can deduce the involvement of at least three actors in the professionalization project, including: (i) an academic/ *training institution* will provide professionals with a high standard skills and systematic knowledge; (ii) a *professional association* will impose a code of ethics in order to maintain the standard in professional activities; and (iii) the u*sers* of professional services will recognize professionals by giving them rewards as a symbol of their work achievement and importance. Despite the fact that the authors in the *functionalist tradition* have mainly understood the professionalization of an occupation in terms of functions rather than specific agents or actors, the role of three above-mentioned actors cannot be denied in this professionalization process.

From the *structuralist model*, professionalization focuses on explaining why there is a discrepancy in the properties displayed by the professions. It also emphasises the historical

forces that drive the structure and its evolution (Abbott, 1988:15). For example, Wilensky's (1964) analysis focuses mainly on understanding professionalization as structures rather than specific agents or actors. Nevertheless, some actors are implied in his analysis too, including: the *university/ training institution*, which is the source of professionals' specialized knowledge and skills; the *professional association*, which played the role of guardian of the knowledge standards, the ethical codes, and the gates of entry; and the *State*, which ensured the market for and protection of professionals, and maintained the difference between professions and other occupations.

From the perspective of the *monopoly model*, professionalization is seen as neither function nor structure, but rather as an external social process. Monopolist theorists such as Larson, (1977) for example, view the issue of professionalization in terms of status achievement. As stated earlier she, Friedson (1970a, 1970b), and Johnson (1972, 1995) brought the issue of profession into the political arena by emphasizing its role in the community and its connection to the state. From this perspective, the state support of an exclusionary market and of the distinction between professions and other occupations is of utmost important. For the monopoly theorists, the sequence of functions (e.g. identification, exclusion, etc) is more important than the sequence of structures (association, training institute etc) in the professionalization process (Abbott, 1988). Thus, from the monopolistic analysis, the most critical actors working to improve professional dominance, and thereby status, are the *professionals themselves, the professional associations* and *the state*. Larson's (1977) analysis suggests an additional actor, namely the *user* (i.e. state or community) of the professional services from which the elites of practitioners seek personal rewards and high status through collective upward mobility.

The core issue from the *cultural model* perspective on professionalization is basically the expertise or professionalism that legitimates professionals' control by linking it to values with general cultural legitimacy (Abbott, 1988:16). For Freidson, "The degree and kind of specialization required by particular jobs, quite apart from their function, is widely used to establish their social, symbolic, and economic value and justify the degree of privilege and trust to which they are entitled" (Freidson, 2001:18). He further adds:

> …professionalism is of course an intellectual construct and not a portrayal of any real occupation. It is intended to serve as a stable standard by which to appraise and analyze historic occupations whose characteristics vary in time and space. Some occupations may come to closely resemble that ideal type in some places at some

moments of history, the process by which this occurs being called professionalization. (Freidson, 2001:128)

Friedson's ideal-typical professionalism, which he claims leads to professionalization, i.e. to special status for practitioners a particular time and context, consists of following interdependent elements (Friedson, 2001:127-8):

- Specialized professional work derived from a theoretically based, discretionary knowledge and skills;

- Exclusive jurisdiction in a particular division of labour;

- A sheltered position in both external and internal labour markets based on qualifying credentials imposed and created by the occupation;

- A formal training programme associated with an institution of higher education that produces the qualifying credentials;

- An ideology of altruism guided by commitment to doing a good job, i.e. high quality;

- The support of the state in order to defend labour market shelters against other competitive groups, adjudicate jurisdictional disputes within the occupation, give credence to the professional ideology, and create and maintain the general educational system which provides the foundation for professional schooling, etc.

Friedson's concept of professionalization has identified some groups and institutions whose actions determine what he calls ideal-type professionalism. These actors are: the *higher academic/ training institutions, professionals themselves (professional organizations)*, and the *state*. The following table, 2.2, summarizes the types of actors that have appeared in the Anglo-American and continental European discussions of professionalization.

Table 2.2 Actors that Characterize Professionalization of Occupations

Model	Who are actors
The trait approach	The issue actor does not appear in the analysis because theorists avoided mapping the actors whose actions

	determine professionalization.
The functionalist approach	Training institution, professional association, user
The structuralist approach	Training institution, professional association, state
The monopolist approach	State, professionals themselves (professional organization), user
The cultural approach	State, professionals themselves (professional organization), training institution

2.5 The Theoretical Model Adopted in This Study

In order to understand why the situation of primary teachers in Bangladesh as an occupational group has changed so little since the country's independence in 1971, the "actor-based framework" proposed by Burrage et al (1990) has been adopted. The work of Burrage et al is an attempt at summarizing and bringing together all of the actors that have appeared in the discussion of the Anglo-American and European theorists about the professionalization project. In other words, this model can be seen as a kind of synthesis of all the actors. It can be argued that by using this particular model in my study, I am taking a holistic view of the actors that represent the western view of historical formation of a profession. Despite the fact that all other western "schools of thoughts" (discussed earlier) describe the professionalization of occupations as functions, structures and/or processes, there are "parameters" that Burrage et al call "agents" or "actors" in the analysis of these models, but presented in a different way.

The theoretical framework suggested by Burrage et al has been applied in order to see whether it is useful for understanding and interpreting the characteristics and historical development of the primary teaching occupation in a South Asian country such as Bangladesh. In other words, to what extent this is a useful theory to study primary teaching occupation in a South Asia context. According to this model, four specific actors play a crucial role and are actively engaged in an occupation's struggle to establish itself as a profession. These actors are considered useful when it comes to dealing more effectively with the critical stages of professional development not only for professions, but also for occupations which by many criteria do not exactly qualify as professions (Burrage et al 1990:207). Therefore, the actors-based model is critical for my study because it facilitates an

analysis of the professionalization of occupations and the general theory of professions on the basis of the role of limited actors. Moreover, the research issues of this study suit their model because I examine the development of primary teachers as an occupational group in a historical context in Bangladesh, considering the extent to which they have emerged since 1971 as a distinct, publicly recognized occupation that controls its own work. My intention is also to view this development in relation to the role of certain specific actors. The actor-based framework also seems useful to explain how different actors associated with primary teaching in Bangladesh act and why they act in a particular way. Moreover, the Burrage et al model is unique in the sense that it not only helps to understand how the various actors involved promote professionalization, but also to comprehend how they inhibit the professionalization process of an occupational group. According to Burrage et al, "If one could identify the interests, resources and strategies of each of these four actors in a number of professions [occupations], in a number of countries, and how their interaction has changed over time, we would be able to advance general propositions about professionalization…." (Burrage et al 1990:218).

It should be mentioned that, while the theoretical framework suggested by Burrage et al (1990) is my starting point, it is my intension to further develop these concepts. My point of inception is that this model has only begun to map the concept of "actors". Such a narrow conception of actors never provides a holistic picture of the professionalization of occupations in a universal context. Moreover, their narrow view and to some extent loose conceptualization of the notion "actor" (e.g. it is not clear from the analysis of the model what is meant by "the state") make the concept problematic, especially when applied in the developing societies of Asia or Africa.

Nevertheless, the actor-based model has identified **four main actors** that are considered **responsible for the form and the success or failure of the professionalization of an occupation**. These actors and the resources at their disposal are as follows:

2.5.1 Practising Professionals

Practising professionals themselves are the key actors in their own development, according to Burrage et al. They further argue that practising professionals have the essential resources –

e.g. organizations, ideology and 'proximity and persistence' – required in order to pursue and maintain professional goals; i.e. to maintain self-government, to protect and enhance the corporate interests, and to warrant a monopoly of services, professional autonomy and so on. According to this model, there are four major/ideal types of practitioners' organization. Firstly, there are organisations that place the primary emphasis on the knowledge base of the profession e.g. 'academy' or 'learned society'; secondly, there are those which primarily seek to represent and lobby on behalf of the profession and to obtain some legislative relief or support; Thirdly, there are the trade-union type of organizations, which are primarily concerned to protect members who have to deal with organized public or private users of professional services. There are also organizations what Millerson (1964) calls "qualifying" associations. For Burrage et al, the ideology of a professional association is important as a source of both internal cohesion, and of outside recognition and acceptance. Moreover, organizational ideology exists in the aspirations and loyalties of practitioners, and serves to inspire good practice, constrain practitioners and justify privileges via public service (Burrage et al 1990:209). For them, persistence is also important, denoting uniformity and consistency in the goals of profession, although the strategies of professional organizations may vary or change in course of time. The notion of "proximity" is employed to refer to professional knowledge, which is considered an immense source of power.

In fact, scholars in the field of professions recognize the following activities of professional associations in the process of the professionalization of occupations:

i.   It acts as guardian of the knowledge standard (Parsons, 1954);

ii.   It enforces the ideology or code of ethics; e.g. inspires or constrains practitioners to provide good public service, or appeals to altruism to justify privileges and higher social recognition (Burrage et al, 1990);

iii.   It offers facilities not otherwise available (Millerson, 1964);

iv.   It seeks legislative approval of measures that limit occupational practice to the holders of a mandatory license, thereby attaining an occupational monopoly (Siegrist, 1990), and an organized autonomy (Freidson, 1970b);

v.   They are treated as the set of agents who are the instruments for fighting to improve the working conditions, remuneration and prospect of its members and serve as source of solodarity (Purvis, 1973); and

vi. It constructs authority for practitioners and accumulates the resources (Halliday, 1987).

As stated, many of the above-mentioned authors have focused mainly on understanding the professions as functions, structures and/or processes, rather than on the role of specific agents or actors such as professional associations (Friedman, 2004). The actor-based model of Burrage et al (1990) is perhaps the exception in this regard, as it has raised issues such as resource, ideology, uniformity and consistency in discussing the role of the professional organization in the professionalization process. Nevertheless, it is still unclear in the analysis of the Burrage et al model how a professional organization constructs authority or deals with the state, and how it accumulates the resources upon which its activities depend.

In contrast, Halliday (1983, 1985, and 1987) concentrated on analysing how professional associations accumulate the resources and construct the authority on which he considers the overall role of professional organizations to rest (Halliday, 1987: xix; also quoted in Friedman, 2004:02). He has explored the "organizational factors", which he believes provide "intervening links in a logic of action extending from epistemology to power" (Halliday, 1985:436). Some of these organizational factors are: (1) the degree of national professional integration[15]; (2) professional mobilization, which affects political integration or vice-versa; (3) coalition formation, which gives individual professionals the mandate to come into contact with a cross-section of society and with professionals in other associations (Halliday, 1985 quoted in Friedman, 2004:02).

Therefore, in my analysis of the role of professional organization in the professionalization process of primary teaching in Bangladesh, particular emphasis will be placed on these organizational factors, to determine how the primary teachers' union came into existence in Bangladesh; whether the teachers' association in Bangladesh exhibits features of "qualifying association" as portrayed by Millerson (1964), and if not, why not; and whether this organizational orientation has affected the form of the organisation's relationship with the Bangladeshi state.

2.5.2 States

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[15] Halliday argues that a profession attains political authority to convey its collective interests from an inclusive national association (Halliday, 1985:436).

The second important actor identified by Burrage et al is the state. This is both the regulator of professional life and instrument of professional advancement. In fact, states are directly or indirectly involved in every facet of vocational existence: their organization, their resources, their education and licensing and their relationships with other professions, as well as the market for their services. The power, resources and prestige of any profession, therefore, depends largely on the policies of the state to which they are subject (Burrage et al. 1990). It should be mentioned that the term "state" is ambiguous in the actor-based model. It is not clear what characterize a state or which group(s) influence the political and governmental agenda.

Freidson (2001), on the other hand, uses the term "state" loosely to refer to the sovereign political authority, which grants occupations special status. According to Freidson:

> In earlier times, the authority was the sovereign. Later it became the nation-state. Now, it may very well be becoming some transnational authority, as in Europe, where the European Union moves toward "harmonizing" the labour and trade policies of its component nations. Some even see the emergence of a global international authority (Freidson, 2001:128).

Friedson's analysis of the state's authority in a broader [international] context is also supported by some on-going global movements relating to basic education, for example Education for All (EFA), UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In relation to these global movements, international authorities such as UN agencies, bilateral donor organisations and the World Bank are now extending technical and financial support, and are increasingly involved with nation-states, particularly in the developing world, in order to facilitate reforms to their national policy that will improve the status and working conditions of occupations such as primary-school teaching. Such involvement of international actors in the vocational domain of occupational groups can be viewed as an effect of globalization. However, no effective change would happen to improve the vocational status or life, the working conditions or career prospects, of any occupational group, without the support of the "governing elites" in a particular nation-state.

Various scholars have identified the distinctive role of states in the professionalization process of occupations. Some of the prevailing ideas are that:

a. States are the key force for the creation, maintenance and enforcement of professionalism meaning vocational expertise (Freidson, 2001). Whether or not it [the state] does so depend upon power elites' interest in a particular vocation (Hossain and Moore, 2002), which varies in time and space. Vocational expertise that justifies privileges and higher occupational status also depend on the state policies regarding to: (a) officially define and classify particular kinds of work in the national labour market (Freidson, ibid); (b) legitimate the connection of vocational training with officially classified higher education and to accept and support the credentials it produces; (c) give credence to the professional ideology and so on (Freidson, ibid).

b. States determine and defend labour market shelter for practitioners against both users and would-be competitor as well as establish a favourable environment for them (Halliday et al 1993:516).

c. States exercise control over practitioners' entry to the labour market by imposing rigorous standards for admission to the vocational training institutions, thereby restricting the numbers (Freidson, 2001:94). This is an important part of what Larson (1977) calls the professions' "market project".

d. States recognize 'education and licensing' of the members of vocations as well as determine the power, resources and prestige of a particular vocation (Burrage et al, 1990).

Halliday et al have defined states as a "congeries of actors with distinctive interests that are not simply the outcomes of pluralist political processes" (Halliday et al, 1993:516). Hossain and Moore, on the other hand, argue that an elite of some kind govern even the most democratic nations in the world, and that it is these elites who decide "what issues are to be taken up as political and policy problems and which are to be ignored or sidelined; how these issues are to be tackled; and what count as legitimate and feasible policy options" (Hossain and Moore, 2002:1). They stress that, in most developing countries, the governing elites tend to be extremely influential in this respect – including ministers and legislators, upper-level public servants, senior members of the armed forces; and that there are also other elites that influence public policy, including the owners of the major business enterprises and the media, the landlords, and the heads of large trade unions, religious establishment, universities and development NGOs. In fact, some of these elites turn into governing elites over time. It is no wonder that the same individuals or families may remain among the elites for decades or generations, especially in Asian countries such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, Myanmar and Sri Lanka (Hossain and Moore, ibid). Nevertheless, Islam (1977: 132-33) argues that political

pressure and political commitment of power elites played an important part in establishing the various targets for educational expansion in Bangladesh. In this study, emphasis will be placed upon the role of governing elites, or what may more accurately be termed "power elites", in discussing the role of the state in the professionalization of primary teaching in Bangladesh. More importantly, emphasis will be placed on how their role shapes the present situation of primary teachers working in the formal sector in Bangladesh.

2.5.3 Users

According to the actor-based model, 'users' are another significant actor in the professionalization project of occupational groups. However, there are various types of user, including individual fee-for-service users; organized fee-for-service users such as trade unions; the state, not as the ultimate user but in the sense that it provides services for its citizens; private employer and public employer (Burrage et al, 1990: 213-15). For Burrage et al, professionals have both clients and employers when the state is the ultimate user of their service. The resources that are under users' jurisdiction have enormous impact on practioners' autonomy. For example, protest actions or votes are one such resource, which organized users often employ to force state action against the professions when they fail to fulfil their obligations and responsibilities. Burrage et al also add that, having clients and employers, professionals may sometimes use the one against the other in order to establish a high degree of autonomy (Burrage et al, 1990:215).

The key 'primary' users that emerged in the analysis of the actor-based model are the fee-for-service users, and the main resources at their disposal are fees, gossip, and/or publicity. This category of users and resources are most closely associated with elite professions such as medicine or law. Thus, the concept of "primary users" with access to this type of resources may not be relevant for the study of a 'semi-profession' such as primary-school teaching. Instead, at least two groups of major users of teachers' vocational services may be identified, that may not be fee-for-service users (in many countries primary education is free): pupils and parents. In a somewhat wider perspective, local communities may also be considered primary beneficiaries of primary teachers' services. Since state governments in many countries, particularly in developing societies, bear the cost of primary education, it is often the education department officials/bureaucrats that control the activities of primary teachers. As

already mentioned, legitimate authority is an essential attribute of professionalization, but this legitimacy or authority is closely linked to the concepts of users' "trust" and "confidence" (Luhmann 1979; Ostrom 1990; Coleman 1990 also quoted in Svensson, 2006). Thus, some consider reference to these concepts in the analysis of professions justified (Rothstein 2003 and quoted in Svensson, 2006). Others such as Bak, however, argue that trust and accountability are two related issues and "in order to be fully professional, a teacher needs to be granted discretionary powers and authority" (Bak, 2005:187). She adds that there are also links between a teacher's level of expertise and autonomy, and user trust. According to Bak, therefore, the question of whether teachers would be viewed as "legitimate and professional" depends on the trust users (mainly parents and learners) place in the teaching occupation, and their impression of teachers as both legitimate and professionals (Bak, ibid p.188).

Barber (1983:167) supports this view, pointing out that professionals are one of the groups that have been considered to be wielders of authority, although the basis of their authority rests on the trust of the individual users they serve. In order to uphold and maintain the users' confidence, dependence and faith in them, professionals are supposed to represent the epitome of trustworthiness in terms of two complementary criteria: (a) technically competent performance and (b) fiduciary obligation and responsibility. He suggests that:

> An individual actor is often concerned to get competent performance or fiduciary responsibility not just from a particular lawyer or teacher or doctor but from these systems as a whole. (Barber, 1983:18)

As with definitions, the functions associated with social phenomena such as trust vary; for example, Peter Blau (1964, quoted in Barber, 1983) considers trust "essential for stable social relationships," while Luhman (1980 quoted also in Barber, 1983) considers trust to be associated with a "reduction of complexity" for individuals and systems in a given context. Another function of trust that is of particular relevance to profession or professionalization is what Barber (1983:19) refers to when claiming that trust is "social control". This "social control" signifies a monopoly of the market by providing the expected technically competent performance and taking fiduciary responsibility.

From the point of view of "social control" referred by Baber (1983), "trust" means firstly, the users' expectation of technically competent role performance by the professionals (e.g. one trusts his/ her doctor to perform the surgery well on the grounds that they are technically competent); and secondly, the users expectation that professionals have moral obligations

toward others and a responsibility to demonstrate a special concern for their clients' interests, putting these above their own interests (Baber, 1983:14).

For Barber (ibid), the most essential device for effective social control is the ability to exercise power, which needs to be sufficient to uphold and maintain this control. It is also important to mention that, for power to be sufficiently effective, it requires trust in this power, as well as compliance and acceptance of power. However, compliance and acceptance of power is conditional on the expectation that the holder of power will use it with technical competence and fiduciary responsibility (Gamson, 1968; Parsons, 1969 quoted in Barber, 1983). In addition, Barber stresses that "...the *granting* of trust makes powerful social control possible. On the other side, the *acceptance* and fulfilment of this trust forestalls abuses by those to whom power is granted" (Barber, 1983:20). He further argues that social control by means of trust requires express and maintains the shared values. For example, trust relationships between parents and primary teachers can be explained in terms of common goals and values that have brought and keep them together.

According to Barber (ibid), five factors need to be considered when examining professional-user relationships. These factors contribute to the enhancement or decline of public trust in a particular occupation, and hence to professionalization:

(a) **User confidence in the professional's knowledge and expertise**: Professionals are the holders and wielders of specialized knowledge and skills. Their particular knowledge or expertise is the key to the immense influence they have on the individual client and wider public welfare. Some social scientists nowadays refer to modern society as "knowledge society" and even "professional society". The fact that we are living in this society, implies that the consequences of knowledge for our everyday lives and activities are immense. Therefore, complete trust of a professional depends on the trustworthiness of his/her vocational knowledge and expertise. Such specialized knowledge and skills, which some scholars (e.g. Freidson, 2001) call "professionalism," shapes the professional-client relationship. Freidson also argues that the degree and kind of specialization required by professionals is generally used to establish their social, symbolic and economic value, and to "justify the degree of privilege and trust to which they are entitled" (Freidson, ibid, p.18). In order to assess the public trust placed in a particular vocation, a relevant question would be whether

that vocation is free from mediocrity and incompetence. Indeed, the more powerful professions are those whose knowledge remains abstract and systematic, while having some application in the empirical world.

(b) **The value of equality**: Less powerful groups always have a tendency to seek more control over those whose power actually affects their livelihood. For example, the general public would like professional services to be equally available to every member of society, since they want all social goods to be distributed equally. Thus, powerless groups in the society want some sort of power or social control over those who control professional services, in order to ensure equality in the distribution of these goods/services (Barber, 1983). According to Barber, "…all those who feel themselves to be unequal in resources, goods, and power express a desire for change in the name of the mighty value of equality…."(Barber, 1983:133)

(c) **Increased education and public competence**: When the general level of education and competence of a population increases, this influences the relationship between the professionals and their service users. According to Barber, an educated public is "more likely to take an active part in monitoring the fulfilment of professionals' claims to absolute trustworthiness" (Barber, 1983:134).

(d) **Fiduciary obligation and responsibility**: This type of obligation is what Talcott Parsons called "collectivity-orientation," or altruistic as opposed to self-interested orientation. It is widely agreed that professionals are proud of their special obligation and value their role as fiduciaries and public servants (Barber, 1983:140).

(e) **Self-control or autonomy**: According to Barber, the more self-control or autonomy exerted by practitioners, the more fully professional they are. Thus, professional autonomy is more or less adequately regulated through standard mechanisms of social control; for example, through the inculcation of high cognitive and moral standard for knowledge and values, and the use of informal peer control within the profession.

Bak, on the other hand, defines trust in relation to the teaching occupation in terms of "risk, positive expectations, reliance, and the granting of discretionary powers" (Bak, 2005:183). She further argues that parents take a risk when they place their children in the care of teachers who are unknown and they trust that the strangers will do what right for their children. Furthermore, pupils and parents expect that the teacher has the required technical competence and sense of fiduciary obligation, and students trust that their teachers will provide a fair assessment of their performance (Bak, ibid, P.184). Moreover, parents and

learners rely on teachers and trust that they will teach "the right stuff". In order for teachers to be able to handle unanticipated situations, parents and learners need to grant teachers the necessary discretionary powers and autonomy so they can take action (Bak, ibid, P.188). According to Bak,

> …the trust of parents and learners in the teacher is based on their perception of the teacher as both legitimate and professional. The expected behaviour of a legitimate teacher is motivated by the stipulated rules, codes of conduct, social roles and forms of sanctions that shape teachers' practices. However, a significant part of teachers' practice cannot be captured in a set of rules and parents and learners, therefore, have to trust that teachers will behave with sensitivity and integrity. (Bak, ibid p.188)

From the foregoing discussion of the perspectives of writers such as Barber (1983), Bak (2005) and Svensson, (2005), it is possible to identify six factors that contribute to the enhancement of or decline in public trust in a particular occupation, and hence to professionalization. These factors are: (a) user confidence in the vocationals' knowledge and expertise; (b) the moral character of the practitioners; (c) universal service delivery by the practitioners; (d) fulfilment of vocational obligations and responsibilities; (e) social control over practitioners by educated users; (f) peer-control or standard-setting by the practitioners.

I would suggest, therefore, that the role of non "fee-for-service" users such as primary-school children, their parents and local communities in Bangladesh cannot be explained only in terms of "resources", as suggested in Burrage et al's model. Instead, the role of users in the professionalization of a "semi-profession" like primary teaching occupation in Bangladesh needs to be explained in relation to users' trust in the occupation; i.e. whether members of the occupation are technically competent and perform their fiduciary obligations and responsibilities as suggested by Barber (1983). In my discussion, therefore, emphasis will be placed on the users' trust in the primary teaching occupation, in order to determine the extent to which users perceive primary teaching as a distinct and knowledge-based occupation that has fiduciary obligations and responsibilities, in addition to universal service delivery, a professional code of ethics and peer control or standard-setting. I think these aspects of the teachers' vocational life are important, in order to improve their standard of practice as well as their status and social recognition.

2.5.4 Training Institutions

According to Burrage et al (1990), training institutions are the fourth significant actor in the professional domain. Their major resources are the knowledge and expertise that they generate, on which professions depend to win their clients' trust. The degrees awarded by the institutions of higher learning grant status and legitimacy to professional practitioners. The framework used in the present study suggests that, in some instances, practitioners' knowledge is the sole requirement for professional practice, while in other instances, some combination of formal, school-based and practice-based training is required. The model also suggests that university-based education has long been considered a basic requirement for professional practice. The model also claims that disagreements and conflicts often arise between the trainers and trainees at a professional training institution. Some practitioners want to establish a stable body of knowledge as a secure base for practices during their entire careers (e.g. law), while others (e.g. medicine) expect a university to develop and provide up-to-date knowledge to practitioners. In the actor-based model, practitioners usually do not complain in public about their fellow practitioners and the training institute they are appellated with since this might threaten their own professional reputation. On the other hand, academics (trainers) are usually interested in disseminating their research finding to the widest possible audience, thereby confirming their activities as professionals. The model also suggests that university teachers that train and license the future members of a profession usually enjoy higher status and income than practitioners; and that they are the representatives or leaders of the professions.

Freidson, on the other hand, in his recent work P*rofessionalism the Third Logic* (2001), has identified three patterns of specialized and ideal-type training: (a) crafts; (b) technicians; and (c) professions. The following are the training characteristics of these three occupational categories:

Table 2.3 Characteristics of Training by Type of Occupation

Characteristics of training	Craft	Technician	Profession
Proportion of training in school	Low	Significant	High
Teachers (trainers) members of the occupation	Always	Not always	Always
Primary training on the job	Always	Sometimes	Seldom
Full-time teachers (trainers)	Rarely	Sometimes	Usually

Teachers (trainers) do research	No	No	Yes
University affiliation	No	No	Yes

Source: Freidson, 2001:93

Table 2.3 illustrates that of the three categories it is only the training of professionals that takes place in an institution of higher education, i.e. a university, and outside the labour market. The trainers in these institutions are expected not only to teach but also play a role as catalysts in improving and expanding the profession's body of knowledge and skills, by means of both theorizing and research. Generally, *professional type* training imposes rigorous standards for admission to the institution; requires trainers to pass through some sort of examinations in order to prove that they have mastered the required knowledge and skills; and controls the granting of a qualifying credential (Freidson, 2001:94).

In addition, Freidson has identified four features of *profession type* training:

i. Curriculum

Theory and core principles are taught in training institutions in connection with professional training (Freidson, 2001:95). In general, professional training curricula emphasize basic theory rather than applied work, which enables practitioners to exercise discretionary judgement rather than simply applying a limited number of routine techniques. The training programmes for individual occupational groups that fall into the category of professional or "semi-professional" have a close relationship with the universities. According to Freidson, the curriculum for professional training emphasizes new or syncretic theory, thereby intellectualizing practitioners' work. He further adds:

> But even when apprenticeship instead of schooling has been used for professional training, apprenticed professionals are also required to be exposed to book learning in the academic or liberal studies, theories, and works treasured by the cultivated elite. Such book learning is not only necessary for the social status desired by professionals, but also claimed to be a necessary intellectual foundation for the capacity to learn and perform the complexities of professional work…..The connection of training with the high culture valued by the elite and often respected by the masses, even when training does not take place in schools, establishes an essential part of the ideological foundation for the occupation's status. (Freidson, 2001:95-96)

On the other hand, Eraut (1992) emphasises that the structure of both pre-qualification and post-qualification professional education for should support the integration of theory and

practice. He also claims that the very nature of professional work, "incorporates a significant amount of professional learning and development" (Eraut, 1992:4). Firestone also contributes to this discussion, stating that "efforts to professionalize teaching should both build teacher commitment and improve curriculum and instruction" (Firestone, 1993:7). From the foregoing discussion it is revealed that the curriculum of professional training incorporates both theory and practice and it emphasises issues relating to vocational learning and development of practitioners.

ii. Knowledge Control

Professionalism is linked to knowledge, expertise and status, as well as reward (Helsby, 1995). According to Larson (1990:30), the concept "profession" denotes a structural link between relatively high levels of formal education, and desirable positions and/or rewards in the social division of labour. Professionals' demands for autonomy and material rewards rest on their expertise or vocational knowledge (Burrage, 1990:216). Hence, a crucial feature of professional training institutions is that their faculties can dedicate themselves "to systematizing, refining, and expanding the body of knowledge and skills over which the profession claims jurisdiction" (Freidson, 2001). In addition, the faculties of these institutes consist of credentialed members of the profession, who devote themselves to teaching up-to-date knowledge and skills, as well as engaging in research and scholarship to develop new knowledge and skills; they resemble professors rather than practitioners (Mayhew, 1971:29). Furthermore, a professional training institution, with its credentialed faculty members, has a lot of resources (for example, highly esoteric procedures and techniques for carrying out a task and establishing standards for work performance, as well as for limiting the way tasks can be done), giving them the flexibility and power to control the knowledge and the market for that profession (Freidson, 2001:98). From the discussion of Friedson, it is clear that professional training institutions provide practitioners the power to to control the knowledge and the market for a particular vocation.

iii. Occupational Solidarity

Freidson (ibid) maintains that the institutionalization of training in tertiary institutions is a condition for the relatively secure establishment and expansion of the specialized knowledge and skill of professions. Moreover, he claims that such institutionalized training provides trainees with a sense of great prestige, associated with higher education rather than technical

education. Freidson (ibid) also argues that prolong professional training creates a strong sense of membership in an "occupational community" among trainees since:

a. all who aspire to be a practitioner of a particular profession always choose in advance to take the special course or examination required for admission to the institution that grants the credentials required to qualify as practitioner;

b. all participants undergo training over a sustained period of time and take same basic courses; and

c. all trainees must need to take the same basic courses and assignments (Freidson, 2001:100-101).

According to Freidson (ibid), these aspects of professional training result in the trainees' commitment to and identification with their chosen occupation, thereby creating a degree of solidarity with other trainees who have gone through the same process of acquiring this special body of knowledge. This bond is not the only one linking practitioners:

> The sense of community, or solidarity, among those trained at professional schools is strengthened by the common problems they confront in the course of their work, and both together encourage an inclination to form societies or associations in which they can come together to ……share new knowledge and techniques (Freidson, 2001:101).

From the above discussion it is clear that professional training creates a strong sense of occupational solidarity among practitioners and is likely to socialize the trainees into an occupational culture that is shared with fellow-trainees.

iv. Professionals' Status

One of the key characteristics of professions is that they are knowledge-based occupational groups. This is true not only for the established professions, but also for the "semi-professions" such as teaching; these occupations have moved from a vocational training model to an academic model (Smeby, 2004:2). According to Freidson (ibid), this is related to the fact that training is the source of the knowledge-base that helps in shaping the prestige of professions; the connection between training and higher education fosters social status. As Freidson (ibid) argues "…the prestige attached to professions stems less from the social origin of their members than from the fact of their attending institutions of higher education that are respected by the elite, and from their service to elite interests" (Freidson, 2001:104).

In my analysis of the role of training institutions in the professionalization process of primary school teaching in Bangladesh, special emphasis will be placed on the characteristics of Friedson's (2001) *professional* but ideal-type training, as outlined above. This model has been selected because Freidson argues that these aspects of professional type training lead to Professionalism; i.e. to expertise which has a number of important implications for the status and organizations of an ideal-typical profession.

In general, I shall analyze the process of occupational change in the field of primary teaching in Bangladesh in relation to the four actors' roles suggested by Burrage et al. This process will, therefore, be viewed as the outcome of interaction between four specific actors: the teachers' association, the state, the teachers' training institution, and the users of teachers' vocational service. The next five analytical chapters of this study have considered first, how primary teaching as an occupation in formal sector has taken shape in a historical context (chapter three); and second, the role that the four actors suggested in the actor-based model have played (chapters four to seven) in this process.

Chapter 3

The Development of Primary Education and Teaching as an Occupation in Bangladesh 1971-2001[16]

3.1 Introduction

Bangladesh is only 144,000 square kilometres in area and has a population density of 1,061 people in per square kilometre, making it the most densely populated rural country in the developing world (Time Magazine [Asia Edition], 10 April 2006). More than 75% of its total population live in rural areas today (UNDP, 2005), which is less that the over 90% that lived there in 1981 (Ahmed, 1981) but is still very high. In addition, the economic conditions are also extreme, with 83% of the total population living on $2US or less a day. Moreover, Bangladesh's life expectancy ranks 188th out of 192 countries (Time Magazine, ibid). Some of the basic statistics about Bangladesh and its population are summarised in the following table:

Table 3.1 Bangladesh Basic Statistics

Total population	:152.6 million (UN, 2005/ BBC: Country profile, 2006)
GDP 2003	: $51.9 billion US
GDP Growth rate 1995	: 4.9% (expected to be 6.5% in 2006 as per forecast of the Asian Development Bank)
GDP per capita 2003	: $376 US
Life Expectancy 2006	: 62 years (men), 63 years (women) (UN/ BBC, 2006)
ODA as % of GDP 2003	: 2.7%
Population Density	: 1061 people in per square kilometre
Net foreign investment flows (% of GDP) 2003	: 0.2%
Value of garments exports 2005	: $6.89 billion (Bangladesh's fiscal year 2005)
Remittances 2002	: $2.6 billion
Literacy rate 2002	: 47% (NORAD, 2003)

Source: UNDP, 2005; The Time [Asia edition] Magazine, April 10, 2006; PMED (GoB), 2001; NORAD, 2003; BBC: Country profile, 2006.

Economically, Bangladesh is an underdeveloped country with a per capita GDP of only $376 US in 2003 (table 3.1). State intervention has characterised all aspects of economic and social

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life over the years. Private sector growth has been slow, but the economic liberalization programmes that have been adopted since the 1980s have been geared to promote private initiatives in several sectors of the economy; for example, in the readymade garments sector. This sector alone earned US$6.89 billion in 2005 (table 3.1) and became one of the main sources of country's foreign currency.

Reliable sources (for example, the UNDP, 2005; CIDA, 2003) showed that Official Development Assistance (ODA) as percentage of GNP fell from 9.4% in 1990 to 2.7% in 2003, which means that "Bangladesh has been gradually decreasing its dependence on ODA and is considered a less-indebted country" (Poulson, 2006:4). Nevertheless, it has the highest incidence of poverty in South Asia and half of the population continue to live under the poverty line. Some of the common characteristics of the rural poor in Bangladesh are low human capital, skills and education; and limited access to assets, inputs and credit (World Bank, 2001). According to this source, "Land ownership and education are key determinants of living standards in the country" (World Bank, ibid, quoted in Poulson, 2006).

The country has the Westminster type of political system, in which the prime minister is the leader of the house and advises the President, who is elected by the parliament. Although the judiciary is functionally separate, the executive branch controls the appointment of judges (a separation process of these powers is underway). The civil service is the administrative arm of the government and has the responsibility to serve the people of the country (GoB, 1994: Art 21). However, the structure of Bangladesh civil service is characterised by a rigid pattern of ranks which corresponds to occupational categories, and therefore with financial benefits, privileges, honours and power. The hierarchical classification in the civil service known as "Class" is also based on a number of other factors such as educational requirements, level of responsibility and so on. Civil servants in Bangladesh are categorized into four "Classes", the highest being the "Class I gazetted officers". Below them are three other classes: Class II, Class III, and Class IV "employees" who perform jobs of varying responsibility and enjoy fewer privileges, honours, and rewards.

As discussed in chapter 2, higher levels of skill or occupational expertise, autonomy or self-directedness, exclusiveness, etc are essential attributes of members of professionalized occupation. Most importantly, the occupational expertise and autonomy, and the associated monopoly, that justify privileges and higher status depend on the state and its policies; they

depend on how a state officially defines and classifies particular kinds of work in the national labour market (Freidson, 2001:128).

In this chapter, I shall consider the importance of the civil service system in Bangladesh, as well as culture and norms, because this constitutes the background of the primary teaching occupation in the country. Moreover, the prevalence of this strict hierarchical system in the society in general and the labour market in particular determines the social climate within which an occupational group such as primary teachers must function. I shall explore the civil-service system because this hierarchical organizational structure has influenced the position and historical development of the primary teaching vocation since the nationalization of primary schools in 1974. This sort of situation has created an atmosphere of subordination, so my discussion will mainly focus on how this occupation has been shaped historically, particularly in relation to civil-service system in Bangladesh. The issue is, therefore, to what extent has the position of primary teachers in the country's civil-service system put them in an unfavourable situation to achieve the above-mentioned privileges enjoyed by the members of a professionalized occupation. I think this is the main question that needs to be answered in order to explain the prevailing situation of primary teachers; i.e. their demeanour and the standards of their work, their academic background and professional training, and their material and social rewards, as linked to their jobs.

3.2 The Historical Development of Primary Education and the Teaching Occupation

The history of basic education in the Indian sub-continent (India-Pakistan-Bangladesh) stretches back to antiquity. It is not necessary for my purpose to go into detail about ancient history and is sufficient to briefly discuss the era of Pakistani rule, which continued for about 24 years after the British left the sub-continent in 1947. In the new-born Pakistan, the educational system, particularly in the East-Pakistan (now Bangladesh), faced severe teacher shortages due to the mass exodus to India of teachers who belonged to the Hindu community (Husain, 1978). At the time of the partition in 1947, East Pakistan had been somewhat more advanced and in better situation than West Pakistan with regard to education; i.e. the number of educational institutions and enrolment figures were higher (Curle, 1966:76). However, the East gradually lagged behind the West in this field, due to the policy of the dominant partner, West Pakistan, to go slow in resolving the teacher shortage crisis and other education-related

problems in the East. As a result, "….there was a large disparity in educational development between the East and West Pakistan" at the time of the independence of Bangladesh in 1971 (Husain, ibid p.20).

Primary education in Bangladesh was developed following the British model until 1973. The Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930 and rules and regulations framed under it were the guiding principles. Under this Act, primary education was free and regulated through District Primary Education Boards—financially and operationally autonomous bodies. Moreover, primary schools were established by local communities on their own initiative and usually managed by managing committees made up of guardians and other interested members of the local elites. The appointment and payment of teachers were the responsibility of the School Management Committees (Husain, 1978). Once the schools were operating, however, they could apply to the government for recognition and support, provided they met criteria regarding land, premises and teachers. Until the nationalization of primary schools in 1974 (effective from 1973), there were four types of primary school in Bangladesh: government-funded, municipality-funded, partially government supported (now called "Registered") and unaided and unrecognized (now called "Unregistered"). The following table indicates the number and type of institutions 1947-1974.

Table 3.2 Types and Number of Primary Schools in Bangladesh until 1974

Type of primary school	1947-48	1972-73	1974-75
1. Government-funded	29 633	28 106	36 165
2. Municipality-funded		878	
3. Non-government (partially government-funded)		1 781	
4. Non-government (unaided and unrecognized)		5 772	3 749
Total	29 633	36 537	39 914

Source: Husain, 1978: 250

The first three categories mentioned in table 3.2 were called "recognized" or state-supported schools, although the management, supervision and responsibility were local; the District Primary School Board and the School Management Committee rather than the central bureaucracy supervised the day-to-day functioning of these schools, the recruitment of teachers, and the transfer and posting of teachers. However, a far-reaching change in the

primary education sub-system was introduced in February 1974 when the government passed the "The Primary School Takeover Ordinance" which came into effect in October 1973. Under this Act all "recognized" primary schools became government institutions, free from community involvement and supervision; their assets – including lands, buildings, and funds – became government property; and most importantly, primary teachers became government employees i.e. part of the national civil-service system under central bureaucratic control.

3.3 The Historical Development and Organization of Occupations within the Public Sector

With the advent of Mughal rule (1526), the civil service system in India was classified into 66 grades, the highest officials being the *Mansabdars*. The emperor was the only one with the authority to appoint, promote and dismiss all central bureaucrats; and the promotion system was based on merit and loyalty rather than seniority or salary level, although the criteria were flexible (Zafarullah, et al 1997:5). The Mughals managed to maintain some trappings of power in India for 150 years. Thus, when the British took control over India in 1857, a well organized bureaucracy was generally in place (Zafarullah et al, ibid, P.6).

During the British era the civil service system in India was characterized by rigid rules and patronage, and the emphasis on seniority was especially important for promotion purposes. Jamil, however, argues that the British colonial administration was designed to establish "a centralized and strong executive administration based on the paternalistic traditions of Indian society" (Jamil, 1998:14). In fact, the organization pattern of the public service during British colonial rule was based on a two-tier system: (a) the Indian Civil Service (ICS), which recruited in England, was the higher echelon of the system and (b) the Provincial Civil Service (PCS), which recruited in India, had the status of the lower executive service. The ICS was a small but elite cadre recruited from among the graduates of renowned educational institutions in the UK (for example, Oxford); they were inculcated with the ideas and sentiments that prevailed among the English educated elites and came from a "good" family background (Misra, 1977: 103; quoted in Jamil 1998). The very nature of the recruitment and training procedures, of the social life and supervision of ICS officers reflected the elitist nature of the service. In contrast, the PCS was composed of Indian subordinates who were employed as clerks to perform routine administrative tasks. Their work mainly consisted of

preparing documents in the form of "files" for approval and decision making at the higher level, and of following instructions that came from the upper-level ICS officers (Jamil, 1998). Therefore, the Indian civil service during British era was clearly divided into two distinct "classes" i.e. the superior and the subordinator. The officers were highly trained, skilled, "all-rounders," and the 'clerks' were trained and skill in performing highly routinized clerical activities (Heginbotham, 1975: 40 quoted in Jamil, 1998: 18).

During the twenty-four years of the Pakistani era, the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) continued in the British tradition; for example, recruitment to the civil services, particularly at the higher levels, remained extremely limited, and the mode of entry remained highly competitive. The system of training for higher CSP officers continued to emphasize Western manners, dress and social graces; and the members of the CSP belonged to the upper echelon of society (Jamil, 1998:20). Moreover, the exclusivity and elitist character attributed to the higher level bureaucracy during the British Raj were also retained in Pakistan, since the CSP was "truly derivative in structure and ethos from the ICS" (Braibanti, 1966:97 quoted in Jamil, ibid).

When Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan in 1971, the civil service inherited the attributes of the British-Indian civil service and the civil service of Pakistan. It is not surprising, therefore, that the structure of civil service in Bangladesh has a rigid pattern of rank that corresponds to vertical classifications.

3.3.1 The Civil Service Structure and the Position of Primary Teachers

As mentioned, competence, autonomy and exclusivity are among the main qualities associated with membership in a professionalized occupation. Freidson mentions that professionals are "expected to be autonomous and self-directing" but the criteria for enjoying such autonomy and self direction are their competent knowledge and skill related to their task (Freidson, 1986:159). He further argues that "…..it is only competence, not official position as an administrative superior, that is accepted as the source of effective authority over work" (ibid). Larson (1977) also identifies autonomy as a crucial factor that distinguishes "professional" from "proletarian work". Schoolteachers' work is constrained by some bureaucratic rules; for example, the curriculum or state specifications regarding what subjects

are to be taught at each grade level, and the requirement that every teacher submit a plan for what will be taught in their classrooms. In spite of the fact that school administration may limit teachers' options, Lortie (1969:11) claims that the teacher is still as free as most professionals to make decisions concurs with this, stating that: "In the classroom, which is the primary locus of their work, schoolteachers have considerable autonomy" (Freidson, 1986:162). Larson, on the other hand, argues that an important aspect of a professionalized occupation of what she called the professions' "market project," by which she means the restriction of numbers or size of the membership (Larson 1977:9-18). Leggatt suggests that careful control is exercised over the recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice of professionals (Leggatt, 1970:156). Thus a professionalized occupation restricts its membership in order to ensure quality service of the practitioners.

The following discussion of how the civil service system is organized in Bangladesh and how it affects government primary school (GPS) teachers' autonomy or self-direction in their vocational life, as well as other factors influencing professionalization, including controlled entry into the occupation and better training for teachers. It must be borne in mind that the civil service system in Bangladesh is divided into four distinct hierarchical categories based on such criteria as levels of responsibility, position in the national pay scale, educational requirement and recruitment procedure.

3.3.1.1 Four Categories in the Civil Service System

The civil service in Bangladesh still exhibits many traits of the British and Pakistani era (Jamil, 1998:19). The most distinct of which is hierarchy. As stated, the structure of the Bangladesh Civil Service has an overly rigid pattern of rank that consists of four broad "classes": Class I, II, III and IV. Each of these four "classes" are responsible for a specialized function (policy formulation/implementation; supervision; clerical; messenger and other support services). Upper-level civil servants are known as "Class 1 gazetted officers" and others, particularly Class III and IV level civil servants, are generally called "*karmachari*" or employee rather than officer. Those who belong to the "Class 1 officer" rank are generally recruited from the upper class of the society, and are distinguished by higher education, wealth and respectability (Zafarullah et al 1997). In addition, they have their share of power and play a role in the policy making process, which entitles them to special recognition in

terms of honour, privilege and condition of service. The Class I gazetted officer posts are the highest obtainable and they are divided into 29 functional "cadres", each linked with a particular ministry at the central secretariat—the nerve centre for all government activities (Khan, 1998:69). However, not all Class I officers belong to the cadre service; for example, the post of the Thana/Upazila Education Officer is a Class I post but not a cadre post. The Upper level (Class I) officers of the Bangladesh Civil Service (BCS) can be considered the Bangladeshi version of the CSP or ICS. In contrast, Class II officers can be seen as equivalent of members of the PCS during the British era; i.e. clerks. The position of Class III and Class IV employees is below the Class II "officers" in terms of privilege and honour.

Over the years, the size of the Bangladesh Civil Service (BCS) that is the number of staffs in all "Classes" has been increasing. Khan, for example, demonstrated that, while the Class I gazetted officers (also known as "BCS cadre officers") accounted for 8%, the other non-cadre employees of Classes II, III and IV, accounted for 4%, 61% and 27% respectively of the total number of civil servants (Table 3.3). The following table provides a breakdown of the composition of the BCS in Bangladesh:

Table 3.3 Size of the National Civil Service (1992 figures)

Class	Min/ Div	Dept/ Dte	Auto/ Corp	Total (%)
I (BCS cadre)	1 875	32 922	43 888	78 685 (8%)
II	51	10 741	26 066	36 858 (4%)
III	4 132	442 859	132 851	579 842 (61%)
IV	2 343	162 819	86 202	251 364 (27%)
Total	8 401	649 341	289 007	946 749 (100%)

 Source: adapted from Khan, 1998:50

Note:
Min = Ministries; Div = Divisions; Dept = Department; Dte = Directorates (e.g. Directorate of Primary Education); Auto = Autonomous bodies (e.g. Public Universities); Corp = Public Corporations

Table 3.3 indicates that Class III employees (to which primary teachers belong) constitute 61 percent of the total personnel in the civil service system. Taken together, Class III and IV employees constitute the overwhelming majority, 79%, of the total number of public sector personnel (Table 3.3). These figures indicate that control of entry into the "employee" category (Class III and IV grades) of the country's civil service had been relaxed. In contrast,

Class I and II officers accounted for only 8% and 4% respectively of the total civil service, indicating that the restriction of entry into the upper categories remained extremely tight. Of the twenty salary grades under the National Pay Scale in 1997, the top nine were designated for Class I or higher civil servants, with a basic monthly salary ranging form T*aka* (TK) 4,300 to TK 15,000. Salary grades 14 to 10 were allocated to Class II officers with a basic monthly salary ranging from TK 2,100 to TK 3,400. Salary grades 18 to 15 were assigned to Class III employees, and their basic monthly salary ranged from TK 1,625 to TK 1,975. The last two salary grades, 20 and 19, were allocated to Class IV employees (for example, drivers, gardeners, sweepers), with a basic monthly salary ranging from TK 1,500 to TK 1,560. However, the basic salary for all four "Classes" was supplemented by fringe benefits such as the housing allowance and medical benefits. In addition to these Class I officers were also entitled to allowances and benefits for travel and telephone; and top bureaucrats such as chief secretaries of the ministries/divisions were entitled to cars, and even servants and guards (Zafarullah et al 1997:15). The distribution of salaries among the different Classes of civil service personnel can, however, be explained in relation to the importance and nature of the work done by the members of a particular "Class", as well as by the skill/training needed to do these jobs and by the exclusive and elitist character of the "Class" or Grade.

3.3.1.2 The Official and Social Status of Primary Teachers

The status of teachers working in the GPS can be perceived in terms of the prevailing civil service system in the country which regulates such factors as the process of recruitment, level of appointment, position in the salary structure of the civil service internal labour market. As already mentioned, teachers working in the GPS have become Class III government employees since the nationalization of primary education in 1973. Several studies (for example, Hossain, 1994; Quddus 2001, Quddus and Askvik, 2004) have identified major deficiencies (i.e. low training, salary, vocational autonomy, and so on) that derived from their Class III status in the civil service system and the bureaucratization of vocational life and activities. These deficiencies also acted as deterrents to increase their competence, develop a service ethos for teachers and, above all, enhance the occupation's image as a socially respected occupation. Although there are clear career and training prospects for Class I officers, the scope for such development is very limited for lower-grade government employees, such as GPS teachers. Khan argues that "Those who belong to classes II, III, and

IV are 'scheduled castes' in the civil service hierarchy. Most of them are condemned to stay in their designated classes throughout their working lives with only few are able to break the class barrier and move into next higher class" (Khan, 1998: 49). Some basic figures related to the occupational development of GPS teachers are summed up in the following table:

Table 3.4 Growth of Schools, Teachers and Pupils in Government Managed/ Supported Primary Education in Bangladesh 1971-2001

Year	Number of			
	(1) Number of schools	(2) Teachers (percentage of total holding a C-in-Ed)	(3) Number of Female Teacher	(4) Number of Pupils
1970	26 399	117 275 (61% in 1972[a])	2 541	5 250 819
1975	36 165	164 719 (50%[b])	8 397	8 349 834
1980	36 665	174 161 (--)	10 847	8 419 313
1985	36 698	183 638 (--)	15 199	8 920 292
1990	37 655	189 508 (--)	39 564	12 051 172
1995[c]	37 710	158 658 (90.5%[d])	42 708	11 593 013
2001	37 671	162 090 (95%[e])	61 008	10 830 742

Source: BANBEIS (GoB), 2002:32-4; DPE (GoB), 2002:12; Akter, 1980; Alam et al. 1997:60

Note: [a]Based on Khatoon, 1986:8; [b]Planning Commission, 1975; [c]Information in this row is based on Alam, 2000 & DPE (GoB), 2002:9; [d]UNICEF, 1995/World Bank 2000b:11; [e]USAID, 2002d:4.
'—' means data not available

From table 3.4 it is clear that great progress has been made over the last three decades in formal-sector primary education, as indicated in the growing number of schools and teachers, the increased enrolment in primary schools, and the percentage of trained teachers. It is interesting to note that the percentage of trained teachers in the state managed/supported or formal sector of primary education increased from 61 percent in 1972 to 90.5 percent in 1995 and to 95 percent in 2001. The decrease in the percentage of trained teachers from 61% to about 50% between 1972 and 1975 has been attributed to the entry of huge numbers of untrained teachers into the sub-sector immediately following the nationalization of primary education in 1973 (Dove, 1981a; Planning Commission, 1975: 2).

According to Unterhalter et al, the number of children enrolled in 1975 was around 7.5 million, while in 2000 the figure had risen to 18.5 million children (Unterhalter et al 2003:87). One reason for this expansion is, of course, the formidable population growth in the country. Another reason is the rise in enrolment rates. Chowdhury et al (2002) illustrates (in the following table), a significantly larger proportion of school-aged children attended primary school in 1995 than in 1980, and this increase was especially dramatic for girls.

Table 3.5 Primary School Enrolment Rate of School-aged Children in Bangladesh 1980-95

Year	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
1980	76	47	62
1985	67	55	61
1990	76	64	70
1995	84	73	79

Source: Chowdhury et al, 2002: 192

During the period 1971-2001, the number of GPS schools and teachers also increased significantly. The number of state-owned schools has, however, increased only slightly since 1975 (table 3.4), and it is the number of "registered" (recognized and partially government financed) schools that has accounted for the increase (Education Watch, 1999; quoted in Askvik and Alam 2000). Outside mainstream education, the number of "non-formal" primary education centres has increased dramatically, especially since 1990. The rise in the number of teachers has developed parallel with the growing number of schools, and the number of teachers in both registered mainstream and non-formal schools was significantly higher in 1995 than it had been. However, in government primary schools the number of teachers had not risen as rapidly as the number of students (Askvik and Alam, ibid). Although the statistics are somewhat inconsistent, the combination of an increasing number of students and a stagnating number of teachers meant that the teacher-pupil ratio in state-owned schools became very unfavourable. The teacher-student ratio in GPS increased from 1:45 in 1970 (BANBEIS, 2002) to 1:67, on average (in many cases this would obviously be even higher), in 2001 (DPE/GoB, 2002). In addition to the differences between various school types, there were also differences between urban and rural areas. This was particularly true for state-owned schools, where the number of students per teacher was significantly higher in rural areas than in urban. Obviously, this had implications for teachers' ability to function as

effective practitioners in state-owned primary schools, and to handle this situation a shift system was implemented, where grades 1-2 attend the first shift and grades 3-5 the second.

In spite of the fact that progress has been made in some respects regarding the primary teaching occupation, for example the increase in the number of teachers and percentage of trained teachers, these developments have done little to improve the status (both official and social) and knowledge and skills of GPS teachers, and hence their professionalization. Perhaps one of the main difficulties in this respect was the low position of GPS teachers in the civil service system.

Members of the Bangladesh Civil Service belonging to Class III & IV are generally engaged in support and messenger services, and perform "dirty" jobs in the government offices. Considering the nature of these services, no prior training or higher education is required (in most cases requirement is less than 10 years of schooling). The position of sweepers and cleaners, for example, is at the bottom in the civil service system, Class IV rank. Class III employees, like GPS teachers, are ranked only one step above the position of the sweepers and cleaners who carry out the "dirty" jobs. Like the cleaners, primary teachers are called *Karmachari* (employee) not officer. Class III and IV jobs such as car-driving, messenger, sweepers and cleaners are regarded as *Nimnabrittar kaj* (low-class jobs) and are low-paid since they do not require much education, perfect competence, much experience, great diligence, and so on (Asaduzzaman, 1990:56). In contrast, Class 1 positions are considered as a *bodraloker pesa* (gentlemen's professions) and are characterised by higher education, entry through competitive examinations, career possibilities, considerable power, and so on (Khan, 2002). Thus, the official and social status of GPS teachers can be perceived in relation to the social stratification and job-hierarchy that prevails for personnel working in the civil service system in Bangladesh. On the basis of its Class III position in the civil service system, teaching in government primary schools is also considered a low-status occupation, so an untrained primary teacher begins on salary grade 18, while a PTI-trained teacher begins at grade 17 and a Head teacher at grade 16 on the national pay scale (where grade 1 is the highest and grade 20 is the lowest) for public sector personnel. Below a primary teacher's minimum grade (grade 18) there are only the two grades for Class IV employee (Chapter 4 will consider the reward system for GPS teachers in detail). According to a report by the USAID (2002d:6), a government primary teacher's monthly salary in 2002 was Taka 4,000 (about $70US) and cannot therefore be considered adequate. M. Hedayet Hossain also argued

that the low hierarchical position of GPS teachers in the civil service system inhibited them from improving their social status; for example, teachers often maintained that their marriage proposals were turned down because of this (Hossain, 1994). In addition, relations between classes in the civil service system in Bangladesh are marked by inequality and strong control. For example, with the nationalization of primary education in 1973, the government took the responsibility for the development of curriculum and textbooks for primary education (PMED, 2001:17). This also brought primary teachers' jobs into the bureaucratic system which determined what subjects were to be taught at each grade level, and required that every teacher prepare or be ready to produce (when asked by an Assistant Upazila Education Officer) a lesson plan based on the prescribed primary curriculum for their classes. Thus, even classroom activities, over which teachers are supposed to have considerable autonomy, were restrained by bureaucratic instructions and guidelines since GPS teachers in Bangladesh work under the guidance of the District and Upazila (Thana) education officers. The official instructions and guidelines regarding how to conduct a class are usually followed by the teachers because conformity is required by the prevailing bureaucratic norm (Hossain, 1994; Quddus, 2004). In general, GPS teachers' vocational activities are evaluated and controlled by their superiors in the bureaucracy such as the Upazila (Thana) Education Officer (UEO) or Assistant Upazila (Thana) Education Officer (AUEO). According to Jamil, the civil service system is often characterized by "a number of symbolic gestures, e.g. the frequent use of "yes sir" in encounters between superior and subordinate, standing up from the seat when the boss enters the room……and doing his personal work" (Jamil, 1998:19). This aspect of the civil service culture is confirmed in the USAID report, which noted that "…in the presence of a higher officer such as an UNO (Upazila Nirbahi Officer) a [primary] teacher would not even take a seat unless the UNO insists that the teacher do so" (USAID, 2002d:5). All these attributes of Class III employees, therefore, exemplify the low official status of GPS teachers in the civil service system.

The Class system in the public sector is also symbolized by the process of entry into a particular class. Generally, entry into all four Classes in the civil service is through open competition, but the entry examinations for the position of Class I officer are of very high standard. Bangladesh Public Service Commission (BPSC) is a constitutional body that has jurisdiction over the conducting of tests and examination for the selection of suitable persons for Class I and II posts. Their appointments are also confirmed by gazette notification. That is why they are called "gazetted officers". Class III & IV employees are also recruited through

competitive examinations, but these are under the supervision and control of the ministry, division or autonomous body that is recruiting, rather than the BPSC. Notifications of these appointments are not usually confirmed by gazetting, but by the relevant chief executive. This variation in the recruitment processes is one of many factors that maintain the distinction between "officer" and "employee" in term of status in the civil service system.

The Class III position of GPS teachers in the civil service system has also had implications for access to better training, which is the path to improve occupational knowledge and skills, and hence to enhanced occupational authority and status. Members of various specialized BCS cadres, Class I gazetted officers, generally develop skills and competence specific to their work through regular in-service training, either in the country or abroad and enjoy high occupational authority and status (Zafarullah et al, 1997). In contrast, with the exception of primary teachers, Class III employees who work in the public offices usually receive no in-service training and no prior training. Moreover, while secondary-school and college teachers are required to have a Bachelor or Masters of Education (B.Ed or M.Ed), from higher educational institution such as the Teachers' Training Colleges (TTC) or Universities in order to enhance official and social status, government primary teachers usually obtain their one year in-service C-of-Ed training from a secondary level institution such as the PTI. This certificate is considered the main training required for a primary teacher throughout his/ her whole service career (a detailed discussion of teacher training is provided in chapter five), which rarely helps to enhance GPS teachers' status in the bureaucratic ladder or society at large.

To summing up, the Class III position of GPS teachers in the bureaucratic domain limited their opportunities not only to obtain additional training or occupational competence, but also to interact and discuss issues such as the goals of education, the curriculum, and even their instructional practices (Quddus, 2004). In fact, the Class III position of GPS teachers hindered them in achieving higher educational qualifications and vocational training which could make a significant difference in their status, both within the civil service system and in the society at large, and thereby to their vocational esteem and rewards. In relation to their position in the lower ladder of the BCS system Hossain observes that the "modernization" of the education system in Bangladesh served to impose ideologies of bureaucratic and control mechanism upon GPS teachers (Hossain, 1994). He goes on to maintain that Weberian bureaucratic norms and values – discipline, order, efficiency, documentation, and so on – are an

inseparable part of primary education administration that effect GPS teachers' day-to-day activities. Thus, the increasing bureaucratisation of GPS teachers' careers has undermined the respect that teachers have received in the village community (Hossain, 1994). Traditionally, the village community considered primary teachers to be wise and knowledgeable, since they were doing non-manual work. In contrast, the modern GPS teacher appears more like a Class III employee on the bureaucratic ladder, who simply follows the instructions and regulations lay down by their superior, and even does manual work such as distributing wheat to the school children. Consequently, GPS teachers' loss of the right to be self-directed and autonomous has had serious implications for their social position in the community (Hossain, ibid).

To illustrate this general discussion of the GPS teachers' official and social position, the following section outlines the social position and background of the typical primary teacher.

3.4 The Social Condition and Background of Typical Primary Teachers

Dove (1980) described the social situation of primary teachers in the rural Bangladesh after independence, particularly in the 1970s. According to Dove, the typical teacher was the son of a farmer who had only a few years of primary schooling himself, who preferred to live and work close to their home villages. Primary teaching was a career option open to the ambitious children of families that had limited resources. Dove claimed that primary teachers tried to avoid manual work since that did not fit the image of an "educated" person in Bangladesh; however, their low salary, frequently forced them to take up income generating activities that challenged this ideal image. Female teachers occupied a special position in the primary teaching occupation in so far as education represented almost the only sector outside the family household where women's participation was socially accepted. Nevertheless, the social control mechanisms that regulated the lives of women in Bangladeshi society also applied to female teachers in the sub-sector.

In 1974 the Quadrat-e-Khuda commission noted that a critical problem in primary education sub-sector was the low social and economic status of primary teachers (Jalaluddin and Chowdhury 1997:285). Both their salary and other material resources were considered

unsatisfactory, and teachers' social status was also perceived to be lower than desired. Although nationalisation turned GPS teachers into government employees, their salaries were still insufficient for them to make a decent living and they had to supplement their income through other activities (Dove 1980:19).

Within the hierarchy of government officials, teachers have had position at the bottom of the educational bureaucracy and have very limited career prospects since most managerial positions require more advanced training. Within the local community, GPS teachers occupied a middle ground between the poor and the well to do (Dove, ibid). While poor people would definitely look up to teachers as educated persons who have a secure income, the local elite would not deem them worthy of respect, and those with higher education would consider them to be low status. In addition, teachers depend heavily upon the favours of the local elite not only for general support and goodwill, but also for extra employment providing private tutoring (Quddus, 2001).

Based on a case study of Bilash Nagar State Primary School, Hadayet Hossain claimed that the introduction of a modern bureaucratised primary educational system in Bangladesh had generally weakened the status of GPS teachers in local community (1994: 122). While the traditional *patsala* (village school) teacher might be respected as a "guru", a wise and knowledgeable person, the modern GPS teacher appeared more like a Class III civil servant, who had to observe the rules and regulations specified by their superiors. For example, they were required to arrive at school at the same time every morning, sign the attendance register punctually, dress in a certain way (e.g. the traditional *lungyi* was forbidden), report student attendance, teach classes in accordance with the national curriculum, and follow the school timetable (Hossain, 1994). Unhappy with many of these rules, many GPS teachers frequently went their own way, depending on what they considered to be more appropriate and to suit their interests better. At the same time, they had to pretend that they were abiding by the rules vis-à-vis their superiors, and they filled in the required forms with fictitious information about teaching, student enrolment and attendance, information which did not mirror the real school situation accurately. Should such practices be discovered, the teachers would be punished by their superiors. This created a culture of control and formality, in which teachers seemed to be continuously involved in a power struggle regarding their working conditions, how much freedom they should have in their jobs, and the extent to which they were to be recognised as members of a professionalized occupation.

As described by Hossain, the education system often appears reminiscent of what has been labelled a machine bureaucracy (Mintzberg 1979). The machine bureaucracy is a rigid, rule–oriented system that seeks to control the performance of organisation members through standardised routines and programmes that specify more or less in detail how they should carry out various tasks. According to Mintzberg, machine bureaucracies are obsessed with control and ridden with conflict between different layers of authority. In contrast, a professional bureaucracy does not rely upon the standardisation of skills. According to Mintzberg, members of a profession are recruited on the basis of the expertise they have acquired through previous training and indoctrination, and since they know what to do, they are capable of performing complex tasks independently of detailed control systems. The management system is based on professional autonomy and members of the profession tend to identify with each other and with their professional community, which is responsible for setting professional standards and for sanctioning malpractice. The situation of GPS teachers in Bangladesh seems a long way from the ideal type portrayed by Mintzberg. In particular, they lack the education and training that characterise members of a professionalized occupation. For example, with 10-12 years of basic education, teacher trainees were unable to understand topics like child psychology and pedagogical theory that were included in their training programme, which lasted only nine to twelve months.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter the historical development of the primary teaching occupation has been discussed in relation to the civil service structure in Bangladesh. The aim was to establish the context that influences the official and social status of government primary teachers. The discussion has revealed that the organization of occupations within the civil service is characterised by a very strict hierarchical system that prevails not only in Bangladesh but throughout the Indian sub-continent. It also establishes the position of GPS teachers in Bangladesh as members of Class III in the civil service system. This puts them just one step above the Class IV employees whose work is considered "dirty". In a hierarchical society like Bangladesh, this position prevents primary teachers from even taking a seat in the presence of a higher officer like an UNO, unless explicitly instructed to do so. Thus, Class III status is largely responsible for the atmosphere of subordination that has blocked primary teachers'

opportunities for exerting the kind of control over their work that would characterise a professionalized occupation. In general, low value and status is associated with Class III and IV category jobs (for example, driver, support service worker, messenger etc) and no higher education or prior training are required. Like other Class III employees, government primary teachers' knowledge base was restricted due to limited training; like others, they had low official status, and they performed their tasks from positions at the bottom of a very hierarchical bureaucracy. As a consequence, they frequently did not see themselves as professionals and they lacked what may be referred to as a professional identity. The preceding discussion has also revealed that primary teaching had been allowed to and able to advance as an autonomous profession only to a very limited degree. To explain why government primary teachers lack professional identity and why primary teaching have failed to emerge as an autonomous occupation, the following chapters will examine the role of the four specific actors suggested by Burrage et al (1990): State, Training Institute, Professional Association, and Users. Indeed, since an independent Bangladesh state was established in 1971 these four have been major actors in the initiation or non-initiation of changes in the vocational situation of government primary teachers, and hence in their professionalization.

Chapter 4

The State and the Primary Teaching Occupation

4.1 Introduction

A "profession" is dependent on the state in order to ensure a closed labour market, because it has to compete with rival occupations for market control (Freidson, 1970b; Larson, 1977). According to Abbott (1988), inter-professional competition is a fundamental part of professional life and the stronger professions will try to extend their jurisdictional boundaries as widely as possible at the expense of weaker professions. It is the state, as the sovereign authority, therefore, that determines and defines the jurisdictional boundary for each vocation in a given society. It may also provide autonomy to the vocations and establish the distinction between "professions" and other occupational groups by virtue of their special status (Freidson, 1973; Haug, 1973; Light and Levine 1988). As mentioned (in chapter 2, section 2.5.2), the state is the key force in the creation, maintenance, and enforcement of "professionalism", meaning professional expertise (Freidson, 2001:128), which justifies the privileges and higher status granted a particular occupational group. The state is also the provider of power and rewards that lend special prestige to a vocational group (Burrage et al, 1990). In their investigation of the sources of professional prestige and influence, some writers (for example, Macdonald and Ritzer, 1988; Portwood and Fielding, 1981; and Halliday, 1985 & 1987) make numerous references to the vocation-state relationship.

It was also stated (in chapter 2) that the authority of the state is shifting from the sovereign to the nation-state, and now becoming some sort of trans-national authority (Freidson, 2001). However, in a nation-state like Bangladesh, the power, resources and status of a particular occupation still depend on the state's programmes and policies, although only a handful of the "governing-elite" actually determine the state programmes and policies (Hossain and Moore, 2002). Some members of this "governing-elites" include the ministers and legislators, upper-level public servants and senior members of the armed forces (Hossain and Moore, ibid). The enhancement of professional expertise and subsequent increase in privileges and prestige associated with an occupation depends, therefore, on how these "governing-elites" ascribe value to a particular occupation. In order to draw a picture of the apparent role of the state in

relation to the power, resource and prestige of a particular occupational group, such as government primary school (GPS) teachers, in a given socio-political and cultural context, it is, therefore, necessary to characterize these "governing-elites" first.

In this chapter, the role of the "governing-elites" will be investigated to reveal how they contributed to the present situation of primary teaching as an occupation in Bangladesh. To understand the role of these elites in the formulation and implementation of policies related with the primary education sub-sector in general and GPS teachers in particular, this chapter will examine first the nature of these elites in a historical context in Bangladesh (section 4.2). The next section (4.3) will consider how state policies relating to primary teaching as an occupation have historically hindered GPS teachers' access to power, a better knowledge-base and status, and hence their professionalization. The division in the delivery system for basic education into different types of primary education provision, for the elites as well for the masses, and the effect this had on the allocation of state funding for the mainstream primary education will also be discussed. In this section, the reasons why higher education has historically gained greater importance and weight in state policy, and the role of the donors in the improving the situation in the primary education sub-sector will be explored. Some of the most important state policies have been selected for closer examination; for example, the country's human resources development strategy, the primary education management policy, policies governing teacher recruitment, career prospects and mobility, and the rewards and induction policy. The aim was to investigate whether these policies were conducive to the enforcement of professionalism, a closed market or the defence of vocational authority, as well as to granting a higher reward and prestige to GPS teachers.

4.2 Bangladesh State: Institutions and Actors in a Historical Perspective

Under British rule the province of Bengal[17] was inhabited by both Hindus and Muslims, but the Hindus, who were employed by the East India Company as its agents, gained a strong position in the economic organizations of the province through their dealings with the company's merchandise and other products (Mukherjee, 1973:403). Westergaard (1985)

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[17] Before the partitioning of British India in 1947, West Bengal (belong to India) and East Bengal (now Bangladesh) was undivided and called the province of Bengal.

observed that many of these Hindus used their surplus funds to buy *zamindari* estates (jurisdiction over the estate of a landlord), many of which were put up for auction when the traditional Muslim *zaminders* (landlords) were unable to meet tax obligations imposed by the British. As most of the peasants in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) were Muslims, the class divisions coincided with the religious division in the form of Hindu landlords versus Muslim peasants. By the 1920s and 30s, it was clear that the various sectors of the Muslim population of Bengal had developed separate class interests due to changes in the socio-economic conditions of the dominant village groups; i.e. Muslim peasants benefited especially, due to the high demand for the agricultural products (for example, jute). This change in the socio-economic condition also helped to raise the cultural and political consciousness among the Bengal Muslims. Later, the Muslim officers, traders and industrialist who had failed to flourish in competition with their more experienced and clever Hindu counterparts in India, backed the Pakistan movement under the political platform of the Muslim League (Kamruddin Ahamed, 1975 also quoted in Westergaard, 1985:27). In addition, towards the end of British rule, the Hindus and Muslims increasingly used their respective religious affiliations to safeguard their economic interests. Thus, the Muslim political elites in Bengal represented different social classes and in the Muslim League [Bengal] Provincial Council the landlords represented the largest single group (Sayeed, 1967 also quoted in Westergaard; 1985), while the central leadership of the all-India Muslim League was in the hands of Muslim trading communities. It should be mentioned here that, at the time of the establishment of the new state of Pakistan in 1947, the social formation in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) was quite different from that of West Pakistan. Given the improved economic situation of the well-to-do peasants of Bengal around the turn of the 19th century and the absence of the capitalist mode of production, upper-level peasants in East Bengal sought to wrest economic and political control from the *Zaminders* (Broomfield, 1976). In pre-partition India, the emergent industrial middle-class was formed primarily by Hindus and other non-Muslims, though there were a limited number of Muslim entrepreneurs in certain parts of India, especially Gujarat and Bombay. After the partitioning of India, these entrepreneurs migrated to Pakistan, but because of their limited community base and lack of roots in Pakistan, they were failed to emerge as a political force (Ahmed, 1973:420). Given the new situation, these business communities depended on government patronage to run their business instead of taking entrepreneurial risks with their capital. Thus, the rise of emergent business class and industrialists in Pakistan were in a client-patron relationship with the bureaucracy (Nations, 1971:5). Not only did the business community depend on the civil

servants, but also the key Muslim league leaders in Pakistan such as Jinnah and Liakat Ali Khan. These key political figures also gave some of the civil servants important posts in the government (Westergaard, 1985:32). Later, the imposition of martial law turned the country into an oligarchy governed by an authoritarian system (Choudhury, 1969:136). In fact, Pakistan had been an authoritarian state governed by civil servants from the moment of its inception and later by both civil servants and the army. Alavi (1973b), in his thesis about the role of state in post-colonial societies, identified Pakistan as a "military-bureaucratic oligarchy". According to Alavi, the notion of an "overdeveloped" superstructure or state bureaucracy was a crucial element in postcolonial Pakistan (ibid, p.147), and the role of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy was to mediate the competing interests of the three propertied classes: the metropolitan[18] bourgeoisie, the indigenous bourgeoisie, and the landed classes (Alavi, ibid). In postcolonial Pakistan, the "overdeveloped" bureaucracy inherited from colonial India and the military enjoyed more autonomy and control compared to weak traditional power blocks such as national political institutions, weak private enterprises, and the feudal landowning class. Thus, the bureaucratic-military oligarchy mediated between the competing interests of the three propertied classes, and was therefore relatively independent from these classes (Alavi, 1973b).

The political scenario in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) was more complex than that in West Pakistan. In the former, the political and bureaucratic dominance from the centre resulted in deep dissatisfaction in the community. Thus, "a feeling is growing among the East Pakistanis that Eastern Pakistan is being neglected and treated merely as a colony of West Pakistan" (Quoted in Sayeed, 1967:64). As a result, the political elites in East Pakistan became increasingly dissatisfied with the Muslim League and formed an opposition party named the Awami (people's) League in June 1949, with the support of the urban-based (previously Calcutta-based) and the vernacular (Bengali language-based) elite. However, the vernacular elites were very dominant in the party and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who later became the first president of Bangladesh, was one of the joint secretaries. Although the Awami League had been formed, the party activities remained centred on the students of institutions of higher education, particularly Dhaka University. The 21st of February in East Pakistan was *Shaheed* (martyrs') or mother language Day and it was especially the students who provided the

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[18] Alavi argued that the "over-developed" bureaucracy had been established by the colonial metropolitan bourgeoisie comprised of urban-based political elites to exercise dominance over the indigenous classes such as "merchants" and "landlord" (Alavi, 1973b).

leadership in the language movement, which was crucial to the development of the vernacular elite (Jahan, 1972:43). The students not only played a vital role in the language movement, but also played a prominent part in the revitalized nationalist movement. A six-point programme and an 11-point[19] programme for regional autonomy were put forward by the Awami League in March 1966. With the departure of the "Bashhani faction[20]" due to a significant disagreement about party policies and strategies, the party came under the dominance of the elitist tradition (Westergaard, 1985). When the ban on political activities was lifted in Pakistan in 1964 and the death of Suhrawardy, who was one of the party founders, the Awami League was revitalized by its general secretary, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (here after Mujib). The new leader Mujib was firmly committed to the elitist tradition, but managed to retain the mass populist base and was later elected president of the party (Westergaard, 1985). Maniruzzaman (1975b: 40-41) has analysed the occupations of the Awami League nominees in the 1970 national election in Pakistan: 47 percent were lawyers and 19 percent were businessmen, but the leaders of the largest labour organizations in East Pakistan were also nominated. While 75 per cent of the farmers in the then East Pakistan owned less than 3 acres of land, 71 percent of the MPs elected in 1970 owned more than 6.5 acres (Jahan, 1976:360-1); this figure indicates that the Awami League had a large-scale support base among landed bourgeoisie. Moniruzzaman argues that the majority of the businessmen and industrialists in the East Pakistan also backed and financed the 1970 election campaign of the Awami League and its national independence movement for the East Pakistan (Maniruzzam, op cit).

4.2.1 The Contemporary Situation in Bangladesh

Bangladesh appeared on the World map as an independent and sovereign state on December 16, 1971 after a nine-month-long war of liberation against Pakistan. The party that formed the first post-liberation government was the Awami League, headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib). In August 1975, a bloody military coup overthrew the Awami League government

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[19] With the arrest of the Awami League leaders in the summer of 1966, the leadership of the nationalist movement was again taken over by the students. Various student organizations joined together in the Bengal Students Action Committee in 1968 and put forward their 11-Points Programme included not only the 6-points demand for the autonomy, but also nationalization of economic institutions such as banks, insurance companies, large industrial units etc (point 5); reduction of taxes upon agriculture (point 6); payment of proper wages to labourers (points 7) etc.

[20] The pro-China leftists' faction of the National Awami League under the leadership of Maulana Bhashani argued that the six-point demand of the Awami League did not reflect the aspiration of the poor.

and in November of the same year, a popular uprising brought General Ziaur Rahman to power (Siddique, 1996). His rule ended with his assassination by a group of military officers in 1981, and in another military coup in early 1982, Ershad, the commander in chief of the army, ousted the elected Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) government headed by Justice Abdus Satter and seized power. Later Ershad formed the Jatia Party, which won the majority of the seats in parliament; however, the credibility of the national elections held during the Ershad regime has been questioned. One of the important features of the Ershad regime was extensive participation of the military in civil administration. Finally, the Ershad government was toppled by a mass uprising in 1990, in which major political forces such as university students played a crucial role. The election held under the non-partisan "caretaker government" (a unique system introduced after the fall of the Ershad regime) brought the BNP back to the power again, with Khaleda Zia as the Prime Minister. The Khaleda regime also came to a premature end when many top level bureaucrats deserted BNP for the J*anatar Manch* (people's platform), in order to support the long struggle of the opposition political parties; this quickened the "bureaucratic coup" and fall of the government. Some of these senior bureaucrats, known as "secretaries", later gained prestigious administrative and political posts; for example, Mohiuddin Khan Alamgir was rewarded by the Awami League with a ministerial position for his participation in the *Janatar Manch.* In 1996 the Awami League regained power after 21 years, and Sheikh Hasina (daughter of Sheikh Mujib) took the oath of the office of Prime Minister. The election held in 2001 brought a landslide victory for the BNP and its four party allies, and Begum Khaleda Zia became Prime Minister for a second term. The above outline indicates that, in the post-liberation Bangladesh, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, the Awami League and the Jatia Party have been the three main political camps that have ruled the country. The Jatia Party divided into various factions after Ershad was overthrown. Thus, the key political figures (Ministers and MPs) of these three political parties, along with senior members of the bureaucracy and defence forces, constituted the main "governing elites" in post-independence Bangladesh until 2001.

While discussing the features of the social organizations in the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), Broomfield (1976) observed that class, factionalism and patron-client relation were the basic pillars of these organizations. Broomfield argued that substantial disparity in income and influence between the wealthy farmers and the poor peasants or landless labour existed in rural Bangladesh. The wealthy farmers not only dominated the traditional social, political and religious groups, but also predominate in the modern economic and political

institutions (for example, the cooperative and local self-government). According to many historians, Bengal was never effectively administered by the British. Thus, in the absence of administrative penetration, power had clustered around local strong points (i.e. landlord, religious leaders etc), which made room for the local leaders to develop their influence and power by cultivating a support network of clients. These inter-"class" patron-client networks were further strengthened by extended family and kinship networks. Individuals became clients when seeking either self-promotion or simply survival through association with patrons who had some link to power. Knowing someone influential, and establishing a bilateral relationship with a patron has been considered more significant than ideological or class ties in Bangladeshi society. Jahan has argued that this factionalism is endemic amongst all social groups and classes in Bangladesh (Jahan, 1980:163). Thus, factionalism helps maintain the inter-class patron-client network of organization.

Jahan's study revealed that the following two "intermediate" classes had influence in the development of state programme and policies in Bangladesh (Jahan, 1980:163):

(a) the urban middle class, i.e. the civil and military bureaucracy, professionals and businessmen; and
(b) the wealthy farmers who have ties of property and kinship with the former.

Jahan has also argued that these intermediate classes dominate the electoral politics of Bangladesh, irrespective of differences in their ideological positions and social backgrounds. It must be borne in mind that the leadership of all political parties in Bangladesh belong to these intermediate classes and most of them come from wealthy farmer family backgrounds and are themselves by occupation either lawyers, businessmen or civil/ military bureaucrats (Jahan, ibid). Kochanek (2000:155) on the other hand, has claimed that "Bangladeshi businessmen have been very successful in securing direct elite representation in government…..have been well represented in elected assemblies and have been served as cabinet ministers". He has also argued that the proportion of businessmen elected to parliament (MPs) in Bangladesh has been quite high, significantly higher than elsewhere in South Asia. Rahman (1996) has noted that the percentage of MPs elected from the business community has increased over the years; for example, it rose from 24 percent in 1973, to 26 percent in 1979, and to 45 per cent in 1991, remained stable at 44 percent until 1996

(Rahman, 1996 also quoted in Kochanek, 2000) and reached the highest level[21] - 83 percent in 2001 (Daily Janakantha, Dhaka: 27 June, 2005). It should be mentioned that the Awami League (AL) and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) gained the mandate and formed the government two terms each that is the AL in the elections held in 1973 and 1996; and the BNP in 1979 and 200. The dominant position of the business elites in the main two political parties and in the parliament demonstrates that they have gained increasing influence over state power and policy. In contrast, the representation of vocational groups such as lawyers in the government or in the parliament has declined over this period. For example, in the 1970 national election, 47 percent of the Awami League nominees were lawyers and only 19 percent were businessmen; in contrast, in the 1996 election, 44 percent were businessmen. Khan characterizes the Bangladeshi political system as follows:

> Successive regimes in Bangladesh have changed the political system to suit their narrow, individual, sectarian and partisan interests. Mujib, Zia and Ershad have all manipulated the political system in a bid to hold on to power…..Individuals became much more important than institutions, resulting the lack of faith in such political institutions as political parties, the legislature, and the judiciary. The political system becomes the shadow of one man as long as he is in power. The executive organ of the government keeps on playing the most dominant role compared with other organs, i.e. the legislative and the judiciary. (Khan, 1991: 27)

Another important feature of the political system in Bangladesh was the increasing militarization of civil administration, particularly in the 80s. This phenomenon began to emerge when General Zia took over power in November 1975. At that time, many key posts in the civil service were given to either serving or retired military officers. The level and extent of this practice increased considerably during the era of General Ershad (1982-1990). Similarly, Alavi (1973b:47) concluded that post-colonial society Bangladesh was a "military-bureaucratic oligarchy". According to his thesis, which was mentioned earlier, there was a symbiotic relationship between the state bureaucracy in post-independent Bangladesh, and three other elite groups including the political elites, the business community and the landed aristocrats. His analysis is highly apt from the perspectives of the regimes of General Zia and Ershad, since both tried to liberalize economic policy in line with market economic theory, while their predecessors had opted for a strict state control of the economy.

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[21] Of the elected MPs in 2001 national election, 83 percent mentioned "business" as their occupation in their nomination paper submitted to the Election Commission (Source: Daily Janakantha,Dhaka 27.06.2005).

4.2.2 Contemporary Elites and Their Backgrounds

Bangladesh as a new state emerged in 1971 as a result of the sharp division between the two wings of Pakistan, the East and the West. The party which eventually played an important role in the liberation struggle and won the nation's independence from the West Pakistan was the Awami League. The key political figure and founder of this party was Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy (1893-1963), who was a member of the national elite; he was born in western Bengal (in Midnapur, Calcutta, India) and educated in Calcutta and Oxford (Baxter, et al 1993: 255). He initially formed a party named the Awami (people's) Muslim League in 1951 as a result of a dispute with West Pakistani leaders of the Muslim League. He had the support of other eminent political figures from the then East Pakistan, including Ataur Rahman Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The party was quickly renamed, becoming simply the Awami League, and being the primarily based in East Pakistan, it soon became the voice of Bengali interests (Baxter et al, ibid). As mentioned, after the death of Suhrawardy in 1963, the party leadership fell to Mujib, who had been the organization secretary of the party under Suhrawardy and "represented the regional elite to an even greater extent (Baxter et al, ibid p.256). Baxter et al have also observed that Mujib's roots were in the countryside and he was more the successor of Fazlul Haq, the great leader of Bengal who was remembered for protecting the interests of his region and addressing the problems of his fellow *Bengalis*. Mujib did not really fit the urban Muslim intellectual tradition which Suhrawardy represented. (ibid, p.257). At the time of the country's independence in 1971, Mujib was granted the title *Bangabandhu* (Beloved of Bengal). After the death of Mujib, the contending factions of the Awami League chose Mujib's daughter Sheikh Hasina, who had been educated in a college affiliated with Dhaka University, as party's new leader, and she was later elected the leader of the opposition in 1986 and 1991 and the Prime Minister in 1996. In contrast, both Zia and Ershad were career military men and each founded one of two other major political parties, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and Jatiya Party (JP) respectively. After the assassination of Zia in 1981, the party leadership fell to Zia's widow, Khaleda Zia, who had no previous political experience but nevertheless held the post of Prime Minister in 1991 and 2001, and was leader of the opposition in 1996.

All of these leaders represented special interest groups, since according to Baxter et al, the civil service and military service in Bangladesh are two special-interest groups of elite with

interests of their own that they are sure to pursue (Baxter et al, 1993:278). Moreover, some of the common features of these two groups include: high competition at the entry level, free or highly subsidized housing, access to sub-price food rations, above-standard medical treatment, posts for spouses, and special schools for the children. Baxter et al observed:

> The members of these groups are often related by blood or marriage, as is frequently the case with the business elite. It is to the latter group that both civil and military officers often apply for post-retirement positions….but the positions from which they have originated are often among the village elite and those they have entered are in the national elite. The response of these officers to rural problems is thus often less than fully sympathetic. (Baxter et al, 1993:278)

This indicates that another feature of the civil and military elites is their links to business rather than to rural elites. A recent study of the World Bank reveals that "….the functioning of the public service reflects a pervasive *clientalism* operating within clearly defined hierarchies……Bangladesh have a number of well organized interest groups that largely determined political decisions; in particular: the military, the public bureaucracy; private business; the trade unions; religious groupings; the NGOs; and the donors" (World Bank, 2002: VI). The study of the World Bank also confirms the findings of Baxter regarding the importance of group interests.

It is clear, therefore, that the power blocks that shape public policies in a developing country like Bangladesh include the propertied political leaders (ministers, members of the parliament), upper-level public servants, senior members of the armed force, businessmen, professionals, students and teachers of the university, wealthy farmers, leaders of the trade unions, religious groupings, and the NGOs. Although all these groups are able to influence state programmes and policies, it is most often the ministers and legislators, as well as upper-level public servants, that constitute the core "governing elites", whose interests and values determine what policies are adopted and which are ignored, particularly in relation to a specific occupational group such as primary teachers. In addition to these governing elites, there is also one influential external actor, the donors, that exercises an enormous influence in state policy formation, particularly in a developing country like Bangladesh. In this context, on-going global programmes such as Education for All (EFA) are mobilising various international actors, including UN agencies, the donor community and the World Bank, to provide technical and financial support to nation-states, particularly in the developing regions. The aim is to reform their national policy in order to improve the status and working conditions of primary teachers.

4.3 The Development of the Vocational Expertise, Power and Status of Primary Teachers

As stated, the vocational development, power and status of a particular occupational group is dependent on the national programmes and policies. To understand the full impact of this power relationship, it is important to examine how the interests and values of internal governing elites and external development partners (donors) have influenced the state policy on primary education historically, and thereby contributed to the present status of the primary teaching occupation in Bangladesh. In order to explain why the vocational development of teachers working in the mainstream primary schools has changed so little, the 'division' in the delivery of basic education will first be considered, and the various types of basic education institution will be discussed. It will then be argued that, throughout history, governing elites have shown less enthusiasm for the development of mainstream primary education because special arrangements have been made for their children's basic education outside the public primary school system. Finally, the impact of the Education for All (EFA) global movement will be examined, and how it has brought pressure to bear on the governing elites to reform the country's primary education policy in order to meet the EFA global targets.

4.3.1 Types of Basic Education Institution in Bangladesh

Ahmed et al (2005) identified eleven types of primary schools in Bangladesh, the major types being:

(a) **Government primary schools (GPS)** are the dominant category and run fully by government. The government appoints teachers and pays their salaries, as well as building schools, and supplying textbooks and teaching materials. In 2002 there were a total of 37,700 GPS with 157,000 teachers and 10.7 million children (Ahmed et al 2005:27). The majority of pupils in the GPS come from poor families, particularly in the rural areas. Of the total primary school population in the country, 61 percent go to this type of schools (Daily Inqilab, Dhaka, 12.05.2006; The Annual Report on Primary Education "*Halkhata* 2006").

(b) **Registered non-government primary schools (RNGP)** were initially established privately with local community support. After a minimum number of years of functioning with community support, and after meeting specified criteria, these schools are registered, which means that they receive government grants covering

90% of the teachers salaries and allocations for buildings and facilities. However, in most cases these schools employed "teachers" who did not have any qualifications (Ahmed et al ibid p.104). As of 2002, there were 19,000 RNGPS enrolling 4 million children, most of whom came from families with a weak socio-economic background. Of the total primary school population in the country, 24 percent attend this type of primary school (Ahmed et al, ibid p.27).

(c) **Non-registered primary schools (NPS)** are usually set up privately or as local community initiatives, and receive support with the aim of meeting the criteria to qualify as RNGPS. Children from the same family backgrounds as those attending the GPS and RNGPS attend in these schools and the quality of the teachers in these schools similar to those in the RNGPS. While teachers in GPS are recruited on the basis of a nation-wide written examination, the teachers in both RNGPS and NPS, on the other hand, are recruited by a School Management Committee (SMC).

(d) **Non-formal primary schools (NFPE)** are NGO-run schools for children who have never been to school or have dropped out of the mainstream primary schools. These are typically one-room-one-teacher schools, in which around 30 students are taught for three to four years so as to reach the equivalent of grade 4 or 5 in the formal primary schools. These schools receive no government supports and the children in these schools are from hardcore poor families. BRAC's NFPE schools are renowned for providing low-cost education (World Bank, 2000a:65).

(e) **Ebtedayee Madrasas** are primary-level institutions with a curriculum that combines general and religious education. These institutions are privately managed but nominally under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. There are 4287 Ebtedayee Madrasa in the country (Daily Prothom Alo, Dhaka: 18.09.2004) and most of the children enrolled in this type of institution come from hardcore poor families. These institutions account for only 5 percent of all the children enrolled in the primary sub-sector (Daily Prothom Alo, ibid).

(f) **Community Schools** are community-sponsored primary schools taught by a locally appointed teacher from the community, who has "some education". The government pays an allowance to the teacher and regular school provisions (for example, school house/classroom, teaching-learning materials, and so on) are insufficient in these schools. The children from hardcore poor families may attend these primary schools.

(g) **Primary classes attached to high schools** are not very numerous and are generally located in the same premises as high schools that have a good reputation. The high

school authorities manage these schools. They follow the national primary education curriculum but are not under the supervision of the primary education authorities, such as the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE), District Primary Education Office (DPEO) or Upazila Education Office (UEO). These schools do not receive any support from the government. While primary education is generally free in Bangladesh, these are fee-paying schools. Moreover, due to the reputation of these schools for providing high-quality education, donations may be required as well as the regular monthly fees. Thus, only children from well-off or elite families are able to attend in these schools.

(h) **Kindergartens** are generally private institutions run by individuals as commercial enterprises. These do not follow the national primary education curriculum but design their own curriculum. This type of schools offers different levels of basic education. Some teach only two years pre-primary education, which is popularly known as "Standard Class"; others provide "Standard Class" to "A Level" (grade 10). Admission to some of these schools requires a handsome donation in addition to monthly tuition fees. Moreover, while the medium of instruction in some schools is Bangla, in others it is English. Bangla-medium kindergartens may be found in the urban as well as in the rural areas, and it should be noted that even these schools emphasise the teaching of English. In contrast, English medium kindergartens are only available in the city centres, and the elites prefer these institutions for their children's education. According to official statistics there are total 2,477 kindergartens in the country but the real number could be double this (Daily Prothom Alo, Dhaka 18.09.2004). At present, only 2 percent of the total number of children enrolled in the primary sub-sector attends Kindergartens, and most of these children are from elite and well-off families (Daily Inqilab, Dhaka 12.05.2006).

It should be mentioned in this context that, besides kindergartens and primary schools attached to high-schools, there are several other options open for the children of the propertied and governing elites, including institutions such as Model Schools and Laboratory Schools. These are built at huge cost to the public exchequer; they provide better facilities, receive better financial allocations and attract better qualified teachers. Nevertheless, in spite of the heavy public subsidies, some of these institutions still charge extra fees, so only the children of the elites can only afford to study there. In contrast, children of impoverished parents are left with no option but to attend the RNGPS/NPS located in slums in the city or

the state-run GPS in the rural areas. The discriminatory system of education in Bangladesh, that favours children coming from well-to-do or middle-class families and penalises those from poor families, has also been recognized by some members of the governing elites. For example, the principal secretary to the Prime Minister admitted that:

> It is unfortunate that at present there is a division in the education system in Bangladesh. The elites are sending their children to best quality schools at home and abroad, while middle-income and low-income families cannot afford that kind of education. Therefore, children from well-off families are getting better salaried and status job. It is urgent to stop this division in the education system to avoid disaster in future by ensuring good quality education on all levels….." (Daily Amar Desh, Dhaka: 12.05.2006; Daily Inqilab, Dhaka: 12.05.2006).

From the above discussion, it is understandable why there is a demand for alternative and specialised institutions of primary education for the children of the governing elites. With regard to secondary and tertiary education, the same division applies. Thus, children from poor[22] families cannot afford to study in these privately-managed secondary or tertiary academic institutions. A few government secondary schools and colleges were established in Bangladesh at great public expense, and the facilities provided there and qualifications of the teachers are better than at most government schools. Admission to a government secondary school or college is very competitive since these institutions can absorb only a small fraction of the students completing the prerequisite education. Thus, it is only children from local and urban elites that qualify to study at these fully state-supported educational institutions, since they have usually received a better primary education at specialized institutions. In the following section, therefore, it will be argued that, historically, quality primary education or spending in this sub-sector was not a priority for the governing elites, compared to higher education; that was because mainstream primary education did not serve their interests.

4.3.2 Human Resource Development Policy

Education is essential for the development of proper skills, values and attitudes, as well as civic order and citizenship. It is also crucial for sustained economic and social development. Education, especially basic (primary and lower-secondary) education, also contributes to the reduction of poverty by increasing the productivity of the poor's labour, by reducing fertility and improving health, and by equipping people to participate fully in the economy and in the

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[22] The government has recently announced free education for girls up to grade-XII, but boys still have to pay, even those from poor families.

society (World Bank, 1995: XI). All these manifold benefits make education a key public policy issue in countries throughout the World. In order to understand the present state of affairs in primary education and the situation of GPS teachers in particular, it is necessary to examine state policies related to this sub-sector. Bangladesh has a centralized educational system, in which the state is actively involved in the functioning of the system in accordance with the constitution. Article 17 of the Constitution establishes the basis for a broad education policy covering pre-university stage of education; it declares that primary education is the constitutional responsibility of the government and specifies that the state should adopt effective measures for the purpose of:

a. Establishing a uniform mass-oriented and universal system of education and of extending free and compulsory education to all children to such stages as may be determined by law;

b. Relating education to the needs of society and producing properly motivated citizens to serve these needs; and

c. Eliminating illiteracy within such time as may be determined by law

In accordance with these constitutional directives, Bangladesh committed itself to taking the necessary measures in order to ensure universal and quality primary education. The governments that have been in power since country's independence in 1971 introduced several measures, such as forming national committees/commissions, initiating a range of reform measures and formulating policies and so on for the development of primary education in general and teaching staff in particular. Some of the most central are relevant to the present discussion.

The nation's first Education Commission, popularly known as the Qudrat-e-Khuda Commission, was set up in 1972 by the current regime, its mandate being to recommend educational policies in relation to the nation's needs, ideas and capacities. The Commission submitted its report in 1974 with the following major recommendations (Jalaluddin & Chowdhury, 1997:276-8):

- Primary education for five years was to be made compulsory and its implementation was to be completed by 1980, and education for eight years was to be available by 1983.

- Sufficient facilities in terms of teachers, books, educational materials and school facilities were to be provided in order to implement the new policy.

- Female teachers were to be appointed in primary schools to attract girls to schools and separate girl schools were to be established.

- Since most Bangladeshis between 5 and 13 years of age have to take part in some income-generating activities and cannot attend school during regular hours, night schools were to be arranged to cater to their educational needs.

- A new syllabus was to be prepared to suit the conditions and capabilities of the pupils, to create a good basis for their personality formation and to orient them towards productive activities appropriate for their individual needs.

Although there were some good suggestions in the committee's recommendations (for example, appointment of female teachers, sufficient facilities for schools, teachers and the pupils, etc), the regime in power did not accept these, so none of the measures suggested in the Qudrat-e-Khuda Commission report were implemented for manpower planning. National economic planning during the Mujib era had marked socialist undertones and the basic ideological principles of the 1st constitution of Bangladesh were the four pillars of "Mujibism": Bengali nationalism, secularism, democracy, and socialism (Westergaard, 1985:74). According to Westergaard, all four "pillars" of the 1st constitution were typical to the Indian model. She further observed that the Awami League (AL) had its support base among the surplus farmers, the trading and marketing intermediaries (mercantile class) and the small-scale entrepreneurs, as well as industrial trade unions and university students. It was no wonder, therefore, that the economic and human resource development strategies of the ruling AL reflected the interest of power blocks such as university teachers and students. The universities (particularly Dhaka University) were the nerve centre of all major national movements in Bangladesh, even before independence. For example, students and many teachers have been in the forefront of movements for the recognition of Bengali language, for Bangladeshi independence and for the restoration of democracy particularly in 1990s. Moreover, many top leaders of the major political parties (for example, Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party) gained their first political experience at Dhaka University, both before and after independence. It is important to note that the most vicious attack of the Pakistani army during the liberation struggle in March 1971 was against Dhaka University because of their active involvement in anti-Pakistan movements. Thus, it is not surprising that Dove (1981a:176-7) identified university teachers and students as the third most important group in the political system in Bangladesh, after politicians and bureaucrats. The fact is that

"most student groups are located in key urban areas, especially Dhaka, causes concern to whatever government is in power" (Baxter et al, 1993: 279).

Given the leading role played by university students and teachers in various national movements, and their powerful voice demanding a share in the national budget, the education policy of the 1st regime of the country revealed the gap between the rhetoric of basic education for the masses, and the vested interests of higher education in serving the interest of the elites and power blocks. For example, the draft Second Five Year Plan stated that the allocation for state-sponsored higher education was about fifty times greater than that for primary education during the First Five Year period (GoB, 1980). Dove (1981a:168) also provided a vivid illustration of the higher education biased policy commitments of the "governing elites" and planners during the period 1973-78. According to her data (table 4.1), there were wide gaps between higher education and primary education not only in terms of resource allocation, but also in terms of actual expenditure. Higher education, particularly university education, had been given greater weight and disproportionate favour at that time (table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Comparative situations in the Education System (1973-78)

Heads	Primary	Secondary	University
Actual expenditure as % allocation 1973-78	42% (Primary teacher Training 29%)	31%	113%
Costs per student per annum	£3.3 (£2.00 in 1974)	(—)	£100[a] engineering & agriculture; £66 general university
Teacher-Student Ratios	1:50 (higher in rural areas)	1:23 (government schools)	1:13

Source: Dove, 1981a: 170; Bangladesh Bank (Statistics Department), 1994:58

Note: [a]1£ = 30 *Taka* in 1974-75 Bangladesh fiscal year

(—) means data not available

General Ziaur Rahman (hereafter Zia) formed another Education Advisory Committee named *Jatiyo Shikhya Upodestha Parishad*[23] (National Advisory Council for Education) on the 5th of August 1978. The Committee was assigned to the task of assisting the government in formulating an interim educational policy and making the government aware of the current educational problems of the country. In its recommendation the National Advisory Council (NAC) declared that "a dynamic and well designed primary education would be the first requirement for the development and reconstruction of the society"[24]. The NAC also made a number of recommendations for the improvement and expansion of primary education. Based on the recommendations of NAC, the Zia regime decided to introduce Universal Primary Education (UPE). The Two-Year Plan (1978-80) adopted by the regime put emphasis on and allocated funds for the establishment of new public primary schools and community primary schools, and for the creation of facilities for extra-curricular activities for primary children. The regime allocated a total of only Taka[25] 223 million for primary education in the Two-Year Plan (TYP) period, that was to cater for about half a million additional children in primary schools. In addition to this allocation, there was a proposal in the TYP for the development of the existing 47 Primary Training Institutes (PTIs), as well as for the establishment of four new PTIs in order to improve the quality of teachers' education. To achieve the UPE goal in a shortest possible time, the regime passed several measures, such as the establishment of community schools and adult-education centres all over the country in addition to existing about 36 000 government primary schools. However, regime's drive to achieve UPE showed a clear signs of being a low-cost and low-quality primary education strategy. As mentioned (in section 4.3.1), there was a lack of regular school provisions in schools such as community schools.

The Second Five Year Plan (SFYP), which was prepared for the period 1980-85, reviewed the performance of the First Five Year Plan (FFYP) and the Two Years Plan (TYP) adopted by the Mujib and Zia regimes respectively. The SFYP stressed that, although there was a moderate improvement in terms of pupil enrolment and construction of new schools to accommodate more new pupils, a wide gap still remained in education planning regarding the

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[23] The Chairman of the Parishad (Council) from August 5, 1978 to October 10, 1978 was Kazi Zafar Ahmed, the then Minister-in-Charge of Education, and from October 11, 1978 it was Abdul Baten, the Deputy Minister-in-Charge of Education.

[24] For details, see the *Interim Education Policy: Recommendations of the Jatiyo Shikhya Parishad* (National Advisory Council of Education), Government of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1979.

[25] The name of Bangladeshi currency

proposed allocation, the actual allocation and actual expenditure in the primary sub-sector (Planning Commission, 1983).

The following table provides some basic statistics regarding allocation and expenditure in the education sector in general and the primary education sub-sector in particular during the FFYP and TYP:

Table 4.2 Expenditure on Primary Education during FFYP (1973-78) and TYP (1978-80)

Sector	Plan allocation (Taka in million)	ADP[26] provision (Taka in million)	Actual expenditure (Taka in million)	Actual expenditure as % of plan allocation	Actual expenditure as % of ADP provision
Primary education	800	368	341	43	63
Total education	4 540	2 895	2 588	57	89

Source: Planning Commission (Ministry of Planning), SFYP (1985-90), Dhaka, May 1983.

From table 4.2, it is evident that during the FFYP (1973-78) and TYP (1978-80) Taka 800 million was allocated for the primary education sub-sector. However, this allocation was only about 18% of the total education sector allocation of Taka 4,540 million and 57% of the allocated funds for the primary sub-sector were not actually utilized. Due to the insufficiency of the allocation and their under-utilization, none of the targets[27] that had been set in the FFYP for primary education were met, even by 1980. According to Satter (1983), the failure to reach the targets of the education plans in Bangladesh, particularly during this period and with regard to primary education, could be attributed to the lack of commitment of the governing elites to mainstream primary education. The following table indicates the sub-sector allocation in various national plans since Bangladesh's independence.

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[26] Annual Development Plan (ADP)

[27] The enrolment target was 8.5 million in 1978 but even by 1980 this was only 8.2 million. During the plan period, the enrolment rate did not increase, but rather declined from 72.21% in 1973 to 68.82% in 1978 and 62.63% in 1980 (BANBEIS, 1987)

Table 4.3 Sub-sector Allocations[28] in 1973-2002 (Taka in Million)

Sub-sector	1st Five Year Plan (FYP) 1973-78	Two-Year Plan 1978-80	2nd FYP 1980-85	3rd FYP 1985-90	4th FYP 1990-95	5th FYP 1997-2002
Primary	527 (18)	223 (13)	4 150 (41)	5 380 (44)	14 281 (—)	68 594 (—)
Secondary	599 (19)	288 (17)	1 885 (19)	1 250 (10)	4 158 (—)	31 204[a] (—)
College	247 (8)	138 (8)	540 (5)	583 (5)	1710 (—)	(—)
University	350 (11)	221 (13)	600 (6)	1000 (8)	3 280 (—)	5 744 (—)

Source: Development plans for respective years, Ministry of Planning, GoB

Note: [a]higher secondary, college and Madrasah education are combined;
'(—)' means data not available;
Data in parenthesis shows percentage.

The most interesting aspect of the FFYP and TYP adopted by the AL and BNP respectively was the over-expenditure of public funds on institutions of higher education and universities in particular. For example, a total of Taka 571 million (combine First FYP + Two YP) was allocated to all 6 universities of the country (table 4.3), but their actual expenditure was Taka 683 million, an over-expenditure of 19%; in contrast, expenditure on primary education was only 42% of the total allocation (Satter, 1983). Satter's observations were supported by Husain's findings (1978) that the primary education sub-sector was a neglected area in the years after independence because of the unwillingness of the governing elites to adopt and implement the necessary policies. He observed:

> In spite of the importance of fundamental education, we have noted that it has been particularly neglected in the past. This is either because the direct and indirect benefits of a system of fundamental education have not been appreciated by the policy framers in the past, or because in spite of such realisation—they were unable or unwilling to adopt the necessary policy due to pressure of the power elite. (Husain, 1978:79)

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[28] Figures shown in the table includes both revenue/recurrent and development expenditures. Revenue/recurrent expenditures refer to expenditures on teacher and other staff salaries, on educational materials and consumable utilities and so on. On the other hand, development expenditures are investments on infrastructural development i.e. building schools, laboratories and other facilities, equipment, and land. It also includes incremental expenditures on personnel, textbooks, and student support during the period of investment activities.

It is also apparent from table 4.3 that the allocation to the primary sub-sector increased throughout the period and has gained momentum since 1990 (Fourth Five Year Plan period). However, this trend was actually an effect of the donors' concerned and support, and to some extent due to pressure being placed on the regimes in relation to on-going global literacy movements. These movements have had a tremendous influence on the development of global partnerships and collective commitment, as well as of alliances within and between countries and agencies for the purpose of achieving Education for All (EFA)—the global target. The EFA global movement also stressed that it was the responsibility of developing countries prepare the necessary national plans and of developed countries to support these efforts.

4.3.2.1 The EFA Global Struggle and the State Intervention

The Bangladeshi experience has revealed that even before the global movement for EFA first started in 1990, the primary education sub-sector had received the attention of international development partners, particularly UNESCO, UNICEF and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). These organizations have been involved since the country's independence, especially in training teachers, supplying equipment and teaching aids for the primary sub-sector, as well as in supporting curriculum design and the production of primary and PTI textbooks (Risan, 1973, annex iv, P.5). It was UNICEF that, in 1973, first stressed the need for an apex institute to facilitate better training for primary teachers. Although the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) was established in 1978, there was no serious all-out effort on the part of the state to upgrade it. Only recently did the Norwegian international development agency (NORAD), a member of the donors' consortium, take the main responsibility for upgrading NAPE as an autonomous apex training institution for primary teachers' training.

During the 80s, donor-supported development activities in the sub-sector were not uncommon, but these were scattered and initiated on a bilateral basis. Bangladesh had the ninth largest primary education system in the world before the EFA world declaration in 1990, with 70% of the primary school-aged children enrolled in schools and 36% of the 6-10 year-olds completing the 5-year primary education cycle (DPE, 1998; World Bank, 1989). From the 1980s, policy making in the education sector, particularly in primary education, began to undergo changes and this has gained momentum since 1990. As already stated, the

prioritisation of primary education in the 4th Five-Year Plan and thereafter (table 4.3) was the result of global movements[29] related to the global struggle for EFA.

EFA and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) drawn up in the UN Millennium Declaration in 1995 have been considered two central global movements for combating poverty, preventing epidemics and promoting human rights, particularly in developing countries. The struggle to realize EFA goals globally by 2015 is considered one of the key benchmarks for the UN Millennium Goals for education and the fight against poverty (UNESCO, 2005:17). Moreover, leaders from around the World adopted the following EFA goals as collective commitments in Dakar, Senegal in 2000 (World Education Forum, 2000):

  i. Expansion of early childhood care and development activities, especially for poor, disadvantaged, and disabled children;

  ii. Universal access to, and completion of, good quality primary education by the year 2015, particularly for girls and children from difficult backgrounds or living in difficult circumstances;

  iii. Improvement in learning achievement and ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met;

  iv. Reduction of the adult illiteracy rate, especially the disparity between male and female rates, and achievement of a 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015;

  v. Elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education and achievement of gender equality in education with a focus on good quality education by 2015; and

  vi. Expansion and improvement of all aspects of the quality of basic education and training and other essential skills required by youth and adults, especially in the areas of literacy, numeric and essential life skills.

As already stated, pressure was intensified on developing countries to encourage them to take the responsibility for adopting the necessary national plan of action, and on the developed countries to support these efforts in order to fulfil the EFA goals outlined in the Dakar Framework of Action. The EFA partners also recognized that the EFA movement needed to

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[29]Some of the remarkable global movements in relation to the EFA, includes the Education for All (EFA) Jamtien (Thailand) World Declaration (1990) and the Delhi Declaration (December, 1993); the Dakar Framework for Action (2000); education related U.N. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the UN Millennium Declaration in 1995; the U.N. Literacy Decade (2003-2012) and the U.N. Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014) and so on.

be more focused and concentrated in order to help the countries (e.g. the LDCs, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the E-9 countries[30]) most at risk of not achieving the EFA goals by 2015.

Thus, the Education for All—Fast Track Initiative (EFA—FTI) was launched in 2002 under the overall supervision and management of the World Bank in order to assist in and coordinate the efforts of developing countries to combat illiteracy by 2015. The FTI[31] was aimed at developing partnerships between donor and developing countries that are characterised by mutual accountability and responsibility in order to provide developing countries with the technical know-how and funding available in donor nations for the purpose of capacity building so that the EFA global target can be achieved. The EFA—FTI was a response to an international commitment that was made at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal in 2000, in which countries around the globe vowed that "no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by lack of resources."

Not only was the shortage of resources but also of qualified teachers in primary schools, identified as being among the greatest challenges in the developing world to the realization of the EFA global targets (UNESCO, 2005a). Thus, the governments and donor agencies represented at the World Education Forum gave top priority to issues such as how to reduce the primary teacher shortage and increase teacher training, especially in countries that still needed a significant improvement to bring their primary education systems in line with the pledge of the "Dakar Framework of Action (p.9)": to "enhance the status, morale and professionalism of teachers". UNESCO had been given the task of coordinating the activities of the EFA partners (e.g. donor countries and key financial institutions like the World Bank) in relation to the following issues (UNESCO, 2005:19):

- Assist member states in developing or reforming national teachers policy and teacher education in the context of national education and poverty-reduction plans;
- Help developing countries to improve the status and working conditions of teachers, and to develop attractive career paths for them to stop the brain-drain of teachers to other professions;

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[30] The nine most highly populous countries (known as E-9 countries) in the World are: Brazil, Bangladesh, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan.
[31] For more details see EFA—FTI web site: www.fasttrackinitiative.org

- Encourage member states to adopt a teacher education policy and ensure that training at the national level took greater account of national priorities for EFA, HIV/AIDS reduction, poverty reduction, and the MDGs;

- Advocate for a greater role to be played by national universities to quality for teacher education.

These proposals were particularly important for the E-9 countries, where more than half of the world's population lives and Bangladesh is one of the member countries, and was able to attract special attention from the EFA partners, and has therefore received increased support for the primary sub-sector since 1990. Moreover, all the regimes that have been in power since 1990 allocated more to primary education in their plan documents in order to obtain more support from the EFA partners (table 4.3).

Table 4.3 also reveals that during the 1990s the allocation to primary education has increased enormously. For example, the first Five Year Plan's allocation of Taka 527 million to primary education sub-sector rose to 68,594 million in the Fifth Five Year Plan. In recent years, Bangladesh has been cited as having one of the largest centralized systems of primary education in the World (World Bank, 2000b:3). In order to develop such a large primary education structure, the support of the EFA partners (donors) played a critical role, without which this would have been impossible. For example, during the Fourth Five Year Plan (1990-95) donors provided 58.2% budgetary support to the Bangladesh government for primary education, in addition to offering extensive financial assistance for NGO-run non-formal education (Chowdhury et al, 1999:10). The increase in the state allocation to the budget for primary education sub-sector since 1990s is partly due to international assistance and partly to the need to fulfil its international obligation to EFA. However, some government policies were inconsistent with the serious political commitment needed on behalf of the governing elites to the fulfilment of the EFA targets. In this context, the issue of the "Food for Education (FFE)" programme is a case of worth mentioning. The World Bank argued that the FFE programme, which was launched as a component of the EFA strategies, was "as much health expenditure or an in-kind transfer payment" and difficult to be considered as education expenditure – despite the fact that it had had a significant impact on pupil enrolment (World Bank, 2000a:64). The World Bank also predicted that if the FFE programme was excluded from the total Annual Development Plan (ADP) for primary education, considering it as non education expenditure, the budget would have been reduced by exactly half (World Bank,

ibid). Moreover, with the completion of the donor-supported General Education Project (GEP) in 1997, the allocation to development-expenditure[32] in the primary education sub-sector declined substantially; for example, the 62% allocation in 90-91 declined to 46% in 97-98 (World Bank, ibid). The same source further observed that the real public spending per pupil per annum in the primary sub-sector declined from Taka 570 in 1993-94 to Taka 525 in 1995-96. One of the major findings of the World Bank's study was that the regimes had succeeded in achieving the dramatic increases in primary enrolments without proportional increases in the number of teachers and other facilities, such as the supply of text books (World Bank, 2000a).

However, the opposite trend was evident at the secondary education level, where real spending per student per annum increased from TK. 756 in 1991-92 to over TK. 1200 in 1994-95 (World Bank, 2000a:62-63). The same report pointed out that, while number of government primary schools had remained constant at 37,710 since 1994, the number of secondary schools had grown at an average rate of 3.6% during the period 1993-97, and that revenue expenditures on secondary education had increased from about 37% in 1991-92 to over 47% in 1998-99 (World Bank,. ibid). It is interesting to note, therefore, that at the time when regimes were receiving increased international financial support for the improvement of primary education, the number of low-quality non-government primary schools (e.g. RNGPS, NPS, Satellite schools, Community schools, etc) increased from 18,400 in 1994 to 25,300 in 1996, and the share of the total current expenditures in the primary education sub-sector declined from 96.4% in 1992 to 87.4% 1998 (World Bank, ibid). The World Bank report also indicated that the total number of government primary schools in the country was 37,710 in 2000 compared to 36,165 in 1973, and the figure had remained unchanged since 1994. Thus, while the number of the primary schools fully supported by the government had increased by only 1,545 in more than two decades, the number of state-supported low-cost and low-quality primary schools had increased by about 7,000 in only 6 years (from 1994 to 2000). The increased interest of the governing elites in setting up more low-cost RNGPS, NPS or Community schools meant compromising the quality[33] of primary education for the poor children with regard to the standard of education and facilities available in those schools.

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[32] There are two types of public expenditures in Bangladesh: (a) revenue expenditure that is salary and other regular benefits of the staffs; and (b) development expenditure that is building/maintenance of infrastructure, staffs training, supply equipments or provide stipend/scholarships, and so on.

[33] To improve the quality of primary education in Bangladesh, the Second Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP II) was adopted jointly by the government and the donor community in 2002 as a sectoral

The above discussion reveals that, historically, the governing elites in Bangladesh have shown less enthusiasm for the mainstream primary education because their own children attend separate and specialized quality schools. The power elites have shown more concern for secondary and higher education than for primary education. The primary sub-sector has been considered important by the power elites only when resources are available from external sources, i.e. development partners. Even when funds were made available by donors, however, they still showed an interest in establishing only low-cost and low-quality primary schools. Some studies (for example, CAMPE, 1999, 2000) claim that NGO-run lost-cost Non-Formal Primary Education (NFPE) schools performed better than the government primary schools, while other studies (for example, USAID, 2002c:15) question such claims. Nevertheless, these NGO low-cost NFPE programmes have been supported and recognized by the donor community. Unfortunately, this model may encourage various regimes to set up more low-cost primary schools with the support of the state. Thus, the increase in budgetary allocations in the plan documents did not necessarily mean that governing elites were more interested in providing quality education and the vocational development of teachers working in the government primary schools.

It is also evident that higher education has been prioritised, and favoured by the governing elites because firstly, there was very little pressure from below for social services (of which basic education is one) and the expansion of quality schooling. It was the donors not the public that were the main force pressing for quality mainstream primary education for poor children. Secondly, it is only reasonable that the governing elites would be eager to see that their children acquire better quality higher education, which poor parents cannot afford for their children. Moreover, these elites have a desperate need to ensure that their children acquire a certificate of higher education in order to find employment in a very tight and competitive job market. For example, Dove argues that the universities and colleges provide a sort of unemployment benefit for the children of the elites in the form of scholarships, stipends, almost free accommodation and other facilities; this enables the children of elites to go from one degree or diploma course to another until such time as they can obtain a suitable job (Dove, 1981a:178). Thirdly, given the political context of Bangladesh, institutions of

programme. The PEDP-II project was designed for the period 2003-2008 to address the issues of primary education access, participation and quality problems in the primary education sub-sector. The present study only covers the period up to 2001, so issues related to the PEDP-II have not been considered in any detail.

higher educational, particularly universities, contain the intellectual leadership as well as the nerve centre for political movements. As mentioned, many nationalist movements have had their headquarters at Dhaka University. Institutions of higher education have historically constituted a valuable source of support for the power elites, as well as a very real source of opposition. For this reason, higher education has always been an issue of great importance to the governing elites. It should be mentioned in this context that the universities in Bangladesh are self-governing institutions with almost their entire budget funded from the public exchequer.

Given this context, it will be argued in the following section that since independence state programmes and policies have not been conducive to the development of the vocational autonomy, expertise and status of GPS teachers (see also annex 3). An examination will be undertaken of selected state primary education policies – for example, related to the management of primary education policy, primary teacher recruitment policy, and compensation policy, as well as teachers' career prospects and mobility – in order to determine how these policies have served to undermine the professional expertise, rewards and status of GPS teachers, and hence their professionalization.

4.3.3 The Management of Primary Education

The Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) is the body with the overall responsibility for the management of formal as well as non-formal primary education in Bangladesh. It is the central decision-making authority that has the power to: (a) formulate overall policy; (b) prescribe curriculum and syllabus, and approve text books; (c) sanction primary schools and teachers; and (d) provide funds for the establishment and maintenance of primary schools. It also has two line directorates: (i) the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE); and (ii) the Directorate of Non-Formal Education (DNFE). With its five Divisions or cells, the DPE is the apex operational apparatus responsible for the day-to-day management and implementation of state policy for mainstream primary education. Nevertheless, it is only a policy implementing agency and plays no role in the policy making process. It is the responsibility of the DPE to manage government primary schools (GPSs), as well as all the Primary Teacher's Training Institutes (PTIs) and the National Academy for Primary

Education (NAPE). All these activities are carried out through field offices, such as the Division (sub-national), District and Upazila (Thana) education offices.

The Director General (DG) is the chief executive of the DPE. Each Division has a Director is in-charge, assisted by a Deputy Director and an Assistant Director. The majority of the mid- and upper-level administrative staff (i.e. Assistant Director and above) at the DPE are college teachers[34] who are members of the Bangladesh Civil Service system (Education Cadre). Usually they are transferred to DPE on secondment for a specific period of time, after which they return to their college teaching. Their responsibilities include the implementation of programmes and policies related to the quality improvement of primary education; the recruitment of competent and efficient teachers for the government primary schools; the equipment of public primary schools with the necessary materials, textbook and library facilities; the supervision of schools at the field level; and the collection of data from local level and reporting to the MoPME (DPE, 2006). However, several of their short tenure in DPE posts in many cases does not allow them in designing and fully implementing any programme/project in the DPE, and they are not entitled to promotion without returning to their respective college posts. Hossain observed that many concerned persons, including an Ex-DG of the DPE called these college teachers "people that are borrowed" (Hossain, 2003:57). Nevertheless, these people enjoy enormous power and facilities because of their critical positions in the DPE, as well as having control over every facet of the GPS teachers' vocational lives. With the financial assistance of the donor supported projects, the MoPME and the DPE regularly organize career-development programmes, including workshops, seminars, conferences, study tours and even degree programmes at home and abroad, for the purpose of improving their managerial and supervisory skills[35]. Thus the reservation of these positions exclusively for college teachers is indicative of the discrimination facing primary school teachers. Some members of the primary teaching occupation, particularly head teachers in GPSs, hold similar university degrees or academic qualifications to the college teachers. For example, under "The Primary Teacher Recruitment Rules 1983", a head teacher of a public primary school was required to have a graduate or post-graduate degree from a recognized university, as well as three years primary teaching experience. Moreover, "The Primary School Teachers Recruitment Rules 1991" made it possible for graduate and post-graduate degree holders to be directly appointment to 35% of the head–teacher posts in the

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[34] The deputies and assistants are more likely, though not necessarily, from the "education cadre" who are ranked as assistant professor.
[35] Interview: ATRGGPS(8)

government primary schools. Nevertheless, despite the fact that post-graduate primary head teachers may have all the same qualifications as the college teachers, no provision has been made for them to hold managerial or supervisory posts in the DPE. Having no primary education experience, the college teachers be transferred to the DPE to oversee and control GPS teachers' vocational life, while equally qualifies primary head teachers with primary teaching experience have no opportunity to hold managerial positions in the DPE that would allow them to administer their own occupational affairs. Thus, state policies have always been supportive of the college teachers, enabling them to grasp these senior managerial positions in the DPE, in spite of the fact that most of them have no management training (ESTEEM, 1998:3). One World Bank report stated that representatives of the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association (BPTA) and Upazila (Thana) Primary Education Officers Associations had expressed their disapproval of state policies of seconding members of other vocations into the DPE (World Bank, 1993:26). These two groups demanded that qualified, competent and experienced persons working in the primary education sub-sector should be allowed scope for service in appropriate positions in the DPE (World Bank, ibid). In the same World Bank report it was also observed that, "…primary education is being deprived of the contributions that personnel [primary teachers] with long experience in the relevant fields could have made" (World Bank, ibid, P.27). The state policy to continue the practice of secondment in the DPE not only undermines the primary teachers' occupational jurisdiction, but is also detrimental to their expertise and vocational development. A recent study by USAID reported that the effects of college teachers' posting and rotation to the DPE are: "frequent turnover among high-level posts, short institutional memory, little training or expertise in educational administration, and low-levels of commitment to the long-term improvement of the primary sub-sector" (USAID, 2002a:15). A head teacher remarked[36]:

> DPE is the crucial administrative apparatus for the delivery and management of primary education. It has been established for the overall betterment of primary teaching/learning, but it seems as if we [primary teachers] are outsiders in our own house. When we visit the DPE they [college teachers] behave like we are a "scheduled-cast" and they are our boss. They forget that there are teachers in the primary teaching occupation with similar qualifications to their own!

Many of the government primary teachers I talked with were of the opinion that, in most cases, they were not treated well in their dealings with DPE officials. Some explained that this

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[36] Interview: SHTZPS(1)

was the result of "class discrimination" because "most of them [college teachers] believe that primary teaching is a less worthy occupation, the occupation of little-educated persons."[37]

To sum up, it is evident that in relation the sub-sector management, and that in their competition with college teachers, GPS teachers received no protection from the state. The governing elites are consistently supportive of college teachers, partly because of their class interest in higher education; they ignore the fact that there are equally well-qualified primary teachers, particularly head teachers, who deserve positions in the higher echelon of primary education administration. In the PEDP-II, however, there is proposal about the establishment of a separate cadre for primary education in order to facilitate upward occupational mobility for qualified GPS teachers. The intention was also to create a core group of dedicated officers to serve the interests of primary education in general and GPS teachers in particular. Time will speak whether it would give government primary teachers any real chance for managerial or supervisory posts in the DPE, comparable to those given the college teachers. To date, however, the state has done nothing concrete to protect the jurisdiction of primary teaching as an occupation.

4.3.4 Primary Teacher Recruitment Policy

The work of nation building starts at school. Thus, a country needs a corps of primary teachers who are effective, motivated and well-qualified in order to provide high-quality education for future generations. However, the practitioners' effectiveness and motivation depends on the power and rewards, as well as social and occupational prestige, associated with their vocation. In order to enjoy vocational authority, higher reward and social prestige, the creation, maintenance and enforcement of professionalism or vocational expertise is a basic precondition (Freidson, 2001; Burrage et al, 1990). In the following discussion, therefore, the recruitment policy for GPS teachers will be examined to determine whether it demeans their vocational expertise, and thereby undermines their power, special rewards and status.

In Bangladesh, the quality and supply of teachers for government primary schools depends solely on the rules for primary teacher recruitment set by various regimes. During the Mujib regime, both the objectives of education and the strategies to achieve these were vaguely

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[37] Interview: SHTRNMPS(5)

expressed without a clear indication of priorities for the primary sub-sector (Chowdhury, 1984). In the absence of a clear directive from the governing elites regarding the nation's education goals, the planners did not have much to go on (ibid, p.25). They paid inadequate attention to primary education therefore, and to the supply of quality teacher to the sub-sector. The First Five Year Plan (FFYP) spelled out the major strategies with reference to primary education, including who would be the future primary teachers. The FFYP suggested that "educated housewives" should be encouraged to teach in primary schools (see annex 3). This policy made it clear that the regime opened up this market, allowing people with "some education" to join the primary teaching occupation. Moreover, the nationalization of primary education in 1974 paved the way for the recruitment of untrained and unqualified teachers, with the only criteria being political affiliation; some analysts have termed this "pure and simple exploitation" of regime's nationalization policy (Dove, 1983a). One notice issued by the regime governing in 1975 admitted that:

> It is unfortunate that of the total of 155.000 primary teachers, 50 percent are untrained. Moreover, the present trend to recruit[38] untrained teachers by evading the justified claims of PTI graduates (about eight thousand each year from 47 PTIs) not only that this was unfair and a violation of the rules and ethical norms, but also that it created various problems for the government. (Ministry of Education, Scientific and Technical Research & Atomic Energy, Education Division, Notification no: Branch—8/259-education, Date: 03.04.1975)

Dove (op cit) also claimed that in the post-independence period, state primary schools were a source of rewards for political patronage, and a supply for jobs and contracts for supporters of the regime of the time. This meant that 50% of the new recruits to the primary education occupation were unqualified people who joined the occupation because the recruitment qualifications for primary teachers were vaguely defined by the state (for example, "educated" housewife). Given the huge number of unqualified people who entered the occupation at that time, the next regime had to take steps to rectify this; an official survey was carried out nation-wide by the office of the Director of Mass Education in 1981 in order to identify all the unqualified government primary teachers, especially those recruited during the regimes immediately following the nationalization of primary schools in 1974. A deadline was set, by which time the unqualified teachers were to acquire the minimum educational qualification (for example, a Secondary School Certificate (SSC) with Certificate-in-Education known as C-in-Ed training); the deadline was 1983 for those under 50 and 1985 for those under 40

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[38] 06 July, 1973 Mujib government formed *Mohakuma* (Sub-Divisional) Teacher Selection Committee for all Mohakuma in the country but constituted mainly by the then ruling party leaders and supporters.

(Circular no. 3068/ 20- Pri, dated 27-04-1981, Office of the Director of Mass Education, Dhaka).

In 1982 during the Ershad regime, a new local government unit was created at the sub-district level named the Upazila parishad. These administrative units were empowered to appoint, promote and transfer the primary teachers working within the Upazila and to take disciplinary action against them under the Executive Order 1983. However, this attempt to decentralize recruitment did not succeed in increasing the proportion of qualified primary teachers due to the prevalence of personal patronage and the biasness of the Upazila administration (Hossain, 2003:27). As a result, the central government withdraw the authority to recruit teachers from the Upazila administration. During the 1980s, the government also adopted a policy of recruiting more female teachers and priority was given to female candidates who had their Higher Secondary Certificate (12 years of schooling) with at least second division (Office of the Director of Mass Education circular no: 3411/ 41-pri, Dacca: dated: 04.09.1980).

With the change of government in 1981, the state adopted a new policy to encourage more female candidates to become teachers in GPS: they relaxed the qualification requirements for female teachers. For example, "The Primary School Teacher Recruitment Rule 1983" required that head teachers had completed a degree or a post-graduate course and had 3 years of teaching experience. In comparison, a male assistant teacher had to have either a graduate degree or both HSC with minimum second division and Certificate-in-Education (C-in-Ed). In contrast, female candidates were only required to have a Secondary School Certificate (10 years of schooling) with second division; they were exempted from C-in-Ed training. Moreover, like the female candidates, indigenous people of the 3 hill-districts[39] (both male and female) were only required to have SSC and were exempted from C-in-Ed training. At the same time, this rule stated explicitly that candidates with a Bachelor-in-Education (B.Ed.) or Master's degree were also qualified for the post of assistant teacher in government primary schools, and that priority would be given to candidates with higher qualifications The law also established a pay scale which ensured that a primary teacher's salary would be in accordance with their academic achievement.

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[39] Three hill-district located in the south-east part of the country are: Rangamati, Bandarban, and Khagrachhari.

In 1993 a new regime dramatically reduced the qualifications for prospective GPS teachers still further in order to attract a large number of female candidates into the occupation; the minimum requirement to be a teacher in the government primary schools for both the indigenous and the non-indigenous candidates was an SSC (ESTEEM, 2003). The regime also decided to recruit female teachers on a priority basis, establishing a 60 per cent quota for female candidates under the "Primary School Teacher Recruitments Rules, 1991". Of the remaining posts, 20 percent were reserved for dependent candidates and the remaining 20 percent were for the male candidates. The "Primary School Teacher Recruitment Rules"[40] of 1996 and 2000 reconfirmed the SSC as the minimum required academic qualification for the female candidates and they were again exempted from C-in-Ed training. Moreover, the MoPME recently relaxed the examination performance criterion for female candidates on the grounds that many female candidates failed to achieve the pre-determined score in the recruitment examinations[41].

The EFA Global Monitoring Report (2005) confirmed the high incidence of under-qualified teachers in the primary teaching occupation, particularly in many developing countries. The report commented that "Several countries are lowering the number of school years required to become a teacher …" (UNESCO, 2005:9). In fact, the rising enrolment rate outpaced the recruitment of qualified teachers in the government primary schools in Bangladesh. This means that a shortage of teachers is common in GPS. In order to tackle this problem, school heads sometimes enter into a "special arrangement". Thus, one National Daily reported that many government schools are run by "proxy" teachers, many of whom had not completed even ten years of schooling (Daily Ittafaq, 02 Feb 2002). One school head teacher also admitted[42] that:

> When a teacher is not at the school because s/he is participating in the training course or is absent for other reasons, this poses a problem for classroom teaching since there are only 3 teachers at this school. Then I have to find "someone" – for example an ex-student or the child of a SMC member, or even a fifth-grade student – as a substitute to teach and maintain classroom discipline, particularly in the lower grades. It helps to keep the school running. A fifth-grade student can never be equated with a qualified teacher, but I have no choice.

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[40] For information about salary and other issues relating to primary teachers recruitment see circular no: 1R-13 (establishment)/96-pri (part-2)/ 10221 dated 03.11.1996, Directorate of Primary Education, Mirpur, Dhaka and circular no: DPE-13(recruitment)/99 (part-3)/ 1006, dated 02-04-2000, DPE, Mirpur, Dhaka
[41] Interview: LNGO(1)
[42] Interview: SHTLGPS (6)

Some of the schools visited in the course of my fieldwork suffered from a severe teacher shortage; some had had posts vacant for couple of years. Nevertheless, the teacher shortage situation has improved since the inception of the PEDP-II. Recent primary teacher recruitment statistics indicate that a small in number graduate and even post-graduate candidates are joining in the primary teaching occupation; however, they stay in the vocation only until they get a better position elsewhere. Another national daily noted: "…..people with the highest university degrees are entering primary education. They are not given the pay scale appropriate to their qualifications" (Daily Inqilab, 05 Sep 2002). Some officials in the MoPME and the DPE have suggested that graduate or post-graduate degrees are not essential to teach in the primary classroom. One assistant director of the DPE explained:[43]

> I think candidates who have passed the SSC are qualified to teach at the primary level. We do not need university graduates to teach little kids in government primary schools. The most urgent thing is to recruit more female teachers.

Thus, some officials in the DPE viewed the teaching children in the primary schools as an easy task and felt that primary teachers needed no higher qualification and training. Others, however, (for example the Principal-Secretary of the Prime Minister's office) admitted that it was impossible to deliver quality education in the primary classrooms due to primary teachers' lack of academic qualifications, of quality and of training (Daily Inqilab, Dhaka: 12 May 2006).

Throughout the post-independence period, therefore, the state has showed little concern about the quality of government primary-school teachers, repeatedly relaxing the requirements for entry into the occupation. This has implications for primary teachers' professionalisation. The question is: why was the state not concerned about the quality of candidates recruited as teachers in government primary schools in Bangladesh? This issue can be explained in terms of the ever-growing enrolment in the government primary schools due to the incentive measures introduced by the governments, such as "food-for-education" or *Upabitti* (stipends) for poor children. Such incentives were also intended to increase the enrolment rate in the government primary schools in order to meet the state's aims regarding the EFA by the year 2015; this would also attract get increasing support for the sub-sector from the EFA partners or bilateral donors. The donor community was also interested[44] in having more female

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[43] Interview: DPEADT(9)

[44] The PEDP-II which was adopted recently (October 2002) and known as the "biggest ever programme"; it was jointly initiated by the donor community and the Bangladesh government to ensure quality primary education in

teachers in the sub-sector since the World Declaration in 1990 stressed the importance of increasing the enrolment of girls and their retention in primary schools. Thus, the recruitment of more female teachers (60% quota at present) is in accordance with the donors' demand, but it means a reduction in the proportion of qualified teachers since less-well-qualified female teachers will be hired to cope with increasing demand for teachers.

Another issue relating to the quality of education concerns the Non-Formal Primary Education (NFPE) programme, which is the centre of an ongoing debate; it claims to deliver quality primary education with less-well-qualified teachers (USAID, 2002c:15). However, the continuous support given to this programme by 136 external donor agencies (listed by Sedere and Us-Sabur, 1999 and quoted in USAID, 2002c:12) seems some sort of implicit recognition of these low-cost NFPE schools. It was perhaps encouraging for the regimes to set up new primary schools, even if they were low-cost schools with less-well-qualified female teachers. Moreover, Magnen has argued that, on occasion, donor pressure has promoted the establishment of these schools in Bangladesh (Magnen, 1994:22). Another factor is undoubtedly the fact that by recruiting less–well-qualified teachers for the sub-sector, the government saves money. All these factors may be seen as weaknesses in the donors' strategy, especially in relation to the development of professionalism in this occupation. Moreover, although professions are characterised by closed recruitment systems (Larson, 1977) and a higher knowledge-base (Freidson, 2001), the Bangladesh state has deliberately opened up primary teaching posts to housewives, and has even tolerated the presence of untrained and proxy teachers. At times, it has also relaxed the entry criteria for prospective female candidates, thereby devaluing primary teachers' vocational expertise. It may be concluded to this section, therefore, that donor approval and government policies have made it impossible for the primary teaching occupation to fulfil these criteria for professionalisation.

Bangladesh (Daily Star, Dhaka 17 September 2003). It included a provision that allowed the employment of less–well-qualified female teachers, especially in remote areas. The PEDP-II (2003-2008) plan document stated "As a temporary measure in specified remote areas, or in areas where there is extreme difficulty in engaging qualified female teaching personnel, prepare and implement a plan to employ female teachers who do not meet the minimum qualification of H.S.C (12 years of schooling). Teachers hired in this way will become permanent only after completing H.S.C. and a special intensive training program. Initially, this intervention will be piloted in three districts…" (PEDP-II Final Plan, P.66). It is important to note that the PEDP-II did not set any specific time limit for these "teachers" to complete H.S.C. and required training programmes even qualifications for prospective teachers where female candidates who had passed HSC would be unavailable. It is not unlikely that such vague recruitment criteria would lead to more unqualified people joining the occupation for an unlimited period of time.

4.3.5 Teacher Promotion Policy

The career structure is an important feature of professions. Purvis has argued that practitioners' high level of vocational commitment depends on the potential for a "professional career" or vice-versa, and that practitioners who pursue a professional career enjoy considerable autonomy, and hence authority, in performing their duties (Purvis, 1973). According to Purvis, a professional career includes two basic elements: (i) the upward mobility of individual practitioners through clearly defined stratified stages within a vocation; and (ii) the establishment of professional norms, expectations and life styles (Purvis, 1963:43-44). In fact, members of a profession expect a high level of remuneration, which increases as they climb the career ladder. In this section, the career prospect for government primary-school teachers will be examined, and I will argue that there is little scope for promotion and career development for GPS teachers due to government policies, and that this hinders their professional career and hence their achievement of increased rewards.

In Bangladesh, the GPS teachers' career structure is virtually flat, which means that all teachers have been placed on the same level except for head teachers, whose positions involve greater responsibilities. Thus, there are only two types of posts in the primary teaching occupation: assistant teacher and head teacher. This lack of opportunity within the primary education system results in horizontal career patterns, involving movement from one school to another on the same level. The only scope for promotion, for those qualified, is from an assistant teacher post to a head teacher post. In 2003, there were total of 78,128 government primary schools run by about 360,000 teachers (Daily Star, Dhaka, 17 September 2003). The number of head teacher posts is not adequate, therefore, to accommodate all the assistant teachers seeking promotion. Nevertheless, the "Government Primary School Teachers Recruitment Rules, 1991" require that 35%[45] of vacant head teacher posts be fill by direct recruitment, while the remaining 65% may be filled by the promotion of assistant teachers. In 1989, the same regime also created a post for one assistant head teacher in each government primary school, but did not specify the duties associated with the position or offer any financial benefits (DPE circular no: 5512/945-edu-(Dhaka), dated 07.12.1989). In 1995, the assistant head teachers' duties were specified under an office order (DPE circular no: 10147/550-edu (Dhaka) dated 17-12-1995). Seniority is the main criteria for the promotion of

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[45] For details see Government Primary School Teachers Recruitment Rules, 1991

assistant teachers to vacant head teacher posts. Under the "Primary School Teachers' Recruitment Rules, 1991", an assistant teacher who wanted to be a head teacher needed the following qualifications:

- HSC and Certificate-in-Education (C-in-Ed) with at least 7 years of active teaching experience; or

- SSC and Higher-C-in-Ed (HC-in-Ed) with at least 7 years of teaching experience; or

- A Bachelor degree from a recognized university with at least 3 years teaching experience in either primary or secondary school; or

- A Masters degree from a recognized university without any teaching experience or training related to primary education (for example, C-in-Ed).

In addition, the service records of applicants were also taken into account when considering an assistant primary teacher for promotion. However, there is virtually no chance of promotion for assistant teachers since the SSC had been fixed as the minimum academic qualification (especially for female teachers), since there was a 60% quota for female teachers in 1996, and since assistant teachers usually enter the occupation with an SSC. This is due to the fact that they need 7 years teaching experience to be promoted to head teacher, and in the meantime, people with higher academic qualification have occupied the vacant head teacher posts.

During the 80s the government adopted a policy that allowed government primary head/assistant teachers, who were under 40 years of age and had at least a graduate degree plus a C-in-Ed/ B.Ed[46] certificate, to be appointed Assistant Upazila Education Officer (AUEO). Seventy-five percent of AUEO posts were reserved for qualified GPS head/assistant teachers and the remaining 25% were open to competition. The succeeding government abandoned this promotion opportunity for GPS teachers. As one head teacher remarked[47]:

> I started my career as a head teacher about 2 decades back in this school and I am still holding the same position. I shall retire from the service in two years time and it is unfortunate that I did not have the opportunity to be promoted to a higher post in my long teaching career. Once there was a chance to be appointed in the higher administrative posts, but that opportunity is no longer available.

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[46] Abbreviated name of Bachelor-in-Education
[47] Interview: SHTMPS(2)

A World Bank report has revealed that the MoPME officials considered any provision for the promotion of government primary-school teachers to higher administrative posts not only undesirable, but that it would also drain experienced teachers from the primary teaching occupation (World Bank, 1993:29). However, they suggested that qualified primary assistant teachers could be given incentives in the form of a "time scale[48]" after a certain period of satisfactory service instead of a promotion (World Bank, ibid). On the other hand, the then DG of the DPE was of the opinion that a certain percentage of higher posts needed to be reserved for departmental candidates (e.g. head/assistant teachers) with requisite qualifications (ibid). However, no action was taken until recently to allow primary teachers the opportunity to be promoted to higher administrative posts of authority and respect. The only incentive available for public sector primary teachers is a "time scales", instead of mobility to the higher echelons of primary education administration. This type of incentive reveals that the state was more concerned about primary teachers' financial benefits than their empowerment. By giving the teachers the opportunity to hold higher administrative posts, the government would definitely have ensured their empowerment, which has long been neglected. As already stated, a limited number of young people with University degrees are now entering in the primary teaching occupation, but lack of career prospects may make it difficult to retain them in the occupation. However, in the PEDP-II, it is suggested that a "Primary Education Cadre" be established by 2008 to allow qualified, efficient and experienced primary teachers to move into higher administrative posts with greater authority and increased salary and benefits (PEDP-II, P.67).

Most teachers I interviewed of the opinion that their range of mobility was only from a primary school in a village or urban slum area to one in a better middle-class neighbourhood, which is not a higher post and involves no increase in salary and benefits. However, such a movement from one place to another sometimes has its benefits; for example, the opportunity to earn extra income through private tuition or to be reunited with one's family.

Thus, although career prospects are a crucial factor around which members of an occupational group attach meaning to their work, this is not available to government primary-school teachers in Bangladesh. Under the present circumstances, an assistant teacher with graduate or

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[48] Members of the lower "Class" (for example, Class III and IV) in the Bangladesh Civil Service, usually move one step up "pay scale" after completion of a specific period of service, which is called a "time scale". This opportunity is available to those employees who have little or no scope for promotion.

post-graduate degree could be a head teacher at most, in spite of having all the qualifications to be a higher level supervisory and administrative official, such as UEO(TEO) or AUEO(ATEO). Vertical mobility, which has been identified as a characteristic of the professional career, was denied to GPS teachers in Bangladesh. It should be noted that the flat career structure is closely intertwined with the low remuneration, which I have discussed in the following section.

4.3.5.1 Compensation Policy for GPS Teachers

It has been stressed that professionals expect a high level of remuneration (Purvis, 1973:45). This is confirmed by Herbert Simon, who has argued that the most important employee incentive is salary (Simon; 1952:331). If a service is valued by the elites, the users and society as a whole, then the state will usually offer incentives to the practitioners so as to attract talented, intellectually competent and morally qualified persons to the occupation. The status of an occupational group also depends on how society and prospective members of that particular occupation perceive the level of compensation or the rewards offered; the greater the rewards, the higher the status. A level of remuneration is also linked with the practitioners' expertise; the greater the expertise, the higher the rewards.

In the previous section, it has been made clear that the minimum qualification required to be an assistant teacher of a government primary school is SSC (for female candidates) or HSC with C-in-Ed training (for male candidates). To qualify as a head teacher in these schools requires[49] a bachelor's degree with 3 years teaching experience or a post-graduate degree from a recognized university. Persons with graduate and post-graduate degrees are also qualified to work as assistants. While primary teachers in Bangladesh are encouraged to take a certificating course such as a Bachelor-in-Education (B.Ed), there are no extra incentives offered to motivate teachers to do so (Haran, 1995:48). The letter of employment issued by the DPEO usually specifies basic salary and other financial benefits for primary teachers in addition to their basic monthly salary (fixed in the national pay-scale). Higher educational qualifications and vocational training make no significant difference in the matter of salary, nor does it raise a teacher's status within the school community or the system at large. For example, the pay and yearly increments of a trained assistant teacher are not significantly

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[49] For details see recruitment advertisement circular no: DPE-13 (recruitment)/ 99 (part-3)/ 1006 (129) date 02-04-2000 of the Directorate of Primary Education, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mirpur-2, Dhaka 1216.

higher[50] than those of an untrained primary teacher. In addition, as a member of Bangladesh civil service, all government primary teachers are also entitled to draw house rent, as well as medical and festival allowances. In addition to these financial benefits, they are allowed to have provident and benevolent[51] funds, to supplement pension and welfare support. Despite all these provision for salary and service benefits, primary teachers are still the victims of discrimination with regard to their salary level compared to other government employees. Table 4.4 illustrates differences in pay for members of the same "Class" (Class-III) of government employees and for members of other "class" staff having the similar educational qualification as government primary teachers.

Table 4.4 Salaries for 'Class III' and Other Classes (Grades) of Public Employees with Similar Qualifications to GPS teachers

Name of the institute	Position	Required Educational qualification	Pay scale Tk.[52]	Total pay Tk.
Government Primary School	Assistant teacher	SSC/ Bachelor/ Masters	1625—1875	2775—3025
Government Primary School	Head teacher	Bachelor/ Master	1750—1975	3100—3125
PTI Primary School	Assistant teacher	Bachelor	3400	5060 (fixed)
Government Office	Driver	SSC	1975	
Government hospital	Nurse	SSC	2550	
Veterinary College	Compounder	HSC	2100	
Department of Food	Food Inspector	Bachelor	2550	
Other grade employees with similar qualification as primary teachers				
Government Secondary School	Assistant teacher	Bachelor	2550—3400	4147--5060
Government Secondary School	Head teacher	Bachelor/Master	6300	10,120
College/ Madrasha	Lecturer	Master	4300	6400
College/ Madrasha	Principal	Master	7200	10380

Source: The Daily Sangram (Bengali), Dhaka, 03 July 2000

Table 4.4 reveals that in 2000 there was a significant difference in pay between various occupations on the same grade, "Class-III" government employees. Despite the fact that government primary-school teachers had the same or even higher educational qualifications,

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[50] The basic pay scales for trained and untrained teachers were Taka 1975-2710 (US$36-$50) and Taka 1750-2310 (US$32-$43) respectively. A trained teacher receives on average US$4 dollar ($1= 54.30 Taka as of 1999 value) more than an untrained teacher per month (Source: Primary teacher recruitment advertisement no: DPE-13 (recruitment)/ 99-PE (part-2)/ 5005/ 130 date 08-11-1999, Dhaka).

[51] Provident and benevolent funds are two social insurance plans for the members of the Bangladesh Civil Service.

[52] Abbreviated name of Bangladeshi currency Taka

their wages were lower than those of other Class-III government employees (for example, PTI primary-school assistant teachers). Even lower grade (Class-IV) employees (for example, Drivers) were paid a higher salary than the primary teachers. It is also evident from this table that an assistant primary teacher's total starting salary was Tk. 2 275 per month and after adjustments for "time scale" and regular increments, his total salary would be a maximum of Tk. 3025 per month. In contrast, the total salary of a PTI assistant primary teacher was fixed Tk. 5 060 per month. Teachers with a graduate or post-graduate degree working in secondary schools, tertiary institutions (colleges) and *Madrasha* (religious education institutions) received a much higher salary than those with similar qualifications working in the primary sub-sector. It is also clear from table 4.4 the that government compensation policy was responsible for opening the doors for less-well-qualified people to join the occupation, since higher academic achievement is not acknowledged and there is no distinction in pay for SSC passed and post-graduate candidates. One focus group discussion suggested that:

> Increased salary would not be enough to improve primary teachers' status. If the government increased the salary scale, it might help, but primary and secondary teachers need to be unified in terms of economic benefits as well as academic qualifications. The government should set the same entry criteria for both primary and secondary teachers, and candidates with bachelors or masters' degree must be offered higher pay than their counterparts with only SSC or HSC qualifications.

One guardian remarked:[53]

> If the government raises the salary scale for highly qualified primary teachers, it will help to attract university graduates to the occupation and retain them.

The primary teachers' unions were constantly demanding improvements in the working condition and increases in the salary scale for their members. Nevertheless, until recently no measures were introduced by regimes to do this. One senior bureaucrat in the MoPME remarked[54]:

> Graduate and post-graduate primary teachers normally demand higher salary but we have told them to leave the job! We told them that they were not asked to join the primary teaching occupation with a post-graduate university degree. I do not think that increases in salary scale will help to improve teachers' motivation and effectiveness. What is of utmost important is effective supervision and training.

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[53] Interview: PTAMG((17)
[54] Interview: MOPMEDC(3)

Others disagree with this view, and one Ex-DG-DPE and consultant of the PEDP-II remarked[55]:

> While preparing the PEDP-II plan for the primary sub-sector, we sought the government's opinion regarding an increase in the salary scale for public primary-school teachers, but officials [government] were of the opinion that it was unnecessary to propose a new (higher) salary scale for primary teachers since there is one in the national pay scale. However, it is true that you cannot expect quality education from primary teachers by paying them the low salary they are getting under the present national pay scale.

It seems there were differences of opinion among primary teachers and their representative organizations (unions), on one hand, and the power elites, on the other, regarding whether or not the salary scale should be raised for primary teachers in general and for highly qualified primary teachers in particular. It seems that the governing elites showed little interest in increasing primary teachers' salary, even for those who had higher academic qualifications. One national daily pointed out that the basic monthly pay of government primary-school teachers had increased 13 times[56], compared to 31 times[57] for other government employees (Daily Sangram, Dhaka: 03 July 2000). In fact, GPS teachers' basic monthly starting salary has increased only $8 US ($28 in 1973 to $36 in 2001) in the two decades prior to 1997 (Table 4.5a and 4.5b).

Table 4.5a Pay Scale for Primary Teacher 1973

Teacher Category	Pay Grade	National pay scale 1973[58]
Trained, matriculated (SSC) and over	viii	TK. 220 ($[59]28)—Tk. 420 ($53)
Matriculated and trained non-matriculated	ix	TK. 145 ($18)—Tk. 275 ($34)
Non-matriculate and untrained	x	TK. 130 ($16)—Tk. 240 ($30)

Source: Government Services (Reorganization and Conditions) Act, 1975 (XXXII of 1975).

Table 4.5a reveals that, under the national pay scale 1973, a trained GPS teacher with an SSC or higher academic qualification was placed on the 8th grade (step) in the national pay scale. This means that a trained primary teacher's salary position was one step up above a "Class-I"

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[55] Interview: DPEEDG(5)

[56] For example, from Tk 130 ($16 US[56]) in 1973 to Tk 1 625 ($29US) in 2000

[57] For example, from Tk 110 in 1973 to Tk 3,400 in 2000

[58] In addition to the basic pay mentioned in the National Pay scales of 1973, primary teachers were also provided with additional consolidated fringe benefits (interview with DPE official dated 15-07.2003)

[59] In both tables 4.5a and 4.5b $ means US dollar and the value of $ has been calculated on the basis of its value in year in which the national pay scale was declared. For details of the value of US$ since 1971 see *Economic Trends* Vol. XX, No. 9 September 1994 and Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, March 2003, Statistics Department of Bangladesh Bank.

civil servant, whose starting salary is on grade (step) 9 in the national pay scale. However, the succeeding government changed the GPS teachers' salary position and downgraded it to grade 16 on the 1977 national pay scale (see table 4.5b).

Table 4.5b Pay Scale for Primary Teacher 1977-1997

Teacher Category	Pay Grade	National Pay Scale 1977	National Pay Scale 1985	National Pay Scale 1991	National Pay Scale 1997
Trained head teacher	xv	TK 325 ($22) — TK 610 ($ 41)	TK 750 ($25) — TK 1550 ($52)	TK. 1300 ($34) — TK 2615 ($69)	TK 1975 ($ 43) — TK 3605 ($79)
Trained assistant teacher	xvi	TK 300 ($20) — TK. 540 ($36)	TK 700 ($23) — TK 1415 ($47)	TK. 1200 ($32) — TK 2335 ($61)	TK. 1875 ($41) — TK 3605 ($79)
Untrained head teacher	xvii	TK 275 ($18) — TK 480 ($32)	TK 650 ($22) — TK 1280 ($43)	TK. 1125 ($30) — TK 2170 ($57)	TK 1750 ($38) — TK 3300 ($73)
Untrained assistant teacher	xviii	TK 250 ($17) — TK 362 ($24)	TK 600 ($20) — TK 1110 ($37)	TK 1050 ($28) — TK 1915 ($50)	TK 1625 ($36) — TK 2905 ($64)

Source: The Service (Grades, Pay and Allowances) Order, 1977; The Service (Pay and allowances) Order, 1985; The Service (Pay and allowances) Order, 1991; and the Service (Pay and allowances) Order, 1997.

As mentioned in chapter 3, there are twenty grades (steps) in national pay scale in Bangladesh, with grades 1 and 20 denoting the highest and the lowest pay positions respectively. The government in power in 1977 degraded primary teachers' position on the scale from grades 16 and 18 for trained and untrained primary teachers respectively, and this is still in effect. The government announced the latest national pay scale for all public employees in 2005 and the basic salary of the GPS teachers rose accordingly. However, their basic position in the national salary scale remained unchanged, and it is on this that all the service benefits of primary teachers are dependent.

It should be mentioned that during the colonial era, William Adam stressed in his education report that land allocations should be made as an incentive to primary teachers, in order to attract motivated and talented people to the vocation (DPE, 1998:4). Later, during the Pakistan era, provision was made for extra increments for highly qualified primary teachers;

for example, trained primary teachers with HSC and graduation degree would receive 2 and 4 extra increments. The provision to extra salary increments for better qualified teachers was continued up to 1977[60], at which time this policy was discontinued. A member of the 'high command' of the BPTA expressed his frustration over this development[61]:

> Some of my colleagues have more than one child pursuing their studies in colleges or universities; it is really difficult to maintain such a family on the limited income of primary teachers. University graduates are now accepting positions in primary teaching and they are also paid a salary based on the same pay scale (grade) as female primary teachers with only an SSC pass. Once there was provision for extra increments for well-qualified teachers, but that privilege no longer exists, unfortunately. Thus it is no wonder that a primary teacher will be more serious and attentive to his private tuition than to classroom activities in order to maintain his family. Our highly-qualified administrators give us nothing but new rules and regulations!

It is clearly evident from this statement that one of the main reasons why government primary teachers are not highly motivated to offer professional service delivery and focus on private tuition instead, is due to the low salary and limited service benefits. In fact, successive governments since 1977 have adopted the policy of an undifferentiated salary scale (grade) for primary teachers, not distinguishing between those with SSC and university graduates. In addition, primary teachers' position on the national pay scale was further degraded by the withdrawal of extra increments for highly-qualified prospective teachers. In spite of the fact that the salary scales for primary teachers were revised substantially upwards in the 60s and 70s, their wage was actually lower than that of urban unskilled workers until recently (Husain, 1978:102).

As stated earlier (in section 2.3.1), the enhancement of the standard and quality of practice, as well as of the rewards, are inseparable features of professionalization. The preceding discussion demonstrates how state policies regarding the promotion and compensation of government primary-school teachers establish a flat career path offering no prospects for the individual practitioners to ascend a clearly defined career ladder and only limited rewards and service benefits. It has already been argued in chapter 3 that, on the national pay scale, there is no significant difference in pay between a primary teacher and a sweeper (whose work is manual labour and 'dirty jobs'). More importantly, the limited scope for career advancement, coupled with the inadequacy of the rewards and reduction of service benefits (for example,

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[60]For details see, Ministry of education circular no.general:10/5C-16/78/2282/1 (1)-education, dated: 13/11/1983.
[61] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

extra increments for highly qualified teachers), have undoubtedly discouraged highly-qualified persons such as University graduates from joining the primary teaching occupation on a massive scale and remaining there. Moreover, many less-well-qualified teachers showed less vocational commitment for the same reasons. The existing pay and promotion policies of the state have undermined not only the motivation and social status of GPS teachers, but also their professionalism and hence their legitimacy. As Svensson has argued, professionalism is the outcome of practitioners' expertise that has been acquired through higher education and occupational accomplishment, and often generates practitioners' legitimacy (Svensson, 2006:579).

4.4 Summary

The power elites are key actors who generally make the decisions regarding who gets what. The historical evidence suggests that the governing elites have been less enthusiastic about developing government primary schools and teachers because their own children's basic education is catered for by special or separate institutions outside the mainstream primary schools. More important from the perspective of the elites and powerful groups in Bangladeshi society is higher education, since this is considered the only means of providing their children with an opportunity for upward mobility. Until recently, their children's higher education was provided to a large extent by the public universities and colleges, so these institutions were highly subsidised. Moreover, the political parties and elected governments are heavily dependent on these elites for political support, including the civil-military bureaucracy, the middle- and upper-class people in the society, the students and teachers at the tertiary institutions, particularly universities. Thus in the years after independence, higher education (secondary and up) was prioritised over primary education in the country's human resource development strategy. At that time, due to the power elites' lack of interest, the primary education sub-sector not only received a smaller allocation, but 57% of the allocated funds went unutilized. In contrast, the actual expenditure on institutions of higher education exceeded the allocation by 19%. Even after increased support became available for the primary sub-sector from donor organisations in 1990, as a result of the global campaign for Education for All (EFA), the attitude of the power elites' remained unchanged until. Because of the power elites' lack of interest, and the faulty government policies that were adopted, primary teaching has yet to become an all-graduate vocation and teacher entry requirements

have been relaxed instead of being raised from time to time. In addition, the teachers' opportunities for promotion up the administrative ladder have been withdrawn and their pay position has been downgraded from grade-viii to grade-xvi in the national pay scale since 1977. As a consequence, only a handful of university graduates join the occupation and many leave it as soon as they find better prospects somewhere else.

The donors provided a major portion of the budgetary support to the Bangladesh government for primary sub-sector (for example, 58% during 1990-95). However, using the external resources, the power elites established low-cost, and also low–quality primary schools, and adopted programmes that had political value for themselves (for example, *Upabitti* or stipend, food for education etc). Incentive programmes such as *Upabitti* or food for education definitely helped to increase the enrolment rate in government primary schools, particularly for children from poor families, but it did little to improve the quality of education in the GPSs or for children from poor families. In fact, there was virtually no pressure from the below, i.e. from the less-articulate rural masses, for the expansion of quality primary education in Bangladesh, and it was the donor community which actually encouraged the Bangladeshi governing elites to accept responsibility for adopting the necessary plan of action in order to achieve the EFA goals. The EFA global campaign also made a considerable contribution to the mobilization of international funds to support Bangladeshi regimes in their efforts to improve the overall situation in the primary sub-sector and that of teachers in particular. Although donors have been involved in and supporting the primary education sub-sector since the country's independence in 1971, their activities cannot always be considered conducive to the enhancement of primary teachers' vocational image, of overall expertise in Bangladesh. Their ongoing support for the sub-sector has contributed a lot to the rise in, for example, enrolment, in teacher training, in supply of teaching materials and free primary text books. However, the conditions they set – such as the recruitment of more female teachers (mostly less-well-qualified than their male counterparts) in order to cope with rise in enrolment and demand for teachers – encouraged regimes to establish low-cost primary schools that sometimes hinder poor children from receiving quality primary education. Such a situation ultimately resulted in a decline in the qualification of teachers in the primary teaching occupation, and thereby undermined the expertise and quality of practice in the sub-sector. Government primary-school teachers' lack of professionalism, justified lower compensation and reduced service benefits, and resulted in lower social status for the occupation as a whole.

There also existed inter-occupational rivalry regarding who should manage the sub-sector. In competition with college teachers for positions in the higher echelon of primary education administration, including the DPE, GPS teachers, particularly head teachers who had university degrees or similar educational qualifications to the college teachers, were lacking in state support and protection. Government policy gave college teachers the opportunity to occupy most of the key administrative and supervisory posts in the DPE, and left virtually no scope for qualified and suitable primary head teachers.

Historically, mainstream primary education has not been considered worthwhile or interesting by the power elites, which has resulted in a lack of policy priority and investment in increasing the number of quality schools and teachers, the employment of highly-educated and trained teachers and the efficiency of the system. This situation has also impeded activities to improve, for example, supervision, effective training, career prospects, compensation and vocational commitment and motivation—all of which would contribute to lifting the current low status of primary teachers in Bangladesh. More importantly, the state policies in relation to the relaxation of required entry qualifications, the 'one-stop' career path and the lack of improvement to their salary and reward situation since independence, has threatened to destroy the traditional respect that teachers have received in the village community. However, the situation in the primary sub-sector is gradually improving due to the combined efforts of the international development partners and the Bangladeshi government, in the adoption of the Primary Education Development Programme-II (PEDP-II).

Chapter 5

Primary Teachers' Training and the Professionalization of Teachers

5.1 Introduction

The quality of teaching/learning in schools is largely dependent on the subject knowledge and vocational competence of the teachers. Continuous training and re-training are considered essential to create a cadre of highly motivated, disciplined and professionally competent teachers. Moreover, an increase in teachers' productivity and commitment to practicing specialized knowledge will depend not only on the number of teachers that are trained and on the selection of the best candidates, but also on the quality of the training which teachers receive and the provision of sufficient support for this training. As stated earlier, the provision of free and compulsory primary education to all children is a constitutional obligation of the Bangladesh state (Bangladesh Constitution, Article 17a). Different regimes since independence have introduced various measures (for example, the nationalization of primary schools, the distribution of free textbooks, the adoption of the Compulsory Primary Education Act, and so on) in order to fulfil this constitutional obligation. Nevertheless, even after three decades of independence the outcomes of these efforts still remain far from satisfactory, particularly in terms of education quality. The revision of curriculum and development of new textbooks for both primary school and Primary Training Institutes (PTIs) have been identified as the most important aspects of recent reforms in the primary education sub-sector. Moreover, in recent times the training of teachers has been emphasized and numerous modalities have been adapted to train the primary teachers. Although it is claimed that about 95 percent of the teachers in government primary schools in Bangladesh are trained, the teaching in primary classrooms remains unsatisfactory (USAID, 2002d:7) and nearly one-fifth of the teachers have yet to be trained in many parts of the country, including Brahmanbaria district (ESTEEM, 2003:28).

As indicated in chapter 2, the status, legitimacy and credibility of practitioners depend on the knowledge and expertise that are generated by the training institutes in relation to any specific occupational group. In chapter 2 (section 2.5.4.) my decision to use Freidson (2001) as my frame of reference to investigate the role of training institutes is explained, particularly my

focus on the role of Primary Teachers' Institutes (PTIs) in the professionalization process of primary teachers in Bangladesh. According to Freidson, *professional type training* has some distinctive features or characteristics. For example: (i) the training curriculum integrate theory and practice in order to allow practitioners to develop their discretionary skills, rather than practicing the routine application of mechanical techniques, and to facilitate vocational learning and development; (ii) the faculties of professional training institutions are staffed by senior members of the vocation, professors, rather than by practitioners who can generate and regenerate up-to-date specialized knowledge and expertise and would be worthy of the autonomy and material reward offered, and able to control the vocational knowledge and the market for practitioners; (iii) the prolonged, demanding and institutionalized nature of 'professional training' creates a sense of great prestige and occupational solidarity or community feeling among trainees; and (iv) the professional training denotes a structural link to higher levels of formal education and academic institutions such as universities, thereby heightening the social status of the practitioners.

This chapter explores the overall teacher training system for the primary sub-sector in Bangladesh. Section 5.2 analyses the historical development of primary teacher training system over the period 1971-2001. Section 5.3 considers whether the distinct features of *professional type training* suggested by Freidson (2001) are applicable in this context, given the prevailing primary teachers' training system in the country. Freidson argued that certain features of professional type training have implication for the expertise, status and reward offered practitioners, and hence their professionalization (Freidson, 2001). In this section, I shall also argue that, because of the built-in weaknesses and limitations in the system primary teachers' training, particularly in the PTIs, teachers are not being equipped with the knowledge and skills required to control their own vocational life. Finally, section 5.4 outlines what kind of changes have taken place, what the most important changes are and who the driving forces behind the changes are.

5.2 Historical Profiles of Primary Teacher Training

The history of primary teacher training in the then British Bengal (part of which is now Bangladesh) dates back to 1857, when a 'Normal School' was established in Dhaka. This was supplemented in 1886 with mobile Guru Training (GT) schools (Chowdhury, 1995; Karim & Associates, 1996). Later, the British regime launched *Muallim* Training Schools for teachers

of religion and Primary Training (PT) centres. When two new nations, India and Pakistan, were founded after the partition of the British India in 1947, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) inherited 86 GT schools and PT Centres. With the passing years, these institutions were phased out and replaced by Primary Training Institutes (PTIs). Bangladesh inherited 47 PTIs in 1971 (Chowdhury, 1995:4) and currently there are 54 PTIs, including a private one. It should be mentioned that the one-year Certificate in Education (C-in-Ed) course has been offered in the PTIs since 1952 (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993:4).

5.2.1 The Provision of Primary Teacher Education

There are several types of training course available for government primary teachers and other support staffs working in the primary sub-sector in Bangladesh. The Certificate-in-Education (C-in-Ed) course is the main training course that is offered in all 54 Primary Training Institutes (PTIs) in the country. In addition, the whole country was divided into 2060 clusters to facilitate on the spot in-service Cluster Training by AUEOs; this was a 2-3 hour session that was scheduled once a month. This Cluster Training was later replaced by Sub-cluster Training (Chowdhury, 1995:11).

The C-in-Ed is pre-service training but operationally it is in-service in nature. Until 1987, half of the total trainees in all PTIs in the country were actually primary teachers and the remaining half was selected from outside candidates who wanted to become primary teachers. Since 1988, only untrained primary teachers have been admitted to the C-in-Ed course in the PTIs (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993:5). It is not clear why this is the case. Perhaps it is because large numbers of untrained teachers are being recruited by the sub-sector. In addition to the C-in-Ed training, a one-year Higher Certificate in Education (HC-in-Ed) course has been offered to would-be head teachers of government primary schools; this was first introduced in the 1988-89 session at the NAPE on an experimental basis (FREPD, 1995:141), and later introduced in Chittagong, Khulna, and Rajshahi and Joydebpur PTIs, so it was offered in each of the initial administrative Divisions of the country. Since 1990 the PTIs have also occasionally been the venue for short-term training courses, such as competency-based curriculum dissemination programs or project-based refresher courses for head teachers and assistant teachers. Some GPS teachers, particularly those who want to be an UEO or AUEO, take the Bachelor of Education (B. Ed) course offered in the Teacher Training Colleges

(TTCs) or Universities. In addition to the B. Ed course, the Diploma in Education (Dip-in-Ed) is also offered by the Institute of Education and Research (IER) at the University of Dhaka and School of Education at the Open University; this is mainly intended for graduate primary teachers. The above-mentioned Commonwealth Secretariat study (1993) also revealed that each year 400 graduate primary teachers and an unidentified number of teachers from Experimental PTI Primary Schools also attend B.Ed course in the TTCs, or Dip-in- Ed course in the IER or at the Open University on full pay. It is interesting to note that the B.Ed course offered by the TTCs is basically designed for secondary school teachers and not suitable for primary teachers (Commonwealth Secretariat, ibid p.8). The following table summarizes the information about training courses offered in the country for teachers and other support staffs in the primary sub-sector:

Table 5.1 The Training of Teachers and Other Support Staff Working in the Primary Sub-sector

Level	Institution	Course	Duration	No. of places	Beneficiaries/ purpose
University	IER, Dhaka University	i. Undergraduate B. Ed degree;	Four Years	450	i. Pre-service training for the secondary school teachers;
		ii. M. Ed. degree	One year	200	ii. Pre/in-service training to prepare Instructors to the PTIs or TTC, UEOs/ AUEOs etc.
University	Open University	i. B. Ed degree (only for raduate primary teachers);	One Year		i. Pre/ in-service training for the secondary school teachers;
		ii. C-in-Ed	One year	—	ii. Pre-service and in-service training for primary teachers
College	TTC (total 10)	i. B. Ed degree (only for graduate primary teachers); ii. M. Ed degree	Ten Months	1500	Pre-service training for the secondary school teachers
			One year	200	
Secondary School	i. PTI total 54;	i. C-in-Ed course	One year	10,500	i. In-service training to primary teachers
	ii. PTI total 4	ii. Higher C-in-Ed	One year	200	ii. In-service training for would-be head teachers in the primary schools

Source: Adapted from USAID, 2002d:9; Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993:7

Note: '(—)' means data not available.

These figures indicate that secondary school teachers usually receive their training at higher level educational institutions such as the university, while the core vocational training of

primary teachers is offered by secondary level institutions such as the PTIs. As mentioned previously, the majority of government primary-school teachers lack higher academic qualifications and have only 10-12 years of schooling. Thus, primary teachers lower academic qualifications and the fact that they have attended lower level institutions has definite implication for their social status. This confirms Freidson's point that the reward and prestige attached to a particular vocation stems from the connection of their training with an institution of higher education (Freidson, 2001: 102).

The core vocational training of Bangladeshi primary teachers, i.e. a C-in-Ed from PTIs, has remained virtually unchanged for a long time due to the shortage of teacher trainers and other infrastructural facilities (FREPD, 1995). The following table 5.2 indicates the changes in various aspects of primary teacher training in Bangladesh:

Table 5.2 The variation in number of PTIs, Teacher trainers, and Students (Teacher-students)

Year	1971	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Number of PTIs	47[a]	49	51[b]	54**	54**	54**
Number of Teacher Trainers	—	340	355	502	633	745
Number of trainees (teacher-students)	—	4820	4900	5010	4480[c]	6540[c]

Source: Alam and Haq, 2001:8; BANBEIS, 2002:52-54; Chowdhury, 1995:4; FREPD (Foundation for Research on Educational Planning and Development), 1995:6.

Note:
[a] based on Chowdhury, 1995; [b] based on FREPD, 1995; [c] based on Alam and Haq, 2001
'(—)' means data not available
** includes one private (Christian missionary owned) PTI

The intake capacity of each PTI is 200 trainees (FREPD, 1995:4). The figures in table 5.2, however, reveal that, on average, only about 50 percent of this capacity has been used since independence. The sanctioned number of teaching posts is generally 13 or 14 per PTI (FREPD, ibid), and the above table also indicates that only about 50 percent of these posts were filled up until 1990. While the BANBEIS data showed a less acute situation with regard to the manpower situation in the PTIs (table 5.2), the World Bank study (2004a) documented that understaffing in key positions was a critical problem in all the

PTIs in the country. According to the latter study, about two thirds of the Superintendents' and Assistant Superintendents' posts and one third of the Instructors' (teachers') posts were vacant in all 54 of the PTIs in the country (World Bank, 2004a:22).

5.2.2 The Development of Primary Teacher Education 1971-2001

In the years following the country's independence in 1971, the situation of primary education in general, and teacher education in particular, was chaotic. As stated in chapter 4, a huge number of untrained people entered the primary teaching occupation at that time, selected on the basis of their political affiliation to the party in power. One study revealed that in 1972 some 39 percent of GPS teachers were untrained, and this number increased to about 45 percent in 1973-74 (Khatoon, 1986:8). In addition, one of the plan documents produced by the government described the following scenario:

> At present there are 155,023 teachers employed in the 36,165 government primary schools throughout the country. Only 76,681 teachers among them have received vocational training and the remaining 78,342 teachers—more than half of the total— are vocationally untrained. In addition, there is no provision for refresher training for primary teachers without which it is impossible to introduce any new and improved curricula or teaching methods. (The Planning Commission, 1975: 2)

Given this situation, it was suggested that a short, two-month pre-service training be offered during the period of 1973-74 for the newly appointed untrained teachers. At the same time, the existing 47 PTIs had been assigned the task of training all untrained primary teachers in the course of 5 years (Khatoon, ibid p.8). A "blueprint" was also prepared in which a number of new measures were proposed to train all untrained primary teachers in a shortest possible time, which including converting the PTIs into 'non-vocational' institutions (The Planning Commission, 1975:26). The following table summarizes the development of teacher training for Government primary schools (GPS) since independence:

Table 5.3 The Development of GPS Teachers' Training

Category of teachers	1972	1975	1985	1990	1995	2001
Untrained	39%	51%	45%[a]	—	6%	4%
1 year C-in-Ed trained	61%	49%	55%[b]	—	94%[c]	96%
Others (B. Ed. / Dip-in-Ed.)	—	—	—	—	400[d]	—

Source: Planning Commission, 1975:2; Khatoon, 1986:8; Rasmussen, 1983:5; Chowdhury, 1995:3; Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993:8; Alam and Haq, 2001:7; Shrestha, 1994:2.

Note: '(—)' means data not available; [a]indicates figure for 1983 (based on Rasmussen, 1983); [b]indicates that teachers received less than one year training at the PTIs (Rasmussen, 1983); [c]indicates figures for 1994 (Shrestha, 1994); [d]indicates figures for 1993, when the Commonwealth Secretariat study (1993) revealed that, each year, 400 primary teachers graduate and some Experimental [Primary] Schools teachers are deputed to B.Ed/ Dip-in-Ed training.

The table 5.3 reveals that the proportion of trained teachers in the GPS was alarmingly low and that only 55% of the total teaching force had one year PTI training in 1983. This indicates that teacher training in the primary sub-sector did not receive enough attention from the various regimes prior to the adoption of the Education for All (EFA) world declaration in 1990. For example, in their policy statement, the first post-independence regime (1971-75) set as its goal the maintenance of a 'minimum standard' of training for teachers working in this sub-sector (Ministry of Planning, 1975). The establishment of an 'Academy for Fundamental Education' was also under consideration, with the aim of training and retraining PTI staff and primary-school inspectors, and for promoting supplementary and refresher courses, a service which had not previously been offered. It should be mentioned that, in 1973, a team of UNESCO experts had stressed the need for an autonomous 'academy for primary education' which would be responsible for activities such as research, co-ordination of PTI examinations, recruitment, and curriculum development in the primary sub-sector (Risan, 1973:9).

In 1974 the government sponsored Bangladesh Education Commission (Kudrat-i-Khoda Commission) suggested the following measures to improve the quality of teacher training:

- Immediate steps to revise the existing curriculum of the PTIs;
- Upgrade the PTIs to College level;
- Make the existing PTI course a two-year programme;
- Establish a National Training Advisory Committee and make teacher training compulsory;

- Make provision for primary teachers to be admitted to a full-time B. Ed. course or an equivalent after completing 3 years of service, etc.

Unfortunately, the majority of these suggestions have not been implemented until recently. In fact, teacher education in the primary sub-sector was "considered to be a neglected area" during the period 1973-78 i.e. the First Five Year Plan (Khatoon, 1986:7).

The situation changed somewhat during the rule of **General Zia** (1976-1981), and 72% of the 80,000 untrained GPS teachers (mostly recruited by the earlier regime) were given eight months in-service training in a crash program. One of the remarkable innovations in this field during the Zia regime was the establishment of an academy for fundamental education (now called the National Academy for Primary Education or NAPE) in 1978, with the assistance of UNDP and UNESCO. The main objective in establishing this academy was to facilitate the development of the primary teacher-training program and to link primary education with rural development programs (Dove, 1983a). Nevertheless, supervision and training remained inadequate and continued to hamper improvements until General Ershad's military regime took over in 1982.

During the eighties, more coordinated effort compared to earlier regimes went into the expansion and development of primary education in Bangladesh. The political commitment of the government to universalize primary education by 1985, meant that enormous resources, financial and other, were invested in the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme. Under the UPE programme, pre-service and in-service training for primary teachers and other personnel was emphasised, in order to update their knowledge, methods and techniques for classroom instruction and management. At the same time, the PTIs served as centre providing foundation training for primary teachers and head teachers, and Cluster Training.

To promote better teacher supervision and training, Ershad's regime (1981-1990) initiated certain measures in order to change the management system in the primary sub-sector. Under this regime, the school supervision system became more elaborate due to horizontal expansion. Furthermore, in accordance with the overall decentralization policy the regime took the initiative to create 1,834 posts for Assistant Upa-Zila Education Officers or AUEO (earlier called Assistant Thana Education Officer or ATEO) in order to strengthen field-level supervision and provide in-service cluster training (later called sub-cluster) for primary

teachers. In addition, regional, district and field-level (Upazila or block) staffs were given supervisory/training tasks and targets. In particular, the AUEOs were assigned the task of supervision, and each was to be responsible for visiting 15 to 20 primary schools and talking to the teachers every month. Each individual AUEO was required to visit each school in his/her jurisdiction at least once a month (Carron et al, 1998). In addition, the supervisory staffs such as AUEOs spent 13 per cent of their rime, on average, running and improving sub-cluster training (Carron et al, 1998). However, these AUEOs usually received only a 3-12 day training course (see table 5.4), despite the fact that they were to conduct in-service cluster training for the primary teachers.

Table 5.4 Duration of Training Courses for Upa-zila Education Officer

Supervisory staff	Training agency	Subject area of training	Duration
Assistant Upa-zila Education Officer (AUEO)	NAPE	-School management and supervision -Orientation in sub-cluster training	9 days
	BMDC	Management	2-3 days
Upazila Education Officer (UEO)	NAPE	Management of primary education and supervision	6 days
	BMDC	Management	12 days

Source: Carron et al, 1998

The vocational training of the AUEOs was offered by NAPE and by the Bangladesh Management Development Corporation (BMDC). It is evident that the administrative function of the AUEOs is generally considered more important than their training or supervisory tasks; time and energy were spent on administration while their trainer role was neglected. Thus, the school supervision carried out by the AUEOs often had dysfunctional consequences and was reduced to statistical indices (Hossain, 1997:173). In addition, the brief vocational training and preparation the AUEOs received did not equip them with the necessary expertise to provide in-service training and supervision. The assumption that a 3-12 days in-service training course (by comparison, in Sri Lanka there is a one year pre-service training) can equip the AUEOs with adequate skills and competencies to initiate new teaching behaviours in primary teachers is not realistic, since most primary teachers had joined the occupation with 10-12 years of academic experience.

One study conducted by the DPE (1986) revealed that, during the Third Five Year Plans (1985-90), the primary teacher training program included not only C-in-Ed training, but also a number of short courses: (i) Project-related (donors funded) Training (PRT); (ii) Continuous Cluster Training (CCT); (iii) Supervision and Management Training (SMT) and (iv) Community Orientation and Project Support Communication (PSC) training. However, no measures were reported as being taken to implement some of the other proposals in the Third Five Year Plan document, such as the formation of an Advisory Committee, the decentralization of training facilities and the introduction of registration and certification for practicing teachers. Such a scenario reveals that there was a clear gap between the goals set in the national plan and the implementation policies of the Ershad regime.

As mentioned, Bangladesh was one of the developing nations to sign the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. The EFA declaration and subsequent Dakar conference, combined with extensive financial support from international donors, enabled Bangladesh to undertake the necessary educational reforms in the 1990s to facilitate the universalization of primary education, as well as to improve the quality of primary education. A Commonwealth Secretariat study reported that, during the Khaleda Zia's 1st term in power (1991-96), several project-based training activities for primary teachers were implemented. The General Education Project or GEP (1992-1997), with a total budget of US$ 312 million, was funded jointly by the Government of Bangladesh, International Development Association (IDA), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), and the Royal Dutch Development Agency (DGIS). Eighty-five percent of the total fund were allocated to developing the infrastructure in the primary sector, revising the primary curriculum and distributing free textbooks, retraining primary teachers, and strengthening the management capacity of the NCTB (National Curriculum and Textbook Board) and the National Academy for Primary Education or NAPE (Alam and Haq, 2001:5). Under this project, a training wing was established in the DPE for the purpose to facilitating the training to primary teachers, as well as the development of human resource within the DPE. The government approved a new curriculum for primary education and primary teacher training, as well as a Higher Certificate in Education (HC-in-Ed) course for prospective primary school head teachers. A proposal for a Bachelor in Education (Primary) course was also under consideration at that time (Thomas et al, 1993). In addition, an attempt was made to align the primary teacher training program with the new competency-based curriculum that was phased in, beginning with Class-I in the school year 1992-1993. It should be borne in

mind that 58% of the total development expenditure in the primary sub-sector during 1990-95 was financed by donors such as the IDA, ADB, DGIS, SIDA, ODA, NORAD, UNDP, UNICEF, IDB, EU (EEC), OPEC, Saudi Arabia, Japan and Germany (Haq, 1997:43). Despite the increased financial support available for the improvement of teaching-learning in the primary sub-sector under the General Education Project, the functioning of the apex of primary teacher training, NAPE, did not improve, and its major activities were limited to: (i) conducting examinations for the one-year PTIs training and (ii) organizing competitions for the awards for the best primary teachers in the country.

During the Hasina administration (1996-2001), initiative was taken to establish a new institution called the Upazila Resource Centre (URC) at the Upazila (sub-division) level. The aims of this were to facilitate the training of primary teachers in the Upazila in order to: improve classroom teaching and learning; improve the teaching skills of classroom teachers; strengthen the sub-cluster training system by providing regular, vocational and technical support services; establish a data bank registering the quality indicators of primary education in the Upazila; and serve as a demonstration centre for education technology (GoB/DPE, 1999). Another important achievement of the Hasina regime in relation to primary education in general and teacher education in particular was the adoption of the first Primary Education Development Project (1997-2003) or PEDP-I[62], with the financial support of international donors. The PEDP-I was a complex primary education development program with a variety of funding modalities and a variety of projects, the purpose of which was to increase access, equity and quality by interventions that would increase the facilities and improve the management at all levels in the primary education sub-sector (DFID, 2001:5). The PEDP continued along the same lines as GEP project, with regard to improving teacher training, access to education, and quality and equity throughout the sub-sector. The establishment of

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[62]Under the PEDP-I project, some crucial committees were established such as the National Education Council and the Teacher Development and Deployment Council. The latter is particularly relevant to the vocational development and training of GPS teachers. In the second Primary Education Development Programme, PEDP-II (2003-2008), activities related to teacher training or quality improvement in primary schools and classrooms included: strengthening and enhancing the capacity of NAPE, improving the recruitment and status of teachers, improving support for teachers' career development, improving the quality of the physical and training facilities of the PTIs, improving the delivery and quality of teacher in-service training, improving the quality of head teachers, promoting and developing the capacity of the URCs. The international development partners included the ADB, IDA, World Bank, NORAD, UNICEF, USAID, DFID, Germany, and Japan supported both the first Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP-I) and second Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP-II).

the URC and the adoption of the HRD[63] were two significant steps forward during the Hasina regime, supporting quality improvement in the primary classrooms under the PEDP. The HRD plan facilitated the national and overseas training of staff at every level of the primary education hierarchy, with the financial support of the international development partners. For example, under the umbrella project PEDP-I, the Primary Education Development Project for Quality Improvement (PEDPQI) funded by the Norwegian government provided for: the training for PTI instructors in monitoring and evaluation and in the revised C-in-Ed curriculum; orientation training for DPEOs, ADPEOs, PTI superintendents, and assistant PTI superintendents; foundation training for URC instructors/AUEOs; training in project management and computer skills for DPE personnel; and overseas training for NAPE and DPE personnel were some remarkable aspects of PEDP-I. It is also important to stress that the contribution of the donor community to the PEDP-I can be seen as part of their ongoing support of the Bangladeshi Government's commitment to Education for All (DFID, ibid). The excellence of teachers is considered critical in the second Primary Education Development Program, PEDP-II (2003-2008), which is now in the implementation phase. After the various reforms implemented between 1971 and 2001, the structure of the primary teacher training system is as follows:

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[63] The Human Resource Development (HRD) plan is known as *Institutional Capacity Building through Human Resource Development for Quality Improvement.*

Figure 5.1 The Current Structure of Teacher Training
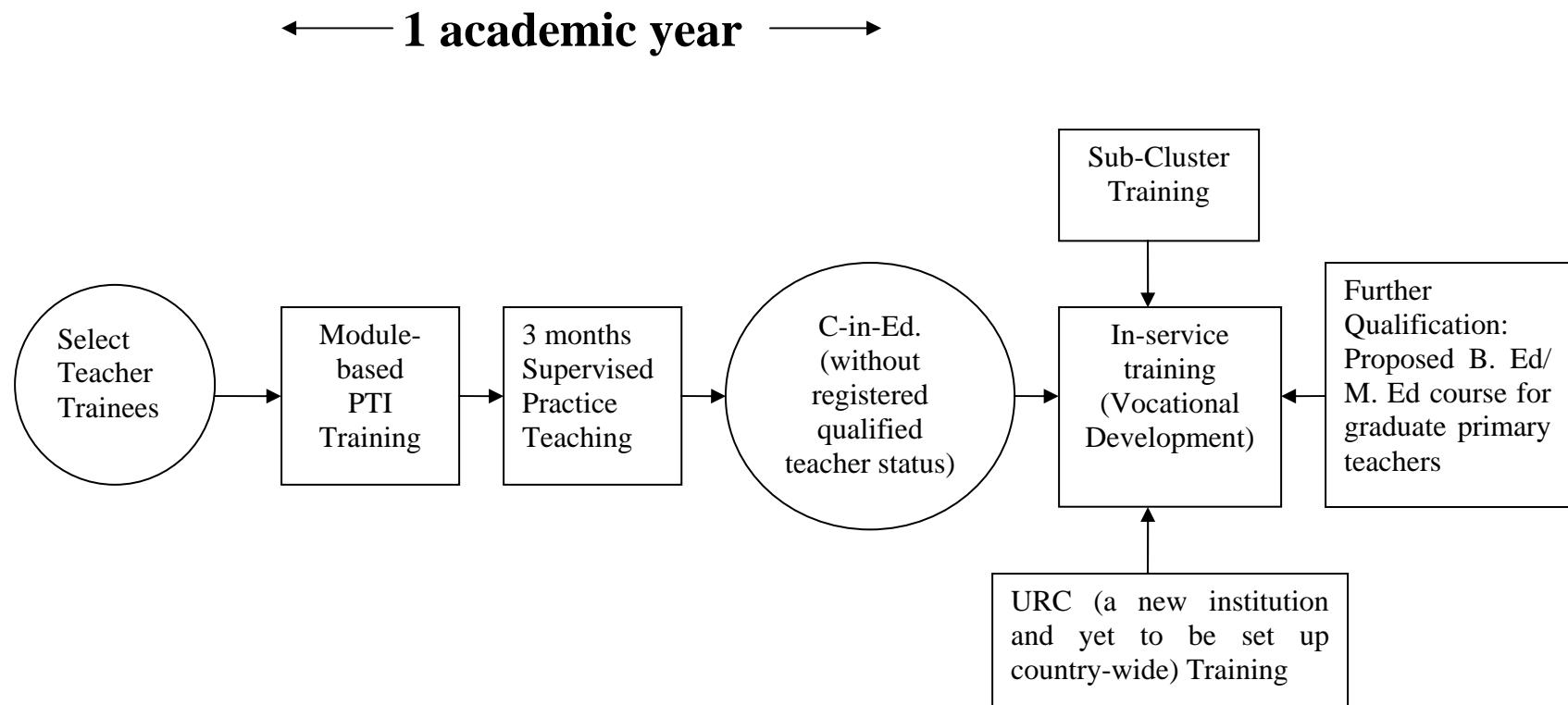
Source: Adapted from PEDP—II, Final Plan, October 2002

As mentioned in chapter 4, to be requited as teachers and qualify to teach in government primary schools, candidate requires no prior training. However, a teacher usually receives his/her one year main vocational training and other in-service training after joining the vocation. However, the main vocational training of GPS teachers in PTIs still remain 1 year course and some features of in-service training are (e.g. introduction of B.Ed/ M.Ed course and set up URC) in the implementation phase (figure 5.1). The above discussion suggests that none of the regimes or existing organizations (not even the primary teachers' unions, the Directorate of Primary Education, or the National Curriculum and Textbook Board) played a central role in initiating the necessary transformation of the primary teacher training system. As stated earlier, teacher education in the primary sub-sector was not considered an issue of priority before 1990. It was not until the World declaration of the Education for All that the overall situation in primary teacher training gradually started changing, under the influence of the concern, support and intervention of international donors for the improvement of the quality primary education in the primary sub-sector. The foregoing discussion has also revealed that primary teacher training in Bangladesh involves three main institutions. The most crucial of these is the PTIs, where teachers receive C-in-Ed training. Another is NAPE, which is responsible for the in-service training of the PTI and URC instructors and the UEOs/ AUEOs, as well as for providing academic support to the 54 PTIs and all the URCs in the country. The third institution is the Upazila Resource Centres (URCs), which facilitate the training of primary teachers and provide regular and technical support to strengthen sub-cluster training. The training required for a Certificate in Education (C-in-Ed) is regarded as the main vocational training of primary teachers. Nevertheless, this program has been criticized for being too short, with the result that graduates do not have sufficient knowledge to become effective teachers (Consultant Papers 1995).

5.3 The Primary Teacher Training System: Does It Reflect the Attributes of professional type training?

As stated (in section 5.1), Freidson (2001) has suggested certain key attributes of *professional training*, including: (i) a curriculum that combines both theory and practice, and includes vocational training and development; (ii) trainers (instructors) who are senior members of the vocation and able to produce up-to-date, specialized knowledge; (iii) a training program that consists of lengthy and very effort-intensive courses, which create a sense of vocational pride

and occupational solidarity among the trainees; and (iv) a link to an institution of higher formal education, such as a university, that confers high social status on the practitioners.

5.3.1 The Curriculum of Primary Teacher Training

The curriculum of a training programme and its strengths and weaknesses has definite consequences for the trainers and trainees (World Bank, 2004a:1). It has been stressed that a professional training depends upon an up-to-date and syncretic curriculum (Freidson, 2001). In Bangladesh, the vocational training programme attended by most primary teachers is the one year Certificate-in-Education (C-in-Ed). All 54 PTIs in the country follow a standard curriculum and the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) administers the C-in-Ed examination. However, it is crucial for quality reform in teacher education that a teacher training institute be established at the apex of the educational structure (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993a). This type of upper-level institution generally attracts the best faculty and emphasises research and development. It has also been stressed that NAPE, which was established in 1978, is the apex institution of the primary teacher training structure in Bangladesh and, according to the Commonwealth Secretariat (Shrestha, 1994), its aim was to improve the quality of primary education by:

- Training primary teachers, PTIs instructors, primary school supervisors (UEOs/ AUEOs) and other personnel in the field of primary education;
- Developing a curriculum for C-in-Ed course at the PTIs;
- Undertaking research on various aspects of primary education;
- Conducting C-in-Ed and Higher C-in-Ed examinations; and
- Rendering other extension services.

Although these were the objectives, it must be noted that NAPE has mainly been offering only 'short' in-service courses for the personnel involved in primary education until recently (see appendix-I for types of training programme). In addition to these courses, NAPE was also responsible for preparing a curriculum for C-in-Ed training and for conducting the C-in-Ed examination. However, NAPE's involvement in the development and revision of the C-in-Ed curriculum has been minimal (Shrestha, 1994). One of the significant weaknesses of NAPE is the fact that it lacked a curriculum division and the necessary expertise for this (Shrestha, 1994). Moreover, no formal institutional relationship exists between NAPE and NCTB or any University in the country that would enable it to carry out these tasks jointly.

Due to the lack of inter-institutional linkage and of faculty members competent to participate in this process, NAPE has failed to contribute in the curriculum development and revision process for PTI training. Thus, since the inception of the PTIs in 1952, the development of curriculum and syllabi for the C-in-Ed program has been the task of a small number of 'experts' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993a:5-6) and was shaped by various 'committee reports' (Shrestha, 1994). The apex organization for primary teacher education, therefore, has remained almost isolated and made no significant contribution to this process.

5.3.1.1 The Curriculum of Primary Teacher Training Institutes (PTIs)

The curriculum for the C-in-Ed programme is the only one that has been organized as a recognized programme of study for government primary teachers. It is taught by the PTIs and NAPE conducts the final examinations. Under the present recruitment policy, the teachers are first recruited in government primary schools and then send to PTIs for the one-year C-in-Ed programme. On completion, a certificate is awarded to the trainees, which is a kind of license to teach in primary school.

A teacher training program is relevant and effective only when the curriculum is being constantly renewed and enriched in accordance with research and development findings. The PTI curriculum has been revised number of times between 1971 and 2001. The first post-independence initiative to revise the C-in-Ed curriculum was in 1973 when the Directorate of Education organised a series of workshops, in which inexperienced superintendents and PTI instructors were to prepare a curriculum and teachers' manual for C-in-Ed training, with the help of a handful of 'experts'. (Risan, 1973). The whole process of curriculum development for the PTI training programme was financially and technically supported by UNICEF (ibid). The first revision of the C-in-Ed curriculum was carried out in 1978 and implemented in 1979 with the approval of the government (FREPD, 1995:67). It is important to note that there were no prescribed textbooks until 1986, when a set of eleven textbooks in module form was published with the technical and financial support of UNICEF, UNDP and UNESCO (FREPD, 1995:68). In recognition of the enormous changes in the socio-economic and political situation in the country, as well as in the primary education sub-sector (e.g. introduction of new curriculum and syllabi for primary schools, compulsory primary education, continuous evaluation of pupils in grades I & II, and so on), reforms and revisions in the C-in-Ed curriculum became inevitable. Thus, in order to enable GPS teachers to meet

the changing needs of their service beneficiaries, the curriculum of the C-in-Ed programme was revised again in 1992 (implemented in 1994), some 15 years after the initial revision in 1978, with the financial help of the UNICEF (FREPD, ibid p.67). The most recent revision was completed in 2001 under the PEDPQI project, with the support of the Norwegian government, and approved by the state, i.e. the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) (Braathe and Otterstad, 2003:9). It was to come into effect from the academic year 2002 (World Bank, 2004a:11). The following table illustrates the development of the C-in-Ed curriculum in PTI training since 1978.

Table 5.5 Development of the C-in-Ed Curriculum

Sl No.	Subjects in the C-in-Ed Curriculum 1978	Subjects in the C-in-Ed Curriculum 1992	Subjects in the C-in-Ed Curriculum 2001
1.	Principles of education	Principles of education	General introduction to primary education
2	Educational psychology	Child psychology, teaching methods and evaluation	Child psychology
3	Bengali	Bengali	Bangla
4	English	English	English
5	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Math
6	Environmental studies (social): (a) social science; (b) population education	Environmental studies: (a) social science; (b) population education	Introduction to the environment (society)
7	Environmental studies (science): (a) general science; (b) agricultural science; (c) health and nutrition science	Environmental studies (science): (a) general science; (b) agricultural science; (c) health and nutrition	Introduction to the environment (science)
8	Religious studies	Religious studies	Religious studies
9	Practice teaching: (a) lessons; (b) annual lessons plans; (c) preparation/procurement and use of teaching materials	Practice teaching: (a) teaching; (b) annual lessons plans	Practice teaching
10	Institutional records: (a) social, cultural and literary activities; (b) physical education/sewing (for females); (c) arts and crafts; (d) use of the library; and (e) scouting and guiding	Physical Education	Physical Education
11		Arts and crafts	Arts and crafts
12		Co-curricular activities: (a) social and cultural; (b) literary; (c) use of library; (d) social service; (e) behaviour; and (f) viva-voice	Teaching method and learning
13		Primary education and modern thought	Evaluation of personal development

Source: FREPD, 1995 (annex 1 & 2); World Bank, 2004a:13-16; Alam and Haq, 2001:16

Table 5.5 illustrates clearly that there was no significant difference in the course contents of the C-in-E training over the period 1978-2001, apart from a reshuffling of some subject contents. According to the 1978 curriculum revisions, a large portion of the C-in-Ed courses

consisted of theoretical studies. Apart from the two months period of practice teaching, there was only limited scope for learning teaching methods for any particular subject. In the same curriculum, emphasis was placed on the subjects such as educational psychology, principles of education, agriculture, science, Bengali, mathematics, social studies and religion; arts and crafts were nominally mentioned, as well as physical education in the form of 'drill' exercises. On the one hand, the primary school curriculum was not included in the C-in-Ed curriculum, so trainees had no knowledge of the subject matter being taught in the primary classroom (Ullah, 1986:35). On the other hand, agriculture was included in this curriculum since primary education, particularly in the government primary schools, was intended mainly for the children of the masses. The report of the conference of PTI superintendents in 1973 confirmed this emphasis, stating:

> We need to give an agricultural bias to the education of our children right from the primary stage and as pre-requisite a course on agriculture should be incorporated in the program of instruction of PTIs. (Risan, 1973: annex iii p.12)

Some studies (for example, World Bank, 1985; Ullah, 1986) criticized the first revised curriculum, claiming it was outdated, costly and theory biased. The same studies also argued that it failed to develop the skills of a primary teacher and to meet the aim of producing a core of good and efficient primary teachers (Ullah, 1986:35). Another study confirmed that the C-in-Ed program had failed to promote the learning and development of primary teachers during the 80s, arguing that the program had emphasised the curriculum rather than the need for the induction of new teachers, the development of teaching skills or the scope for vocational advancement of primary teachers (Khatoon, 1986: 33). One of the main reasons underlying this failure to ensure quality training for primary teachers might have been the uncaring attitude displayed by the governing elites in the 70s regarding primary education in general and teacher education in particular. The World Bank sector review suggested that "The government was ambivalent about expanding primary education in the 1970s; at a time of communist revolutions in Asia, some linked literacy with social upheaval" (World Bank 1999a:12).

The second revised C-in-Ed curriculum of 1992 shared the objectives of its predecessor: (a) to provide some knowledge of educational theory and (b) to offer some sort of practice teaching. It included some 'new' topics within the old framework, but there was no major improvement (FREPD, 1995:140). The FREPD study concluded that:

> Major deficiencies identified in the C-in-Ed course [revised curriculum of 1992] include short duration of practice teaching, proportionately more emphasis on teaching methods than on subject matter knowledge, a theoretical bias in teaching and lack of teaching materials. (FREPD, 1995:141)

The findings of Alam and Haq's study (2001) confirmed that the course contents of the revised 1992 curriculum in both pedagogical subjects (i.e. Principles of Education, Primary Education and Modern Thinking, and Child Psychology) and school-subjects (i.e. Bengali, English, Mathematics, Environmental Science, Social Science, Religion, Physical Education and Arts and Crafts) were largely descriptive and theoretical. There were little or no practical works/exercises in the C-in-Ed course (Alam and Haq, 2001:16). Their study also revealed that:

> The tendency of the most modules is to present the theoretical information; very little description of the classroom situation is available. Practical solutions to the existing problems, anecdotes, life-oriented examples and skill development are less emphasized in the whole curriculum……..Practice-teaching is an important component in the C-in-Ed curriculum…..Though three months are allotted for this practical exercise, only a third of this time is available for trainees in [practice] school. (Alam and Haq, 2001:17)

Alam amd Haq also argued that practice-teaching component of the C-in-Ed training was ineffective due to the serious shortage of instructors at the PTIs, which hindered close, regular and repeated supervision of the practice teaching. They claimed that this was "….the weakest part of the whole [C-in-Ed] course" (Alam and Haq, ibid, p.17).

With regard to the revised 2001 C-in-Ed curriculum, the World Bank's study (2004a) pointed out that, although the curriculum content had been improved compared with the previous course books of the 1992 curriculum, it was not a more task-oriented course (World Bank, 2004a:vi). Reporting the views of the trainees, the study added that the 2001 curriculum failed to clearly define the relationship between theory and practice (of teaching learning) and the social context of educational service delivery, as well as the educational system in Bangladesh (ibid, p.29). In addition, the introduction of compulsory primary education added new dimensions to teaching/learning in primary classrooms (e.g. bigger classes, disadvantaged children). The 2001 C-in-Ed course pays inadequate attention not only to the practical component of training, but also to practical skills, such as how to handle large classes and teach children with disabilities and from disadvantaged families (World Bank, ibid, p.29).

In another study of the 2001 curriculum, Braathe and Otterstad (2003) have argued that the stakeholders (e.g. superintendents and instructors at the PTI, and NAPE staff) in the C-in-Ed training in Bangladesh have a narrow conception of the term 'curriculum'. They consider a curriculum to be simply a 'syllabus' or 'module textbooks', although it actually refers to a broader concept than this. According to Braathe and Otterstad, a curriculum "includes active pedagogy, as well as the syllabus necessary to learning and forms of assessment used to evaluate the learning" (ibid, p.11). My earlier discussion confirms the view that the C-in-Ed curriculum has not been understood and formulated in this broader sense. This has been the case because the process of curriculum development for primary teacher training has been top-down, concentrated in the hands of a few important top-level personnel in the MoPME (World Bank, 2004a:10). According to the World Bank report (ibid), three important groups of people have played a crucial role in the process of curriculum development for PTIs. These are (i) the governing regime; (ii) top level and influential bureaucrats in the MoPME; and (iii) technical experts. The government in power usually wants to ensure that the curriculum reflects its political/ideology philosophy and, as a result, 'like-minded' people are often included on the main curriculum committee and subject committee (selects the authors and editors for course books) without considering their technical/professional expertise (World Bank, 2004a:12). Nevertheless, for the purpose to developing or revising each version of the C-in-Ed curriculum, a 'high-powered' core committee was formed and top level bureaucrats such as the chief secretary of the MoPME played the leading role in forming the core curriculum committee. The top bureaucrats from the MoPME were also responsible for formulating the main guidelines for the C-in-Ed curriculum committee (ibid, p.10). Finally, it is the role of the technical experts (e.g. educationists, instructors from PTI and NAPE, government primary teachers, etc.) to develop/revise the curriculum based on the guidelines set by state functionaries. This top-down approach, coupled with the enormous influence of the state functionaries, has meant that the C-in-E curriculum has remained almost unchanged and has been the subject 'committee reports' for the last three decades. There was also no or little consideration of recent developments in the area of primary education in general and teacher education in particular evident in the curriculum revisions. As one guardian who was also a college teacher by vocation remarked[64]:

> The existing one-year PTI course does not prepare teachers to meet the challenges of their vocation. It is urgent to make the PTI course a two-year course with the necessary curriculum revision which will strengthen the capacity of primary teachers.

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[64] Interview: PTALLG(18)

As one retired PTI instructor remarked[65]:

> The training in the PTIs has failed to improve primary teachers' vocational knowledge and skills. Subjects such as arts & crafts, physical education, religious education, agriculture, home economics, child psychology and principles of education, etc have been included in PTI curriculum since 1978. What it is urgent to include in the PTI curriculum is to include primary textbooks and a course on 'the principles of curriculum development'. PTI instructors and primary teachers have been involved in drafting C-in-Ed course-books and primary textbooks without any theoretical knowledge about curriculum development for PTI or primary school.

Although PTI instructors and experienced primary teachers have been used as resource persons in C-in-E curriculum development, their need for in-depth training in curriculum development issues has been ignored until recently.

The trainees were also dissatisfied with what they were being taught in the PTIs. One primary teacher claimed that[66]:

> We were overloaded with too many aspects of education in PTI training with little facilities. Following the PTI curriculum, we were expected to be experts in too many fields.

In fact, the trainees' experience in the PTIs often included a lecture-centred teaching style, inadequate facilities, and overloaded training modules that lacked relevance to primary teachers' vocational development; theirs was a theoretically biased training. The study by Alam and Haq confirmed the irrelevance of PTI training to primary teachers' vocational development, since:

> The tendency of most modules is to present the theoretical information; very little description of the classroom situation is available. Practical solutions to existing problems, anecdotes, life-oriented examples and skills development are less emphasized in the whole curriculum. (Alam and Haq, 2001:9)

Another major weakness of the PTI training in relation to its curriculum and qualification of trainees is the fact that the basic criteria for admission to PTI training is a Higher Secondary Certificate (12 years of schooling) for male candidates and a Secondary School Certificate (10 years of schooling), with a second division pass or better, for female recruits. The low qualifications of the majority of trainees means that they are not able to understand topics on

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[65] Interview: PTISSE(7)
[66] Interview: ATMGPS(9)

the training curricula such as child psychology, or to develop effective communication skills and the ability for motivate the pupils and their parents.

5.3.1.2 The Curriculum for the Higher C-in-Ed Course

In 1987, Professor Shamsul Huq proposed the development of a Higher Certificate-in-Education (HC-in-Ed) course in his UNESCO funded study entitled *Reform in Primary Teacher Training* (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993:7). As stated earlier, the Higher Certificate-in-Education (HC-in-Ed) course was first introduced at NAPE for would-be head teachers of primary school in the academic year 1988-89. It has since been offered in four PTIs and the annual intake has been fifty trainees per PTI per year. The then Ministry of Education established a 'committee' to developed the curriculum and textbooks for the HC-in-Ed training course. The committee members, which consisted of eight PTI instructors and twenty-four primary head teachers, developed objectives, curriculum, subject syllabuses and seven textbooks for the HC-in-Ed course within one year, with the financial assistance of UNICEF (ibid, p.7). The subjects included in the HC-in-Ed curriculum (syllabus) were:

    i. Primary education and curriculum: (a) agriculture, food and nutrition; (b) general science

    ii. Education administration

    iii. Psychology and effective education

    iv. Community participation in primary education and communication

    v. School management and supervision

    vi. Management of teaching and learning

    vii. Practicum

The course structure of HC-in-Education curriculum consisted of seven subjects, and according to the FREPD study mentioned earlier, six of these were basically theoretical subjects (FREPD, 1995:87). It is also clear that the HC-in-Ed course reflected almost the same shortcomings with regard to subject content, theory bias and lack of emphasis on vocational development as the C-in-E curriculum.

5.3.1.3 The Curriculum for Cluster and Sub-Cluster Training

Cluster Training was an in-service training program for primary teachers in the 80s. It was first introduced in 1984 as part of a project funded by the International Development

Association (IDA), with technical assistance from UNESCO, and was subsequently extended nation-wide in 1986 since it was found to be effective and cost efficient. The main purposes of the Cluster training program were: (i) to increase the vocational skills of primary teachers in order to bring about qualitative improvements in primary education; (ii) to build up the motivation of teachers; (iii) to strengthen the knowledge base of teachers; (iv) to involve them in group activities; (v) to improve their micro-level teaching skills through practice; (vi) to provide opportunities to practice skills learnt; and (vii) to provide immediate feedback on performance (Akhter, 1987).

A cluster training session lasted two hours and was scheduled during breaks in class routine; the aim was not to disturb the normal academic activities of the schools. Specially prepared semi-modular teacher 'leaflets' were used as the main training materials. The 'curriculum' for cluster training included "leaflets" on topics such as:

- Cluster Training: what it is; why and how to arrange it
- How to get parents' cooperation
- How to stop students' absenteeism and school drop-out
- How to keep classrooms clean
- How to maintain cumulative grade records
- How to maintain school buildings
- How to make children understand concepts better
- How to use blackboard and how to teach writing using a chalkboard
- How to watch children's health

In fact, the declared objectives of cluster training were not reflected in the teacher leaflets mentioned and in various quarters the contents of the leaflets were not considered either adequate or primary school subject oriented. Thus, an evaluation of in-service cluster training conducted in 1991 revealed that school-based cluster training was far from effective because of its many limitations (Shrestha, 1994:33). Some of the main criticisms included: the inadequate training of the trainers, lack of sequence in the training topics and irregular training schedule (the training was not even held once a year in some of the GPS schools) (ibid). Consequently, in September 1992 cluster training was replaced by an 'improved version' called "sub-cluster training". Under the new sub-cluster system, the approximately 20 primary schools that made up a cluster were grouped into a number of sub-clusters and the

AUEO responsible was required to conduct either a bi-monthly, full-day in-service training session, or six days of in-service training per year. The program was designed for groups of no more than twenty teachers and head teachers representing 5-10 primary schools. The 'curriculum' for sub-cluster training, like that of its predecessor, was in the form of semi-modules known as "leaflets", and the topics addressed concerned the multifaceted role of primary teachers; for example, their social role, teaching role, management and administration role, data collector role, evaluation role and change agent role. These modules covered focused on specific problems in the fields of pedagogy, management, community participation and development of primary schools (Karim and Associates, 1996:26). Sixty such 'leaflets' for sub-cluster training have been prepared on different issues[67].

The introduction of sub-cluster training was intended to improve and update teachers' techniques for dealing with changes in the teaching/learning situation, as well as to provide a forum for open discussion, and an exchange views and ideas among people involved in primary education (Karim and associates, ibid). In sub-cluster training, primary teachers were recognized as resource persons, while the AUEOs' role was that of facilitator (ibid, p.27). Nevertheless, while observing a sub-cluster training session in one of my study schools, the impression I got was that there was no scope for free discuss of issues/problems relating to primary teachers everyday vocational life, which was one of the main objectives of cluster/sub-cluster training. For example, while the AUEO was discussing a topic selected from a particular primary textbook, one of the participants tried to ask about a question related to the topic; in the middle of her question the AUEO cut her off, asking arrogantly: "Where did you get this question?" "Is it in the [primary] text book?" When the teacher replied, "I don't understand your deliberation", the immediate reaction of the AUEO was "See me in my office!" A head teacher remarked[68]: "If I cannot ask a question and interact freely with trainer during the training session, how am I to learn?" As the above exchange illustrates, the AUEO trainers lacked the proper pedagogical attitude, ability and training; and the curriculum (leaflets) was inadequate and irrelevant to primary teachers' vocational knowledge. The whole effort benefited neither the teachers' subject-matter knowledge nor their vocational development. Thus, sub-cluster training has failed to achieve its main aim: to provide teachers with the opportunity to learn from each other's experience in the context of open discussions about pedagogy, development of schools, etc. Carron et al (1998) also pointed out that many

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[67] Interview: DPEADT(9)
[68] Interview: SHTZPS(1)

Bangladeshi primary teachers expressed their frustration regarding sub-cluster training. Some viewed this training as "completely meaningless" or "simply a waste of time", while others considered that "ATEOs are the wrong people to provide this training". The reasons underlying these negative attitudes can be explained by the ATEOs (trainers) lack of prior experience in primary education and lack of extended training. Thus it cannot have a positive impact on teachers' performance and vocational development (Carron, et al, 1998:83).

To summarize, it can be claimed that, in to the context of primary teacher training in Bangladesh, curriculum means "syllabuses" or "leaflets". These 'syllabuses' or 'leaflets' were further criticized for their failure to balance theory and practice, content and method. These 'curriculum' were characterized by several key features. (i) In most cases the document was prepared/ revised in accordance with the aims and guidelines of the current state authorities, by committees chosen to include 'like-minded' people. The enormous influence of the 'power elites' and their 'guidelines' on the process of curriculum development ultimately narrowed the scope for the genuine experts to contribute, thereby hindering their efforts to make changes that would have helped to improve the vocational development of primary teachers. As a result, the curriculum for teacher training has remained almost unchanged and been the subject of 'committee reports' since 1978. (ii) The curriculum failed to address essential issues such as how to improve teachers' ability to handle large classes and disabled children; these two issues became the major challenges facing teachers only after the introduction of compulsory primary education in 1993. (iii) The curriculum does not clearly define the minimum competencies a teacher is expected to acquire during any particular training program. All training institutions – from the apex institute NAPE to the PTIs, URCs and even village-level sub-clusters – suffer from the same weakness. All primary teacher training programs have curriculum (syllabus) or 'leaflets', but since these do not identify and list the competencies that the trainees need to acquire by the end of their training programs, the examinations do not measure any defined or expected outcomes. This is one of the crucial problems with the C-in-E curriculum in particular.

5.3.2 Who are the Trainers in the Teacher Training Institutions and What are Their Qualifications?

Teachers need to be granted discretionary power and autonomy in order to be fully professionalized (Bak, 2005:187). However, such discretionary powers and autonomy require

that teachers have acquired their subject-specific competence and technical skills through training. It is expected that 'professional training' equip the trainees with the kind of expertise that can justify the granting of rewards, autonomy and control of their market. Faculties that are composed of credentialed members of the vocation play a vital role in providing such expertise to the trainees, thereby enabling them to control vocational knowledge and to systematize and expand the existing body of knowledge. Moreover, the continuous engagement of faculties in research helps to develops new knowledge/techniques that further restrict the access of those not authorized to the procedures required to do a professional job. The primary teacher training program in Bangladesh is not only brief, but has also been criticized for its inadequacy in equipping trainees with the capabilities required to claim expertise.

One of the first criteria to consider in judging the status of an occupation, therefore, is the quality, competence and technical skills of the trainers. The following section will focus on the trainers of primary teachers, particularly the PTI instructors, in Bangladesh.

Since independence the appointment of PTI instructors has not been made on the basis of the subjects they would teach. Instructors were expected to teach any subject that was assigned to them, whether they were competent to do so or not (National Curriculum and Syllabus Committee, 1978). A UNESCO report that was prepared immediate after independence (between June 1972-May 1973) revealed that in all 47 PTIs there were only 7 'qualified' teachers in science and 26 in arts & crafts, and that 29 posts were vacant. The same report added that 26 of positions for science teachers and 2 positions for arts & crafts teachers had been filled by teachers with backgrounds in other subject areas (Risan, 1973, annex III). Some PTIs also had part-time staff at that time and almost all incumbents employed at the 47 PTIs were arts faculty graduates (The Planning Commission, ibid, p.27).

During the 80s, PTI Instructors were recruited from among Teacher Training College (TTC) graduates. However, the TTCs courses were specially designed to produce teachers for secondary schools, not for primary schools. Thus, the PTIs suffered from many weakness and gaps due to the incapacity of their instructors. One study commented on the irrelevant training background of the PTI instructors as follows:

> ...the Primary Training Institutes have not yet been able to rise to the situation by preparing competent hands to teach in primary schools in line with modern

teaching/learning methods and principles. One of the main reasons for this is rooted in the fact that the trainers engaged in training the primary teachers are not specialized and adequately trained for the very job for which they are employed. The instructors at the PTIs received a course of training in the Secondary Teachers' Training College (TTC), which offered hardly any courses for primary education and had very little to do with the teaching of the children of primary school age. (Ullah, 1986:34)

It is a fact that the majority of PTI instructors not only in the 80s but also today have undergone training which is relevant for secondary-school teachers (i.e Bachelor of Education from the TTC or University). Because of the low status of primary teacher training institutions (only secondary school status), PTIs have been struggling to attract persons with excellent academic credentials. For example, during the period 1976-1983, only 15% of all PTI instructors possessed a second degree and the majority (79% per cent) had only a first degree; in addition, nearly 18 percent of the teachers serving in PTIs were working part time (Ministry of Education, 1985). People with higher qualification and better academic records do not usually feel encouraged to join the PTIs, partly because of the government recruitment policy. According to government recruiting policy,[69] 30 percent of the instructor posts in the PTIs were to be filled by the promotion of Experimental Primary School teachers and the remaining 70 percent by direct recruitment. For promotion purposes, the required qualifications were a bachelor degree (no class specified) with B. Ed. training (no class specified), and 5 years experience in a feeder post (a teaching position in the Experimental School). For direct recruitment purposes, candidates were required to have either a bachelor degree (with at least two second divisions from SSC to degree level) and a second class Master of Education (M. Ed.); or a masters degree (second class) and B. Ed. training (no class specified). Such undemanding qualifications for positions as PTI instructors cannot ensure the excellence of the staff. The following table illustrates the educational qualification and vocational training of the all PTI superintendents in the country based on the 1994 PTI survey by FREPD:

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[69] For example see, Bangladesh Gazette (Extraordinary), September 7, 1985

Table 5.6 PTI Superintendents: Education and Division obtained in various Examinations

Education/training	Division[70] Obtained			Number of superintendents
	1st	2nd	3rd	
S.S.C	3 (5)	29 (54)	22 (41)	54
H.S.C	2 (4)	17 (33)	32 (63)	51*
Graduation degree (e.g. in Bengali, History etc)	0 (0)	11 (22)	40 (78)	51
Graduation degree with honours	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Master's degree (e.g. in Chemistry, Economic etc)	0 (0)	10 (62)	6 (38)	16
M.A. in Education Training	0 (0)	10 (100)	0 (0)	10
Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.)	5 (20)	35 (83)	2 (5)	42
Diploma in Education training	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Master of Education (M.Ed.)	6 (30)	14 (70)	0 (0)	20

Source: Adopted from FREPD (Foundation for Research on Educational Planning and Development), 1995: 25-26

Note: * means 3 PTI Supers did not report their H.S.C. results.

The figures in parenthesis indicate percentages.

The top administrators of the PTIs in Bangladesh are called Superintendents (Supers). It is clear from table 5.6 that very few of the executive heads of PTIs obtained their top grades (e.g. 1st division) in their education. Out of a total of 54, only 16 (30%) of the Supers had a master's degree and the remaining 38 (70%) had only a 1st degree. It is also interesting to note that 78% of the Supers had received a 3rd division pass on their bachelor (graduation) degree, and that the corresponding figure was 65% for their higher secondary certificate (H.S.C.) (table 5.6). This indicates clearly that the staffs of the PTIs, particularly those in the top executive positions, were not well-qualified. Although the qualifications of the Supers were not encouraging, there has been considerable improvement in terms of the qualification of the PTI Instructors. The joint study carried out by UNESCO/UNDP in 1994 revealed that almost 55 percent of PTI Instructors possessed a master's degree from the University (Shrestha,

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[70] 1st division means marks of 60% and above, 2nd division means marks between 46%-59% and 3rd division means marks between 33%-44% on any examination

1994:20). Nevertheless, PTI instructors may still be less qualified than their trainees (primary teachers). One primary teacher expressed her frustration as follows[71]:

> Ministry/DPE officials always think that we [primary teachers] are joining the primary occupation with only an SSC as qualification. They seem unwilling to understand that we work in primary schools after having attained the master's degree. It is paradoxical that the majority of our trainers at the PTIs possess only bachelor degree, especially those who come from the Experimental Primary Schools attached to the PTIs. I am sceptical about their training ability, expertise and subject matter knowledge. I am not going to attend any training course given by those who are less qualified than myself. The twenty-year-old recruitment rule for PTI instructors need to be changed immediately.

The PTIs were suffering not only from a shortage of well-qualified and highly-educated trainers, but also from a shortage of personnel in key positions. Staff shortages in the PTIs have become a recurring phenomenon. For example, a government report stated that of the 627 sanctioned posts, only 335 were reportedly filled, which meant that nearly 47 percent the posts in all the PTIs were vacant (Ministry of Education, 1985). Teachers for subjects such as 'science' and 'arts and crafts' were generally absent or the positions were vacant during the 80s (ibid). Moreover, almost eighty percent of superintendent and assistant superintendent posts were vacant for quite some time, and these positions were temporarily filled by Instructors, usually on the basis of seniority. A sign of improvement in the situation was evident in the 1995 PTI study report by the FREPD, which revealed that, of the total 693 sanctioned posts (including Supers, Assistant Supers, and Instructors), 570 posts had been filled and only 18% remained vacant. In the course of this study, of the 53 positions for Supers and Assistant Supers, 29 and 28 positions, respectively, were vacant; and 27%[72] (171) of the total 630 sanctioned positions for instructors were also vacant. Thus, 'adhocism' in top executive positions and shortage of Instructors in the PTIs have been viewed as recurrent phenomena, which have constituted obstacles to high-quality training and system management.

Although graduates with advanced university degrees are now filling positions as specialists/assistant specialists in NAPE and Instructors in the PTIs, all of the trainers in these two institutions are not yet postgraduates. In addition, research and reporting activities were not evident at NAPE and the PTIs. This is due to the fact that the staffs at both levels lack the necessary qualifications to carry out such activities.

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[71] Interview: ATZGPS(11)
[72] Source: DPE (Training Division)

According to Shrestha, NAPE will be conducting intensive training programmes in primary education management (3-4 months) for senior and mid-level officials such as Deputy Directors, District Primary Education Officers, Upazila Education Officers, etc (Shrestha, 1994:46). But NAPE usually suffers from lack of permanent staffs also many of its trainers possess less academic qualification and status compared to trainees mentioned-above (Shrestha, 1994). A report produced by USAID confirms this view, claiming that NAPE, as the apex of the primary teacher training system, has a very weak position and low training capacity, and that it lacks the authority to initiate new programs (USAID, 2002d:8). Nevertheless, at the time of research, steps were being taken to make NAPE an autonomous institution and their staffs were being sent overseas for training to improve their competence under the auspices of the Norwegian assisted PEDPQI project. However, as one of the NAPE staffs remarked[73]:

> Making NAPE autonomous would not be enough to give it the authority to initiate programs for research, as well as curriculum development and revision of C-in-Ed training. What is urgent is to have available the best qualified people and permanent faculties at NAPE.

The activities of NAPE in the area of research and development have also been considered inadequate. A joint study by UNESCO/ UNDP identified some of the main reasons for the ineffectiveness of NAPE (Shrestha, 1994): firstly, few staff members in NAPE are competent to conduct complex research projects; secondly, rigid government rules and procedures for expenditure are an obstacle hampering basic research; and thirdly, NAPE will not have a budget for basic research in the area of primary education for quite some time. Even when the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education/ Directorate of Primary Education had sufficient funds, NAPE was not assigned to the task of conducting basic research and empirical studies (Shrestha, ibid). The exclusion of NAPE from research and development activities was mainly due to its untrained staff and inadequate faculties. One inherent weakness has been the defective staffing structure, seen in relation to the high performance expectations. At present, the faculty posts include: one Director (professor level), two Deputy Directors (assistant professor level), eleven subject specialists (assistant professor level) and twenty two assistant specialists (lecturer level). However, at the time this research was carried out, the acting Director was a high level bureaucrat (Joint Secretary). The actual staff situation, a combination of civil servants and college-level assistant professors and lecturers, cannot

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[73] Interview: NAPESPM(3)

provide the best faculties to produce up-to-date research-based and specialized knowledge about primary education. One study report revealed that:

> The present staff structure [of NAPE] is not even appropriate to a type of institution which offers a bachelor level course, far less to an Academy which is established to operate as an "apex body" and a "think tank" on primary education…..(Shrestha, 1994:47)

This is a vicious circle since the low status of NAPE in the administrative hierarchy attracts low status faculty and staff. This situation will probably remain unchanged until all of the changes proposed under the PEDP-II program have been implemented.

In order to improve the overall quality of both trainers and trainees, an up-to-date resource library should be available at all training institutes. The PTI libraries' conditions and facilities have not been improved much in last three decades. At the time of independence, only 11 of the 47 PTIs had some form of reading room; 30 had no reading room at all (Risan, 1973, annex III p.4). Libraries did not exist and books were stored in small almirahs (chests of drawers) and in the absence of a regular librarian these books were hardly ever used (National Curriculum and Syllabus Committee, 1978). The need for a full-time librarian, as well as proper library facilities and a supply of current books and journals has been stressed for quite some time. Obviously, an adequate number of relevant text books, reference books and teaching aids are essential for the vocational development of both trainers and trainees. NAPE and the PTIs not only lack well-equipped libraries, but the literature they actually have is irrelevant and seldom furthers the teaching/learning in these institutions. The Superintendent in charge of one PTI claimed[74] that:

> The NCTB usually prepares the booklist for NAPE and PTIs, which is sometimes really funny. Most of the books on the list are drawn from popular books, novel, book of verse, etc, written by authors who share the same political ideology as the party in power; very few are about primary education or training. We are not allowed to purchase any book with public money that is not on this list, even if the book is needed urgently by our trainee and trainers.

One NAPE subject specialist added:

> The concept of a library in relation to our PTIs means a collection of poorly-selected, irrelevant and out-of-date books that are kept under lock and key in an almirah or stacked in an open rack. This has been the only activity in this matter during the past few decades. This type of library, which is without any current magazines or journals,

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[74] Interview: PTISSSE(6)

can hardly be useful to improve vocational knowledge and expertise of primary teachers and their trainers at the PTIs.

This discussion indicates that the staff of primary teacher training institutions such as PTIs and NAPE had little academic training and had received low grades. In addition, these institutions lacked the required staff and other facilities, such as resource library. Although the situation is gradually improving, the low level of competent and shortage of staff, coupled with limited facilities, prevents these institutions from contributing to the production of up-to-date and specialized knowledge for their trainees i.e. primary teachers.

5.3.3 Course Duration and Prerequisites for Primary Teacher Training

Training for a 'profession' consists of lengthy, effort-intensive courses, which create a strong sense of vocational pride as well as vocational cohesion among trainees. This is achieved by means of advance preparation to undertake the high demanding course over a sustained period (Freidson, 2001). In fact, a 'professional training' programme is usually linked with an extended programme offered by an institution of higher academic education, and this gives trainees a sense of prestige not gained from technical education. This type of training also helps to socialize the trainees into an occupational culture or community that is usually granted wider support and legitimacy by the stakeholders. Essential requirements for admission to a profession like medicine include an entrance exam, which eliminates a large number of under-qualified applicants in the first stage of the selection process. Because a large number of candidates are competing for a place in a limited number of institutions, the entrance exams require a lot of pre-test preparation, including private coaching in many countries. So in the present context the question is: who are PTI trainees and how do they gain admission to the C-in-Ed course? What is their general academic background and preparation for C-in-Ed training?

In the education system in Bangladesh, students strive to advance through as many stages as possible because this increases his/her social status (Dove, 1981a). When a student fails to advance beyond a certain stage, this is usually as attributed to his/her inability and consequently s/he suffers from frustration and inferiority feelings. The report of the 1973 PTI Supers Conference revealed that most applicants for PTI training were frustrated youths. The report added:

> Failing to receive further education and not finding employment else where, in most cases, the entrants come only to get a job. The job of a primary school teacher not being lucrative, persons with better calibre seldom come to the PTIs. (Risan, 1973: annex-iii p.10)

Immediate after independence in 1971, an abnormally high number of students appeared for Secondary School Certificate (SSC) (total 216 213) and Higher School Certificate (HSC) (total 96 000) examinations due to all the disruptions in previous years. For the SSC, 93% (total 200 302) of the candidates who took the examinations were declared pass, and for the HSC the figure was 90% (total 81 000). In fact, there were widespread complaints about cheating on these public examinations. This is significant because and one study reported that it was mostly these students who joined the primary teaching occupation in the peak recruitment years after independence (British Council Report, 1977). After the authorities introduced strict measures to prevent cheating on the examinations, the pass-rates dropped dramatically to about 40% in 1975 (ibid, p.24). This means that many trainees who were admitted were not really qualified. However, the selection of PTI trainees has been the task of the C-in-Ed Examination Board since 1975 and the PTIs have not been allowed any say in selecting their own candidates (The National Curriculum and Syllabus Committee, 1978). The minimum qualifications for admission to the PTIs for male candidates was a second division pass on either HSC or SSC, and for female candidates was a second division SSC pass. Since 1988, only untrained primary teachers have been admitted to the C-in-Ed course; there is no selection or competition, and all newly recruited primary teachers are automatically qualified for C-in-Ed training, no matter what qualifications they hold.

Bangladesh is one of the few in the South Asian region which has adopted the shortest possible training for primary teachers. In order to train all the untrained teachers who were in teaching positions in the post-independence schools as quickly as possible, the one year C-in-Ed training program was compressed into eight months during the First Five Year Plan (1973-78), the aim being to train three batches of trainees (instead of only two) in each two year period (Planning Commission, 1975; Dove, 1983b:219). During the 80s, the one year C-in-Ed course was made a two years course, but that decision met with vehement opposition from the primary teachers' unions and the decision was reversed in 1985 (Khatoon, 1986:60; Hossain, 1994:156). One DPEO commented that[75]:

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[75] Interview: DPEOD(1)

The duration of training in the PTIs is limited to one year, following 10 or 12 years of academic education for the majority of trainees. In other developed and developing countries, it is 2-4 years after 14-16 years at school. The actual time spent in practice teaching is limited to three months. To provide primary teachers with better vocational knowledge, the duration of the PTI course should be extended to at least two years and training should precede appointment.

There is no doubt that a training course of eight months to a year for candidates who generally have ten to twelve years of education does not enable government primary teachers to acquire the kind of vocational knowledge of which they can feel proud. Moreover, the majority of primary teachers, trainees and instructors in PTI I interviewed, were of the opinion that the C-in-Ed curriculum did not demand serious study on the part of either trainers or trainees. One head teacher claimed[76]:

I didn't feel pressured by the PTI curriculum while taking the course and the PTI instructors were not very demanding either. It is manageable. The in-service sub-cluster training is not so much about vocational training as school management training.

Another teacher added[77]:

The system of practice teaching was developed with fresh students in mind. At present, all PTI trainees are, in fact, serving teachers. Thus, as an in-service teacher I saw it as a ritual and took it very lightly. It was very subjective and nothing challenging. All of us scored very high marks and hardly anyone failed.

Most of the primary teachers who participated in the Hossain's study admitted that they had not benefited much from the training they had received (Hossain, 1994:155-162). In general, they considered it as a formal necessity to get a job or to move up the pay scale. The training program was intended to increase the student-teachers' knowledge of various subjects, but they complained that the subjects were dealt with in a superficial way. In addition, they complained that the academic atmosphere was rather antagonistic to real learning, and that the examination and marking system was unfair. They also maintained that it was possible to buy the teaching materials which they were supposed to produce as class assignments. This market in assignments was said to be organised by the instructors of the training institute, who wanted to make money on the student-teachers. Thus, there was little positive to said about the PTIs.

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[76] Interview: SHTLGPS(6)
[77] Interview: ATZGPS(11)

It was not only easy syllabi of the training program, but also process of evaluation that made the C-in-Ed less demanding. Some aspects of the PTI curriculum actually contributed to the possibility of obtaining easy marks, and even encouraged unethical practices with regard to the C-in-Ed exam. For example, Dove found that the PTI curriculum during the 80s assigned 50 marks to vaguely observable activities such as use of the library, cultural activities, social work, etc (Dove, 1985). The allocation of marks for such activities often paved the way for nepotism, in the form of unauthorized financial benefits accrued by PTI trainers. Hossain has also argued that PTI trainees 'manage' their good grade (A grade for example) in the C-in-Ed exams by making regular contribution to their instructors (Hossain, ibid). Instead of creating a sense of vocational pride, therefore, primary teacher training has resulted in the pursuit of commercial gain among teachers. One guardian argued that[78]:

> There are a lot of complains about one type of teacher that is working in the primary sub-sector: teachers who get their job and training certificate by means of cheating or bribes. These teachers' shortcomings are evident at the beginning of their vocational career. It's easy to question the commitment and ethics of such teachers. There is no scarcity of these 'great' teachers in our education system, teachers who are not doing their job properly, but rather continuing their private 'tuition businesses'. This situation is unexpected, and it hinders teachers' vocational status.

It was not surprising that many of the primary teachers who had been victimised themselves and forced to pay a "commission" to their instructors in order to pass their C-in-Ed course would themselves engage in similar forms of malpractice. Thus, one government report confirmed that teacher training resulted in the neglect of duties by primary teachers in the following way:

> Primary teaching seems to have been stripped of the traditional image of a noble profession and lost of its idealism, and has tended to become a commercial pursuit for many teachers. This intrinsic quality of primary teachers, partly a consequence of the system of education and of teachers' academic and training background, leaves a lot to be desired. Only a minority of them are respected for their scholarship, devotion and leadership qualities at present (PMED, 1995:25).

In addition to the less-demanding course content and unjust evaluation system, there were several other limitations that made the whole C-in-Ed training program less attractive to primary teachers. These included the fact that: (i) PTI graduates are not given job priority and there is no guarantee of employment when new teachers are being recruited; (ii) PTI training does not help certificate holders' career prospects; (iii) better qualified teachers who have bachelor and master's degrees don't want to take their teacher training in a secondary-level

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[78] Interview: SMCCM(16)

institute colleagues who have only an SSC; and (iv) all PTI training seems ineffective and somewhat expensive, allowing no opportunity for either vertical or horizontal expansion of teacher education (DPE, 1986). All these features of PTI training have meant that the program has become unattractive. This is perhaps reflected in the fact that the PTIs' capacity is not fully utilized; in fact, the PTIs have been underutilized since independence, despite the huge mass of untrained teachers in the sub-sector (Shrestha, 1994:15).

5.3.4 Primary Teacher Training and Its Link to Institutions of Higher Education

According to Freidson, professional training is usually linked to institutions of higher education, which enhances the social prestige of the trainees (Freidson, 2001). Moreover, the formal institutionalization of training in institutions such as Universities lays the foundation for a relatively secure establishment and for the expansion of the specialized knowledge and skill associated with 'professions'. Such institutionalized training also provides trainees with the prestige of higher education, in contrast to the limited prestige associated with a technical education (ibid). In this matter, Bangladesh differs from almost all other countries in the Asia-Pacific region, which have located primary teacher training at colleges and universities. In some countries, such as China and Korea, there are specialized universities of education where primary teachers are trained. In Bangladesh, on the other hand, the vocational training of primary teachers is not linked with any University degree or diploma, and the main teacher training institutions, PTIs, are considered to be the equivalent to secondary schools. Because of the low status of these institutions and of the certificates they grant, it is not surprising that teacher training in the PTIs has become unattractive to primary teachers who have a higher academic degree from the University.

Since all of the PTIs in the country have been recognized as secondary schools since independence, the Superintendents and Instructors have been considered the equivalent of secondary school teachers in terms of status. However, the PTI staffs were denied similar privileges to those enjoyed by their counterparts in the government secondary schools. For example, The study carried out by UNESCO in 1973, for example, revealed that the headmasters of the Zila Schools (government secondary schools located in district headquarters) were provided with government housing because they were the head of the institution; this did not apply to the PTI Superintendents (Risan, 1973). This meant that the status of PTI staff, in terms of privileges, was below that of secondary school teachers in the

70s. The status of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents improved somewhat during the 90s, when their positions were upgraded to that of assistant professor (near) and lecturer (near) at college level. However, the status of instructor remained the same as that of secondary school teachers (Shrestha, 1994:21). According to one of the guardians, the low status of the PTI influenced the vocational status of primary teachers in the following way[79]:

> A primary teacher cannot expect respect when s/he is less qualified and has been trained in an institution which has little reputation and status. If teachers are well trained at institutions with high standards and at higher level institutions such as Universities, they will perform well and the school will perform well too. These teachers will win respect and rewards automatically in the society.

Like primary teachers, PTI instructors suffered from low status, and limited privileges and career prospects. Such a situation has been responsible for a growing frustration and lack of motivation among the PTI staff (National Curriculum and Syllabus Committee, 1978). One PTI instructor remarked with aggravation[80]:

> People need motivation if they are to do their jobs better. Without job satisfaction, no one will be motivated to do a good job. I think lack of staff motivation is the root cause of all forms of malpractice in PTIs. To attract and retain persons who have excellent academic and training qualifications, there needs to be a guarantee: PTI and NAPE staff need to be ensured high status, better pay and career prospects. This can be achieved by recognizing all PTIs as colleges that are affiliated to the Universities; this will improve the vocational status for both trainers and trainees.

In reply to my question regarding how to improve the status of primary teachers, one DPEO suggested that[81]: "A Bachelor of Education (Primary) course should be introduced in PTIs after upgrading them to colleges". The majority of the teacher respondents were of the opinion that "higher standards and levels training, as well as academic qualifications" would improve their vocational status.

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[79] Interview: SMCCM(16)
[80] Interview: PTISSSE(6)
[81] Interview: DPEOC(1)

In general, during my observations of PTI training (particularly at Cox's Bazaar[82] PTI), I was not impressed by the primary teacher training programme, in the sense it did not seem to practice what it preached. The lecture method, in a dull and drawling manner, was the only means of instruction in the PTI. There were more than 100 students in the classroom, except for subject teaching in English, Science and Math. These three subjects were being taught according to child-centred, activity-based teaching/learning strategies, with the technical assistance of Oslo[83] University College (OUC). The use of teaching materials in other subjects was marginal and limited emphasis was placed on practical teaching skills. The training methodologies employed at the PTIs have not changed in decades. I got the impression that the primary teacher training institutes had developed their own 'training culture'—a culture which included a lack of enthusiasm and initiative on the part of the staff to improve their own vocational knowledge and skills. Moreover, the training culture in the primary sub-sector in Bangladesh was characterised by: a tendency for the staff to engage in malpractice and avoid responsibilities; reliance on theory-oriented conventional training; a lack of motivation to read and learn among trainers and trainees; poor quality academic supervision; secondment of teachers to other assignments with no replacement of staff; trainees' inattentiveness and non-attendance of classes; and subjective evaluation of examination papers. Although the situation may have improved in recent years, it is obvious that this environment has not been conducive to the development of a professional identity for primary teachers in Bangladesh (see also Gustavsson, 1990 and PEDP Consultant Papers, 1995).

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[82] As mentioned in the methodology chapter (Chapter 1), the main sources of information in this chapter are observations made at Cox's Bazaar PTI. In addition, I have referred to a number of other documents including: UNESCO consultant report "Improvement of Primary Education and Teacher Training (Introduction of Environment-Oriented Education)" (1973); Foundation for Research on Educational Planning and Development (FREPD) study report "Role and Use of Primary Training Institutes in Bangladesh" (1995); UNESCO/UNDP study report "Primary Teachers Training in Bangladesh An Analysis: Recommendations for Improvement" (1994); The study of Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) "Ensuring Quality Primary Education in Bangladesh: Trained Teachers at the Center-Stage (2001); and the World Bank Policy Note "Critical Review of Bangladesh Primary Teacher In-Service Training Curriculum-2000" (2004a); etc.

[83] Oslo University College (OUC) has been engaged to conduct and implement courses in Mathematics, Science Education and Teaching English as a Second Language for teacher educators in the 54 Primary Teacher Training Institutes (PTIs) and NAPE under the NORAD funded project 'Primary Education Development Project for Quality Improvement (PEDPQI). The purpose of the project is to build up the institutional capacity of NAPE and the PTIs through resource development for quality improvement.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has focused on primary teacher training in a historical perspective, providing information about its structure and context, in order to see how it impinged on government primary-school teacher professionalism in Bangladesh. Primary teachers were aware of and concerned about the kind and context of training they were being offered, and considered the whole training system to constitute a major handicap to their professionalism. This opinion is justified if primary teacher training in Bangladesh is measured against the general criteria for professional training. According to Freidson (2001), a professional training usually adopts a curriculum that combines both theory and practice, in addition to vocational knowledge and skills development. Moreover, the faculty in professional institutions include scholars and senior members of the vocation, who not only teach but also generate up-to-date and specialized knowledge. With regard to the actual professional training programme, this is effort-intensive and generally requires full-time course attendance for an extended period of time. This type of training not only creates a sense of vocational pride, is associated with high social status since it is linked to an institution of higher education (e.g. a university) (Freidson, ibid). The foregoing discussion reveals that the situation of primary teacher training in Bangladesh diverges significantly from the type of professional training outlined by Friedson. The discussion also suggests that neither political regimes nor primary teachers' unions have emerged as a driving force to initiate much-needed change in the training system. In fact, teacher education in the primary sub-sector was neglected until 1990. Some reforms were initiated, particularly during the 80s, with the technical and financial assistance of organisations such as UNESCO/ UNICEF; the aim was to improve the quality of teacher training in the primary sub-sector. However, these reform programmes were too weak, inconsistent and meagre to bring about any real change and crate an effective national primary teacher training system. The discussion further suggests that teacher training in the primary sub-sector was ineffective for a number of obvious reasons:

Firstly, primary teacher training in Bangladesh has been dominated by traditional curriculum and methods, with its hierarchical structures. The traditional curriculum followed both for the C-in-Ed at the PTIs and for in-service sub-cluster training. These curricula (syllabus/leaflets) were neither adequate nor relevant to primary teachers' vocational knowledge and skills

development. These had remained virtually unchanged for about two decades. As mentioned in chapter four, the power elites were not very attentive to mainstream primary education due to their lack of interest in it. The top-down approach dominated in the C-in-Ed curriculum development process, and this, combined with the enormous influence of the state-functionaries, resulted in there being very little change in the content of the curriculum in the period 1971-2001. The C-in-Ed curriculum also failed to address current issues (e.g. how to handle large classes or teach disabled children, etc) that were the result of recent reforms (e.g. introduction of compulsory primary education) in the primary education sub-sector. More specifically, the training program remained highly theoretical and placed little emphasis on developing the teachers' subject-matter knowledge and practical skills.

Secondly, the weaknesses in the training institutions contributed to the inadequacy of the teacher training system. The lack of quality faculty in the teacher training institutes was another critical problem hindering the improvement of primary teacher training. Until recently, about 50 percent of the trainers in the PTI were 1st degree holders, and the majority had been trained in fields suited to secondary education but irrelevant to primary education. Not only have many of the instructors been under-qualified, but there has been a significant shortage of trainers in both NAPE and PTIs since independence. This situation confirmed the lack of attention paid to this sub-sector by the power elites and highlighted their attitude to mainstream primary education. Many key positions in primary teacher training institutions, particularly in NAPE, were filled by people seconded from colleges or the civil service. This type of appointment had serious implications when it involved key executive positions in an apex training institution; the door was opened for uncommitted persons to positions of responsibility. This defective staffing structure at the levels of both NAPE and the PTIs has meant that these institutions have failed to engage in research activities that would contribute to the production of up-to-date and specialized knowledge for their trainers and trainees.

Thirdly, the primary teacher training programme was too short to convey sufficient knowledge for participants to become effective teachers. A vocational training of eight months to one-year and bi-monthly in-service training sessions of two-hours to one-day was clearly inadequate to train teachers, especially since most of them had only ten (SSC) or twelve years (HSC) of basic education. Bearing in mind the high opportunity costs and lack of career prospects, even the primary teachers' unions was strongly opposed attempts to introduce a two-year training course for primary teachers. Thus the program reverted to one-

year after a two-year trial. Moreover, there was no selection process or competition required for admission to the C-in-Ed course since all newly recruited GPS teachers were automatically qualified for the training programme. The C-in-Ed training also required no serious study on the part of either the trainers or trainees, and the training attitude in the PTIs was not conducive to real learning: marks were allocated for vaguely observable activities in the C-in-Ed curriculum; subjects were dealt with in a superficial way; instructors supplemented their incomes by selling teaching materials; students purchased rather than produced their class assignments; and the examination and marking systems were corrupt. In addition, completion of the C-in-Ed programme along was no guarantee of employment or further career prospect, which made it less attractive to would-be as well as in-service GPS teachers and less satisfactory to the general public.

Fourthly, primary teacher training institutions have long been considered low-ranking organizations. The state policy of recognizing PTIs as the equivalent of secondary schools has remained unchanged since independence. Low status in the educational hierarchy has prevented the trainees from taking pride in their training, since it is not higher education and does not grant high social status. The absence of a mutually supportive strategy for networking and cooperation involving Universities, NAPE, PTIs, and NCTB has hampered the process of developing up-to-date knowledge about primary teaching and learning. In addition, primary teaching as an occupation has been considered low-status vocation because of low academic requirements for admission, as well as the low standards and level of training. The combined effect of these factors is that bright students rarely feel attracted to the occupation. It is evident from discussions with primary teachers that they only take the C-in-Ed because the system demands this of them, and that the training offered helps them very little in either their work or their professionalization. It should be noted that the overall situation in primary teacher training gradually started to change as a result of increasing concern, coordinated support and the intervention of the international donors. The excellence of the teachers has been identified as the most critical factor for quality teaching and learning in the primary sub-sector. Under the second Primary Education Development Programme or PEDP-II (2003-2008), several interventions are now being implemented in an effort to address some of these shortcomings.

Chapter 6

The Struggle for Occupational Jurisdiction: the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association Case[84]

6.1 Introduction

The "Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association" (BPTA) was a term that was associated with several factions, the largest and most active of which was the 'Azad-group'. Although the 'Azad-group' was actually the mainstream primary teachers' organization, its retained this separate identity in the minds of the rival factions, the members of the faction and the concerned bureaucrats. In Bangladesh, this designation of the mainstream as a 'group' is a common practice, as is the inclusion of the president's name, or even those of the president and secretary in the title. This does not detract from the organization's legitimacy and personalize the whole thing, since in Bangladesh, the factions of labour, student and low-paid employees' organization are considered 'groups' associated with specific leaders. According to its general secretary, about 80% of the government primary teachers were members and supporters of the 'Azad-group'. In this chapter, therefore, the 'Azad-group' will be treated as synonymous with the BPTA not only because of its support-base, but also because of its activities, and because all the regimes since independence have recognized its position as the main organization representing primary teachers. Thus, in order to understand how primary teachers' unions have contributed to sustaining the low vocational status and standing of primary teachers in Bangladesh, the role of the BPTA must be analysed, and that is the aim of this chapter.

The establishment of a 'professional association' is regarded as an essential element in the professionalization process (Caplow, 1954; Millerson, 1964; Wilensky, 1964). In the case of teachers, and particularly those working in the primary sub-sector, some maintain that teachers' organizations they have too little power, and that educational reforms ignore them. Others argue that teachers, especially 'teachers' unions', have too much power (World Bank, 2004). In fact, teachers, like other occupational groups, need independently constituted and

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[84] Earlier version of this chapter was presented at the 49th Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society held at Stanford University, California, March 22-26, 2005

freely operating representative organizations in order to make their voice heard and to defend the interests of the community (ILO, 1991). Some authors (e.g. Deyo, 1987; Evans, 1989; Jenkins, 1991; Bell and Jayasuria, 1995) have argued that, whether 'developmental' or 'predatory' in nature, regimes in the developing regions have tended to exhibited strong authoritarian tendencies in their interaction with various low-paid employee groups. In this situation, representative organizations (unions) may help this category of employee to improve their overall service situation and status by negotiating with the authoritarian states when necessary. As described in section 2.5.1, a 'professional organization' performs the following activities:

i.   It acts as guardian of the knowledge standard (Parsons, 1954);

ii.   It enforces the ideology or code of ethics; e.g. inspires or constrains practitioners to provide good public service, or appeals to altruism to justify privileges and higher social recognition (Burrage et al, 1990);

iii.   It offers facilities not otherwise available (Millerson, 1964);

iv.   It seeks legislative approval of measures that limit occupational practice to the holders of a mandatory license, thereby attaining an occupational monopoly (Siegrist, 1990), and an organized autonomy (Freidson, 1970b); and

v.   It constructs authority for practitioners and accumulates the resources (Halliday, 1987).

In this chapter, I argue that the primary teachers' vocational organization, the BPTA is struggling to gain acceptance as a legitimate representative organization (union) due to the political context; the main hindrances are the law and the resistance of various regimes. These constraints have made it difficult for the BPTA to survive. For this reason, it has taken on some distinctive characteristics, including: (i) a welfare profile; (ii) commercial status; (iii) 'commission' business; (iv) factionalism; and (v) a focus on 'bread and butter' issues. These have been the driving forces in the development of the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association. This chapter is organized as follows: section 6.2 provides a brief history of the development of the BPTA. Section 6.3 investigates the distinct features of the BPTA in order to establish whether these match the characteristics of *professional organizations* that are common in the western traditions. In this section, it is argued that the characteristics of the

BPTA differ significantly from those the above-mentioned western scholars attributed to a 'professional association'. One issue raised is that the BPTA has failed to act as a 'professional association' since it emerged as a result of continuous struggle and was linked with the regimes. Inter-union rivalry seems to be a major handicap to the articulation of group interests and the realization of goals for improvement of the vocational situation of primary teachers. On the other hand, the nationalization of primary education has given state authorities the absolute authority over primary teachers' vocational life, and the BPTA has not been made responsible for controlling admission into the vocation and dealing with undesirable behaviour in the primary teaching community. The BPTA's involvement in business activities and its dual role as a 'vocational organization' and a 'social welfare organization'; conflicts in interests have hindered efforts to define organisational aims and objectives. Thus, the BPTA has experienced an identity crisis regarding whether it should be considered a 'vocational organization' or 'welfare organization' or 'business-type organization'. A summary of the discussion will be provided in section 6.4, regarding what the main driving forces in the development of primary teachers' unions in Bangladesh are, how the BPTA is characterized and functioning, and why it is functioning in a particular way.

6.2 A Brief History of the Development of the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association

Sufrin (1964:22-3) has argued that union movements in Asia and the rest of the developing world remain political due to their incorporation into the government arena as power bases for parties and politicians. It is true that 'political unionism' has been a pivotal component in the history of 'professional' organizations in Bangladesh (Rock, 2001). The development of the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association was also an outcome of political patronage as well as support bases for parties and politicians. This dates back to the late sixties and the rise and development of the BPTA when Pakistan fell into the grip of serious political turmoil. From 1969 onward, the political situation became very challenging and the all-out political struggle for autonomy and independence in which all of the social forces of the then East-Pakistan (now Bangladesh) participated. A rising tide of popular support for a break with Pakistan was apparent in the form of an alliance of workers, students and professionals, who rallied to the ranks of the dominant political force, the Awami League. When Awami League and its main leader Mujib were desperately looking for participation of all social forces in the national struggle for independence, all occupations established units of the s*angram committee*

(National Liberation Struggle Committee) in their respective sectors except the primary sub-sector[85]. The reason for this has been attributed by some to the leadership of the association, Principal Ibrahim Khan (hereafter Khan), who was the 5th president of the East-Pakistan Primary Teachers' Association until 1969. At that time, there was only one primary teachers' association and it was considered that the activities of that organization involved only a handful of primary teachers[86]. It has been also suggested that Khan might have not have been interested in involving the primary teachers in the ongoing political activities under the banner of the primary teachers' association, or that he disliked one to the leaders of the Awami League. As a result of his non-commitment, a 'young group', which included current general secretary and finance secretary of the BPTA, raised a non-confidence motion against Khan in a general assembly of the association in 1969; their aim was to find a leader who would be capable of organizing and leading the primary teaching force in the on-going national liberation struggle. This 'young group' also wanted their new leader to convince the leader of the Awami League (AL) and the liberation movement, Mujib, of the need to nationalize primary education so that they could get a regular salary, job security and other benefits available to government employees. Considering all these factors, they chose Abul Kalam Azad (hereafter Azad), who was a young lecturer of the then Dacca (now Dhaka) college, as the 6th president of the association. Azad was a close associate of Mujib and an AL activist, as well as a skilled organizer of the "National Liberation Struggle Committee". Mujib gave Azad the political responsibility for the organization of primary teachers to fight against the West-Pakistanis[87]. Thus, like other vocational groups[88], the association formed a s*angram committee* unit under the leadership of Azad in Dhaka, the aim being to obtain an explicit commitment from Mujib and his party to the improvement of primary teaching occupation (e.g. nationalization of primary education, separate pay-scales for primary teachers, etc) before the nation obtained its independence[89]. From 1969 until the nation gained its independence in 1971, there was no formal representative body (union) for primary teachers, only the s*angram committee* unit. In fact, Azad was the *de facto* leader of primary teachers at that time. This strategy was successful and "Mujib promised the leaders of the s*angram committee* prior to the national election held in 1970 that he would nationalize primary

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[85] Interview: BPTAGS(2)
[86] Interview: BPTAFS(4)
[87]Interview: BPTAFS(4)
[88] By the late 1960s, the independence of Bangladesh was considered to be only a matter of time. At that time, many vocational groups (labour, lawyer, teacher, physician etc) tried to obtain commitments from the Awami League and its main leader Mujib in relation to the wellbeing of the members of their respective vocation, by offering their active support and organizing s*angram committee* units in their respective occupations.
[89] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

education in East-Pakistan if his party, AL, got the mandate in the election"[90]. Under the leadership of Azad, primary teachers extended their full cooperation and supported to Mujib's party and AL won a landslide victory in the election because of strong anti-West-Pakistan sentiment among the people in East-Pakistan. With independence came a new country, Bangladesh, on 16 December 1971, and Mujib became the first Prime mMnister. Mujib and the Awami League later recognized Azad and the *sangram committee* unit under his leadership as the main leader and association for primary teachers. Azad had been appointed the leader of the BPTA for his role in the liberation struggle, despite the fact that he had never been a primary teacher. Thus, the rise of the BPTA was the result of a political struggle and its leaders were appointed by political patronage, for accepted and loyal to the regime.

6.2.1 The Organizational Structure of the BPTA

At the national level, the BPTA was headed for more than three decades by a university teacher, while at the local level, e.g. District, Thana and Union level, the leaders were primary teachers. The organizational structure of the BPTA runs from the centre to the District, Upazila and Union levels, and according to its constitution, it is divided into seven levels: (i) the Union Committee (at the village level); (ii) the Thana/*Paurashava/*Upazilla (sub-division) Committee; (iii) the District/City Committee; (iv) the Central Executive Committee; (v) the National Committee; (vi) the Representative Council; and (vii) the National Council. The Union Committee is the lowest level of the association, while the National Council is the highest. The Central Executive Committee is the main executive body of the association and responsible for the formulation of association policies. The tenure of the committees at each level was 5 years, subject to the payment of an annual approval/renewal fee to the Central Executive Committee. The Union Committee consists of 8 elected (usually selected) members from among the primary school teachers in the Union. The Thana Committee has 13 members and the District Committee has 15. The Central Executive Committee has 49 members, elected by the National Council. The National Council of BPTA consists of the presidents and secretaries of all the Unions and Thana/ Upazila Committees, and all members of the District/City and existing Central Executive Committees (BPTA Election Manual, 1991:10). The most interesting aspect of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) is the special provision made for the post of the chairman of the BPTA. According to the constitution,

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[90] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

[clause 10(i)] "teachers from any level (from primary school to the University) are eligible to for election as president of the Central Executive Committee of the BPTA, but non-primary teachers are not allowed to compete for any other positions on the CEC or lower-level committees. A leader of a rival faction explained the provision to keeps the post of the president of the Central Executive Committee open for non-primary teachers in the following way[91]:

> This provision is simply to pave the way for 'outsiders' to come and lead the association. If our association leadership lies in the hands of an outsider who has never been a member of our community, this proves that there is no capable person in the occupation to speak about their own vocational problems and needs. When primary teachers organized themselves to make their demands, 'one' particular outsider always held us back or the sake of his personal gain from the regimes. It is an open secret that he deprived primary teachers by making secret agreements with regimes. Gradually the facts are coming out; teachers are realizing his foul politics. Where trust is questioned, things become difficult, even for the honest, sincere and dedicated leaders of the teachers.

The "outsider" issue was a heated and controversial issue, focusing explicitly on Azad, who had occupied the main leadership position in the BPTA since independence. Despite this controversy, Azad, a University teacher in sociology, had successfully led the BPTA for more than three decades. Among its seven levels of committees, the Thana (Sub-division) Committee was the most crucial unit, particularly with regard to fund acquisition for the association. It should be mentioned that primary teachers automatically become members when they join in the occupation, and there is no membership fee. According to the BPTA constitution (clause 16), the sources of association funds include: (a) approval/renewal fees from various sub-committees; (b) donations made by individuals/organizations; (c) collections taken for the national conventions; (d) profit from published books, journals etc; (e) funds collected from the lower-level units as per provisions offset forth in the constitution; (f) profits from the business organizations established by the association; and (g) funds accumulated from the *Thana/ Upazilla/Paurashava* units of the association as part of their income from publishing and selling questions for the primary school final examinations.

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[91] Interview: BPTAEC(6)

6.3 The Distinct Features of the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association

In order to identify the past and present contribution the BPTA has made to the vocational situation of primary teachers, it is essential to consider it in the context of Bangladeshi culture. In this context, organisations must function in a way that differs significantly from the western tradition in order to survive. Thus, an analysis of the unique characteristics of the BPTA is necessary before preceding to a discussion of the implications this has for union members of the occupation.

6.3.1 Is the BPTA the Guardian of 'Bread and Butter' or of Standards?

It is widely acknowledged by the scholars that a 'professional association' controls entry into the occupation and certification; and that it denies those not qualified the right to practice, thereby validating the organisation's claims regarding the high standard of knowledge or expertise its members command. As mention in chapter 3, primary schools were privately managed under the supervision of the School Management Committee, with the support of the local community and the government, until the nationalization of primary education in 1974. A group of *sangram committee* officials, under the leadership of Azad, met with the new prime-minister, Mujib, after his formation of new government and demanded the nationalization of primary education, as he had promised before the 1970 national election. This was necessary because "Although Mujib nationalized many basic services, he seemed reluctant to nationalize privately managed primary schools, proposing instead that primary teachers be granted autonomy similar to that of university teachers in the country[92]". It should be stressed that the nationalization of primary schools was considered to be the only way in which primary teachers could become part of the country's bureaucracy, which would guarantee them job security and other benefits enjoyed by public employees. Thus, the BPTA leaders were vehemently opposed to Mujib's proposed autonomy and stuck to their demand for nationalization. Azad and the other leaders exerted constant pressure on Mujib to keep his pre-independence promise[93]. It seemed that it was more important to protect teachers' jobs and improve conditions of service, than to ensure the occupational autonomy of primary teachers. Mujib's unwillingness to nationalize primary schools might have been due to a

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[92] Interview: BPTAGS(2)
[93] Interview: BPTAFS(4)

concern that this would isolate primary education and primary teachers from the local community and place them under rigid bureaucratic control. Nevertheless, the leaders of the BPTA lobbied relentlessly for nationalization with other influential leaders of the AL, particularly Taj Uddin Ahmed (whom Azad used to call his uncle), who was in-charge of the Ministry of Finance[94]. Thus, the decision of the Mujib regime to nationalize all primary schools in 1974 was the result of the relentless pressure, negotiation and lobbying by the leaders of the BPTA. Many primary teachers considered this to be their first victory and it enhanced the credibility of the BPTA leadership, particularly Azad. The nationalization of primary education confirmed the positions of the *sangram committee* leaders, particularly Azad.

The leaders of the BPTA considered that the nationalization of primary schools would open great prospects for primary teachers throughout the country because it gave them the opportunity to have the status of government employees, although low position in the civil service ladder, which would provide them with pensions, provident funds, and other fringe benefits. However, there were many thoughtful people who took a different view of the issue. For example, a prominent educationist expressed his frustration in the press, as follows[95]:

> The primary education system in Bangladesh has become totally bureaucratized because of the conspiracy interested parties. There is no general public or community participation and accountability in the system now. (Quoted in the Daily Amar Desh, Dhaka, 12 September2006).

The most important consequence of the nationalization of primary education for the BPTA was that it lost the opportunity to control entry and certification of practitioners, and to refuse unqualified individuals the right to teach in the primary classroom. In accordance with the bureaucratic system in Bangladesh, the Ministry or Division was responsible for the recruitment of the lower grade (class) public employees, including primary teachers, and for setting the criteria for entry into the occupation; unions were not involved in this process.

As indicated in the chapter four, the nationalization of primary education made it possible for the regime of the time to recruit massive numbers of untrained and unqualified party supporters into the primary teaching occupation. Since there were no other primary teachers' unions and the leaders of the BPTA were loyal to the Mujib regime, the BPTA did not oppose

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[94] Interview: BPTAFS(4)
[95]This comment was made in connection with the publication of the annual report *Halkhata* 1413 (Year-book 2006) of the Quality Primary Education Movement.

the regime's actions[96]. In fact, the BPTA was active in implementing regime's agenda and its activities were restricted to what was 'officially approved'[97].

Some teachers I interviewed felt that, even after the Mujib era ended in 1975, the BPTA had done little to ensure that highly qualified candidates were recruited into the occupation, which might have changed the "negative image" of primary teachers that exists in the society (i.e. primary teachers are poorly qualified and trained). Some teachers even accused the BPTA of not doing enough to put pressure on succeeding regimes to adopt a reward policy that would encourage university graduates to join and remain in the occupation. Recent studies and media reports have revealed that the small number of university graduates that joined the occupation stayed only a short time. As one woman primary teacher remarked[98]:

> University graduates like myself join the primary teaching occupation for the time being because it is better to be doing 'something' (primary teaching) until we get a 'respectable job'. I like to teach little kids, but there is no hope in this vocation because neither the government nor the union (primary teachers' union) are seriously trying to get university graduates to join the occupation. The elevation of primary teaching to an all-graduate occupation is not a point on the long list of BPTA demands; in fact, the leaders of the teachers' unions feel that their leadership is threatened if university graduates join the occupation!

It should be mentioned that, with the exception of the president, most of the key figures in the central executive committee of the BPTA (e.g. general secretary, finance secretary, etc, who have been in leadership positions for more than three decades) possess only 10-12 years of academic education (SSC or HSC). Since wealth or level of education matter most in justifying leadership claims in a hierarchical society like Bangladesh, "it would be difficult for these old leaders to remain in their leadership positions in the BPTA if candidates with higher education (e.g. university graduates) were recruited to the primary teaching occupation; the current leaders have neither wealth nor higher academic qualification to justify their leadership claim"[99]. Given their low academic background, most of the BPTA leaders sought to increase their support base among primary teachers with the same qualifications or less than themselves, and therefore demanded further nationalization of other non-government primary schools[100] (e.g. Registered Non-Government Primary Schools, Non-registered Primary Schools, Satellite school, Community Schools, and Ebtedayee Madrasa or

[96] Interview: WBEE(1)
[97] Interview: SHTRNMPS(5)
[98] Interview: ATZGPS(11)
[99] Interview: ATRMGPS(13)
[100] Interview: LNGOFO (2)

religious primary schools, etc). When the BPTA submitted its 21-point[101] list of demands to the government in the middle of 1992, most of these were related to improving the conditions of service and benefits for primary teachers. Some of the prioritizing demands were: (1) all private primary schools must be nationalized; (2) head teachers must be given 2nd class public servant status; (3) different pay-levels must be given to Assistant Head Teachers; (4) primary teachers must be given benefits and allowances similar to other public servants in the same category; (5) the primary teachers' *Bhaban* (office building) must be handed over to the Azad group officially, etc. Thus, it is evident that the BPTA was emphasizing teachers' career development more than their vocational development. For example, they did not demand the improvement of teachers' vocational competence and training, or the denial of unqualified teachers' right to work.

It may seem surprising that the number one demand of the BPTA was the nationalization of all remaining non-government primary schools in the country. This is because people who are not qualified to be teachers are often employed to teach in these primary schools. For example, Ahmed has argued that non-government primary schools are usually established by unemployed local individuals who have some education in order to provide employment for themselves or their relatives as teachers (Ahmed et al, 2005:104). While a 'professional organization' usually exercises control over entry in order to maintain high standards of competence and integrity for all members of the occupation, this demand for the nationalization of all non-government primary schools seems contradictory to this role, as well as to a declared objective of the BPTA: "To organize primary teachers …in order to improve the quality of primary education….." (BPTA constitution, 1984:2). This raises the question of why the BPTA was demanding further nationalization when the non-government schools had less well-qualified teachers. Some teachers I interviewed complained that they had to pay a 'commission' to the leaders of the BPTA before they would pursue any contract issues (e.g. arrange service benefits such as pensions, withdrawal of official show-cause notice, etc). One primary head-teacher went so far as to relate this to nationalization demands[102]:

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[101] The BPTA first submitted its 21 points demand list to the Khaleda-regime in the middle of 1992 and later they submitted almost the same demand lists to Hasina-regime after its press conference in the National Press Club in Dhaka on 14 June, 2000.
[102] Interview: SHTZPS(1)

> The leaders of the 'Azad-group' always work on 'commission' and I wonder whether there is some 'commission businesses' for the BPTA underlying the demand for nationalization of all non-government primary schools.

On the other hand, as the secretary of the BPTA explained[103]:

> The name of our association is the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association. We represent 80% of the teachers in the primary sub-sector. Moreover, regimes usually show more interest in establishing low-cost non-government primary schools. The number of non-government primary schools has been increasing rapidly in comparison with public primary schools. As the main representative organization for the primary teachers, we cannot ignore the problems of the non-government primary teachers.

This indicates that one of the underlying aims of the demand for further nationalization may be to discourage the government from setting up more low-cost, low-quality non-government primary schools. The other important reason for this demand would be to extend BPTA's support base, and thereby enable it to fight more effectively against government regimes. Nevertheless, the BPTA's decision to prioritize the nationalization of schools that are generally staffed by 'unqualified' teachers marks a further compromise of the knowledge standard of teachers in the primary sub-sector.

The foregoing discussion reveals that the nationalization of primary education in 1974 may be viewed as one of the main obstacles to the establishment of a knowledge standard for primary teachers by their vocational association, in spite of the fact that the BPTA itself had made this demand. Nationalization was criticized most strongly because it gave the state bureaucracy absolute authority to set the criteria for teachers' recruitment, to manipulate the whole recruitment process, and to keep the BPTA from controlling entry into the occupation. Moreover, it isolated primary schools and teachers, hampering local involvement or community participation, and opened the door for political patronage and the earmarking of jobs and contracts for party supporters (Dove, 1983a). The BPTA's demand for the nationalization of primary education also demonstrated that its main interest was short-term 'bread and butter' issues (e.g. job security, regular salary and other benefits as accrued by government employees) at the expense of core elements associated with a professionalized occupation, such as autonomy, a differentiate career structure, and better training. The BPTA's demand for the nationalization of the remaining non-government primary schools that had 'some-educated' teachers illustrates the organization's failure to take the

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[103] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

responsibility for safeguarding the knowledge standard of teachers working in the primary sub-sector, and hence their jurisdiction. This accusation of failure may be justified by referring to Freidson, for example, who argues that a high degree of specialization or knowledge standard justifies the high degree of privileges and authority granted to a particular group of practitioners (Freidson, 2001).

6.3.2 The BPTA's Struggle to Gain Recognition as the Organization Representing Primary Teachers: A Story of Factions?

One of the interesting features of the public sector in Bangladesh is that there is no system for negotiating pay and benefits directly with the employer, i.e. the government. Moreover, due to the centralization of administrative authority in the public sector, an occupation-based organization like the BPTA cannot pursue its objectives (e.g. improvement of salaries and working conditions) through the usual method of collective bargaining (Quddus, 2001). This has often forced the BPTA to offer support to the political agenda of the various regimes, in exchange for benefits from them. This strategy has often provoked conflicts within the organization and led to the emergence of rival, competing organizations to represent primary teachers, a development that will be discussed in the following section.

6.3.2.1 Recognition under the Mujib Regime (1971-1975): Opportunity Gain

The first labour policy of Mujib regime, announced on 27 September 1972, stated that "The liberation of Bangladesh has opened a new chapter in the ….political life of the people….As a first step towards 'socialism' the government has already nationalised [basic services] …. This is definitely a first step forward in socialising our country and improving the living and working conditions of our working class". It further stated that there would be only one organization (union) representing a specific vocation in public sector for the purpose of collective bargaining. This one-union policy restricted the options of the low-paid public-sector employees such as primary teachers; it made it possible for the BPTA to be recognized as the sole union representing primary teachers in the country. Although the Mujib regime later rescinded this labour policy due to changes in the socio-economic and political situation, the BPTA succeed, with the hegemonic support from the regime, in broadening its support base countrywide by establishing its grass-root units, i.e. Union level.

While the BPTA was recognized as the sole representative of primary teachers by the first regime, this did not necessarily mean that it would be recognized unconditionally by successive regimes. This had implications for its success in persuading its own agenda for changing the conditions for primary teachers.

6.3.2.2 Recognition under the Zia Regime (1976-1981): Opportunity Lost

The assassination of Mujib during a military coup in 1975 brought the first regime to an end, as well as the golden age of the BPTA. An interim government came to power, headed by Mustaque Ahamed (one of Mujib's cabinet colleagues). With the support of the military, Mustaque was in power for only 73 days, during a time of political turmoil and severe economic crisis. During Mustaque's short-lived regime, the BPTA's mission underwent a significant shift[104]. Due to the severe socio-economic and political crisis, perhaps, as well as fear of victimization in the future because of its leaders' close connection with the earlier regime, the leadership of the BPTA decided to establish a fund. This marked the organization's emergence as a business, with the associated worry that it would be difficult to raise sufficient funds to ensure its continued existence following the overthrow of the regime that supported it. The leaders of the BPTA managed to obtain a 'trade permit' from the Mustaque regime so that they could sell garments to primary teachers under the auspices of the state Famine Relief Fund. The BPTA also bought some properties with the profit (commission) they had made selling clothes[105].

The hardest time for the BPTA started when General Zia's military regime took over from the Mustaque regime in 1976. The Zia regime made several gestures to public sentiment in order to widen its popular support (Talukdar, 1981). As part of one such gesture, the constitution was amended, but not rescinded, by a martial law proclamation that defined "socialism" as "economic and social justice"[106]. Although Zia's economic policy leaned towards privatization and market economy, his stance was vague on the issue of 'nationalization' of basic public services, including primary education. Since the BPTA was the key promoter of the nationalization of primary education and had been the major beneficiary when the Awami League was in power, the Zia regime was cautious and tactful in its dealings with the BPTA. In 1978 the military regime donated *Taka* 5 *lakh* ($33000) as a goodwill gesture to the BPTA,

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[104] Group discussion with the central leaders of the BPTA, March 2003
[105] Interview: BPTAGS(2)
[106] The Proclamation (Amendment) Order, April 1977 on article 42 of the constitution passed by Awami League

for the purpose of building its own office building[107]. However, such a donation was not given unconditionally; it was intended to win the support of the BPTA leaders for the regime's primary education reform agenda. One of the influential BPTA leaders maintained that[108]:

> All the regimes need our support to implement their new programmes and policies, i.e. reform agendas related to primary education. They know that we have supporters at the village level. Primary teachers know the feeings/attitudes of the villagers and have close connections with the community. Therefore, regimes need to bring primary teachers into their confidence if they want to implement their policies successfully. Zia's donation was a step towards recognition of primary teachers' importance, and brought them into the confidence of the regime.

In accordance with Zia's declared non-socialistic policies, and with the view that the 'nationalization' of primary education had been a tool that allowed him to use primary teachers for his own political purposes, "Zia later wanted to de-nationalize primary schools but in a different manner".[109] The Primary Education Act (Act no. IV of 1981), which was passed by parliament on 30 April 1981, established a new local government system called "*Swanirvar Gram Sarkar*" (local self-government at the village level); these units were made responsible for the management and supervision of local primary schools. However, it was undecided whether urban primary schools would remain under central bureaucratic control or be placed under the local urban government. This attempt of the Zia regime to transfer authority for the appointment, posting, promotion and transfer of teachers and other primary school employees to local "*Swanirvar Gram Sarkar*" was seen by the leaders of the BPTA as a long-term plan for the de-nationalization of primary education[110]. Despite the fact that the Act of 1981 clearly declared that "all persons serving in a primary school as teachers or other employees shall be Government servants" (GoB, 1981, p.5), this proposal still created anti-government feelings among the BPTA leaders. They declared non-cooperation with the government, therefore, and adopted what they called "action programmes", including sit-in's, demonstrations and processions; statements on mass media; collective fasting and *gherao* (picketing); and strikes. There was a 73-day-long general strike in the government primary schools in 1981 as part of this "action programme". In addition, a public meeting was called in the capital city of Dhaka, which "hundreds of thousand schoolteachers attended and Zia

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[107] Interview: BPTAGS(2)
[108] Interview: ibid
[109] Interview:ibid
[110] Interview: BPTAFS(4)

tried to split the BPTA at that time[111]". Finally, an agreement was signed by the regime and the BPTA, according to which all "action programmes" of the BPTA ceased, and the government retreated on the issue of the transfer of management and supervision authority for primary education to the *Swanirvar Gram Sarkar"*. Apparently, it was the BPTA that won this heated battle. Primary teachers remained as part of the country's bureaucracy and under central government control. However, as a result of this conflict, the relationship between the Zia regime and the BPTA cooled somewhat and the regime often tried to undermine the BPTA leaders position and that of BPTA as a whole[112].

6.3.2.3 Recognition under the Ershad Regime (1982-1990): From Rhetoric to Reality

After Zia's assassination, General Ershad came to power in another military coup in March 1982. Ershad's regime initially followed the same strategies as his predecessor. The regime's initial strategy was to encourage a small group of primary teachers to break away from the BPTA[113]. One such initiative was the formation of a new faction of the BPTA, marking the first division in the history of the primary teachers' association. It was called the 'Amiri--Fazlu group' since Amiri was the group's President and Fazlu was the General Secretary. The newly formed pro-government faction tried to cause legal problems for the BPTA and its leader, Azad. This group challenged Azad's position as the president of the BPTA on the grounds that he had never been a primary teacher and belonged to another profession i.e. university teaching. The newly-formed faction took the issue to the High Court in an effort to ban Azad from BPTA activities. According to BPTA members, "All such activities of the Amiri-Fazlu group were supported and even financed by the Ershad regime and this group got all sorts of patronage from the regime of the time".[114] For example, Ershad "gave cash donations to the 'Amiri-Fazlu group' and sanctioned the construction of an office building for the group on a 10-*kata*[115] plot of public land, and Azad was arrested because he was organizing primary teachers against these anti-teacher activities"[116]. However, the extensive patronage offered to the newly-formed pro-government faction was simply a political tactic of

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[111] Interview: BPTAFS(4)
[112] Interview: BPTAGS(2)
[113] Interview: BPTAFS(4)
[114] Interview: ibid
[115] 1 *kata* is equivalent to 720 square feet.
[116] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

the government to put pressure on the BPTA to shift the leadership's support to the new regime.

The uncooperative attitude of the regime toward the BPTA made it extremely difficult to carry out its normal activities, particularly for its leaders, so the BPTA leaders took steps to find some way to negotiate with the regime. One of their strategies was to revive the various "action programmes", including demonstrations, collective fasting and non-cooperation. Finally, both government representatives and BPTA leaders came to an agreement and Azad was released from prison. At a later date, "Ershad called Azad and asked what he/his organization (BPTA) needed from the government[117]" and a deal was negotiated in which the BPTA was to arrange a government-sponsored meeting at Pakshi in the spring of 1988. The meeting was attended by hundreds of thousands of primary teachers, as well as the Prime Minister, and Ershad was an honoured speaker. Despite the fact that this was a convention for primary teachers, Ershad's speech was highly political, being "mainly an attack on the political opposition" (Gustavsson, 1990:93). Nevertheless, Ershad declared publicly that primary teachers would receive some service benefits (e.g. time-scale[118], recreation benefits, two annual festival allowances instead of one, a teachers' welfare trust, and assistant head teacher posts). In addition, Azad was offered an overseas scholarship for PhD research with the financial support of the government[119]. However, Azad "considered Ershad's offer to be a conspiracy against the BPTA intended to split it further, so he refused to accept the offer".[120] While one factor influencing his decisions may have been fear of the BPTA being split up, but Azad was also hesitant to leave his key leadership position. He seemed to find his position as president of the BPTA, more important and influential that his teaching position at the University. In spite of his long teaching career, he has remained an assistant professor at Dhaka University to retirement age, having achieved little professionally and failed to meet the requirements regarding research and publication. However, his position as the top leader of the BPTA has offered him the opportunity to come in interacts with the political and

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[117] Interview: BPTAFS(4)

[118] Members of civil service in Bangladesh are paid according to position on a 'pay scale'. Employee on a pre-pay scale do not have scope for promotion or it may take a very long time to be promoted to the upper career ladder (e.g. in primary teaching there are only two posts i.e. head teacher and assistant teacher); in this case, they are entitled to receive a salary and other benefits associated with the next ladder of the pay scale after 8, 12, 15 years of service respectively.

[119] Group discussion with the General Secretary and other central leaders of the BPTA, March 2003

[120] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

bureaucratic elites of the country, a position which has gained him benefits occasionally.[121] Thus, he did not want to lose these opportunities in order to study abroad.

With regard to the above-mentioned plot of public land, which was located next to DPE (Directorate of Primary Education), this was later re-allocated by Ershad to the BPTA as a site for its office. It should be mentioned that DPE is the nerve-center for management and supervision of primary education in the country. One of the leaders of the BPTA explained the advantages of having an office building close to the DPE as follows[122]:

> DPE is the nerve center of the primary education administration. Primary teachers from all over the country visit this office for various reasons. From joining the occupation to retirement, teachers need to contact peoples in this 'red building', and most find the experience awful. So, if the union office is close to the DPE, leaders will be able to help teachers to deal with the officials. Moreover, union leaders need to know what decisions are being made in the DPE in connection with primary education and particularly primary teachers.

Some of the DPE officials that I interviewed took a different view of this matter. For example, a mid-level official remarked that[123]:

> Primary teachers' union leaders visit this office to pursue some sort of *tadbir*[124] on behalf of the teachers who are their supporters and members. If the BPTA can manage to build its central office next to the DPE, it will simply increase their *tadbir* activities and hamper the normal activities of the DPE.

Despite the fact that the BPTA maintained a close relationship with the regime, the formal transfer of this building plot was not completed before the regime ended in 1990.

On 4 June 1985, the Ershad regime also established "The Government Primary School Teachers Welfare Trust Ordinance, 1985 (Ordinance XXVI of 1985)", which was later passed by Parliament; the aims included helping primary teachers and their dependents, and providing financial support for medical treatment, higher study, and vocational development. Ershad personally contributed taka 30 *lakh* (US$11,500[125]) to the Welfare Trust Fund. The

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[121] Interview: SHTZPS(1)
[122] Interview: BPTACCUS(2)
[123] Interview: DPERO(10)
[124] "*Tadbir* is a kind of lobbying to manage a decision taken or to be taken by an authority overruling, breaking, or bending existing norms and practice…..a process that leads to corruption because it breaks away the standard bureaucratic norms, values, and impersonal rules….*Tadbir* is a pathology of Bangladeshi culture. ……The degree of tadbir has reached to such an extent that one has to resort to *tadbir* even for routine matters, which are considered due. *Tadbir* interferes in normal functioning of the bureaucracy and decision making through undue influencing." (Jamil and Haque, 2004:51)
[125] 1 USD was equivalent to 26 *Taka* in 1984-85 (Source: *Economic Trends* (Vol.XX, No.9 & XXVIII, NO.3), Statistics Department, Bangladesh Bank.

formation of the Teachers' Welfare Trust by the Ershad regime was extremely beneficial from the perspective of the BPTA since this paved the way for its leaders to gain jurisdiction over the activities of this crucial body. According to the provisions under clause 5 of the "Teachers' Welfare Trust 1985 Ordinance", the function of the Trust was to be conducted under the direction of a trustee board consisting of 21 members: 11 of these would be nominated by the government and 10 by the BPTA. One of the 10 teachers nominated was to serve as the secretary of the Teachers' Welfare Trust and the tenure of the board was to be two years. The establishment of the "Teachers' Welfare Trust" and having fact that only BPTA supporters were represented on the board was considered to another remarkable achievement after nationalization of primary education in 1974 for the BPTA. Since the BPTA had succeeded in establishing a close relationship with the Ershad regime, the "Amiri-Fazlu group" hardly made its presence felt; patronage from the regime stopped due to its small support base.

6.3.2.4 Recognition under the Khaleda Zia Regime (1991-1996): Non-Cooperation Revisited

In a convincing victory, the Ershad regime was toppled by an urban-based mass movement in the late 1990s, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) led by Begum Zia (the widow of General Zia) came to power in one of the first free elections to be held in Bangladesh for twenty years (Rock, 2001). However, the BPTA had problems working with the new regime because of its close relationship with the previous "autocratic regime". Moreover, non-cooperation with political opponents and lack of continuity in policy are common phenomena in the political-administrative culture in Bangladesh. Khaleda Zia, who had fought alongside other opposition parties to restore democracy for eight years, accused the leaders of the BPTA of being *dalal (*collaborators) with the Ershad military regime. Her political rival, Ershad, had allotted a public plot to the BPTA for their office and had created the post of assistant head teacher in primary schools. In response, her regime made no effort to implement these policies. The activities of the "Teachers' Welfare Trust" were also allowed to lapse for the same reason. Another BPTA faction named the "Awal group" was created with the support of this regime. It was from this pro-government[126] faction that the teachers' representatives on the Board of Trustee of the "Teachers' Welfare Trust" were selected. The leaders of the BPTA reacted strongly to these policies. From their perspective, this was a matter of 'outsiders' gaining access to their sphere of influence and exercising authority over matters

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[126] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

relating to the well-being of primary teachers. Since both the BPTA and the "Awal group" claimed to be 'genuine' representative of the BPTA, they both took the matter to court in order to obtain a ruling regarding which group should be represented on the Board of the "Teachers' Welfare Trust". The court ruled that the activities of the Teachers' Welfare Trust were in abeyance. The BPTA had not only gone to court to challenge the government decision on this matter, but had also taken to the streets with a list of 21 demands. This was part of their anti-government struggle in 1992, which also included an appeal by the BPTA leaders to organize teachers to show their strength in another "non-cooperation" movement[127]. As a result, Azad was arrested again, and in his absence, other central leaders of the BPTA declared "action programmes" including agitation, demonstration and meeting in the capital city Dhaka. The aim was to put pressure on the regime to free their leader and to make their 21 demands. In a meeting held in Dhaka in the middle of 1992, hundreds of thousand primary teachers took to the streets[128]. Finally, the government and the BPTA reached an agreement which Azad freed from the jail. The BPTA later called a meeting of its National Representative Council in Dhaka, at which the secretary general of the ruling BNP party made the speech. The strength of the 'Awal group' waned quickly once the BPTA had begun to negotiate with the regime. At the end of its period in office, the Khaleda regime transferred 900 teaching posts from "development-head"[129] to "revenue-head", in accordance with one of the BPTA's demands.[130]

6.3.2.5 Recognition under the Hasina Regime (1996-2001): Looking for Allies

As stated in chapter 4, the Awami League (AL) returned to power in 1996 after 21 years following another free and fair election. From the very beginning, the Hasina regime identified the BPTA and its main leader Azad as a *dalal* associated with the earlier regimes. Thus, caution had to be displayed in dealing with the BPTA. Why had the Awami League changed its attitude about Azad and the BPTA—once a close ally? The secretary general of the BPTA replied[131]:

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[127] Interview: ibid
[128] Interview: BPTAFS(4)
[129] Posts that are classed "development head" are temporary and commonly created with the assistance of foreign aid as "project" for a specific period of time (2-5 years). Thus, teachers working in these posts are always aware that they may lose their job at the end of the project if the government doesn't absorb these post as "revenue head" (government-supported permanent posts)
[130] Group discussion with the central leaders of the BPTA, March 2003
[131] ibid

> One of the powerful members of Hasina's cabinet suggested that we (BPTA) act as an affiliated wing of the ruling party. We requested that he deal with the BPTA as the main representative organization of the primary teachers since it represents 80% of the primary teachers. However, the minister was of the opinion that they needed support of 'like-minded' teachers, and not large amount of primary teachers!

It is common in the political context and culture of Bangladesh for each political party to have a wing in all vocations and organized groups in the society (e.g. farmers, physicians, students, teachers, and so on) in order to mobilise mass support and participation in party activities. Moreover, it is not uncommon for a regime to put pressure a particular vocational group or to offer them special privileges if they will declare their party affiliation. However, the decision to use such pressure or favours depends on how influential the particular vocational group is in society.

Another member of the Central High Command of the BPTA remarked[132]:

> We are living in a 'party society', where many aspects of our vocational life have been affected by the policy of the ruling party. Leaders of the party in power usually judge everything from the perspective of their narrow party interests and. The party in power never tolerates any demand that goes against their party interests.

Probably because of bitter past experience in dealing with earlier regimes, the leaders of the BPTA refused to become 'party-men'. The immediate response of the regime was to cancel the Prime Minister's scheduled meeting with the representatives of the National Committee of the BPTA. The Prime Minister not only refused to meet with representatives of the BPTA, but the regime also took a harsh stand against the organization. According to the secretary general[133]:

> Another new government-sponsored faction called the 'Sufia-Amiri group' was formed under the direct control and support of the regime. The regime sent a bulldozer to demolish the tiny office building we had recently erected on the public land given to us by the Ershad government. The regime re-allotted the land to the 'Sufia-Amiri group' and registered the land in the names of the group leaders, Sufia and Amiri. We tried to negotiate with the ruling party to re-start Teachers' Welfare Trust activities (stopped due to the legal battle), but to no avail due to the regime's lack of interest and reluctance.

As part of the Hasina regime's harsh stand against the BPTA, the "Primary School Teachers Welfare Trust Ordinance, 1985" was amended in order to give the regime more influence in the selection of teachers' representatives in the Trust. Thus, the "The Government Primary

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[132] Interview: BPTAPDCU(7)
[133] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

School Teachers Welfare Trust (Amendment) Bill, 2000 was passed in Parliament with the following amendment:

> Ten teachers [member] are to be nominated by the government in consultation with the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association. Where there is more than one association of teachers and an agreement cannot be reached among them, the government's decision on the nomination shall be the final.

The earlier provision was simply "ten teachers [members] to be nominated by the government after consultation with the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association." The above amendment and the reluctant attitude of the Hasina regime meant that their relationship with the BPTA was tricky. In 1998 the regime also announced[134] that they were prohibiting primary teachers' from being involved in and carrying out union activities with an "outsider" (meaning Azad). Moreover, disciplinary action[135] was also taken against some key leaders of the BPTA (e.g. dismissal and issuance of show-cause notices) on the grounds that they had violated this government proclamation.

In an attempt to save his colleagues from these aggressive actions of the Hasina regime, Azad wrote a letter to the then chief secretary of the Primary and Mass Education Division (now Ministry of Primary Education), in which he claimed[136]:

> the BPTA is a social-welfare organization registered under 'the Society Registration Act' in 1962-63.....BPTA is not a organization for 'collective bargaining' on behalf of members of the civil service.

The magnitude of the government's attack on Azad was so great that it compelled the organization president to call the BPTA a social-welfare organization instead of a union of primary teachers. Azad's letter further claimed that it would be unjustified to take disciplinary action against BPTA leaders under the provisions of the "Membership of Service Association Act, 1979" since the BPTA is not a union. It should be mentioned that it is a punishable offence for members of the Bangladeshi civil service to join a vocational association without prior government permission[137]. Despite the fact that the BPTA had been acting as a vocational union of primary teachers since independence and most of its activities appeared to

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[134] Circular no. PMED/admn-3/association-1/98/368 date: 16.08.98; Circular of DPE no. 2-A, 9B-DA/95/262/69 date: 24/08/98.

[135] For example, official show cause notice were issued under the "The Government Employee Behavioural Act, 1979" to the General Secretary, the Finance Secretary, Assistant Finance Secretary and Assistant Organization Secretary of the BPTA by the Dhaka District Primary Education Officer (memo no: miscellaneous /adm/1007/97/45/4 dated 10.01.99)

[136] Azad letter to the Secretary of the PMED about misuse of "Membership of Service Association Act" against leaders of the BPTA dated 14.02.1999.

[137] Interview: MOPMEDC(3)

involve collective bargaining, the organization was occasionally force to hide its true identity in the face of threats from the regimes.

Neverthess, Azad's claim that the BPTA was a social-welfare organization did not help to protect the leaders from the disciplinary action of the government and to develop a workable relationship with the Hasina regime until the regime came to an end in 2001. Moreover, during the Hasina regime all activities of the "Teachers' Welfare Trust" remained in abeyance. Having no other option, the leaders decided to take to the streets again, calling for sit-ins, demonstrations and processions in order to compel the regime to desist their persecution of the BPTA leaders. It also observed strike at the primary schools. It is interesting to note that BPTA leaders met secretly with the upper echelon of the main opposition party of the time, BNP, just before the 2001 national election. The aim of this meeting was to get the party to commit itself to re-starting the organization's activities; to guaranteeing their sole representation in the "Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust"; and to withdraw all the disciplinary measures taken against them by the Hasina regime. According to one informant, "In the meeting we assured the BNP of our support in the forthcoming general election on the condition that they fulfil our demands".[138] The BNP and its allies won in the 2001 election with a two-third majority, which opened new opportunities and avenues for the BPTA. For example, the finance secretary of the BPTA was transferred to the primary school where the office of the "Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust" was located as head teacher, and he was also appointed the secretary of the Trust by the government. Moreover, all teachers' representatives on the Trust Board were selected from the BPTA and it activities were resumed after what had been a long time. Thus, the BPTA again became the driving force in the "Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust".

To summarize, it can be claimed that, the BPTA had never had the unconditional support of the regimes. The regimes were interested in using the organization, with its strong support base all over the country, for political and electoral purposes. Conflict that was initiated by the regimes often resulted in a split in the organization, which weakened the organizational solidarity. Inter-union rivalry resulted mainly from regimes' support and encouragement, and was one of the major hindrances to its development and collectivization of power. Moreover, because of the pervasive bureaucratic structure of the state and of the system of political

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[138] Group discussion with the leaders of the BPTA, March 2003

control of vocational organizations, the BPTA was not sufficiently well-organized and coherent to compel the effective participation in the highly centralized and regulated political and administrative system in the country. Constant conflict with the regimes also affected the ability of the BPTA to direct itself, as did the lack of uniformity and consistency in its strategies for gaining recognition. This situation sometimes compelled the BPTA to demand the nationalization of the non-government primary schools (RNGP, NPS etc), which had 'some educated' teachers, in order to broaden its existing support base to win their battle against the regimes. Primary teachers' low educational qualifications and fear of victimisation as member of the civil service have also paved the way for an 'outsider' who belonged to another profession, i.e. university teaching, to fill the top leadership position in the BPTA for more than three decades. Azad, the president of the BPTA, need not fear victimization by the regimes, since his Dhaka University position is not under the jurisdiction of "The Public Servants (conduct) Rules, 1979" and "The Public Servants (discipline and Appeal) Ordinance, 1985". Nevertheless, the 'outsider' issue is definitely a problem for the BPTA, especially in its dealings with the regimes (e.g. Hasina regime). Sometimes a regime-initiated conflict among factions may be triggered by rivalry over this issue.

6.3.3 The Ideology or Code of Ethics of the BPTA: Do these Reflect the Values of a Welfare Organization or those of a Vocational Union?

As stated in earlier chapter that the teacher is the main actor in the teaching/learning process. S/he is the prime bearer, and to some extent the generator, of the norms of a particular education system. It is expected that primary teachers, in order to set high standards of morality, will display qualities such as honesty, sincerity, impartiality, responsibility, diligence and genuine sympathy for school children, as well as scholarship and competent teaching. This can be related to the literature on the sociology of professions, which has emphasized two types of societal obligation on the part of the professionalised occupations (Abbott, 1983:855): (i) corporate obligations for service to the society (Durkheim, [1902] 1964; Marshall, 1939); and (ii) individual obligation to the particular client (Parsons, 1951) and colleagues (Abbott, 1983). Of these, the later is of utmost important and is governed by both formal and informal rules known as "codes of ethics". In general, a code of ethics is a system of moral values as well as legal rules; that is a special means of control that protects clients. Abbott has defined it as "corporate obligations as well as prescriptions for relationships to clients and colleagues" (Abbott, ibid P.856). In this regard, the leaders of the

practitioners' organizations may stress the need for greater focus on the enforcement of the code of ethics, emphasizing the tendency to punish breaches of occupational obligations by individual practitioners; for example, negligence in the public health sector, poor quality education, exploitation of junior colleagues or law clients etc (Freidson, 2001:214). Like other members of a society, members of any occupational group need political freedom, civil liberties, a reasonable standard of living, and equitable conditions of employment, but at the same time they may be held accountable in matters of moral and occupational ethics (Obanya, 1993:207). Therefore, they are required to comply with a certain code of ethics imposed by their representative organizations (unions); for example, they may be expected to deliver unbiased and high quality services to the clients and society as a whole, to praise other practitioners, and to maintain explicit self-regulation and concern for others. Such criteria may apply if an occupation is to be granted corporate authority by the state. In fact, a 'professional' code of ethics has two basic functions: firstly, to warn its members of the consequence of certain kinds of behaviours that are considered unprofessional or unethical, and would bring the profession into disrepute; and secondly, to guide its members in situations posing special difficulties (Langford, 1978:74). According to Abbott, "individual allegiance to the group, pledged by compliance with group rules, would become the fundamental guarantee of disinterested service" (Abbott, 1983:870). He adds that the corporate nature of the service implies that the corporate group itself must take control of individuals within it and that practitioners affirm their membership in the group whose disinterested services give the group high extra-occupational status (ibid, p.869).

Langford argues that a profession has a code of ethics, which he broadly calls a "code of professional conduct", that addresses issues related to: (a) explicit statements of the overall objectives of an occupation which its members share and are aware of sharing; (b) how the declared objectives of an occupation can be achieved; (c) the maintenance of public trust in and respect for the occupation; and (d) the standards of payment or reward for practitioners; (Langford, 1978:71-77). In fact, the identity of a profession depends on its sense of purpose. A professional organinization sets specific objectives that relate to the interests of others (Langford, 1978:73). Thus, the members of an occupation are expected to deliver disinterested and high quality services to individual clients and society as a whole. This is the way they try to maintain public trust and respect, as well as state recognition of the occupation. It also helps practitioners' to achieve the material prosperity they desire; for example, by salary negotiation through collective-bargaining, by minimum charge scales, and

by imposing restrictions on entry into the occupation. In addition, professional associations adopt rules of conduct for members in order to achieve the set objectives; for example, the rules regulate members' behaviour by means of threats of official disapproval or other penalties awaiting those who disobey; they stipulate minimum levels of competence by insisting that only those who have passed an approved examination be allowed to practise; and they condemn or exclude those who ignore or disregard the standards of efficiency.

It is against this background that the code of ethics that is represented in the objectives of the BPTA can be examined. The following are some of the main objectives of the BPTA, as stated in its constitution (modified in 1984):

- To unite and consolidate all primary teachers in the country and inspire them with their responsibilities with regard to improving the quality of primary education;
- To mobilize primary teachers to become social workers through honesty, a spirit of patriotism and hard-work;
- To organize social movements in order to eradicate illiteracy and solve other problems deriving from rapid population growth;
- To meet the demands of primary teachers and solve their job-related and other problems, as well as to establishing programmes to improve the economic and social conditions of primary teachers; and
- To strive to ensure an educational environment that is free of politics and corruption.

These aims reflect the amalgamation of two tendencies, those of a 'vocational union' and 'social welfare organization'. Some of the aims reflect concerns for the interests of primary teachers as well as of those who use their services, and may be considered features of a vocational organization. These include the aims related to improving the quality of primary education; to serving as honest, devoted and patriotic members of the society; to improving the working conditions of teachers by solving vocational problems; to creating a better educational environment; and to meeting the primary teachers' economic and social demands. On the other hand, aims more generally associated with social welfare organizations include those intended to mobilize primary teachers as social workers; to organize social movements to eradicate illiteracy and solve other social problems.

These aims reflect the history of the BPTA, and can be traced back to 1924, when a representative organization was established for primary teachers in the then British Bengal. The first president of the organization was A.K. Fazlul Hoque, a renowned leader and social reformer who was nicknamed *Sher-i-Bengla* (the tiger of Bengal).[139] In 1962-63, the primary teachers' association in the then Pakistan was registered as a 'social welfare organization' under "The Societies Registration Act".[140] It was expected that primary teachers and their vocational unions would be concerned about the problems of the community, such as illiteracy and problems arising from rapid population growth. This was because, during the British and the Pakistani eras, primary education was mostly managed and supported by local communities, and teachers were in close contact with the local community. This situation changed dramatically with the nationalization of primary education in 1974. Since then, the state has had the overall responsibility for the management and supervision of primary schools and paying primary teachers. However, the top leader of the BPTA continued to claim that the BPTA was a social welfare organization, like in the 50s or 60s, instead of a collective bargaining agency or vocational union that was responsible for negotiating the terms and conditions of service on behalf of its members. The BPTA president claimed that:

> Since the establishment of the organization in 1924 none (including him) of the BPTA's president had been a primary teacher and all regimes since country's independence in 1971 had recognized the BPTA as a social welfare organization for primary teachers.[141]

Since most of the activities of the BPTA reflected the aims of a vocational union, it is unclear why Azad claimed it was a "social welfare organization". This may have been due to the restrictions that the Membership of Service Association Act, 1979 placed on primary teachers (as civil servants) involvement in union activities. As a social welfare organization, no administrative and disciplinary measures would be brought against primary teachers involved with BPTA's activities. A second reason for making this claim may have been the fact that it made it easier for the president to justify his position, as well as the business-oriented activities of the BPTA. In spite of these claims to the contrary, the history of the BPTA's struggle for recognition (see section 6.3.2) and the majority of the above-mentioned aims clearly demonstrate that it has been a vocational union for the primary teachers. Various reports support this perspective, stressing that the BPTA fought mainly to improve primary

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[139] Azad's letter written (dated 14.02.99) to the chief secretary of the then Primary and Mass Education Devision (p. 2)
[140] ibid
[141] ibid

teachers' economic benefits and working conditions (e.g. bargaining for higher salaries and promotions, and for freedom from external pressures and harassment), and to make teachers aware of their rights and privileges (Akhter, 1986 and Haque, 1987 also quoted in Gustavsson, 1991:73).

The self-imposed identity of the BPTA as a 'social welfare organization' prevented it from seeking legislative approval to bring primary teachers' activities under its surveillance as their representative organization. Nor was the state interested in transferring licensing authority to the BPTA so that it could impose a code of conduct on its members (e.g. warn primary teachers disapproved conduct, impose penalties for misconduct and failure to meet a minimum level of competency, or refuse to allow unqualified people to teach). In fact, all of the regimes since 1974 have demonstrated a strong interest in maintaining absolute control over primary teachers and their vocational unions, due to the massive influence they had in the local communities, particularly in rural areas. According to one top bureaucrat[142]:

> Primary teachers are members of the civil service, so it is the duty of the government to take into account what they really need. If necessary, government will do everything e.g. organize seminars and training, and issue licenses for the primary teachers. There is no need for a primary teachers union to be involved in these activities! Vocational unions of primary teachers always act like the collective bargaining agencies of the factory workers and their main task is to put pressure on the government. Because of the nature of their activities, the government has never officially recognized them as representative organizations for the primary teachers, and we invite only primary teachers not their unions to attend in the workshops/seminars organized by the state.

The discussion in section 6.3.2 has also revealed that although regimes dealt with the BPTA, they were reluctant to recognize it officially as the main vocational organization of the primary teachers. As a result, the BPTA has failed to exercise any authority over its members with regard to the fulfilment of the objectives cited above. One guardian expressed his frustration as follows[143]:

> Primary education, particularly in the public sector, is fast becoming a commercial commodity, yet a teachers' union like the BPTA has not acknowledged this particular issue. The BPTA is simply practicing trade union activities and for them trade union means trading!

In fact, some of the activities of the BPTA were not only contradictory to its declared objectives, but also encouraged primary teachers to become involved in unethical activities.

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[142] Interview: MOPMEDC(3)
[143] Interview: PTALLG(18)

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For example, the task of setting the questions for half-annual and annual examinations in grades III, IV and V has been considered the sole source of income of the BPTA since country's independence. Primary schools all over the country buy examination questions from the local (Thana, District) units of the BPTA. According to Gustavsson, the BPTA accumulated about "Taka 200 million in property through examination fees from the primary children" (Gustavsson, 1991:91). It should be noted that the government does not provide any grants to cover expenses related to examinations in the primary schools. In addition, primary teachers seem to lack the initiative to prepare questions for these examinations. A guardian complained that[144]:

> The task of setting examination questions is the one of the teachers' duties and responsibilities, and it is not a difficult task for them either. But they avoid their vocational responsibility in order to justify collecting a subscription from the children in the name of examination fees, which enables their union [BPTA] to accumulate millions of Taka.

One Upazila (Thana) unit leader of the BPTA explained that[145]:

> When selling the exam questions, we have to pay 15% and 10% of the total profits to the Union and District Committees of the BPTA respectively. This is in the constitution of our organization. Otherwise, the District Committee will take action against us. Moreover, we have to 'satisfy' the Upazila (Thana) Education Officer as well as the Assistant Upazila (Thana) Education Officers.

When visiting one Upazila Education Officer (UEO), I was surprised to notice that all the furniture in the offices of the UEO and AUEO had been 'donated' by the Thana unit of the BPTA, according to the inscription on each piece. When asked whether it is "officially acceptable to receive office furniture from the teachers' union", one AUEO replied[146]:

> The government appoints AUEOs without thinking about their working conditions. Without a sitting arrangement, how can you perform your duties? There are five ATEOs sharing this tiny office with two others, a typist and a clerk. I did not get any table and chairs for a couple of months after joining in this office. I don't see anything wrong with accepting furniture from anyone when my employer does not think of it.

However, these donations of furniture and efforts to keep the UEO/AUEOs 'satisfied' are not without conditions. The UEO often take it for granted that the teachers' union leaders are not bound by their official positions. According to one AUEO, "It is better if they are busy in outside business". Aware to the leaders' personal and organizational connections and

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[144] Interview: PTAMM(20)
[145] Interview: BPTAPSUU(1)
[146] Interview: AUEONS(3)

influence with those in high positions in the MoPME and the DPE, UEO/AUEOs indirectly count on them as a source of political help in personal or vocational matters.

A leader of the 'Amiri-Fazlu group' confessed the unethical involvement of the leaders of primary teachers unions[147]:

> It is a fact that many leaders of the primary teachers' unions fail to perform their regular duties in schools properly because of their involvement in union activities. These leaders manage the AUEO by means of regular bribes. During the Ershad regime, leaders of the Upa-zila units of the BPTA used to talk openly about how much they earned by selling examination questions and taking subscriptions from the children.

Given that union leaders themselves were involved in the unethical practices, they lacked the moral authority to impose sanctions on primary teachers to ensure good practices. Why should union members bother to be honesty, responsible and diligent when the leaders exhibit the opposite traits? High rates of absenteeism and tardiness among primary teachers are often reported in studies of the GPSs. For example, the PSPMP study of 2000 (quoted in USAID, 2002a:14) found that teachers were often absent or tardy, and the majority of the study schools started late by an hour or more. This tendency was confirmed during my own visits and observations of study schools. Teacher absenteeism or tardiness may result in pupils developing a negative attitude toward their teachers. Why should they worry about becoming conscientious citizens when their teacher displays exactly the opposite qualities? The PSPMP study also reported an 'alarmingly low' student attendance rates, and that teachers reported higher attendance rates than were actually the case. According to Dove, the teacher often uses his imagination in filling in the student attendance register (Dove, 1980:19). By manipulating the attendance rate, a teacher may benefit financially, through 'donations' from parents. The teacher's false attendance rate is important to a child's parents because attendance is a qualification criterion for benefits under programmes such as 'food for education', and for *upabitti* (study stipends) from the government. Many teachers, especially head teachers, manipulate not only student attendance rates, but also the minutes of SMC meetings; they maintain false records of meetings never held (USAID, 2002a; CAMPE, 1999). One of the Directors in the DG office placed the issue in the prevailing socio-economic context, claiming that[148]:

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[147] Interview: BPTAEC(6)
[148] Interview: DPEDPD(6)

Poverty and low salary are barriers to taking the primary teachers' job professionally. Moreover, monitoring and supervision are not working as planned. We have a well-defined supervision mechanism but it is still not working because no one from DPE to DPEO to TEO to primary school head teacher is devoted to their vocational obligations and responsibilities.

A DPEO added[149]:

If you look back 200 years in history, you would find that the majority of the teachers in Bengal were known as *gurus* in the *patshalas* (village primary schools). They had no higher education and vocational training, yet because of their missionary zeal and sense of morality, teachers commanded immense respect both from their pupils and the community. The *patshalas* teachers used to join the occupation willingly and accepted voluntary poverty. Frankly speaking, primary teachers today are not coming to the vocation willingly; rather they are joining the vocation because they have no alternative!

Gustavsson observed that the elitist and centrally controlled primary education system in Bangladesh, which defines the role of the primary teachers, is "partly an outcome of corrupt practices" (Gustavsson, 1991:65). Indeed, primary teachers have to pay large sums in bribes throughout their career, from the very beginning when they apply for a post, until their retirement when their retirement benefits are calculated. A study by Transparency International Bangladesh (2001) revealed that, in order to cover these additional expenses, it was necessary for teachers to break certain rules and tap into various resources. In fact, primary teachers are involved directly or indirectly in some unexpected activities due to the demands of the system, and on occasion, this is encouraged by their unions. Needless to say, immoral practices on the part of teachers often encourage an irresponsible and dishonest attitude among their pupils as well. If it is possible to advance to the next class without passing the examination, then one may ask: why not? Not surprisingly, the study also found that "cheating in exams is prevalent among primary-school students". Another research report revealed that, even in the 'good schools' (identified by the DPE), examination procedures were not followed properly and pupils had the opportunity to copy from one another (Nath et al, 2004). With respect to these undesirable attitudes in the primary schools in general, and teachers' behaviour in particular, the role of the BPTA in changing the situation was not very marked.

Since the 1980s, the Upazila education offices have been responsible for school supervision. In fact, the AUEO is the key actor, assigned to supervise and support the primary teachers in

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[149] Interview: DPEOC(1)

his/her sub-cluster of 15 to 20 primary schools. An AUEO usually evaluates the overall performance of each of these primary schools and its teachers biannually. In addition to these supervisory tasks s/he is also has responsible for improving the vocational skills of teachers through demonstration lessons (sometimes in the classroom) and sub-cluster training. AUEOs also have various administrative duties, including the collection of statistical data and information about the schools in the sub-cluster, and a recent addition, the administration of primary examinations. Thus, the task of setting the questions for semi-annual and annual examinations in grades III to V, which was traditionally the 'trade' of unions, became one of AUEOs duties. However, they were not required to set the questions for the Primary Scholarship Examination. These various activities kept the AUEOs so busy that they often failed to perform their main task of supervising and guiding primary teachers. According to one AUEO[150]:

> The DG office often insists that we take disciplinary action against the head teachers of schools if all the pupils who sat for annual primary scholarship examination did not pass. Recently, the same office wrote instructing the UEO/TEO to take disciplinary action against AUEOs/ATEOs like myself on the same ground. Two months ago the same office sent a letter to all AUEOs/ATEOs stating that disciplinary action will be taken if any pupil from a school in his/her sub-cluster fails the primary scholarship examination. The people in the DG office have nothing to do but send letters to us. In order to ensure better performance of the pupils in the scholarship examination, it is of utmost importance to recruit qualified teachers and to solve the prevailing teacher shortage. The DG officials always overlook these vital issues; instead they visit our offices frequently to see whether we are working or not. Therefore, when someone from the DG office comes to visit us, we always say 'yes' to them; but when they leave we generally ignore their instructions, and even their official letters. This is because their presence and official letters often do not solve the problems of teachers, but simply create new ones. Often, we cannot solve teachers' problems. I believe primary teachers treat us in the same way that we deal with our bosses from the DG office!

It should be stressed that the Primary Scholarship Examination is important both for individual students and schools because it is a means of identifying talented pupils and rewarding them with scholarships. It is also a way of encouraging schools to improve their performance and encourage their pupils to achieve excellence. To teach pupils for such a high-stakes examination, teachers also need expertise. However, government policy sometimes prevents the development of this expertise, and instead encouraged them to adopt unethical practices. As a member of the teachers' union observed[151]:

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[150] Interview: AUEONS(3)
[151] Interview: BPTAOS(3)

The civil service status of GPS teachers puts us in an awkward position. A teacher always needs prior permission (which is generally very difficult to obtain) from the government in order to publish his academic works. How can a teacher improve his vocational knowledge without publications? Most importantly, primary teachers are the ones who have the best 'suggestions' for the primary scholarship candidates, but no primary teacher is allowed to write a 'guide book'. So we publish the primary scholarship 'guide book' under pseudonyms.

This problem arises because members of the Bangladesh civil service are not allowed to publish anything without permission of the relevant authority, in accordance with the service rules. Such a system may have been introduced in order to protect state/official secrets, but it is not clear why primary teachers are prevented from publishing their academic material. It is probably due to their civil service status, or may be intended to discourage them from publishing material for commercial purposes instead of focusing on their duties. Some officials in the DG, on the other hand, take the view that primary teachers' incompetence and dishonesty originate at the top of the primary education administration. A law officer in the DG office explained his frustration[152]:

This office is the nerve centre of the primary education administration. But the work atmosphere here is a vicious circle of insincerity, non-cooperation, misuse, and inefficiency, and to some extent conflicts over exercise of power. When I see that my boss is not in his/her office, performing his/her duty by coming to the office on time, it undoubtedly influences me. On the other hand, my boss' superior in the Ministry is not behaving as expected either. So, we all get used to working in a myriad rules and unofficial practices, and primary teachers are no exception.

A representative of one of the donor organizations was of the opinion that "Unaccountability everywhere in the system and no environment to do a good job in the primary sub-sector[153]". Given the poor knowledge base of primary teachers and their unpredictable, dishonest and unaccountable practices, the users have very good grounds for not trusting and respecting the vast majority of primary teachers in Bangladesh, if not all. As one guardian stated, "Teachers used to be highly respected in our society. I cannot respect a teacher who is dishonest and does not come to the school regularly."[154]

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[152] Interview: DPELO(11)
[153] Interview: UNICEFC(5)
[154] Interview: SMCMG(15)

Nevertheless, the Secretary of the BPTA denied that primary teachers were engaging in any sort of wrong or corrupt practice in order to accumulate funds for the organization. In response to my question "What is the top priority of the BPTA?" the Secretary replied[155]:

> To find an immediate solution to the prevailing workplace difficulties of the primary teachers. Our organization has long been fighting to ensure better service conditions for primary teachers. We are living in a society where economic position [salary] rather than personal competence defines social status.

The BPTA places great emphasis on the improvement of salaries and working conditions, rather than on primary teachers' competence and integrity. This may be the prevailing view among its leaders' that improved economic position (salary) alone will lead to the high social status. However, critics such as Gustavsson (1991) argue that the BPTA as an organized body has done little to play a motivational role in inspiring, helping and encouraging teachers to become more professional, efficient, honest, hardworking and idealistic.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that there is built-in mechanism in the primary education system that extends from the central administration to the local level, which makes the teachers' position untenable. The systemic difficulties (e.g. lack of funds for fundamental activities and prevalence of bribery), as well as the BPTA's failure to sanction unacceptable behaviour, have resulted in the development of a self-centred attitude among the GPS teachers. In practice, the behaviour of members of the BPTA has been exactly the opposite of its set objectives, which stressed that primary teachers should be honest and hard-working, and that the educational environment should be free from corruption. Not only did the BPTA leadership fail to put their objectives into action, but on occasion they even encouraged primary teachers to engage in corrupt practices, such as collecting subscription and examination fees to fund the union. There is no doubt that such behaviour on the part of primary teachers has had definite consequence for reducing pupils' learning and for the individual teacher's credibility, as well as for general public trust and respect.

6.3.4 The Programmes and Policies of the BPTA for the Well-being of Primary Teachers: Are Leaders Simply Looking after Their Own Interests?

A 'professional organization' usually initiates, finances and executes a variety of plans and programmes to help its members to carry out their duties and improve their vocational skills.

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[155] Interview: BPTAGS(2)

The organization's own internal resources, as well as available external resources, are invested in these activities. Such programmes include: (a) financial support to members with exceptional needs not covered elsewhere, such as special medical treatment or education scholarships; (b) conference/seminars devoted to improving the system and making government programmes work; (c) regular in-service courses aimed at upgrading practitioners' vocational knowledge; and (d) publication of material expressing the practitioners' views on issues related to their vocation, as well as material introducing new ideas of interest to the practitioners.

In the three decades since the nationalization of primary education in Bangladesh, little has been done to further the vocational development of primary teachers; there have been few seminars and workshops held, journals published, resource centres established, etc. This was due not only to a lack of interest on the part of the government, but also to lack of pressure from the primary teachers' unions. For example, although the primary teacher training offered in the PTIs is inadequate for candidates who have only ten to twelve years of schooling and does not focus on children's needs (see chapter 5), the BPTA has simply ignored these shortcomings. It has taken little interest in improving the knowledge and skills of primary teachers, and has not even arranged regular in-service courses or seminar/workshops that would have helped teachers to perform their duties more efficiently and win public trust and respect. In fact, not a single one of the 21 points the BPTA submitted to the governments in 1992 and 2000 raised the issue of vocational development for primary teachers. As a self-declared "social welfare organization" for the primary teachers, the objectives of the BPTA deliberately avoided addressing this issue. Historically, the BPTA has over-emphasized the issue of career improvement for primary teachers at the expense of their vocational development. For example, Gustavsson observed that:

> Making teachers aware about their rights and privileges, bargaining for teachers' higher salary and promotion, keeping teachers free from external pressures and harassment were found to be very important to them [primary teachers' unions] (Gustavsson, 1990:91)

In fact, the BPTA succeeded in increasing the salary and fringe benefits received by government primary teachers. For example, the monthly salary was Taka 36 in the 1970s and had increased to Taka 1500 in 1990. In addition, they negotiated pensions, provident fund and other fringe benefits (Akhter and Juppenlatz, 1990:19). Although these achievements of the BPTA undoubtedly helped to improve the economic position of primary teachers, Akhter and

Juppenlatz (ibid) have pointed out that the BPTA's internal resources had also increased; there was Taka 300 million in fixed deposits, and Taka 20 million in property. However, these funds were not used to provide the services that were urgently needed, nor were they available to primary teachers. In fact, the majority of primary teachers were deprived of their proper share from the "Teachers Welfare Trust", into which they paid a regular mandatory subscription.

6.3.4.1 The Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust and the Politics of the BPTA

On 4 June 1985, the Ershad regime proclaimed "The Government Primary School Teachers' Welfare Trust Ordinance, 1985 (Ordinance XXVI of 1985)", which was passed later in the parliament. As stated earlier that the aims of the trust were to provide assistance to primary teachers and their dependents in such matters as medical treatment, and scholarships for higher education and training. To become a member of the Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust (PTWT) and eligible for support, every teacher working in the government primary schools was required to pay a membership fee of Taka 20, and an annual subscription of Taka 10. Under the provision of Ordinance XXVI of 1985, the government was also required to pay a fixed annual sum to the PTWT to facilitate its activities. Approximately 170 000 government primary-school teachers are registered members of the PTWT[156], and the PTWT fund was amounted to a total of Taka 46 million[157] in 2000. Instead of being used to further the wellbeing and vocational development of primary teachers, the Welfare Trust had become the focus of conflicts among the various factions of the BPTA. The leader of a break-away faction of the BPTA explained[158]:

> The formation of the Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust was intended to support low paid GPS teachers, but if it is always controlled (represented) by one particular faction this gives them free license to use the huge Trust fund for the sake of their narrow group interests. Since its inception, the Welfare Trust fund has been used by one particular group [Azad-group] to expand its support base by means of patronizing selected leaders and GPS teachers belonging to that group. Although a regular contributor, a teacher still needs to prove himself/ herself to be a member of that particular group to qualify for financial support from the Teachers' Welfare Trust.

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[156] Figure includes data up to May 2006. Retrived 15 August 2006 from
http://www.mopme.gov.bd/teachers_info.htm

[157] Figure presented in the press conference of the BPTA in the national press club at Dhaka on 14 June, 2000
[158] Interview: BPTAAF(6)

Most of the primary teachers I interviewed acknowledged that they had paid the mandatory annual subscription to the Teachers' Welfare Trust, but not a single teacher had ever succeeded in getting any assistance from the Welfare Trust, either medical benefits or scholarships. Some of them were unaware of the purpose of the Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust' and some also accused the BPTA leaders of being the main beneficiaries of the PTWT. As one primary teacher complained[159]:

> The Welfare Trust fund is not for general primary teachers, but for the BPTA leaders. If you ask the BPTA leaders at the national headquarters in Dhaka, you will find that all of them have received several thousand Taka personally from the Welfare Trust, some of them several times.

Thus, while the resources of the BPTA and the Welfare Trust fund amounted to millions of Taka, these funds were not used to promote the wellbeing and vocational development of GPS teachers. Furthermore, the BPTA leaders seem to be furthering their own interests at the expense of the association members. Yet while the BPTA has failed to allocate funds for primary teachers' vocational development, it is always ready to fund and organize the militant activities of primary teachers.

4.3.4.2 The BPTA's Support of Militant Activities

In general, it has not been possible to take union activities for granted in Bangladesh, either in the public or private sectors. Fearing disciplinary action by the government, the majority of the lower-grade public-sector employees, such as primary teachers, have avoided involvement in any sort of union activity which might endanger their livelihood. The status of primary teachers as civil servants, therefore, has prevented them from engaging in any union activities[160]. Given these imitations, the constitution of the BPTA includes some measures to protect its members from the risk of government reprisals. For example, clause 15(O) of the constitution clearly proclaims that "if any teacher loses his/her job or dies while taking part in 'risky' activities for the sake of the interests of the primary teaching community, this organization [BPTA] will provide substantial financial support from its own fund, including: (i) benefits for next 15 years if the victim has completed less than 15 years of service at the time of the incident and 20 if over 15 years; (ii) in case of dismissal or forced retirement by

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[159] Interview: ATGGPS(7)

[160] GPS teachers' service is under the Public Servants (conduct) Rules, 1979 and the Public Servants (discipline and Appeal) Ordinance, 1985

the government, or in the case of a fatality, the victim will be given similar benefits to those s/he would have been entitled to under the government service rule". These are some of the remarkable incentives the BPTA has offered in order to motivate government primary-school teachers to become involved in its militant activities, in spite of the prevailing restrictions and the risk involvement in union activities represents under the Public Servants (conduct) Rules, 1979 and the Public Servants (discipline and Appeal) Ordinance, 1985. When I asked GPS teachers whether they supported the militant activities of the BPTA, the majority had no clear answer.

6.4 Summary

The history of the development of the BPTA and its activities has suggested that the rise and continued existence of this organization was an outcome of continuous struggle with successive, more-or-less antagonistic, political regimes. Since 1975 the BPTA has been struggling for recognition as the legitimate representative organization (union) for primary teachers. Given the legal restrictions placed on organizations, the BPTA adopted distinctive survival strategies. Some of the remarkable features of the BPTA include: (i) its welfare profile; (ii) its commercial status; (iii) its 'commission' business; (iv) its factionalism; and (v) its focus on 'bread and butter' issues. In fact, these were the main driving forces in the development of the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association. Given the turbulent political situation in Bangladesh, the BPTA often seemed to be tied to the regime in power, and its leaders were loyal to that regime. However, this organization and its leaders have never had the unconditional support of a regime since independence. The regimes were always interested in using the organization because of its wide support base all over the country and its potential for political and electoral purposes, but they did not recognize it officially or grant it the authority to license future members of the occupation. The BPTA displayed the key features of both a 'vocational union' and a 'welfare organization', and internal conflicts and fissions were mainly the result of factions' efforts to capture the regimes' patronage for their own orgasnizational purposes. Inter-faction rivalry has also been a major obstacle to interest articulation and realisation of the organization's goals. The BPTA developed problems of asymmetric dependence and fragmented representation, and there was little mutual respect between factions and no effective means of appealing to the wider public. Given these organizational features and the pervasive bureaucratic and political control, teachers' unions, particularly in the primary sub-sector, were inadequately mobilized,

organized and coherent to gain legislative approval or official recognition as the representative organization for practitioners. Occasional teachers' uprisings compelled the various regimes to accept a temporary compromise; they were forced to negotiate with the BPTA and even to meet some of its demands. However, the issue of its recognition and empowerment remained unresolved.

The foregoing discussion has also stressed that, with the nationalization of primary schools, the regimes gained absolute authority over this sub-sector, including the power to set primary teacher recruitment criteria. This enabled them to manipulate the whole recruitment process and prevented the BPTA from controlling entry into the occupation. Lack of recognition and power meant that the BPTA also failed to exercise vocational authority by issuing licenses and by enforcing a code of vocational ethics for its members. In fact, this failure to impose sanctions on primary teachers for unacceptable behaviour stimulated the further development of this type of unacceptable behaviour among GPS teachers. On occasion, the BPTA itself encouraged teachers to become involved in questionable practices, for example, the collection of subscriptions and examination fees from the school children. Moreover, the ongoing conflict with successive regimes forced the BPTA to increase its support base, and to achieve this it demanded further nationalization – in spite of the fact that the inclusion of 'non-government primary schools with some educated teachers' would undermine the knowledge standard for teachers in the primary sub-sector.

Although the vocational development of primary teachers had long been neglected, the BPTA, with its fund and assets worth millions of Taka, still showed no concern about this issue. The activities of the BPTA were mainly limited to the accumulation of funds and assets, rather than in their use for the wellbeing and vocational development of the nation's primary teachers. Similarly, the Teachers' Welfare Trust offered assistance only to selected teachers and union leaders who belonged to the faction of the BPTA which was in control of this crucial body. Ordinary GPS teachers throughout the country paid a regular subscription to the Teachers' Welfare Trust, but were deprived of their share of the promised medical benefits or scholarships. In addition, the BPTA used its internal funds as an incentive to encourage increasing numbers of teachers to become involved in 'risky' militant activities. In view of the corruption and coercion associated with the BPTA vis-à-vis both the regimes and the members, it may be concluded that there is no autonomous union furthering the interests of primary teachers. Considering the above-mentioned attributes of the BPTA, it can be said that

in Bangladesh the ethics of primary teachers' representative organizations were corrupted and free vocational unions became prescribed. In addition, the dual roles and identities of the BPTA as "vocational union" and "social welfare organization" have also made it difficult to fulfil the organization's aims and objectives. The BPTA has generally adopted and implemented 'bread and butter' strategies aimed at increasing the salary and improving the working conditions of primary teachers. Thus, the BPTA has succeeded in bettering the financial position of teachers, although not up to the expected level.

Chapter 7

Users' Trust in the Primary Teaching Occupation

7.1 Introduction

As explained in chapter 2, the acquisition of legitimate authority is an essential feature in the professionalization of an occupational group. This legitimacy or authority is closely allied to the concepts of trust and confidence (Luhmann 1979; Ostrom 1990; Coleman 1990 quoted in Svensson, 2006), so the attitude and trust of the general public, and particularly of those using the service provided, is important for an occupation. Some scholars have claimed that the social recognition of an occupation is an essential part of the professionalization process (Vollmer and Mills, 1966; Hall, 1969 also quoted in Purvis, 1973). Relating this to the teaching profession, Burke argues that "teacher professionalization implies more trust in teachers and will inevitably involve more freedom for them…." (Burke, 1996:535). As mentioned in chapter 2, there are various notions of the concept of trust. For example, Bak has suggested that trust means taking risks with positive expectations, as well as granting discretionary powers to teachers (Bak, 2005:183). According to Luhman (1980 quoted also in Barber, 1983), trust means "reduction of complexity" for individuals and systems in a given context, and Barber (1983:19) maintains that this denotes "social control" when referring to trust. This "social control" implies the establishment of a monopoly of the market for practitioners, in return of their provision of technically competent services and fiduciary responsibility. Bak argues that the level of expertise and autonomy teachers have is linked to user trust (Bak, op cit, p.187). Thus, trust in the teaching occupation depends on the primary users' (e.g. parents and learners) impression of teachers as both legitimate and professional, as evident in, for example, their motivation, code of conduct, sensitivity and integrity (Bak, ibid p.188). Barber (1983) and Bak (2005) have identified certain aspects of vocational life as critical in increasing or decreasing public trust in a particular occupation. Thus, trust is closely related to: (a) the level of practitioners' knowledge and expertise; (b) the value placed on universal service delivery; (c) the practitioners' fulfilment of fiduciary obligations, such as altruism, and responsibilities; (d) the social control exerted by users with a higher education than the practitioners; and (e) the mechanisms of peer-control or standard-setting imposed by the practitioners themselves.

In Bangladesh, there are two groups of primary users of government primary teachers' vocational services: the pupils and their parents. These two groups are not fee-for-service users. In a somewhat wider perspective, the local community may also be viewed as a primary beneficiary of teachers' services. Moreover, as indicated in chapter 4, the Bangladeshi state is actually an important secondary user, in terms of the service provided to its citizens. It is the state that sets the salary and working conditions for government primary-school teachers, and it also determines the position of teachers in the bureaucratic hierarchy and the pedagogical structures within which teachers perform their day-to-day duties. Since the role of the Bangladesh state was discussed in chapter 4, this chapter focuses on the role of primary users, particularly in relation to their trust and confidence in skills and ability of primary teachers and the reward/sanction mechanisms that they use to maintain teachers' vocational standards. The five points enumerated above will provide a starting point for this discussion.

Primary teachers in Bangladesh face serious problems in their professionalization process that I attribute to built-in systemic weaknesses. For example, less competent and committed persons are being admitted to the sub-sector to fill vacant posts; the teacher-student ratio is high; there is a shortage of teaching aids and classrooms, as well as of fund for ordinary school activities (e.g. maintenance of schools,); and primary teachers' activities are under rigid bureaucratic control. These factors all contributed not only directly to the decline in user trust in the primary teaching occupation, but also indirectly, since they stimulate undesirable behaviour on the part of primary teachers which accelerates the decline in confidence. I would suggest that the varied demands and expectations of various users have pushed government primary-school teachers in different directions. Consequently, primary teachers lost their self-direction. Moreover, the rigid bureaucratic system has put primary teachers in a situation where the voices of majority parents and pupils were not heard. The 'guru' image of primary teachers no longer exists, partly because of their involvement in undesirable activities such as favouritism and nepotism, and partly because of the shift in education system from sacred knowledge to secular knowledge in the GPS. In addition to exclusive service delivery of many GPS teachers, patron-client relations have been considered more important than teacher-student relations with reference to the teaching-learning process in GPS. Primary teachers' often tend to pay special attention to pupils who belong to a small group of patrons, which undermines the trust and cooperation of the majority users, who are poor guardians. As a consequence, the common public perception of primary teaching as a noble occupation and

primary teachers' status as important and respected members of society has been gradually disappearing. The chapter is organized in four sections: section 7.2 provides a brief history of some institutionalized forms of parent-teacher interaction in the primary sub-sector; section 7.3 investigates users' perceptions of primary teachers as a vocational group, and what factors influenced the increase or decrease in public trust in primary teaching occupation, and hence its professionalization; and section 7.4 summarizes the conclusions to be drawn from the discussion.

7.2 The History of Teacher-User Relationships in the Primary Education Sub-sector

Bangladesh has been portrayed as a country of villages, and there are about 68,000 in total. In many villages, primary schools have been the centre of various community activities, such as the S*alish* (village-court), the adult evening classes, and the playground for young people (Blake, 1985:39). The relationship between primary teachers and the local parents and community can be traced back to British India. District School Boards (DSB) were established during the period 1920-1950 to facilitate the day-to-day functioning of primary schools and the procurement and posting of teachers, to encourage and stabilize community involvement, and to improve the quality of education by promoting local responsibility for the management of primary schools and teacher accountability (Task Force Report, 1993:72). Under the Bengal Rural Primary Education Act of 1930, School Management Committees (SMC) were created to ensure the smooth functioning of primary schools, and the DSB was authorized to control, direct and manage the dissemination of education in order to reach the ultimate target of universal, compulsory and free primary education in the then British Bengal (including East Bengal now Bangladesh). Although the Director of Public Instruction was in charge of overall management and the controlling authority at the central level, the direct administrative responsibility for primary education lay with the DSB alone. This act also granted DSB the authority to charge local taxes for primary education. The payment of an education tax and the opportunity to become involved in the School Management Committee (SMC) meant that the local community, particularly parents with school children, felt a kind of ownership of schools. Teachers were accountable to the community and were known to the parents, so teacher-user relationships were intimate and parents trust in teachers was high.

After the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, the situation gradually began to change. The Central Primary Education Committee (CPEC)[161] was created in post-independence Pakistan with the aim of centralizing power completely and bypassing the DSB system. During the Pakistan era, all issues related to primary education which had previously been under the jurisdiction of DSB, were scrutinized by the central committee. In 1950, the government announced the dissolution of the DSBs and created the District Primary Education Offices (DPEO). The former District Schools Inspectors became chief executives of the DPEOs under the bureaucratic control and guidance of the Deputy Commissioners (DPE, 1998:5). In fact, the Pakistani state adopted a more bureaucratic and centrally controlled policy in order to reverse the policies of the British.

In 1974, when the Bangladesh state assumed sole authority and responsibility for the management and delivery of primary education, all primary schools were immediately nationalized and the School Management Committees were disbanded[162]. Since primary schools had been taken over by the state, the teachers became public servants on the lowest rung of the bureaucratic ladder. Thus, nationalization pushed the community out of its traditional supportive and caring role, as well as its role in ensuring teachers' accountability. According to the 1993 Task Force Report:

> In the colonial days and before, basic education was always the responsibility of the local community and they carried those out successfully. As a result, quality of education even in remotest villages was much better on an average. (Task Force Report, 1993:74)

The nationalization not only released the local community from its responsibility to maintain, manage and control primary schools, but also created a gap between primary teachers and their service users. The community lost its motivation to take a real interest in what was happening inside government primary schools. In addition, while primary teachers had previously been very much a part of the community and had had regular, informal contact with parents, this contact became less regular after nationalization. This is confirmed by the comments of the majority of teachers I interviewed, who maintained that parents do not usually visit the primary school unless they are on the School Management Committee or there is some problem in the school. Such a situation indicates that parents were

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[161] The CPEC was created under the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education (East Bengal Amendment) Act of 1951 and the Primary Education (East Bengal Amendment) Act of 1954.
[162] The School Management Committee system was abolished under the Primary Schools (Take Over) Act of 1974.

dissatisfaction, either about the system or the performance of the primary teachers. For example, Blake mentioned that:

> In villages where the [private primary] school was supported by the local community, parents were satisfied with the education their children received, given the limitations. In these schools, I found the attendance of both teachers and pupils reasonably high, teacher-parents contact frequent and informal. In other villages, where the local schools had been taken over by the government, there was more likely to be erratic attendance (sometimes there was no teacher at the school at all and children were playing outside), little exchange between teachers and the community and less interest in school generally. At one school, the two teachers had been 'on leave' for last two years and the children of the area had received a very scratchy education during the ten years that it had been a government [primary] school. (Blake, 1985:45)

In fact, some undesirable tendencies had developed among GPS teachers as consequences of the nationalization of primary schools; for example, irregular attendance, an uncaring attitude towards the children, and lack of contact and communication with the parents/community.

One aim of the Primary Education Act of 1981 was to reinstate the community in the role of supervisor of the day-to-day functioning of primary schools and to re-established school-based management through the School Management Committee as a means of ensuring teacher accountability (GoB, 1981). However, these proposals, as well as more innovative features such as the Local Educational Authority (LEA) at the sub-division level (now abolished), was not implemented due to a shift in regimes. Instead, the new regime took measures to place the responsibility for the management of primary schools in the hands of elected *Upazila* (sub-district) officials. However, the central government retained the absolute power over programmes and policies, curriculum, syllabus, textbooks, standardization of school facilities, quality of teaching and teacher training, and teachers' salaries and other benefits. Although supporters of the military regime claimed that the Executive Order of 15th August 1983 was the milestone for the decentralization of powers and functions related to primary education in Bangladesh, in reality this was not the case. For example, the LEA was superseded by the Upazila Primary Education Committee (UPEC), the duties of which were not to oversee and take responsibility for the day-to-day functioning of primary schools, but simply to assist the Upazila administration in the management of primary schools under its jurisdiction. Moreover, the SMC, as formulated under the Decentralization Order 1983, was elitist in character, consisting of seven members, including a ward member of the Union Council, the head teacher, one educationist, one donor-member, one woman member, and two teacher representatives (GoB, 1983). Later, a new forum called the Parent Teacher

Association (PTA) was proposed, since effective teacher-community partnerships were considered necessary to realize the goal of universal primary education. However, the PTAs have not become functional and may even be considered 'clinically dead', although these institutions were created with the best of intentions (Ahmed et. al 2005:116). In 2001, restructuring measures were taken to improve the SMC and PTA. However, there was still widespread dissatisfaction among the users/parents regarding the composition and functions of SMCs, particularly with regard to the undue influence this gave the head teachers and local political elites (Ahmed et al, ibid p.114). Under the provisions laid down with regard to the formation[163] of SMCs, the local Member of the Parliament (MP) and the Minister-in-charge of the district were authorized to select the majority of the parental members of the SMC. As one head teacher confessed[164]:

> The SMC members nominated by the MP/Minister-in-charge are mainly political activists. They should be from the section of the community that represents the majority of parents/guardians and totally apolitical.

This politicization, along with the influence of head teachers in the composition of SMCs, meant that parents were not able to choose their own representatives to oversee the activities of GPS teachers. The politicization of primary school management also had implications for primary teachers, putting them in an awkward position vis-à-vis the community/parents. Greater bureaucratic control and extra-academic responsibilities (such as collecting information about voter lists, child surveys, and so on) made it difficult to maintain informal, regular contact with community or parents; teachers were busy satisfying their bureaucratic and political bosses. GPS teachers are well aware that, as long as these two controlling and powerful groups are satisfied, they will not be reprimanded for their irregular attendance or uncaring attitude to the children or even their lack of contact with parents. In such a situation, the schism created in the teacher-user relationship after the nationalization of primary schools widened and parents' motivation to take an interest in the schools and care about primary teachers declined; their trust in teachers as members of a noble 'profession' gradually decreased.

In this context, it is important to investigate how users actually perceive primary teachers as an occupational group; what are their views on the academic and vocational competence of

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[163] The Circular (dated 17.11.2001) of the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME)
[164] Interview: SHTZPS(1)

teachers and how is their trust influenced by activities of primary teachers that do not conform to their expectations.

7.3 Users' Perception of Primary Teachers

In this section, the focus is on how users perceive primary teachers' vocational knowledge and expertise, their value for universal service delivery, and their fulfilment of fiduciary obligations and responsibilities. Other issues have also been examined to establish how these affect user confidence and trust in primary teachers; issues addressed are the social control educated users exert over primary teachers, and the informal peer control and standard setting carried out by primary teachers themselves.

7.3.1 Perception of Primary Teachers' Vocational Expertise

When scholars actually talk about members of the professionalized occupations, they refer explicitly or implicitly to the practitioners' higher vocational qualifications, expertise and performance. These are precisely the features that are problematic for primary teachers in Bangladesh. In this section, it will be argued that many parents are dissatisfied with government primary schools in general, and with primary teachers' ability to teach children in particular. Parents claim that the teachers lack mastery of the subject matter, that their academic and training background is inadequate, and that they are not motivated and therefore neglect their duties. These factors justify primary teachers' low status, limited financial incentives and lack of vocational pride in the eyes of their service users. Moreover, GPS teachers' limited knowledge of the material being taught and their traditional teaching methods often resulted in poor pupil achievement. As a consequence, many parents lost interest in their children's education and lost their trust in the system and teachers, which led in turn to inadequate appreciation or undervaluation of primary teachers' work.

As mentioned in chapter four, many unqualified people enter the occupation in 1974 thanks to political nepotism following the nationalization of primary education. Almost fifty percent of all the GPS teachers absorbed into the system at that time were untrained, and many more were unqualified (GoB, 1975). At the same time, the academic qualification required in order to become a primary teacher was relaxed from graduation/HSC to SSC (ten years of schooling) for both indigenous and non-indigenous candidates. This relaxation of qualification meant that questions were raised, particularly by well-educated parents,

regarding primary teachers' ability to teach children with confidence. For example, one guardian remarked[165]:

> If required qualifications of would-be teachers are relaxed in the name of reforms, it is unlikely that they will be able to maintain the standard of practice. This is what is happening in the primary education sub-sector today. Teacher credibility cannot be achieved with the low-level qualifications that most primary teachers posses now.

Until recently, all regimes have overemphasized the goal of universal primary education; i.e. they have stressed the importance of increasing primary school enrolment and de-emphasized the issue of quality teaching-learning in their programmes and policies. One Deputy Director of the DPE remarked[166]:

> In our 1st, 2nd & 3rd five-year plans there was no emphasis on the quality of teaching-learning in the primary sub-sector; instead, the issue of "access" was on top of the regimes' policy agendas. An emphasis on 'access', 'quality' and 'equity' emerged during the period 1996-2000 in association with the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and EFA Dakar Declaration. In order to improve teachers' morale, some measures such as salary increase with higher qualifications and training have recently been proposed in the PEDP-II (2003-2008).

Recruitment has been a major factor contributing to this problem. In order to match the high enrolment ratio in government primary schools – for example, 107 percent in 1998 (CAMPE, 1999) and 96.6 percent in 2000 (USAID, 2002a) – the number of primary teachers grew at a rate of 16.2 percent per year between 1990 and 1994 (Chowdhury et al., 1999:9). However, parents do not take a positive view of this high growth rate in teacher recruitment. A university-graduate guardian expressed his frustration as follows[167]:

> In the past, teachers were respected members of the community even though they taught only a few children belonging to the elites. This was because they were relatively well-educated and had wisdom. Since independence, however, and particularly after the introduction of the Education for All (EFA) and Compulsory Primary Education programmes (CPE), the teaching force in the primary sub-sector was unable to keep up the quality of training.

Rahman's study (1986) confirmed that the qualifications of primary teachers were inadequate. According to his country-wide survey of primary teachers, only one percent had post-graduate degrees and about 15 percent had degrees, while 36 percent possessed an SSC and 47 percent an HSC. His study also revealed that about 8 percent of primary teachers had not attended any full-length training programme (e.g. C-in-Ed). For female teachers the SSC grades were as

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[165] Interview: PTANM(19)
[166] Interview: DPEDDPD(7)
[167] Interview: PTAMG(17)

follows: 32 percent had 3rd division passes on their SSC, 60 percent had 2nd division passes, and only 7 percent had 1st division passes. In contrast, the SSC figures for male teachers were even lower: 63 percent had 3rd division passes, 33 percent had 2nd division and only 2 percent had 1st division. The same disappointing scenario was evident in teachers' HSC records (Rahman, ibid): more than 60 percent of the male teachers and 55 percent of the female had 3rd division passes on their HSC examinations, and less than 1 percent of all teachers, male and female, had 1st division passes. Rahman's data also reveals that 15 teachers, of a total of 511, had not passed any public examination (Rahman, 1986:16). It is also interesting to note that, although a few of his sample teachers had 1st division passes on public examinations, the vast majority of these individuals (46%) had taken the examinations between 1971 and 1973 (immediately after independence) when the credibility of public examinations was in question (Dove, 1981:177). As mentioned in the chapter six, a small number of university graduates have recently joined the primary teaching occupation, but that they view teaching as a temporary post until something better comes along. Thus, it is evident that the primary sub-sector is still dominated by teachers with poor academic and training backgrounds; in fact, teachers in whom it is not possible to have confidence. Qadir (1985) has sketched poor pupil performance in the GPS as follows:

> ……Teachers reportedly take much care only to read the text. They do not teach how to read, how to speak, how to pronounce, etc. In arithmetic, students are very poor. Students of Class 3 cannot write the numbers involving digits; students of Class 2 cannot do subtraction; students of Class 5 cannot do divisions. In English, students of Class 5 cannot even construct a sentence involving a simple translation from mother tongue and as "I go home." (Qadir 1985 quoted in Gustavsson, 1991:65-66)

This sketch illustrates how pupils' were deprived of their right to learn by their teachers. Of course, such teacher incompetence regarding what to teach and how to teach it can be attributed to a lack of standards in teacher education. While Qadir focused on disappointing pupil achievement, Ahmed et al stressed the ineffective teaching in the primary classrooms. Their study revealed:

> ....the teachers had serious deficiency in their knowledge of the teaching content and basic pedagogic techniques. For instance, in teaching a class, most teachers failed to follow a logical sequence in presenting the content and placing it in a context of what children knew or had learned. Even the better-trained GPS teachers were "mechanical" and failed to inject enthusiasm and energy in what they were doing. (Ahmed et al, 2005:93)

The ineffective teaching/learning in GPS not only linked with teacher incompetence but can also be attributed to a lack of supervision. Although the system of School Management

Committee (SMC) was introduced to facilitate the effective supervision of primary schools, parent dissatisfaction with GPSs remained common. Such dissatisfaction often derived from the non-functioning of the SMC, and the inadequacy of the teachers and the GPS facilities. One SMC chairman expressed his discontent as follows[168]:

> My grandfather established this school in the 60s. I have been the SMC chairman for the last 10 years because our family donated the land and has provided the necessary support since establishment. I was a pupil in the school myself during the 70s and had teachers like 'Mukbul sir'[169]; he had just an HSC pass and enthusiasm. I can still recall how he cared about every member of the class. The school was one of the best in the area at that time. My daughter was also a pupil in this school, but she was admitted to a private primary school in Dhaka recently. That was because there were only 4 teachers for about 800 students in the school. As the SMC chairman, I have no power to solve the teacher shortage problem. The school has also been suffering from a lack of qualified teachers, especially in the Math and English.

While this informant acknowledged that the existing primary syllabus was better than the earlier one, he stressed that the shortage of quality teachers was a major problem for GPSs. He believed that successors failed to sustain the same spirit and unique qualities that his own teachers had displayed in the 70s. In order to re-establish the reputation of the school, although perhaps not at the same level as in the 'golden era' of his 'Mukbul sir,' he believed that the school needed to develop a congenial atmosphere for both pupils and teaching staff, with the help of the community. Above all, he felt that a display of honest effort; hard work, devotion and administrative skills on the part of the teachers were necessary if the community was to care about the primary teachers and pay them respect. He further observed that "Teachers in GPS are not getting proper social recognition presently because of their poor academic and training background, and hence performance". Another guardian expressed the following opinion[170]:

> The teacher who is teaching my son in this school was my teacher too two decades ago. He is a graduate with C-in-Ed and will retire soon. I did not see any fundamental change in his teaching method in the course of his long career. The government introduced a competency-based curriculum about a decade ago, but I doubt that many teachers in this school know the basic concepts, such as the total number of competencies that a primary school learner need to acquire and their purpose.

This same informant reported that the SMC were not doing enough to provide effective supervision of the primary school and to make teaching staff accountable for their

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[168] Interview: SMCCG(14)

[169] Mukbul is not the real name of the teacher. Addressing teacher as 'sir' is considered polite in Bangladeshi culture.

[170] Interview: PTAMG(17)

performance. He further argued that many members of the SMC did not take what was happening in the school seriously because their own children attended private primary schools. As mentioned, the SMC chairman had withdrawn his daughter from the school due to the poor performance and shortage of quality teachers.

The dissatisfaction of parents with primary teachers' knowledge of subject matte and competence was confirmed by a USAID report, which revealed that the academic and training background of primary teacher was inadequate and far below the expected level (USAID, 2002d). The same report added that "…in the year 1994 the National Curriculum and Textbook Board administered the Grade V Scholarship examination papers in Mathematics to a sample of primary schoolteachers. Only 29 percent of the teachers passed the test" (USAID, ibid, p.16). This example confirms that the subject-matter knowledge of the majority of teachers in the primary sub-sector was at the level of a grade-V pupil taking the Primary Scholarship Examination. Thus, they lack the basic competence necessary to carry out their work satisfactorily.

Incentive programmes to encourage poor families to send their children to primary school had been introduced in the 1990s. As a result, the enrolment rate in the GPSs has risen dramatically. This increase has been directly responsible for a decline in the standard of teaching-learning in the GPSs. Considering high ratio of pupils to teachers, and the lack of facilities in the GPSs, it is not surprising that wealthy families have tried to find an alternative for their children's education, even if this means paying a higher price. In contrast, the poor, who represent the majority of the population, particularly in the rural areas, have also complained about the low standards of teaching-learning in the GPSs, but they have no other option since they lack the necessary financial or time resources to improve their children's school. Many primary teachers I interviewed recognized that the majority of children attending the GPS were from poor families. One head teacher explained the issue as follows[171]:

> In this area there are four private primary schools ("kindergarten"). The quality of none of them is as good as that of the one I taught at before joining this GPS. The economic situation of many families in the area is now better than before because of remunerations coming from abroad (mainly from middle-eastern countries). Upper-middle-class and middle-class families have always had the tendency to send their children to "kindergartens" because they have more opportunities there than in the

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[171] Interview: SHTGPS(3)

government primary school. Moreover, sending ones children to "kindergarten" has now become a status symbol for some people, which question the GPS teachers' expertise. Many well-to-do guardians think that if that person can send their children to a 'standard' private primary school why not us! The unfortunate reality is that the GPS now recruit most of their pupils from poor families.

This does not mean that poor parents are satisfied with the GPSs, however, an assistant teacher reiterated their disappointment with these schools in general and with the teachers in particular. She added that many parents failed to understand the system-level difficulties facing the GPS teachers, including the high teacher-student ratio, the low quality of pre-service and in-service training, and the many working hours spent on non-academic activities. She also pointed out some school-level difficulties[172]:

> At the school level there may be a few teachers who neglect their duties, and are self-centred and uncooperative. Sometimes differences of opinion between the SMC and the head teacher, as well as service-holder[173] mentality of some teachers, may be the root cause of the deterioration of the teaching-learning environment in the GPS and of parents' trust in teachers. Only with dedication and mutual cooperation among teachers and the SMC, and with the support of the central/local level primary education administration, could commendable progress have been made in improving the standard of education, and hence the reputation of primary teachers.

In fact, given the limitations and lack of support of the education administration, the sincerity of GPS teachers themselves is essential to improve user confidence and respect for. Another teacher expressed their powerlessness and dependence in the following manner[174]:

> How can primary teachers be sincere and devoted to their vocational duties when political elites impose undue pressure on them? Pupils with less than 85% class attendance and less than a 40% pass in the term examinations are ineligible for *Upabritti* (government stipend) by law, but teachers are helpless if such pupils are related to the local political elites. If a teacher does not listen to the local politicians, there are various obvious punishments, including transfer. A teacher cannot punish an unruly pupil from a local political family. As a consequence, disobedience has become evident and pupils' from local influential families are showing less respect for teachers. Pupils are used to seeing teachers being punished by their parents. Teachers are instructed to collect funds from parents for school development purposes, and are now going door to door to collect funds from the parents. Once pupils and parents used to visit primary teachers' homes to see them and receive their blessings, but the 'home-visit' is now mandatory for primary teacher. This is the paradox!

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[172] Interview: ATZGPS(11)
[173] She emphasized that most teachers believed they are public servants and trust that their salary will come at the end of the month
[174] Interview: ATMGPS(9)

Although the UEOs/AUEOs are the official authorities controlling primary teachers, influential parents (such as local political elites) also exercised a kind of authority. These people have the necessary 'connections' with higher political/administrative authorities to have a primary teacher transferred. Thus, primary teachers need to listen to them, although their demands are sometimes in conflict with the existing laws or practices.

People who become primary teachers usually have to teach for some years before receiving their initial teacher training. During this period, they have already developed a 'deep-seated' attitude to and perception of the occupation. According to Caley, "Learning [in a Bangladeshi school] is seen as acquiring an unquestionable body of knowledge from the teacher—correct answers which can be learned and repeated in exams. By SSC[175] level this body of knowledge is substantial" (Caley, 1985:22). In fact, discussion or expression of opinions is seldom encouraged in the classroom because primary teachers themselves are not usually trained and educated in this manner. One guardian expressed his distrust of primary teachers' vocational ability as follows[176]:

> The government employs people who are not well-qualified and trained to teach in our primary schools. The academic qualification and vocational training of primary teachers are low in level and quality. Such a background may help them to think only about how to control the classrooms.

The behaviour and expertise of many GPS teachers has frustrated not only the parents, but also many of their pupils. In 1985, Blake (1985:37) argued that Bangladeshi children usually show respect and express a positive view of their teacher, who acted as the main catalyst in their learning and understanding of 'a body hard facts'. In contrast, Quddus (2001: 69-70) has demonstrated that the children attending the GPSs were dissatisfied with their teachers' skills and behaviour; most teachers displayed the opposite qualities to those their pupils liked (e.g. according to them, good teachers present material in an interesting way, refrain from using the cane and giving orders for personal reasons, and show a genuine sympathy for their pupils). This study report also argued that the social role imposed on primary school children did not allow them to express a negative view of their teachers, who were older[177] than them and had absolute authority over them in an authoritarian organization, i.e. the primary school.

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[175] This is the minimum qualification needed to be a government primary-school teacher.
[176] Interview: SMCCM(16)
[177] In primary schools in Bangladesh, children behave in a more disciplined manner because it is considered rude to question a teachers' expertise or authority and extremely impolite to stare directly into the eyes of an adult, such as teacher, when being addressed (Blake, 1985:37).

In rural Bangladesh, education has been regarded as a source of high status and personal power, like wealth and lineage (Maloney, 1991:32). The value of higher education is an important cultural feature of Bangladesh society, perhaps because majority people in the rural areas are illiterate or half-literate. Thus, Bangladeshi people respect education and they often brag to each other about who in their family has the highest level of education. Everyone likes to know what qualifications others have, and physical or manual work is looked down upon (Caley, 1985: 13; Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974:3). Therefore, it is expected that a primary teacher who wants to be a person of socio-economic importance must have some form of higher education. Thus, primary teachers felt that their low academic status and training background prevented them from improving their socio-economic status. One head teacher observed[178]:

> My younger brother is a faculty member at a university and got his PhD from England. When I visit my parents, the people in the village often ask me whether I am the brother of Dr. Ismael.[179] They never ask whether Ismael is my brother. My "third-class"[180] vocational status prevents me from being regarded as person of socio-economic importance.

While this primary teacher expressed frustration regarding the social image of the members of the occupation, there were many others who considered primary teaching to be a means of improving their self-esteem and status. As one female teacher remarked[181]:

> I am happy to have a job teaching in the GPS. I don't think there is a better option for me with my present qualification [SSC]. This primary teaching job has improved my self-esteem and status in the family. It is critical that my job is permanent employment. I shall do everything possible to avoid giving it up.

Although primary teaching as an occupation has improved female teachers' self-esteem and status in the family, thanks to the extra income it provides for the family, the status of primary teachers in the wider social context is generally dismal. In response to my question "What do you think needs to be done to change the low status of primary teachers?" A head teacher replied:[182] "Primary teachers need recognition and encouragement for their services from those in power and local elites". He mentioned that the Prime Minister of Bangladesh had

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[178] Interview: SHTMPS(2)
[179] Ismael is a pseudonym
[180] As mentioned in chapter three that there are four "Class" in the civil service system in Bangladesh. "First-Class", for example, implies the greatest power, privilege, honour and money. "Fourth-Class", on the other hand, has the lowest public respect inherent in terms of above-mentioned attributes.
[181] Interview: ATMGPS(9)
[182] Interview: SHTZPS(1)

written a personal letter to all primary head teachers in the country[183] for the first time, seeking their support to realize the national goal—'Education for All'. According to my informant, this letter was encouraging and recognized primary teachers' contribution to national development. Another teacher added:[184]

> Primary teachers also need a separate cadre system so that those who are qualified can hold top managerial positions and the opportunity for advanced training and education, as well as a regular promotion system. Head teacher posts need to be upgraded to 2nd "Class" posts immediately. Dependents from teachers' families should also be given the opportunity to study up to University level free of charge.

While government primary-school teachers emphasized vocational development as the key to advancement, parents stressed the primary teachers' fulfilment of their vocational obligations as the path to improve their low social status. A SMC member suggested[185]:

> If primary teachers perform their duties properly and with vocational zeal, they will get due recognition automatically, both in the community and in the educational administration. The parents will also extend their cooperation to save teachers from any kind of socio-administrative harassment. A number of pupils from our school win the Primary Scholarship each year. Such performance by the pupils shows the standard of the school and the sincerity of teachers. Community members have been actively involved in all the activities of the school since they are satisfied with the performance of the pupils and the teachers. The TEO/ATEOs are also cooperative and helpful to the teachers.

It should be mentioned that teachers need to be rewarded properly for improvements in vocational performance, and hence in the performance of the pupils and school as whole; this may be a strong motivational force for teachers. However, the rewards offered for the better performance by primary teachers in Bangladesh were limited. One primary teacher from the same GPS commented that[186], "If good performance is not adequately rewarded, it may be discontinued".

The foregoing discussion has stressed primary teachers' poor academic and training background, their weak knowledge-base, training and motivation, their position on the lowest rung of the civil service ladder, and their negligence of duties—all serve to justify the low

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[183] In her 2nd term as PM, Khaleda Zia wrote a personal letter to all primary school head teachers in the country requesting them to play an active role by ensuring proper management of schools, improving the completion rate and reducing the drop-out rate, encouraging the regular attendance and teaching of all teachers, improving the quality of teaching, ensuring the proper use of government stipends for pupils and making classroom and teaching attractive to learners in order to realize national goal "Education for all". Source: Prime Minister's letter D.O. no-42.45.18.00.00.4.2002-358, Office of the Prime Minister, dated: 29.08.2002
[184] Interview: SHTSPPS(4)
[185] Interview: SMCCM(16)
[186] Interview: ATGGPS(7)

status, salary and vocational pride of the occupation in the eyes of wider community or users. Moreover, criticism focused on the fact that primary teachers' knowledge of what they had to teach seemed very limited, and they tended to use the same teaching methods year after year without reflecting on how effective they were. Pupils' achievement of competencies, which was generally poor, was attributed to these shortcomings. All these factors created an attitude of disinterest and distrust on the part of many parents. Thus, the prestige and appreciation associated with the work of primary teachers is often lower in a country such as Bangladesh, where prestige matters most.

7.3.2 Patron-Client Relations and Users' Trust

As mentioned in chapter 6, primary teachers are the main catalyst in the teaching-learning process, and are therefore expected to demonstrate qualities such as impartiality, honesty, sincerity, and genuine sympathy for all children in the school. Barber (1983) argues that members of a professionalized occupation usually deliver vocational services universally, rather than exclusively, in order to maintain a professional image. In order to be trustworthy, their services must be based on the principle of equality before the law without arbitrariness (Barber, ibid). Member of a society usually expect and would like to see that all social benefits are offered and distributed equally. Primary teachers play an important social role since they are at the heart of every effort to shape the character and values of the younger generation, particularly with regard to qualities such as honesty, fair-play and impartiality. In this section, it will be argued that the various demands and expectations of specific categories of users have forced primary teachers to move in different directions. Moreover, due to a combination of factors, particularly the demands of the system and of personal interest and motivation, their involvement in patron-oriented service delivery has meant that the majority users, such as poor parents, consider them less trustworthy.

The majority of the parents I spoken to, both educated and half-literate/illiterate, think that education is important for their children. The general attitude among parents was that teaching children is the responsibility of the teacher, and that they entrust their child to teachers so they will obtain a proper education, without any show of partiality. Primary teachers, particularly working in the government primary schools in rural areas, are very much a part of the community. This affects their impartiality, however, since they are usually given lodgings by

the wealthier members of the community in return for extra lessons for their children. This gives these pupils an unfair advantage. The Bangladeshi education system is highly competitive and examination marks are the only important issue. Students must pass the yearly exams before they can advance to the next class. Many parents even pay extra money for their children to have private lessons to ensure their success, and many of the teachers I interviewed offered private tuition because the salary they earn was "not adequate to live on". Thus, the entire situation is antithetical to impartiality. The pattern of lodging and sustained contact with the community, particularly with the parents, therefore, means that primary teachers cannot benefit from the remoteness, mystique and reverence enjoyed by members of other professions, such as University/College teachers. The private tuition offered by primary teachers also contributed to increased disappointment on the part of their service users, which in turn undermined users' trust and lowered the vocational image of primary teachers. For example, one guardian remarked[187]:

> The present craze for private tutorials for pupils from solvent families defeats the very spirit of the ideal that teachers offer equal care to all pupils in the primary school. The pupils from well-off families always get extra privileges and the teachers' personal care and attention. Many primary teachers in Bangladesh are now commodities to be purchased, and such teachers cannot be trusted and respected by all the pupils in the school!

Confirming this statement, Ahmed et al have established that about half of the pupils in primary schools had private tutors, and that "private tutors for primary school children have become a norm" (Ahmed et al, 2005:80). This indicates the importance of good grades, which is confirmed by Hossain (1994), who found that it was common practice in Bangladesh to ask a student what his/ her roll number was because a low roll number (class position) was a source of pride for pupils and their parents. On the other hand, pupils with high roll numbers suffered from feelings of inferiority and low self-esteem. According to Hossain, students in the top three positions, especially in the annual exams, were favoured by the teachers and "students who obtained the 'Letter Mark[188]' and 'Star Mark' enjoyed high public esteem and appreciation in the community" (Hossain, 1994:154). For Hossain, 'emotional reward' and personal reputation sometimes drive teachers to take a special interest in meritorious students, as well as to offer them symbolic recognition such as high marks, certificates or prizes. While Hossain depicts teachers as talent-biased, Quddus (2001) claims that it is not the talented students but those from influential families that receive special attention from primary

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[187] Interview: PTANM(19)

[188] "Letter Mark" and "Star Marks" means obtain above 80% and 75% marks respectively in the exams.

teachers. The favoured pupils were those whose guardians paid exorbitant fees for private tuition from the teachers (Quddus, 2001:67). A third explanation for this phenomenon is offered by the GPS teachers themselves, who blamed the existing system for the unequal treatment of the pupils in the GPS. As one head teacher stated[189]:

> We try to treat and teach all pupils in the class/school equally, but state regulations sometimes undermine our principles. We have to arrange special coaching for the 'top' 20 percent of 5th grade pupils who are to take the annual Primary Scholarship Examination. This obviously places the majority of pupils in other classes at a disadvantage, especially those in the same grade; most of them come from poor socio-economic backgrounds. If pupils from a school do not participate in the scholarship examination and pass, disciplinary action is taken against primary teachers!

While guardians expect that primary teachers will not make any distinction between pupils, this is not the case any longer. According to Ahmed et al, teachers took special care of the 'top' scholarship candidates, in the name of the Primary Scholarship Examination, and paid more attention to them at the cost of the rest pupils in the school. The study of Ahmed et al further revealed:

> In practice the scholarship examination appears to have become a means of discrimination and disadvantage to the majority of the students, especially the weaker learners who come from the poorer families. Although, the selection of nominees is supposed to be merit, it was found that the student's economic status became an important consideration, because the selected students are expected to pay for the extra attention they would receive from teachers. The extra time and attention given to the scholarship nominees, only 20 percent of class V students, often meant that all the other students, in class V and in the rest of the schools paid a price, especially in the very common situation of teacher shortage in the school. (Ahmed et al, 2005:76)

Since low roll number matters most and is a source of pride for the pupils and their parents, the special attention and care that primary teachers lavish on a handful of 'talents' from patron families undoubtedly creates frustration among majority parents and reduces their trust of teachers. GPS teachers are government employees and schools are controlled by local elites through the SMC, therefore, teachers must retain the goodwill of both government officials and the local elites in order to secure their jobs. Local elites and people with influenced in the administration (e.g. UNO, UEO/AUEO, UP Chairman/members, and so on) usually seem to be less enthusiastic in their efforts to tighten control over GPS teachers; in fact, they are often dependent on the primary teachers' 'tutor service' to ensure their children's success in the highly competitive race for places in the 'best' government high schools in the country. Thus, the teacher solves this dilemma by serving the interests of the influential, often at the cost of

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[189] Interview: SHTLGPS(6)

the interests of the poor and powerless people in the community (Dove, 1980:23). There is a symbiotic relationship between primary teachers and influential community members in the sense that teachers need them to influence the UEO/AUEO or speak on their behalf in high places in the DPE or MoPME; and wealthy people need teachers' services to ensure a better future and academic advancement for their dependents.

In summary, many primary teachers failed to maintain equality in service delivery, partly because of demands placed on them in the existing system, and partly due to their personal interests and motivation. Various categories of people use primary teachers' vocational service, including influential local citizens (local government officials, wealthy families) and powerless poor guardians. Influential users, in particular, contribute to the development of a culture of exclusive service delivery by primary teachers. The different demands and expectations of various user groups have pushed the teacher's job and responsibilities in different direction. As a consequence, a teacher has lost his power of self-direction. Although the wealthy and local government officials do not generally choose to send their children to the local GPS due to the lack of facilities, they still need primary teachers to provide a 'tutor-service'. A teacher in a GPS probably feels encouraged to serve influential people because they represent a "problem-solving network" with greater access to formal sources of assistance. When influential people purchase the services of a GPS teacher, it is likely that they will ignore that teacher's neglect of his/her duties; for example, to provide equal care for all children in the class/school. In this context, it should be bourn in mind that these same people usually control the School Management Committee. At the receiving end, it is the children from poor families, the majority of the GPS pupils, who suffer due to the discrimination and biasness of the GPS teachers. Thus, the delivery of exclusive services by many, if not all, GPS teachers may demonstrate their primary responsibility not to the interests of the majority of the community, but rather to the interests of their patron or patrons' families. It is this behaviour that has led a great portion of the user community of primary teachers' to view them as less trustworthy. This is in accordance with Barber's claim that institutions in which the staffs exhibit little competence or primary responsibility to the interests of general public, but are more sensitive to the interests of their patron or patrons' families, become less worthy of trust (Barber, 1983).

7.3.3 Fulfilment of Teachers' Obligations and the Users' Trust

In fact, a teacher has a variety of responsibilities vis-à-vis the students; for example, to impart knowledge, to inspire and motivate, to inculcate cultural values, and to lay the foundation for the acquisition of further knowledge and wisdom, and the development of superior character. In this section, it will be argued that the lack of trust that has characterized the users' attitude to primary teachers has remained almost unchanged over the period 1971-2001, was mainly due to the teachers' neglect of their duties and systemic difficulties (e.g. lack of teacher supervision and interest in primary teachers' work, increasing extra-academic tasks for teachers, high teacher-student ratio).

Bangladesh has built up a massive system of primary education to provide formal education to future generations (USAID, 2002a; DPE, 2003b). Teaching young children, especially during their early years, has always been considered the most important and difficult task, if it is to be done properly (PEDP-II, 2002:16). In response to the question, "What is the purpose of primary teaching?" The majority of GPS teachers replied "tasks pertaining to pupil learning and performance of assigned extra-academic jobs". In contrast, users, particularly parents, considered that the main responsibility of the primary teacher was to teach the 'three Rs' (i.e. reading, writing and numerical skills) and 'proper conduct'. According to a DPEO, "A teacher is generally responsible for the progress of his/her pupils; for making sure that all pupils are present in the classroom and ensuring the efficiency of the school as a whole by reducing dropout rates" [DPEO]. When a teacher is fully trained and vocationally competent, it is expected that his/her teaching and enthusiasm will have a lasting effect on the students.

Akter (1980) argues that in a typical Bangladeshi primary school in the 70s it was possible to find a situation not dissimilar to that described by Beeby in the following passage:

> A teacher with fifty to eighty children in a small bare room, with no equipment but a blackboard, a piece of chalk and a few miserable dog-eared texts, with not enough pencils and pieces of papers to go around and another class within a yard, can scarcely be expected to encourage the unfolding of personalities and the emergence of creative minds…..and that some youngsters struggle through this barren wilderness to real education…… (Beeby, 1966 quoted in Akter, 1980:06)

In relation to the mentioned shortage of teaching equipment, Akter's study revealed that, after independence, some teaching materials were supplied to primary schools by UNICEF and other voluntary aid agencies, but these materials were not used by the teachers, mainly due to

lack of training. School furniture at that time was a few chairs and tables, a few benches (mats for pupils in some schools), blackboards, a few charts and a map of Bangladesh. Conditions were terrible in the majority GPSs; they were ill-equipped and lacked a staff room, library or play ground for children, especially in the villages and slum areas in the big cities and towns. In most schools, no attendance register was kept during the 70s to check the attendance of the teachers (Akter, ibid, p.34). In rural areas, therefore, there were reports of teachers busy with their domestic and farming activities instead of regular and punctual school activities. Thus in the 1970s, children were deprived of their right to learn due to the lack of teaching materials, and the unreliable and dishonest primary teaching force. This is confirmed by Rasmussen, for example, who pointed out that in 1973, three out of four children did not feel attracted by the primary schools (Rasmussen, 1983:4) and two-thirds of the children enrolled at grade one left school before they reached grade three (Bangladesh Education Commission, 1974). A survey carried out by Education Watch confirmed that, on average, almost 13 percent of primary teachers were absent from school on the day of the survey was conducted (Chowdhury et al. 1999:139). Moreover, Hossain (1994) observed that primary school children sometimes felt frustrated because their teachers showed up in the morning to sign the daily school register and thereby confirm their presence, and would then go off to attend to some private business, leaving the children on their own for the rest of the day. The absence of teachers and their inept teaching methods would also be a reason for children dropping out of school. Given this situation, it is not surprising that the parents were not happy with the performance of primary teachers and their reliance on primary teachers was in question at that time.

There was a tremendous quantitative expansion in the primary sub-sector during the 1990s, with an increase in gross enrolment from under 90 percent in 1990 to 95 percent in 1995 and 97.5% in 2001 (National Education Commission 2004; DPE, 2003b). This was not due to improved primary teachers' performance, but to various government interventions, such as food for education, *Upabitti* (stipends) and free textbooks (National Education Commission 2004:2). Moreover, although the gross enrolment rate in GPS had increased, the completion rate for the full primary cycle (five years) was still far from satisfactory (National Education Commission 2004). Factors contributing to this, in addition to dire poverty and the widespread perception of poor parents that schooling is of little value, include teachers' failure to fulfil their vocational obligations and responsibilities, which in turn contributes to pupil absenteeism, a high dropout rate and poor performance (Rasmussen, 1983). The State Minister for Primary and Mass Education confirmed that the lack of qualified and sincere

teachers was one of the main reasons underlying the high dropout rates in the primary sub-sector (Daily Star, Dhaka, 21 August 2003). During the big push[190] in the 90s, most GPSs in the country were provided with teaching materials; for example, textbooks with supplementary readers, writing materials, globes, maps, science equipment and other pedagogical support materials. The school house of the 70s, with its thatch or cast iron roof and bamboo or mud walls, was replaced by one or two permanent buildings. Despite many noticeable improvements with regard to infrastructure development and teaching aids, the sub-sector still lacked qualified and committed teachers. The National Education Commission (2004:16), for example, admitted that the vast majority of the primary teachers had inadequate knowledge of the subject-matter, and that due to lack of opportunities, they did not approach their work whole heartedly and with enthusiasm. Consequently, most GPS teachers were generally considered ineffective and uncommitted practitioners.

This derogatory view of primary teachers has remains unchanged until recently, for manifold reasons. In some government primary schools I visited, the prevailing attitude was that the work of class-teachers would increase if all the children enrolled actually attended. In fact, many schools were crowded, or would have been if attendance rates were any higher. For example, in one school, there were four teachers and total of about 800 pupils. Another school had 550 children, aged 4-12 years, being taught in two shifts by just three teachers, although there were actually four teaching posts. Yet another school had 1053 enrolled pupils and 10 teachers. To add to the problem, not all teachers were present. When I visited one rural GPS at 10:00 am, only two of the three teachers were present[191]; one class was without a teacher until the head teacher arrived at 11:00 am, after having paid a visit to the UEO office to arrange stipends for the poor children attending the school. In another school a teacher reported that many pupils were absent because it had been raining for the last two days. In an urban slum primary school, conditions in the classroom were deplorable: furniture consisted of a few broken benches, the floor was packed earth, the walls were of tattered cloth dividers, and there were no room divider, no mats, and certainly no pictures, globes or science equipment. Lack of teaching materials was common in most of the schools visited. In addition, there was also a lack of initiative on the part of teachers; even those who were trained were not motivated to spent time making teaching aids. This lack of motivation was

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[190] Under both the General Education Project (GEP) and Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) that were supported by the international donors
[191] The schedule working hours of the school per week runs from Saturday to Wednesday 9:30 AM to 4:30 PM and on Thursday from 9:30 AM to 2:30 PM

also evident in the fact that some teachers even try to find excuses in order to avoid their regular occupational duties. For example, Blake cites a case of a primary-school teacher who claimed to be unable to teach the lessons related to the concept of 'scale' because the government did not supply the 'scale' (Blake, 1985:28). Blake argued that making a 'Ruler' was not a big task; even the children could make a 'Ruler' of paper or pieces of wood. This is not, however, to deny the fact that teaching aids and equipment are essential to make teaching more interesting and meaningful for the children.

Another serious problem is the shortage of classrooms. On a visit to one urban primary school, I found the head teacher teaching Bengali to grade-3 pupils in a classroom-cum-office (her office), while at the same time discussing an administrative matter with another colleague. As one AUEO observed:

> If you go to the neighbouring school, you will see a class in the primary school's corridor. Every year the DPEO writes letters to the DPE about shortage of classrooms, but there is no remedy! When the situation is so appalling in the district headquarters, you can easily imagine the situation in the rural areas.

As already mentioned, there was the high rate of absenteeism among pupils in many GPSs visited. In fact, many primary teachers had so many children to teach that it was relief that absenteeism was high and teachers did not pursue absentees! My observation of teachers' classroom activities also confirmed that, in a class with 50-60 pupils (a figure that would have been higher if all pupils had been present), most primary teachers concentrated excessively on organizing the classroom, at the expense of the children's learning. Consequently, instead of being actively engaged, many children were either inactive or copying something in their notebooks from another child in the class. According to one guardian, who seemed concerned, informed and conscientious about the school, "Things are deteriorating day by day"[192]. At another school, I noticed that the SMC and teaching staff were more active in following up pupils who were absent for long spells. According to the 'unofficial law', a guardian is required to contact the teachers personally if a child does not bring a note to explain his/her absence. According to the 'official' law, if any enrolled child fails to come to the school for three consecutive days, it is the class teacher's duty to visit the residence to determine the reason. In reality, guardians generally meet the teachers in order to inform them of their children's absence from school (Bengali weekly JaiJaidin, Dhaka, 25 April 2004). With

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[192] Interview: PTAMM(20)

regard to primary teachers' neglect of their regular duties, one head teacher confessed[193] that "The government has introduced a 'home visit' policy, which in fact, has no purpose. In doing our job, if we feel it is necessary then we visit pupils' home, otherwise not!" This statement implies that teachers are without discipline and do not take their duties seriously, avoiding compulsory tasks whenever they have the opportunity.

A favourable teacher-student ratio is an important factor influencing the GPS teachers' fulfilment of their teaching obligation, and thereby their trustworthiness. The average teacher-pupil ratio in GPS increased from 1:45 in 1970 to 1:67 in 2001 (BANBEIS, 2002), but in many cases the ratio would obviously be even higher (DPE/GoB, 2002). The following table summarizes the high teacher-pupil ratio in primary schools since the country's independence in 1971.

Table 7.1 Teacher-student ratio in Bangladesh 1971—2001

	year [a]						
Teacher student ratio	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995[b]	2001
	1:45	1:51	1:48	1:49	1:64	1:73	1:67

Source: BANBEIS (GoB), 2002:324; DPE (GoB), 2002:12; Akter, 1980; Alam et al, 1997:60

Notes:
[a] The average teacher-student ratio in the particular year
[b] Based on Alam, 2000 & DPE (GoB), 2002:9

This increase in the teacher-pupil ratio over the period will have augmented the workload for primary teachers, as well as creating new problem. Of course, one reason for this higher teacher-pupil ratio was the rapid population growth in the country. Another reason was the government incentives which encouraged primary school enrolment. However, some guardians, seemed unsympathetic to the problems facing GPS teachers; for example, management of large classes, dealing with pupils from distinct family backgrounds, limited school resources and teaching aids, and lack of community support for the school. This also created a situation in which teachers and guardians blamed one another for the lack of learning. As one informant remarked[194]:

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[193] Interview: SHTLGPS(6)
[194] Interview: PTAMG(17)

> Even after more than 2 years in the school, my child cannot read and write properly. It is of no benefit to send children to the school. We have never been invited to meet the teachers and we are not informed about the progress of our children either, because we are poor.

Primary teachers, on the other hand, blamed the parents and the system at large for hindering them from performing their vocational duties properly. One head teacher explained the problem as follows[195]:

> Of the guardians in this village, less than 10% are aware and the rest are uncaring and illiterate parents. Since the majority of guardians are poor and ignorant, they don't consider it worthwhile sending their children to school. They send their children only for government stipend. Parents are not interested in their children's education because completion of primary education is of no immediate use and does not guarantee an income generating job. We need parents' suggestions in order to improve our activities. If a parents' meeting is called, a maximum of 10% of the parents show up and they have no ideas to offer. When there is changed of regime in Bangladesh, a great festival of fundamental change in the primary curricula starts: from a story to the whole syllabus, books, teaching methods—what not? There is no prior notice or training for teachers in relation to these changes. All the 'new ideas' are simply imposed on teachers and we have to act!

Another teacher added:

> The priority objectives for primary education set by the government are: (i) to ensure student enrolment; (ii) to increase the attendance rate; (iii) to reduce the drop-out rate; (iv) to improve the quality of primary education; (v) to develop primary education as the basis for higher education; and (vi) to create social values among students. Teachers have had great difficulty realizing the first three objectives. Where is their attention to focus on the rest? In Bangladesh at present, there is no scarcity of skilled and well-qualified primary teachers; all that is required is a proper state policy that will make them effective, improve their status and recognize good performance at least with a thank you.

Another view was presented in a national daily, which reported that, in some areas of the country, primary teachers failed to perform their teaching obligation because they had so many extra-academic engagements. It also reported that the UEO/AUEO seldom visit schools in remote areas, although they visit the primary schools located at Thana headquarters at regular intervals (Daily Star, Dhaka, 20 August 2003). It was suggested, therefore, that much of the slackness among GPS teachers stemmed from the lack of proper supervision and support. Why should an assistant teacher work hard if his/her head teacher and SMC never showed any interest in the work s/he was doing? Why should a head teacher take pride in his/her school if no supervisor ever visits it? It seems that the GPS teachers try to find excuse

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[195] Interview: SHTGPS(3)

in order to avoid vocational obligations, and lack the dedication to the values of teaching. Quddus (2001:65), for example, goes on to argue that many GPS teachers lack the idealism and dedication to the values of teaching and learning that characterized their pre-colonial and colonial-era counterparts. At that time, school teaching was considered a 'mission of faith and love', while most GPS teachers are now more concerned with earning money and selling their services like 'commodities in the market place' (Quddus, ibid). This study also confirmed that there are some primary teachers who try to do as best as they can, but limited resources and a corrupt system make it difficult for them to perform better than they actually do.

Thus, it is evident from the foregoing discussion that non-fulfilment of the primary teachers' main vocational obligations such as teaching the 3Rs derived from teachers' lack of subject-matter knowledge and the high teacher-pupil ratio. Moreover, increasing enrolment rate in GPSs had added to the teachers' workload, as well as creating new problems (e.g. distribute stipend and maintain register etc) for primary teachers. Lack of supervision and interest in primary teaching had demoralized the teaching force. In general, the average level of fiduciary responsibility of primary teachers today seems lower than expected to be due to systemic difficulties. This does not mean that all teachers were lacking in competent and fiduciary responsible; a very small number of rarely visible trustworthy primary teachers were there. Nevertheless, the majority of uncommitted individuals continued as practitioners (National Education Commission 2004). Consequently, user trust in the primary teacher as a representative of an admirable occupation was at stake, particularly among poor and illiterate guardians who also felt that they had no voice in their children's education and that they lacked the resources to prevent teachers from continuing their incompetent practices, their neglect of duties or their uncaring attitude to the children.

7.3.4 Social Control of Primary Teachers by Educated Users

As mentioned in chapter 2, Barber (1983) argues that, when there is a general rise in the users' level of education in a given society, this influences the relationship between the members of a profession and their service users. According to Barber, an educated public is "more likely to take an active part in monitoring the fulfilment of professionals' claims to absolute trustworthiness" (Barber, 1983:134). He further argues that trust relationships between members of a profession and their service users make it possible to develop a kind of

social control which also expresses and maintains the shared values of practitioners and their users (Barber, 1983). Thus, trust relationships between users and primary teachers can be explained in terms of common goals and values that bring and keep them together. According to Barber, these common goals and values also guarantee the practitioners' competence and prevent them from evading their fiduciary responsibility (Barber, ibid). Applying these insights in the Bangladeshi context, I argue that the conflict of interests between primary teachers and their service users, as well as the poor socio-economic and academic situation of the former, has undermined users' interest and trust in primary teachers in general, and in those who were less qualified and dynamic, in particular.

As discussed in chapter 4, primary teachers have been struggling since the country's independence in 1971 to maintain their high social image characterized by high education, as well as an official, salaried position in the bureaucratic system. Although primary teachers are respected by the poor and illiterate people in the community, their position is viewed as insignificant by the well-educated and powerful local elites who usually control the government primary school through their dominant position in the SMC. In the local community, GPS teachers occupy the middle ground between the poor and the wealthy. From the perspective of poor, they are civil servants with a secure income, and as such they are among the privileged in a society where poverty is widespread[196]. In contrast, from the perspective of the local elites, primary teachers have low status[197]. In fact, there are indications that the latter perception is the dominant one (Gustavsson 1990:84; Sobhan 1998). A primary teacher does not attract much recognition and respect from the elite group, and s/he is perceived by them as lacking the qualifications and motivation necessary to do a good job[198]. For example, a local leader remarked[199]:

> She (primary teacher) has a lower educational qualification (SSC) than the workers on my dairy farm. What more does she know?

It should be mentioned that, although many well-to-do parents consider GPS teachers to be less well-qualified and motivated, they still purchase extra services for their children from these same teachers.

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[196] Interview: PTAMG(17)
[197] Interview: PTALLG(18)
[198] Interview: PTALLG(18)
[199] Interview: ibid

The primary education sub-sector has been expanding explosively in terms of pupil enrolment since the drive for universal primary education began in the 80s, with the help of international development partners. Consequently, the literacy rate has risen and people have become better educated. For example, while 23% of the population was literate in 1981 (Malek, 1981), the figure was 52% in 1997 (ESTEEM, 1998) and 47% in 2002 (NORAD, 2003).

In both the rural and urban government primary schools that I visited, the head teachers had HSCs (12 years of schooling), except one who had graduate degree. In contrast, five of seven SMC Chairmen, as well as some SMC members, were postgraduate-degree holders and were very influential locally. Moreover, one informant explained that, "many Bangladeshi who were once uneducated rural poor are now working abroad, particularly in oil-rich middle-eastern countries, so their economic situation has improved and many of their family members are now receiving higher education as well".[200] Thus, while the community is becoming better educated and the primary schools are being run and controlled by people with higher education, it is obvious that primary teachers are gradually being left behind in the race for education. This is costing them their trustworthiness, since they are no longer 'modern' educators with superior knowledge and information. Primary teachers are no longer the only knowledgeable people, particularly in the rural areas. A head teacher expressed his frustration as follows[201]:

> In early days most villagers would seek advice from primary teachers about their children's education, marriage, and so on. We are now being dictated to on matters concerning the school by those whom we taught 15 to 20 years back [such as the Chairmen/members of SMC]. I have a lot of teaching experience; what more can you learn about running a school from a university graduate who just passed yesterday.

The nature and scope of educated users' control over GPS teachers varies from school to school, area to area and teacher to teacher. Some teachers like the one mentioned above had unhappy experiences when dealing with better-educated users, while others did not. For example, one GPS head teacher claimed that he had been working in the same school for 38 years without encountering any trouble or uncooperativeness on the part of the local community. The SMC and parents had always been very supportive of school activities. His school was one of the best schools in Dhaka city and he had twice been elected the "best

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[200] Interview: SMCCM(16)
[201] Interview: SHTLGPS(6)

national teacher" (1990 and 1997). In his opinion, all these achievements could be attributed to the teachers' personal sincerity and devotion. He went on to say[202]:

> I have no higher education, only an HSC with C-in-Ed training. I have been trying to make optimal use of my qualifications. In my 38 years of service, I haven't taken even 20 days C/L (casual leave). Because the performance of pupils in this school is consistently better than elsewhere, all our teachers are honoured and respected by the parents and DPE officials. The NCTB has proposed that I write books, for an attractive remuneration, while CAMPE (an education NGO) and UNESCO officials often ask me to participate in seminars. UNESCO even offered me a good job, but I refused because I enjoy working with children. I have gained a lot by joining this vocation. My wife has gone to Mecca to perform *hajj,* but I think teaching young children in primary school is a no less important task than performing *hajj*!

It is clear from the above statement that parents who are satisfied pay due respect and honour to the primary teachers; this is because these teachers have performed their duties with honesty and sincerity, within their limitation.

Many primary teachers in the GPSs I visited agreed that well-educated parents were more concerned about standard of their children's education, in contrast to the teachers who were kept busy trying to increase pupil enrolment and attendance since this was the government priority. Because the standard of teaching-learning was the top priority for the well-educated and more concerned parents, the qualifications, competence and activities of the majority GPS teachers' did not meet their expectations. As a result, user interest and trust in the majority of GPS teachers declined; they were not qualified and dynamic enough. One head teacher confessed[203]:

> Superior will never *saalam* (show respect) to inferior. If I work properly and show creativity, why should I not be respected? The problem is that we (primary teachers) do not see our own faults.

7.3.5 The Failure of Informal Standard Setting by Teachers and User Trust

Informal peer control and standard setting, as well as the creation and maintenance of common values, are important elements if the professional image of practitioners is to be maintained and users' confidence to be won (Barber, 1983). In the course of my meetings and chats with GPS teachers at the study schools, I observed with interest that there did not seem to be any informal peer controls or efforts at standard setting; primary teachers rarely saw the

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[202] Interview: SHTZPS(1)
[203] Interview: ibid

faults of their colleagues and very seldom took measures to correct them. Why was that the case? In part, this could be attributed to the prevailing social culture. For example, junior colleagues did not wish to appear impolite by raising the issue of a senior teacher's shortcomings, or even by expressing their views in front of senior colleagues (Blake, 1985). The junior teachers whom I met certainly had plenty of ideas and wanted changes made in the school system and activities, but they were hampered by the social formalities and the respect paid to older persons. In addition, while they might notice a colleague's weakness, they would probably leave it to supervisors such as the AUEO/UEO to correct them. As stated in chapter six, school supervisors paid only irregular visits to schools and 'manageable' by political and other means and teachers' unions failed to address the issue of teachers' negligence of duties in cognizance. Thus, incompetent teachers are free to practice in government primary schools in Bangladesh. One education expert suggested:

> Primary teachers should be informed by the authorities that failure to report problematic incidents, particularly relating to teaching-learning in a primary school, would itself be treated as vocational misconduct and subject to disciplinary action, such measures might help to improve user concern and trustworthiness.

In fact, when a guardian with a grievance concerning a GPS teachers' performance or the non-functioning of a school cannot get a satisfactory answer from the teachers, the education authorities or the teachers' associations, and when primary teachers' self-regulation is inadequate to maintain the standards, s/he is likely to move the children to a better-quality private school or stop their involvement with the GPS activities as a last resort.

7.4 Summary

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated that a systematic lack of trust in the primary teaching occupation has developed in Bangladesh, mainly due to built-in systemic difficulties which have placed primary teachers in an awkward situation. First, the rewards system in the primary sub-sector has been based to a large extent on power rather than on vocational performance; this has often contributed to the neglect of teachers' vocational duties, and hence to a growing lack of user trust. Second, the sub-sector has been expanding very rapidly, especially with regard to the enrolment of children in GPSs. In order to cope with the rising number of pupils in a situation where the financial capacity of the state was severely limited, under-qualified primary teachers with only 10-12 years of education and without prior

vocational training were recruited. The adoption of such a policy by the government further contributed to the decline in users' trust in primary teachers as competent members of the vocation. Other systemic difficulties include the high student-teacher ratio, and the lack of teaching aids and classrooms in the primary schools. Such developments further discouraged wealthy families from sending their children to the GPSs, which triggered new systemic difficulties since these users were the main catalysts in the development of private primary schools. Nor did they take the initiative to improve the conditions of the GPSs since the state was supposed to be responsible for overseeing the activities and improving the conditions in the GPSs once they were nationalized. Finally, it was paradoxical that, while many members of the local elites did not send their children to the GPSs, they were actually in control of these schools due to their dominant position in the SMCs.

In addition to these systemic difficulties, there were major problems related to conflicting demands made by different categories of users within the sub-sector. These various demands and expectations, and the related tasks and responsibilities, pulled teachers in different directions. As a consequence, a teacher might lose his/her self-direction. First, it is evident from this discussion that primary teacher were dependent upon patrons, upon other people in their "problem-solving networks" who had the connections the teachers lacked, having only limited access to formal sources of assistance related to vocational life. Thus, primary teachers were often more sensitive to the needs of the children who belonged to their patrons' family, than to those of the rest of the children in the school, most of whom were from poor families. The practice of exclusive service delivery by many GPS teachers demonstrated that their primary responsibility was not to the interests of the majority of users, but to those of a small group of patrons. Such behaviour caused many users to conclude that members of the primary teaching occupation did not have a genuine sympathy for all children in the school.

Yet another factor contributing to user dissatisfaction has been the quality of the teaching. Although there have been some drives to improve teacher training in the sub-sector since the 1990s, the wealthy and well-educated parents were still critical of primary teachers for not being 'modern' educators with greater knowledge and information. Primary teachers' knowledge of what they had to teach in the classroom was often very limited and they repeatedly used the same teaching methods year after year without reflecting on how effective they were. The traditional teaching also created a kind of disinterest among parents about teachers' work in the GPS. Parents' dissatisfaction regarding the skills and performance of

government primary teachers was reflected in their actions; for example, many withdrew their children from the schools or did not get involved in the school activities. The failure of teachers to fulfil their vocational obligation, in addition to their lack of competence and commitment and insincere practices, also contributed in lack of user interest and trust if not in all but a majority of GPS teachers as members of gracious vocation and competent and caring practitioners.

Another important factor was the fact that there were few zealous and sincere people in the occupation, people who were interested in cooperating with other teachers and with the authorities. This was partly due to the prevailing social norms and culture, including the formalities and respect paid to older individuals, often prevented junior colleagues, in particular, from seeing and addressing the faults of their senior colleagues. It was also partly due to the lack of supervision and interest taken by the authorities in primary teachers' work and performance, also demoralized many, hindering them from doing a good job or fulfilling their fiduciary obligations.

The 'guru image' of schoolteachers seems to have faded in the primary sub-sector partly due to the shift from sacred knowledge to secular knowledge in the education system, and partly due to teachers' failure to fulfil their fiduciary obligations. This does not mean that there were no competent and responsible people in the occupation, but trustworthy teachers were scarce and seldom visible. While primary teachers in Bangladesh were once respected by the poor, their involvement in immoral practices as corruption and favouritism have left many people disillusioned. The users' perception of primary teaching as a noble and dedicated vocation, and of teachers as important and respected members of the community, has been gradually disappearing. This negative social image, in its turn, has deterred the most academically successful graduates from entering the occupation. The problem is that, since primary teachers' activities were embedded in a larger bureaucratic system, the voices of the majority of parents and pupils were not heard. Patron-client relations were more important than teacher-pupil relations and determined whose voices would be heard.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: Revisiting the Actor-based Framework

8.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to examine the characteristics and development of primary teaching as an occupation in Bangladesh during the period 1971-2001. The study explores the extent to which primary teaching have emerged as a distinct, publicly recognised occupation in control of its own affairs; and the factors and actors that have inhibited this professionalization process. In addition, the study will consider the usefulness of Burrage et al's (1990) framework for understanding and interpreting the primary teaching occupation and its development in a South Asian country such as Bangladesh. For the purposes of this study, the definitions of 'profession' and 'professionalization' that are used differ somewhat from those used in Anglo-American and Continental European discussions, in order to avoid distorting the South Asian's reality. As argued in sections 2.2.1 and 2.3.1, the social behaviour and attitudes of peoples throughout the South Asian region are characterized by certain key principles, such as: the principles of hierarchy, the exercise of inherited authority and personal power, the personalization of authority, the reliance on patronage and indulgence, opportunistic individualism and a lack of commitment to abstract objectives and ideologies. In particular, the principle of hierarchy and the exercise of inherited authority and personal power in interpersonal relations are widely accepted as morally right and necessary, and are even ritualized in many ways in South Asian countries.

The definition of 'profession' used in this study is somewhat similar to that of Kocka (Kocka, 1985 quoted in Burrage et al 1990), with slight modifications in order to adapt it to South Asian society and culture. A 'profession' is therefore defined as: *a full-time non-manual occupation that offers job security and considerable honour and rewards, as well as high social prestige and access to authority and power. In addition, practice of a profession presupposes specialized scholarly training and competence, and a code of ethics that includes principles such as altruism. Access to a profession is dependent upon the acquisition of a specific degree or certificate, and each profession tends to establish a monopoly of services and to insist upon freedom from outside control.*

Based upon Helsby (1995), professionalization has been defined as: *a process of occupational change or development marked by changes in the standard and the quality of practice, as well as in the occupational status and level of professional rewards.*

This inquiry employs the actor-based framework advanced by Burrage et al (1990) for the study of vocations as the theoretical guidelines. The study has analysed the four actor roles suggested in this model – those of the state, the professional organizations, the teacher training institutions and the users – in relation to the following research questions:

- *How has the primary teaching occupation developed during the period 1971-2001, particularly in relation to the civil service system in Bangladesh?*

- *What is the role of the state in terms of policy, administrative machinery, licensing and delegation of authority/autonomy, and how does this influence the occupational activities of teachers in government primary school (GPS)?*

- *What is the role of primary teachers themselves in terms of collective action and development of unions, and to what extent are they organized?*

- *What is the role of training institutions in terms of providing training for primary teachers that will maintain the professional norms and standards?*

- *What is the role of users in terms of their trust and confidence in primary teachers' ability to perform their duties as professionals? What reward/sanction mechanisms do users employ in order to ensure that teachers maintain the basic norms and standards of practice?*

The approach taken to answering these questions has focused on the historical analysis of social events. The techniques employed included literature review, focus group discussions and interviews. The study is based mainly on primary data collected through visits to GPS schools and classrooms, observation of training sessions in Primary Teachers' Training Institutes (PTI) and in-service "sub-cluster" gatherings, interviews with the sample population (including government primary-school teachers, union leaders, parents/local elites, teacher educators, government officials, donor representatives), and questionnaires (structured and open-ended). Secondary data referred to in the study included literature from a variety of sources; for example, official reports of the National Education Commissions/Committees, the national Five Year Plans, reports of various government committees, legislative bills

education statistics, teacher training manuals and the charter of teachers' duties, as well as relevant articles and reports in journals and the media. Data were collected both from urban and rural GPSs in order to obtain a broader picture of the problem. This data is discussed in the five empirical chapters (chapters 3 to 7), which are devoted to examining the roles of the four actors.

This concluding chapter consists of three sections, including the introduction. Section two summarizes some of my observations and discusses briefly the major findings detailed in the preceding chapters. Section three revisits the actor-based framework and its applicability in the study of the primary teaching occupation in a South Asian country such as Bangladesh; the theoretical implications of this model for the study are discussed, its strengths and weaknesses, as well as how it could be further developed.

8.2 The Major Observations and Findings

In order to understand the dynamics of mainstream primary education in a country such as Bangladesh, it is necessary to establish who the primary teachers are and what characterises them as an occupational group. Thus, it is essential to determine:

- How their occupation is defined within the bureaucratic system and the value placed on it by the power elites;
- What kind of training and skills the GPS teachers have;
- What extent are they organized; and
- How they are perceived by service users – their credibility as knowledgeable and effective member of a noble profession.

All the above factors have a tremendous affect on the status and power that GPS teachers possess in comparison to other occupational groups and society in general. My core hypothesis is that primary teachers in Bangladesh are not members of a professionalized occupation. One of the main issues addressed is the fact that primary teaching in Bangladesh has not been able to emerge as a fully autonomous occupation, in which the members have a professional identity and a professional role model. Primary teachers lack the control over their own work situation that is characteristic of a professionalized occupation. In addition, their knowledge base is restricted due to limited training and they are located at the bottom of

a very hierarchical bureaucracy. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that their vocational unions suffer from fragmentation, competition and constant conflict; and the power elites have not interested in the vocational development of GPS teachers. Moreover, they lack credibility in the eyes of their service users, for example parents and pupils. This situation has persisted more or less unchanged since Bangladesh's independence in 1971. As a consequence, primary teachers often do not consider themselves to be professionals; they lack a professional identity and social status.

My second hypothesis is that, although there have been several attempts made to change this situation during last three decades, a number of factors and actors have hindered any significant development. The first and foremost of these is the existing administrative and political system, which has not been very conducive to the improvement of the working conditions of primary teachers. Secondly, there are the problems associated with the users: various categories of users have been pulling teachers in different directions; they have not contributed to the improvement of conditions in the GPSs either, and hence have allowed the situation of GPS teachers to deteriorate. Thirdly, primary teacher training institutions do not have the necessary facilities and competencies to provide primary teachers with the kind of knowledge and skills that are needed if they are to develop into a high status and autonomous group of practitioners; i.e. a profession. Fourthly, the preconditions for the development of strong teachers' unions have not existed in Bangladesh, and the objectives pursued by the existing unions have tended to emphasise traditional trade union demands rather than vocational autonomy and control. These are the obstacles facing attempts to improve the situation in the primary education sub-sector in Bangladesh. International development partners have long been engaged in this process, but their efforts have not paid sufficient attention to the vocational development of primary teachers; they have left this to the various regimes. Donor activities have intensified recently under the PEDP-II, particularly in the areas of teacher education and teacher exchanges. However, 'conditionalities' sometimes call their efforts into question. Any attempt to change GPS teachers' vocational status and to improve the quality of their practice should take into account all the actors and factors discussed in this study.

8.2.1 The 'Class III' position of primary teachers in the civil service system mitigates against their recognition as members of a professionalized occupation

With the nationalization of primary education in 1974 (effective from October 1973), all primary teachers became public employees. Thus, all GPS teachers are now 'Class III' employees in the civil service system, which equates them with support services or menial jobs (e.g. sweeping, cleaning etc) that require no special knowledge or skills. This 'Class III' status contributes to an attitude of subordination and limits the scope for vocational autonomy in primary teaching. Moreover, like other 'class IV employees' (e.g. gardener, sweeper etc) primary teachers' knowledge base is limited due to lack of training, and they perform their tasks in positions at the bottom of a very hierarchical bureaucracy. In a hierarchical society like Bangladesh, this position prevents GPS teachers, for example, from taking a seat in the presence of a local level Upazila Nirbahi Officer (chief executive of a sub-district) or Upazila Education Officer unless invited to do so. As a result, primary teachers do not generally consider themselves to be persons with high status and they lack what may be termed a professional identity.

8.2.2 The dominant actor is the state and the power elites are not actively engaged in the mainstream primary education sub-sector, and hence in primary teachers

Under the provisions of the Bangladeshi constitution, the state is the key actor providing basic education to the future generations of the nation. The nationalization of primary schools in 1974 ensured GPS teachers regular pay, benefits and secured tenure, as well as allowing them to escape from manual work in the war-torn economy. However, the state decision to categorize primary teachers as third class civil servants has actually had negative consequences for their position in the pay and benefits system; for example, the National Pay Scales consists of a total of 20 grades (1 is the highest and 20 is the lowest) and GPS teachers were placed on grade 8 in 1973 and degraded to grade 18 in 1977, where they have remained. In addition, their career structure is flat, with no opportunities to career prospect. Thus, the primary teaching occupation has lost its attraction for candidates with better qualifications and higher education, although they may teach temporarily until they find a better job.

The study also reveals that regimes are partly responsible for the decline in standards of education in GPS. Motivated by policy or compassion, they have opened the occupation for

people who are untrained and poorly qualified; for example, allowing housewives with 'some education' and 'proxy teachers' to teach in the GPS classrooms. The power elites have made no effort to retain university graduates in the primary teaching occupation by offering a salary in accordance with their qualifications. The foregoing analysis has also revealed that, historically, primary teaching is a neglected occupation, in the sense that all aspect of teachers' vocational lives are under the control of other professionals, such as college teachers, who pay them little attention. In addition, no provision has been made for licensing practitioners, in order to control entry into this occupation and ban unqualified people from practicing. Thus, no license and/or training is required to teach in a GPS, and the academic requirements for entry to the occupation have been relaxed rather than tightened (e.g. from Higher Secondary Certificate with 12 years of schooling, to Secondary School Certificate with 10 years of schooling). One of the intentions underlying this relaxation of the entrance qualifications for GPS teachers was to provide more opportunities for women and indigenous people to join the occupation. Consequently, primary teachers possess less expertise in teaching and less knowledge to disseminate. Such a situation hinders the social recognition and high respect for GPS teachers. The study also found that, although the situation is gradually improving since 1990 due to the high priority the government has given to primary education in general, and to Education for All (EFA) in particular, there is still a shortage of resources and a delay in policy implementation. One important reason for this gap is the fact that this sub-sector is neglected by the power elites because GPSs do not usually serve the interests of these elites.

In addition, this study reveals that the state, or more accurately the power elite, has allowed a split to develop in the provision of basic education in Bangladesh; the children of high-ranking and elite parents attend private English or Bangla schools, while the children of middle and lower-class families attend the government primary schools (GPS). This division in the education system reflects the socio-political reality of the country, and the power elites that control the policies and the resources have shown little passion for mainstream primary education. The fact that the state places little value on primary education in general, and on government primary schools in particular, is reflected in policy priorities and expenditure of public funds in this sub-sector (see chapter four). The power elites have viewed the quality of education in the GPS as a problem of the poor, an attitude that has remained unchanged since independence. The foregoing analysis also demonstrates that, despite the fact that primary education has been prioritized over secondary and higher education in national policy

documents (e.g. five-year plans), this focus has remained a matter of rhetoric, and has not materialized in resource allocation or expenditure (e.g. see First Five Year Plan and Two year Plans). In contrast, greater emphasis has been placed on higher education, which has been disproportionately favoured by the power elites. This is because institutions of higher education have been a valuable source of political support, as well as a very real source of opposition. In addition, the various elites have a shared interest in higher education as an essential channel for the development and advancement of their children. Consequently, the power elites have not sought to further the common good by strengthening the GPSs and developing training programmes for primary teachers, but rather furthered their group interests. Since independence, their interest in improving the quality, effectiveness and supply of teachers in GPS has been declining.

In spite of this lack of engagement on the part of elites, global movements and the activities of the donor community in connection with EFA have resulted in an increase in interventions in the primary education sub-sector in Bangladesh, particularly in the areas of teacher training, teacher exchanges, and institutional support (both at the central and local level). As a result, the situation in GPSs is gradually improving with regard to matters such as the quality of teaching-learning, the teacher-student ratio, and the supply of teaching aids. However, conditions imposed by some of the leading development partners have sometimes caused tensions to arise between the regime in power and the various other partners involved. Serious operational problems arising from, for example their uncoordinated efforts, overlapping projects and inadequate resources may subsequently affect programmes for the vocational development of primary teachers. Moreover, this dependence on donor-supported projects for the improvement of the sub-sector may create a 'no project, no work' attitude among the officials employed in the MoPME and the DPE. Nevertheless, this study has confirmed that, despite the challenges, the intervention of donors in the form of pressure and support 'from above' seems crucial for the improvement of access, equity, and quality in the primary education sub-sector in general, and for the competence of primary teachers in particular. Such intervention is essential due to the lack of pressure and support for quality education in the GPSs 'from below', i.e. from the poor of the community. The study also establishes that power elites are more interested in investing internal as well as external resources in the establishment of low-cost, low-quality schools and in the initiation of programmes (e.g. food for education and *Upabitti*) that are politically advantageous to themselves. State policies have encouraged increasing centralization of teacher recruitment, relaxation of qualification,

control of primary teachers' vocational life by college teachers, a 'one-stop' career path, and reduction of primary teachers' pay – and have thereby limited teachers' career prospects and undermined the traditional respect that primary teachers have always had in the village community. Thus, it is possible to attribute the present low status of the primary teachers to the low value placed on the mainstream primary teaching occupation historically by the Bangladesh state, i.e. the power elites.

8.2.3 The teacher training system lacks the facilities to disseminate the knowledge and develop the competence that is required of an autonomous and effective group of practitioners

The inadequacy of the teacher training system in Bangladesh has been confirmed in this study, and the underlying reasons analysed. The study reveals that government primary-school teachers are aware of and concerned about the kind of training they are being offered, and consider the training system to be the main obstacle to their professionalism. It also establishes that primary teacher training in Bangladesh is hierarchically structured and based on a very traditional curriculum and methods. The curriculum for both the Certificate in Education (C-in-Ed) and "sub-cluster" training are inadequate, and are of little relevance for teachers' vocational development and ability to handle classroom situations. In addition, the C-in-Ed curriculum is very theoretical and places little emphasis on the development of primary teachers' knowledge of the subject matter. This situation is unlikely to improve since the power elites and primary teachers' unions offer little support to the improvement of the training system in the sub-sector. As a result, there is dearth of readily accessible funding for research in this field, as well as of capable people to produce research-based knowledge. This is particularly true of the NAPE, which is handicapped in its efforts to develop a standard curriculum for the PTIs, and to provide better quality training for PTI instructors, and hence for primary teachers. The foregoing analysis also reveals that the training received at the PTIs and in the sub-clusters is very traditional due to the centralized curriculum and syllabus system in the primary sub-sector. Moreover, revisions are usually dependent on the initiation of a new donor-supported project, which may take a long time to come into effect. Another obstacle to the change process is the lack of a formal institutional link between 'apex' training institutions such as the NAPE, and the various universities in the country. The study also found that defective staffing structures and shortages of high-quality staff are common phenomena, both in the NAPE and the PTIs. For example, the majority of NAPE staff are seconded civil servants, predominantly associate professors and college lectures; there are few

senior level academics or researchers such as professors. There is a similar shortage of trained personnel in the PTIs, and many key positions (e.g. superintendents/assistant superintendents) may remain unfilled for long time. Such a staffing problem has tarnished the image of the PTIs as quality institutions for teachers' vocational training, and as institutions of which primary teachers can feel proud.

Not only is the quality of primary teacher training in Bangladesh inadequate, but also the quantity. The data collected for this study indicates that, in spite of the fact that most of the trainees or GPS teachers have only 10-12 years of education, the programmes are very short; eight to twelve months for the C-in-Ed programme and bi-monthly 'sub-cluster' in-service training sessions of two hours. This is about to change, however, and a two-year PTI training programme is in the process of being implemented as part of the second primary education development programme (PEDP-II). Another factor obstructing effective teacher training is the fact that the PTIs lack the necessary equipment, such as training materials, teaching manuals and reference libraries. All these shortcomings, in combination with the mainly lectured-centred mode of teaching and the overloaded modules, often mean that the training programmes are ineffective. Another factor contributing to this situation is the fact that there are no clearly defined competencies that the trainees are expected to acquire by the completion of their PTI training; i.e. the programmes have no measurable goals. In addition, the PTI programmes were found to have undemanding training curricula and unfair examination and marking systems, which have meant that primary teachers do not consider their main vocational training option attractive; and that the ultimate service users, children and their guardians, do not consider it satisfactory. One conclusion that may be drawn from this is that primary teachers usually take the C-of-E training only to meet the requirements of the system, viewing it as a ritual.

Another problem pertaining to PTIs revealed in this study is that not all of the academic staffs are not qualified for the positions they hold, since they do not have post-graduate degrees. Few instructors have any specific subject-area knowledge, but many have a Bachelor of Education, which is designed to produce capable teachers for secondary schools rather than primary schools. The expertise of PTI instructors, therefore, may be irrelevant and inadequate for the job they are employed to do. The study also reveals that postgraduate primary teachers are unwilling to attend training courses in the PTIs because the instructors are less well-qualified than themselves academically. The problems of unqualified instructors and the

difficulties recruiting staff for the PTIs are directly related to the state policy that equates PTIs with secondary schools; this, in turn, means that both the status and the pay of PTI instructors is low. Just as for primary teachers, the career prospects for PTI instructors are limited, and theirs is also a one-step vocation. Thus, the low status and restricted career prospects associated with these institutions discourage persons with appropriate experience and higher academic qualifications from becoming PTI instructors.

8.2.4 Fragmented and weak unions have tended to emphasise traditional trade union demands and failed to address the issue of teachers' vocational autonomy

This study reveals that there has been a constant power struggle within the Bangladesh Primary Teachers' Association (BPTA) due to the ever-shifting political context, the passing and rescinding of laws, and the resistance of various regimes in Bangladesh. The BPTA has been struggling for last about three decades to be accepted as the legitimate representative of GPS teachers, to no avail. In Bangladesh, public sector officials/employees are not allowed to form any service associations. This has meant that, in order to survive, the BPTA has developed some distinctive features that have enabled it to circumvent the official restrictions (Government Servant (Conduct) Rule 1979 and the Government Servants (Discipline & Appeal) Rule, 1985) that deny public servants, including GPS teachers, the right to organize. Some of these features include: (i) a welfare organization profile; (ii) an emphasis on commercial enterprise; (iii) active engagement in the 'commission' business; (iv) the emergence of factions; and (v) a focus on 'bread and butter' issues.

Closer analysis has revealed that the BPTA often engages in activities reminiscent of a traditional trade union or a militant type of organization. For example, the BPTA usually emphasises primary teachers' 'bread and butter' issues, such as improving their working conditions, increasing their remuneration, and the upgrading the status of GPS head teachers from 'Class-III' to 'Class II' in the civil service system. Such activities are not in accordance with those of a professional association, which include introducing a code of ethics, inspiring practitioners to engage in good practice in order to justify their privileges, demanding occupational autonomy, controlling entry into the occupation, and developing better training programmes for members or raising the recruitment criteria for the occupation. The study also indicates that, instead of demanding a gate-keeper role that would allow it to control the certification of practitioners and deny anyone unqualified the right to practice, the BPTA has

lobbied for the nationalization of the remaining non-government primary schools, a move which would actually increase the number of unqualified teachers. While this move was detrimental from a professional perspective, it enabled the BPTA to broaden its support-base, a necessary measure in its ongoing conflict with the regime. In addition, it is evident that the BPTA has long been silent on the issue of teacher qualifications; it has not been demanding that candidates being recruited should have higher academic qualifications. I have interpreted this as an indication that, since the majority of the union leaders do not have such qualifications themselves, they consider university graduates a potential threat to their leadership.

Another problem the study has revealed in relation to the BPTA is its dual function as a 'vocational union' and a 'welfare organization;' this has created difficulties in defining its organizational objectives. In addition, the organization has been torn by conflicts and splits, in which the various regimes have figured as key actors. Inter-faction rivalry has been a major obstacle to the articulation of the GPS teachers' interests. Related problems include asymmetric dependence, fragmented representation, and lack of mutual trust and respect between factions. Given the pervasive bureaucratic and political control and the distinctive features mentioned, the BPTA is not adequately mobilized, organized and unified to gain legislative recognition as the organization representing GPS teachers.

The study has also indicated that the involvement of the BPTA in business activities has encouraged the development of a number of undesirable practices; for example, the collection of subscriptions and fees from the school children by their teachers. These funds and income from other business activities have enabled the BPTA to accumulate properties worth millions of *Taka.* However, this is not used for the vocational development of the members; for example, for the publication of academic journals/periodicals or the arrangement of regular training/seminar for teachers. The study reveals that while all GPS teachers pay a subscription to the 'Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust', the funds are generally distributed to allies of the BPTA, i.e. to 'like-minded' GPS teachers and organization leaders. Such actions on the part of the BPTA serve to create tension among rival groups and to alienate many GPS teachers from its activities and the 'Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust'.

8.2.5 Various groups of users pull GPS teachers in different directions and have not helped to improve their working conditions.

This study reveals that there is a general lack of trust in GPS teachers on the part of the users, mainly due to their neglect of their duties and to built-in systemic difficulties such as rigid bureaucratic control, increasing numbers of unqualified and untrained teachers, high teacher-student ratios, and inadequate teaching aids/classrooms. The systemic difficulties have placed GPS teachers in an awkward position. A key user group consists of the wealthy and well-educated parents, in particular, who are dissatisfied with the teacher/classroom shortage, as well as with the levels of skills and performance of GPS teachers. As a result, many of them withdraw their children from the GPS and are no longer involved in the school's activities. This, in turn, means that the pupils attending GPS are predominantly from poor or lower-middle class families. The wealthy families support the development of private primary schools, but they are not generally motivated to improve the conditions or supervise the GPSs because they consider this the government responsibility since they nationalized the institutions. The study also indicates that it is the local elites/officials that usually control the GPS through their dominant presence in the School Management Committee. In addition, while they criticize the quality of teaching in the GPSs and do not send their children there, they actually use the services of GPS teachers as 'private tutors'. Thus, there is a group of elite users who has no vested interest in the GPSs, but at the same time has direct and indirect power over them. In this situation, the voices of elites is heard compared to main users of teachers' vocational service, i.e. poor parents and pupils, a problem that is also exacerbated by the rigid bureaucratic system which controls teachers' activities.

The study also argues that the patron-client relationship is more important than the teacher-pupil relationship, given the teaching-learning situation in GPS, and it is the former that determines whose voices will be heard. GPS teachers tend to prioritize the needs of their patrons, who constitute a "problem-solving network"; patrons have 'connections', compared to teachers, who have only limited access to formal sources of assistance related to their vocational life. Thus, GPS teachers are responsive to the needs of children from a patrons' family, at the expense of the needs of the other children in the school, most of whom come from poor families. The fact that many GPS teachers offer exclusive services to patrons indicates that they do not consider their primary responsibility to be to the interests of the majority users, but rather to those of the small patron group. This widespread favouritism

underlies the general lack of trust and cooperation that characterizes the relationship between GPS teachers and the majority of their service users.

The study confirms that another reason for user dissatisfaction with the GPS is the fact that the teachers have only a limited knowledge of the subject matter and their teaching methods are traditional, repetitive and boring for primary children. As a result, many users, particularly well-educated parents, do not consider primary teachers to be modern educators with a lot of knowledge and up-to-date skills for modern teaching-learning. The analysis also suggests that this situation is exacerbated by the prevailing social norms and culture, which stress, for example, the importance of 'respect for age'; this often prevents junior colleagues from noticing the faults of senior colleagues and correcting them in the school system. As a result of these shortcomings, GPS teachers often feel that their work is not fully appreciated by their service users, supervisors and the power elites. The study also indicates that the lack of supervision provided and interest taken in their work also discourages GPS teachers from doing a good job or fulfilling their fiduciary obligations. In addition, some teachers' involvement in anti-social practices such as corruption and favouritism, cast a gloomy shadow over GPS teachers in the eyes of poor parents, despite the fact that they used to be respected by the poor. Moreover, the varied demands and expectations of users pull a teacher in different direction, as a consequence of which s/he may lose self-direction.

8.2.6 International development partners' efforts to improve conditions in the primary sub-sector sometimes have a negative effect on the vocational standing of primary teachers

This study demonstrates that international donors have long been involved in trying to improve the general conditions in the primary education sub-sector and in teacher training in particular. However, there have always been tensions between the government and the development partners with regard to their respective commitments, scale of financing, the type of programmes, and so on. The study reveals that some international donors (e.g. UNESCO, UNICEF, SIDA and NORAD) have been engaged in developing the curriculum and training programmes in the PTIs and National Academy of Primary Education (NAPE), in order to improve the quality of primary teacher training. On the one hand, there is increasing donor involvement and the sub-sector continues to receive the interest and support of donors, partly thanks to global movements (e.g. the EFA Dakar Framework of Action and the UN Millennium Development Goals) and partly to bilateral interests. On the other hand,

this involvement is fraught with controversy and government-donor working relations are fragile with regard to the modalities and conditions of the project.

It is clear from the study findings that donors have made a significant contribution to the recent achievements Bangladesh has made in basic education and literacy. However, the proportion of qualified teachers has been dropping in the GPSs as a result of donor support of the policy of hiring of unqualified female teachers on a massive scale; this was considered necessary in order to cope with the increased demand for teachers due to the rapid growth in enrolment in the primary schools and in GPSs in particular. This focus on meeting the need for teachers in the GPS has been an obstacle to the improvement of teachers' vocational status and of users' perception of primary teaching as an occupation for less well-qualified people.

8.3 The Actor-based Framework for the Study of Occupations Revisited: Theoretical Implications

The finding presented throughout this investigation confirm that the four actors suggested in the Burrage et al framework have played an important role in the professionalization process of the primary teaching occupation in Bangladesh. It is useful and insightful to analyse the development of primary teaching as an occupation over time on the basis of limited number of actors. However, the framework is not without its limitations in this context. One of the main limitations has been the narrow focus on the roles of four "internal" actors in the professionalization process. These four actors are crucial in the context of Western societies, but are not necessarily the only actors in the South Asian context. In studying the primary teaching occupation in Bangladesh, it became evident that, in addition to these four internal actors, there is also an "external" actor, the donor community, which may be considered a symbiotic partner in the professionalization process of an occupational group such as primary teachers. Accordingly, the investigation appears to confirm that, without the intervention of this symbiotic partner, it would have been difficult for the Bangladeshi state to cope with the rapid expansion of school enrolment, and thus of the primary education sub-sector, that arose due to measures taken to realize the Education for All (EFA) global target. For decades, the donor community has played a crucial role in this sector in developing countries, addressing such issues as the severe teacher shortage, the quality of teacher education and the working conditions in schools, and has therefore indirectly influenced the status of primary teachers.

The framework used in the study distinguishes three types of professionalization process: (i) practitioner-led; (ii) the state-led and (iii) university-led. It is important to bear in mind that these views of the professionalization process are the product of different theoretical perspetives. Structural theorists (e.g. Millerson, 1964; Wilensky, 1964; Caplow, 1954) place a great deal of emphasis on 'structure' alone when discussing the professionalization of occupations. For example, Wilensky's analysis focuses mainly on understanding the profession and professionalization of occupations on the basis of 'structures' such as professional organization. According to Wilensky, the role of the practitioners themselves is crucial in the professionalization process. In contrast, monopolist theorists (e.g. Larson, 1977; Friedson, 1970a & 1970b; Johnson, 1972 & 1995) view the issue of professionalization in terms of status achievement. They moved professions into the political arena by emphasizing their role in the community and their connection to the state. According to this perspective, state recognition and delegation of power grants certain vocations a high degree of autonomy and status, which distinguishes between 'professions' and other occupational groups. In this respect, the state initiates the professionalization of an occupational group. For other theorists (e.g. Barber, 1963; Freidson, 2001), the core issue for professionalization is the high degree of generalized and systematized knowledge that legitimates professionals' control over nature and society. Universities are the main sources of such generalized and systematized knowledge, which leads to another type of professionalization that is university led.

This study reveals that, in addition of these three types, there is a fourth which may be identifies as donor-led professionalization. This type of professionalization occurs only when an external actor has a particular obligation and interest in a specific vocation. Moreover, the model maintains that, in order to advance general propositions of professionalization and theory of profession, one need only identify interests, resources and strategies of four actors (e.g. the professionals themselves, the state, the training institutions, and the users) and how their interaction has changed over time. Thus, the model only offers a means of relating the professions to other elements of the internal social structure; i.e. the state, the educational system and the markets for vocational services. The proposition of this study, however, is that a holistic view of the professionalization of an occupation and general theory of profession is dependent upon the professions being related to the global context. This means that, in relation to the specific occupation, one must identify on-going global movements which might have influenced the interests, resources, and strategies of the actors mentioned in the model.

In relation to the practitioners' role, the model identifies four types of professional organization: knowledge-based organizations, lobbyist organizations, trade-union type organizations and 'qualifying' organizations that pursue and maintain professional goals. The study suggests that there is actually a fifth type of vocational organization which may be termed the 'company-type' organization, the main aim of which is to accumulate funds by engaging in the business-like activities. This type of vocational organization does not generally charge a membership fee since it has other sources of fund; for example, income from business enterprises, occasional donation from the government, and fees collected by the members of the organization for service which suppose to be free. This type of organization rarely uses organizational funds for the vocational development of their members, nor does it encourage well-educated persons to join the vocation because the leaders fear this might threaten their position.

While it is suggested that the state plays a role in the professionalization of an occupational group, the action-based framework does not specify what this state would be looked like. The concept of the state seems to be a big 'black box'. This study argues that, in order to understand the role of the state in the professionalization process, it is first necessary to classify states according to such features as their structure and state-society relations. Hence, a 'developmental' state must be distinguished from a 'predatory' or 'intermediate' state (Evans, 1995). Weber's notion of an ideal bureaucracy lies at the base of this categorization. According to Weber, the basic characteristics of the ideal type bureaucracy include: merit-based recruitment and promotion, an authorized hierarchy with a clearly defined division of labour, written documents/orders, impersonality, lack of discretion, and uniform procedures. Evans maintains that a predatory state is more 'clientelistic' than this ideal type and lacks many of the main characteristics (Evans, ibid, p.12). In a 'predatory' state, according to Evans, maximization of individual or group interests takes precedence over the pursuit of collective interests. In addition, he claims that the bureaucracy is characterized by patrimonial caricatures; for example, the bureaucrats' public and private lives are blurred, they supplement their salary with bribes, their actions are arbitrary and based on subjective reasoning and personal gains, and rules are applied with partiality so some clients receive preferential treatment (Evans, 1995:46; Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 2002:2). A predatory state also undercuts development activities that are to serve the common interest of its citizens (Evans, ibid, p.12). In contrast, the bureaucrats in a developmental state are highly skilled, meritocratic and committed, and therefore closer to the Weberian model. This type of

bureaucracy maintains the strong social ties that bind the state to society, and facilitates citizens' pursuit of collective goals. Thus, developmental states deliver collective benefits and act as coherent entities (Evans, ibid, P.248).

On the basis of this insight, therefore, I would suggest that the actor-based framework may explain the state-vocation relationship in the context of a developmental state, but not in the case of a predatory or intermediate state. This is the case because state policy or action in predatory and intermediate states overemphasises the needs of the elites due to the fact that the state agencies are less bureaucratic (in the Weberian sense) and more clientelistic, and that civil society is unorganized. Thus, the proposition taken in this study is that the professionalization of an occupation in a predatory or intermediate state needs to be understood in relation to the interests of the power elites in the specific occupation. For example, Blake (1985) argues that higher education in Bangladesh is for the privileged few of the society, and teachers working in the lower level public or state-supported educational institutions (e.g. government primary schools or secondary schools) are viewed as "third grade people" by the wider community. This is because the practitioners working in these institutions are usually the recipients of lower salaries, less training and limited service facilities; hence, their status is also low due to this lack of attention and interest on the part of the power elites. It should be noted that GPS teachers do not serve the interests of power elites since their children attend private primary schools. Dove (1983a:76) also maintained that there was a wide gap between promise and performance in the primary education sub-sector in Bangladesh. She demonstrated that only 43% of the funds allocated to primary education were spent during the Second Five Year Plan period, as a result of which the sub-sector failed to achieve its target. In contrast, higher education (universities in particular) achieved and exceeded its targets, spending 120% of its allocation. This confirms that higher education has been prioritized and disproportionately favoured by the power elites in Bangladesh, a situation which has arisen because it is in the common interest of all elites to ensure higher education for their children.

With regard to the role of the users, the actor-based model only identifies users that have resources in the form of, for example, fees, gossip, publicity, protest, and votes, as well as legal and penal sanctions. This study indicates that there are not only fee-for-users but also users who are unorganized and have no such resources at their disposal. For example, the children attending a primary school have only one resource at their disposal: their trust that

teachers will perform their role with their pupils' best interests at heart. Hardcore poor parents are also unorganized and do not have enough time to go and protest; in addition, their votes do not bring about any change in their children's situation since most of the elected representatives serve the interest of the elites. Thus, this study suggests that the role of the users (e.g. parents, children) needs to be understood in terms of their trust in the practitioners/vocation, rather than in terms of the economic and political resources at their disposal. Blake (1985) argues that Bangladeshi parents believe they can trust the teacher to make the right decisions for their children, and that they appreciate and become as supportive as possible of the school when a teacher takes an interest in their child. Moreover, research carried out leads me to suggest that 'connections' with the higher authorities is one of the vital resources the users possess, particularly the local elites. This gives them a tremendous influence over the activities of practitioners such as primary teachers in a developing country like Bangladesh.

The actor-based model suggests that practitioners (trainees) do not usually complain in public about fellow practitioners or the institutions from which they receive their vocational training since may undermine the users' confidence, and hence their professional reputation and rewards. Following the model also suggests that the status, honour and income of the trainers (professors) are higher when universities control the provision of training and the licensing of future members of the vocation. However, the model does not consider the honour, prospects and status of trainers where the practitioners are not university trained. The findings of this study are that the trainers enjoy only limited career prospects, honour and status, as do their trainees, when future members of the occupation are trained at a low status/level (e.g. school-level) training institution. In this context, it is common for trainees to criticize the training institution responsible for their vocational training for failing to provide them with a solid knowledge base that would make them efficient and effective practitioners. According to Hossain (1994:160) instructors in the Primary Teachers' Training Institutes (PTIs) in Bangladesh award marks and divisions (grades) to their trainees (primary teachers) without assessing the scientific or social knowledge base. Hossain maintains that the only prerequisite for success in PTI training is knowledge of how to manipulate the system, and that good grade in the PTI examinations are associated with injustice and cheating. It is understandable, therefore, that this kind of training would not be a source of respect, reward and status for either trainers or trainees in the PTIs. It is no wonder then that children find school uninteresting and their teachers harsh (Dove, 1983b:217).

To conclude this discussion, it should be stated that the actor-based framework makes it possible to identify the main actors and explain their roles in the professionalization process of an occupation such as primary teaching in the South Asia context. It has also made it possible to obtain a deeper understanding of the dynamics that characterise primary teaching as an occupation. However, the factors that have shaped the professionalization of this occupation cannot be understood solely only in terms of roles of the four "internal" actors and the resources at their disposal, as suggested in the framework. Instead, both internal and external actors play critical roles in the professionalization of an occupational group such as primary teachers in Bangladesh. Moreover, actors' roles must be understood in relation to their wider interests and the local socio-economic and political context, as well as to global movements. Finally, the question of whether the empirical findings of this study can be generalized beyond the boundaries of Bangladesh or the South-East Asian sub-continent requires further investigation.

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LIST OF ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

National Academy for Primary Education, Mymensingh Training Programme 1993-94

Sl. No	Title of the Programme	Duration
1	Training of ATEOs in management & supervision of primary school	9 days
2	Training of TEOs in administration, supervision & monitoring	5 days
3	Training of DPEOs in administration, supervision & monitoring	4 days
4	Foundation training for newly-recruited TEOs & PTI Instructors	3 months
5	A training workshop for PTI Superintendents in administration, supervision and management	2 days
6	Training of PTI Instructors in the revised C-in-Ed curriculum	5 days
7	Training of PTI Instructors in Library management	6 days
8	Training of newly-recruited or promoted Class-I Primary Education Officers in administration & management	12 days
9	Monitoring and follow-up activities	
10	Regional workshop on compulsory primary education (in 5 division)	3 days
11	Training of District Coordinators of INFEP in Non-formal education	8 days
12	a. Research program in primary education b. Workshop on the research activities of NAPE	5 days
13	Primary education week 1994 and award of prizes for the best school, best teachers, best ATEOs, best primary artists and others	4 days
14	Publication of Academy news, training manuals and workshop reports	
15	Management of PTI examination through C-in-Ed. Examination Board	

Source: Shrestha, 1994:16 (appendix III)

ANNEX 2

**The "registers" that a GPS head teacher has to maintain and keep updated
without any clerical assistance**

Sl. No	Name of the register	Total no.	Where is it located[204]
1	Teacher attendance	1	On the filing cabinet/desk
2	Pupil attendance	19	In the staff desk's rack
3	Admission register	2	In the drawer of the front desk
4	School supervision book	1	On the top of front filing cabinet
5	Stock book	1	In no.1 steel *almirah* (locker)
6	Stationery goods stock book	1	-do-
7	Miscellaneous cash book	1	-do-
8	Government cash book	1	-do-
9	Examination cash book	1	-do-
10	Merit register	1	-do-
11	Register for primary scholarship and national award students	1	-do-
12	Free book distribution register		-do-
13	Mail distribution register	1	In the drawer of the front desk
14	Post register	1	-do-
15	Regular student attendance register	1	In the staffroom rack
16	Stop-gap register	1	-do
17	Minutes of SMC meeting register	1	In the no.1 file cabinet
18	Minutes of PTA meeting register	1	-do-
19	Minutes of staff meeting register	1	-do-
20	Teachers' salary register	2	In the cabinet of the front table
21	Log book	1	In no.1 steel *almirah*
22	Monitoring register	1	In no.1 file cabinet
23	Notice register	3	-do-
24	Peon book	1	-do-

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[204] This information was hanging on the wall in the head teacher office of a 'model' government primary school in Dhaka city

The "registers" that a GPS head teacher has to maintain and keep updated
without any clerical assistance

Sl. No	Name of the register	Total no.	Where is it located[205]
25	Sub-cluster register	1	In the development and social welfare related cabinet
26	Parents meeting register	1	In front table cabinet
27	Teacher bio-data register	1	In the steel *almirah* no. 7
28	Ideal school library register	2	-do-
29	Boy scouts register	1	-do-
30	Child survey register	1	In the front table cabinet
31	Primary scholarship participating pupils' register	1	-do-
32	IDEAR project related register	1	In the steel *almira* no.1
33	Student stipend for poor family children (*upabitti)*		-do-
34	Casual leave register for teacher	1	On front table
35	Quarterly performance report register	1	Special file behind the chair of the head teacher

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[205] This information was hanging on the wall in the head teacher office of a 'model' government primary school in Dhaka city

ANNEX 3

Objectives of primary education as in the development plans, 1973-2002

Development plan (period)	Objective/ goals	
	General	Quality/ access/ equity
First Five-Year Plan (1973-1978)	i. Employ 'educated' house-wives as teachers (nationalization of primary schools took place during this period). ii. Introduce Bengali as medium of instruction	Total emphasis on increasing enrolment (e.g. to increase enrolment from 58% in 1973 to 73% in 1978)
Two-Year Plan (1978-1980)	i. To set the stage for attaining Universal Primary Education (UPE) at an early stage. ii. Eradication of illiteracy through non-formal education	Emphasis on addressing the problems of primary education access
Second Five-Year Plan (1980-1985)	i. Introduction of UPE ii. Decentralization and re-organization of primary education	Emphasis on addressing the issue of access and equity (e.g. reduce the gender gap and the gap in rural-urban facilities)
Third Five-Year Plan (1958-90)	i. To provide bi-monthly one-day two-hour in-service training sessions for teachers	Emphasis on the enrolment of 70 percent of eligible children by 1990, with a reduction in the gender gap
Fourth Five-Year Plan (1990-95)	i. To introduce Compulsory Primary Education (CPE) ii. To encourage the private sector and communities to establish low-cost schools.	Emphasis on addressing the issue of access and reducing the gender and urban-rural gaps and those in regional facilities of primary education. To improve teacher training.
Fifth Five-Year Plan (1997-2002)	i. To encourage communities to build educational institutions. ii. To improve the quality of teacher training, supervision and management, and the monitoring system. iii. To initiate innovative programs and research & development (R&D).	Emphasis on addressing the issues of primary education access, participation and quality. To attain 70% literacy by 2002 was the main target.

Source: adapted from Chowdhury, et al 1999 (Annex 2.1 P.75)

ANNEX 4

Interview Questionnaire:

A. Background Information:

    i.   Name of the respondent: …………………………………………………...

    ii.   Name of the institution: …………………………………………………

    iii.   Sex: Male……………   Female…………………….

    iv.   Year of Birth: …………………………………………………………

    v.   Educational qualifications: ………………………………………………..

    vi.   Subject/Group studied: ………………………………………………….

    vii. Vocational diploma/training: Yes………..   No………….

         If yes, name of the training institution or diploma and duration:

         ………………………………..

    viii. Year of joining the occupation: ………………………………………….

    ix.   Present position: ………………………………………………………….

    x.   Duration of service in the present position: ………………………………

B. Questions for Staff at the Ministry/Directorate of Primary Education

¤ Did you work in the primary education sub-sector before? (If so, please specify the name of the Department).

¤ How long can you occupy your present post in the DPE?

¤ How would you describe the present situation of GPS teachers?

¤ How does the vocational/social status of GPS teachers compare with the situation in 1971?

¤ What are your suggestions for the improvement of the status of GPS teachers?

¤ How do the working conditions of primary teachers compare with those in 1971?

¤ What have been most significant developments with regard to GPS teachers' vocational development/ training during the period 1971-2001?

¤ Do you think the existing teacher training system for primary teacher provides them with sufficient knowledge and skills to be effective practitioners? If yes, please specify how?

¤ Do you think primary school teaching should be an all-graduate/post-graduate vocation? If no, please explain why not?

¤ What are the causes of low-quality teaching/learning in GPSs?

¤ What are your suggestions for making GPS teachers more effective?

¤ Do you think BPTA needs government support (e.g. grant, land) to run its activities (e.g. build its office)? If no, please explain why regimes support it?

¤ Does the government recognize primary teachers' unions? If not, please explain why not?

¤ Do you recognize the GPS teachers/union leaders' involvement in undesirable activities (e.g. often absent or late, collect subscriptions from pupils, etc)? If so, please explain why?

¤ What, in your judgement, are the main obstacles to achieving quality teaching/learning in the primary sub-sector compared to 1971?

¤ One respondent claims "primary teachers are involved in unacceptable/corrupt practices!" Do you agree? How vulnerable are GPS teachers?

C. Questions for NGO officials/ Education experts/ Foreign donors' representatives or consultants

¤ Do you agree that the recruitment criteria set by the government are detrimental to the vocational/social status of primary teachers? If yes, please explain how?

¤ Do you agree that users do not trust GPS teachers in Bangladesh? If so, what would you suggest to change the situation?

¤ What do you consider the major strengths and weaknesses related to the nationalization of primary schools in 1974? Did this improve the socio-economic status of GPS teachers? If not, please explain why not?

¤ What do you consider the major weaknesses of the teachers unions' activities in the primary sub-sector in Bangladesh?

¤ Would you consider the activities of BPTA to contribute to changing the negative image of GPS teachers (i.e. teachers are not well-qualified and trained)? If no, please explain why not?

¤ In your opinion, what encourages primary teachers and union leaders' involvement in undesirable activities (for example, absence or tardiness, collection of subscriptions from pupils, etc)?

D. Questions for officials at District and Upazila levels (DPEO/ TEO/ ATEO)

¤ What, in your opinion, is the purpose of primary teaching?

¤ Have you accept donations (e.g. office-furniture) from the primary teachers unions? If yes,is this practice officially accepted? If not, why did you accept it?

¤ What, in your opinion, causes high pupil absenteeism in GPSs?

¤ Do you agree that GPS teachers are receiving sufficient training to teach children? If not, what more needs to be done in this respect?

¤ Do you think GPS teachers enjoy high vocational/social status? If not, please explain why not? What are your suggestions to improve the status of GPS teachers?

¤ How effective has the present supervision system been in guiding and helping GPS teachers to be sincere and diligent? What are your suggestions?

¤ Do you take disciplinary action against leaders of the teachers unions who do not perform their duties properly? If so, what kind of pressure do you face when taking action against them?

¤ Have you any suggestions regarding how to bring about changes in the GPS teachers' vocational/social status?

E. Questions for Primary Teachers

¤ How many teachers' posts and working teachers are there in this school?

¤ How do you tackle the teachers shortage in the school?

¤ What, in your opinion, are the objectives of primary teaching?

¤ What changes have you seen in the vocational/social status of GPS teachers since the colonial period or before?

¤ What changes have you seen in the working conditions of primary teachers since 1971?

¤ What were the most significant developments with regard to the teachers' training system between 1971 and 2001?

¤ Do you have a written job description?

¤ Are you doing the tasks listed in your job description?

¤ Do you think that you are performing your duties the way parents would like you to?

¤ Do you think that adequate provisions have been made to create a satisfactory working situation in the GPS? If not, why not?

¤ What are your suggestions regarding how to increase your job satisfaction?

¤ What are your thoughts about District Primary Education Office/ Upa-zila Primary Education Office? Does it make any difference to the normal activities of primary schools/teachers when higher authorities (DPEO, UEO, AUEO) visit the school?

¤ Do you face any other difficulties in performing your regular duties, other than those related to working condition that you mentioned previously?

¤ Do you think that there are career prospect for you soon? If no, please explain why not?

¤ What about teachers' incentives? Is it important that parents appreciate your work? Do

you consider this an incentive?

¤ Do you think that it is necessary to correct your colleagues when they are not doing their regular duties properly? If not, why not?

¤ Can you say something about your experiences in dealing with senior officers (DPE officials, UEO or AUEO, etc)?

¤ Do you think that GPS teachers have autonomy in performing their duties? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Do you support the militant activities of the primary teachers unions? If no, please explain why not?

¤ How appropriate is the present management system in DPE with college teachers in key managerial posts? What are your suggestions?

¤ What was your experience in dealing with the college teachers in the DPE (if you have contacted any of them)?

¤ Do you think that PTI training/curriculum has practical applications in your teaching in primary schools? If not, why not?

¤ Did you enjoy your PTI training? If not, which part(s) of your training was (were) less interesting?

¤ Do you enjoy the in-service sub-cluster training? If not, what are your suggestions to make it more interesting?

¤ What subject(s) taught at PTI has (have) been most useful to you?

¤ Do you think that there are well-qualified instructors in PTI/NAPE? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Do you find training in PTI/NAPE very demanding? If not, what was it that made it less demanding?

¤ Do you think that the practice teaching component of PTI training is useful for the improvement of primary teachers' teaching skills? If not, why not?

¤ Do you think sub-cluster training should be continued? If no, please explain why not?

¤ What, in your opinion, have been the main weaknesses in the activities of BPTA?

¤ Do you think that the activities of BPTA support change in the "negative image" (i.e. GPS teachers are not well-qualified and trained) of primary teachers? If not, what is wrong with its activities?

¤ Are you satisfied with the performance of the leaders of the BPTA? If not, why not?

¤ In your opinion, how realistic is the BPTA demand that the nationalization of non-government primary schools continue?

¤ Do you pay the annual subscription and recieve support from the Primary Teachers' Welfare Trust? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Do you think that the establishment of the Teachers' Welfare Trust is an important step forward for the personal/vocational development of GPS teachers? If not, why not?

¤ Do you think that the present system of SMCs needs to be changed? What are your suggestions?

¤ Do you think parents take an interest in GPS schools/ teachers? Do they attend parents' meetings?

¤ Do you agree that wealthy families nowadays do not send their children to GPS? If so, please suggest the shortcomings of GPS schools.

¤ How would you rate the social respect of primary teachers compared to colonial period or before?

¤ One respondent claims "primary teachers do not enjoy high status in the society", do you agree?

¤ Do you think that GPS teachers have high social status compared to other government officials on the same level? If no, please explain why not?

¤ What would you identify as the most critical areas for change/improvement in the current social/ vocational status of GPS teachers?

¤ Do you think that GPS teachers can contribute to changing their social/ vocational status? If so, what are your suggestions?

¤ Many parents have told me "The private tuition practice lowers primary teachers' social status." Do you agree? Is private tuition merely a question of status?

¤ Some parents have complained me, "GPS teachers do not care equally about all children." Do you agree?

¤ Do you think that pupil absenteeism is high in GPSs? If so, what causes pupil absenteeism?

¤ What do you consider the major obstacles to the improvement of GPS teachers' vocational performance? What are your suggestions to make teachers more effective?

¤ Do you agree with media reports that GPS teachers' neglect of their duties (e.g. home visits)? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Do you think that well-educated members of the SMC/PTA undermine the authority of primary teachers? If so, can you explain how they dominate?

¤ Have you any suggestions regarding how to improve your vocational conditions/social status?

F. Questions for BPTA leaders

¤ Can you please tell me briefly the story of the establishment of the BPTA?

¤ What are the aims of the BPTA?

¤ What strategies do you follow in order to realise the organizational objectives/demands of BPTA?

¤ Are you satisfied with the pay system for GPS teachers? If not, why not?

¤ Do you think that the low pay and limited benefits of GPS teachers are linked to teachers' low motivation and private tuition practices?

¤ Do you think that the nationalization of primary schools in 1974 was a success story for the BPTA? If so, can you explain briefly how BPTA realised this objective?

¤ How important do you consider the nationalization of primary education for the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of GPS teachers?

¤ Can you say something briefly about the main activities of BPTA?

¤ Why is BPTA called a social welfare organization instead of a vocational organization?

¤ Do you think that BPTA's identity oas a social welfare organization has hampered it in setting its objectives?

¤ Is there any membership fee? If not, what are the main sources of BPTA's income?

¤ Has BPTA accepted donations from the various regimes? If so, what kind of services do they expect from BPTA in return?

¤ What types of pressure do you usually experience when BPTA fails to act according to the demands of the regimes?

¤ What strategies had BPTA adopted in order to eliminate such threats from the regimes?

¤ Can you state briefly the organizational structure and election system by which the various committees of BPTA are formed?

¤ How many teachers' unions are there in the primary sub-sector? What has caused these grouping in the BPTA?

¤ If regime patronage is one of the main causes of cleavages in BPTA, what is the nature of the regime patronage of different groups?

¤ Do the government recognize all groups? If not, why not?

¤ Why did BPTA accept government assistance (e.g. fund, land, etc) to build its own office building when it had sufficient funds?

¤ Do you think that the establishment of the Teachers' Welfare Trust is an important step

forward for the personal and vocational development of primary teachers? If not, why not?

¤ What are the criteria for eligibility for support from the Teachers' Welfare Trust?

¤ In your opinion, how realistic was the BPTA demand for further nationalization of non-government primary schools?

¤ Can you briefly summarize your experiences in dealing with different regimes since the country's independence?

¤ What has motivated you to hold a leadership position in BPTA for such a long time?

¤ Do you consider that GPS teachers are involved in unacceptable activities? If so, what BPTA is doing in order to maintain the professional image of GPS teachers?

¤ Many respondents have complained that "The leaders of the primary teachers unions are involved in unethical activities." Do you agree?

¤ What are your suggestions to improve the social/occupational status of GPS teachers?

¤ Some respondents have complained that "Union activities hinder the normal functioning of primary schools/teachers". Do you agree? If not, why not?

¤ Do you agree that union activities are obstacles to fulfilling regular teaching obligations? If not, why not?

¤ Why is BPTA so interested in having their central office next to the DPE?

¤ Do you think that BPTA has the authority to control entry into the primary teaching occupation? If not, why not?

¤ What kind of programmes has BPTA initiated to improve the vocational skills of primary teachers?

G. Questions for PTI/ NAPE Instructors:

¤ Do you have any subject-related training related to what you teach in the PTI/ NAPE?

¤ Did you ever teach in a primary school? If yes, for how long?

¤ Do you usually teach in large classes? If so, how many trainees attend your classes?

¤ Can you briefly outline the general characteristics (e.g. courses taught, mode of instruction, facilities, examination system) of teacher training in the PTI/ NAPE?

¤ Do you consider that the PTI curriculum/training provides primary teachers with the necessary skill and knowledge to teach in primary schools? If not, why not?

¤ What do you consider the major weaknesses in teacher training in the primary sub-sector?

¤ What, in your opinion, are main weaknesses of the PTI/ NAPE curriculum?

¤ What are your suggestions regarding the improvement of teacher training in the NAPE?

¤ Do you think that PTI/NAPE has adequate facilities to carry out research and/or provide necessary training to primary teachers? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Do you have a library in this PTI? What kinds of books are there in the library and how did you procure them?

¤ In your opinion, what has made training in the PTI/ NAPE less demanding?

¤ Do you think that there is a lack of motivation among PTI/NAPE staffs? If so, what has caused their lack of enthusiasm?

H. Questions for the users of teachers' services:

¤ Are you a member of the SMC/ PTA? If yes, please describe how effective the SMC/ PTA is?

¤ Do you think that PTI training is sufficient to enable GPS teachers to teach children in the classroom? If not, why not?

¤ Do you think the teacher training system in primary sub-sector helps to provide GPS teachers with a sense of vocational pride? If not, what are the main weakness of primary teacher education?

¤ Would you consider that the victimization of GPS teachers during their training forced them to become involved in unethical practices? If so, please describe how?

¤ Do you think that the low social status/respect of GPS teachers is link to their academic/training background? If so, please describe how?

¤ Do you think teachers' unions should play a role in making primary teachers more sincere and honest members of the occupation? What are your suggestions in this regard?

¤ Do you believe that primary teachers are serious and sincere in doing their vocational duties? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Do you think that BPTA motivates primary teachers to perform their vocational duties properly? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Are you satisfied with the qualifications and performance of GPS teachers in this school? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Are you satisfied with the performance of the SMC/PTA of this school? If no, please explain why not?

¤ What is the present situation regarding the vocational/social status of GPS teachers compared to colonial or pre-colonial era?

¤ What are your suggestions for improving the low status of primary teachers?

¤ Do you think primary education is necessary and relevant for your children? If yes, why is it important and who should take the responsibility for educating them?

¤ Are you satisfied with the teaching-learning situation in this GPS? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Do you think that private-tuition is detrimental to the normal teaching/learning situation in GPSs?

¤ Can you say something how the private-tuition primary teachers offer has affected the education of your children?

¤ What, in your opinion, is the purpose of primary teaching?

¤ What do you think discourages well-qualified candidates from becoming GPS teachers? What are your suggestions to attract better qualified people to the occupation?

¤ Do you think the SMC is performing its role in ensuring teacher accountability and a better teaching/learning environment in the school? If no, please explain why not?

¤ What, in your opinion, are main reasons for the dissatisfaction of parents regarding their children's education in the GPS?

I. Questionnaire for FG:

¤ How does the vocational/social status of GPS teachers compare to 1971?

¤ What are your suggestions to improve the status of GPS teachers?

¤ How do the vocational conditions of primary teachers compare to 1971?

¤ What have been the most significant developments with regard to GPS teachers' vocational development or training during the period 1971-2001?

¤ What, in your opinion, are the main weaknesses of PTI/ NAPE training?

¤ What, in your opinion, are main reasons for the dissatisfaction of parents regarding their children's education in the GPSs?

¤ What, in your opinion, causes high pupil absenteeism in GPSs?

¤ Do you believe that primary teachers are serious and sincere in doing their vocational duties? If no, please explain why not?

¤ Do you think that BPTA motivates primary teachers to perform their vocational duties properly? If no, please explain why not?

Are there any other questions that I should be asking?

I appreciate your interest in my research and thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview.

ANNEX 5

Primary Education Management in Bangladesh

Organization	Role	Responsibility	Works with
Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME)	Determining policy and implementing development programmes in primary education	a. Mobilizes public and community support for compulsory primary education; b. Oversees the approval and registration of non-government primary schools and their eligibility for salary subvention for teachers; c. Carries out periodic national surveys	
Directorate of Primary Education (DPE)	Implementing policies and development programs, and managing the sub-sector	a. General administration of teacher recruitment, salary, training etc; b. Construction in the sub-sector; c. Repair and supply of furniture and teaching aids	MoPME
National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB)	Developing curricula and publishing textbooks	a. Reviews curricula and introduce changes; b. Evaluates curricula and textbooks; c. Prepares textbook manuscripts/approve textbooks; d. Publishes and distributes textbooks	MoPME
National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE)	Training and research	a. Trains Primary Training Institute (PTI) instructors and primary education personnel; b. Conducts PTI examinations; c. Conducts research activities	DPE, MoPME
Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS)	Developing and maintaining education database	a. Produces annual publication; b. Carries out periodic surveys; c. Supports the Ministry of Education (MoE) in tasks requiring large-scale data processing; d. Plans to develop its data base and enhance its analysis capacity to serve as an effective EMIS for MoE	MoE (receives statistics from the DPE)

Source: Adopted from Poulson, 2006:32-33

ANNEX 6

The Location of Research Sites