

**COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF CONTRACT TEACHERS IN
CHINA AND INDIA: A LITERATURE REVIEW**

**Dissertation submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science, Education, Public Policy & Equity**

University of Glasgow

12th August 2022

Acknowledgements

I have received a great deal of support and guidance in the writing of this thesis.

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Ali Sameer. Thanks for your guidance in exploring my research with your expertise, breadth and depth of thought, and for your encouraging and supportive attitude.

Then, I would like to thank my family for your unconditional love and support. Without my family, I would not have been able to complete this Master's programme during the outbreak of Covid-19.

Last but not least, I would offer my special gratitude to my incomparable friends: Meg, Sian, Rose, Ivy, Phoebe, Keer, Hugh, Grace and Ben. Thank you all, for your willingness to listen patiently to my doubts and worries and for always providing useful advice. Without your moral support, and the ability to pull me out of my writing rut and relax from time to time, I would not manage to finish my dissertation.

Abstract

In the context that international research considering the contract teacher issue is mostly focused on the efficiency of contractual employment of educators in a single-country background, this paper compares the cases of China and India intending to explore what unique contextual factors influence the development of the contract teacher phenomenon. Through a systematic literature review approach, four main thematic factors are drawn out: historical, socio-economic, cultural and policy. Analysis from the theoretical perspective of the social justice framework reveals that the issue of contract teachers in China and India is lacking in the dimensions of inclusion, relevance and democracy. Therefore, it is advocated that governments should confront the short-term advantages and long-term unsustainability of employing contract teachers in developing country contexts; governments should gradually transform contract teachers into quality teachers by regulating the teacher employment market and teacher management systems; governments should give contract teachers an accessible and effective democratic voice and protect their rights and interests in policies and regulations.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	2
Abstract	3
Chapter 1: Introduction	6
1.1 Backgrounds	6
1.2 Research Question and Structure	7
1.3 Definitional and Conceptual Issues.....	8
1.3.1 Types of Contract Teachers in China.....	8
1.3.2 Types of Contract Teachers in India	9
1.3.3 Basic Education	10
Chapter 2: Literature Review	14
2.1 Global Contract Teachers Issue	14
2.2 Education for All (EFA)	15
2.2.1 Human Capital Perspective.....	15
2.2.2 Human Rights Perspective	16
2.3 Social Justice Framework	17
Chapter 3: Methodology	18
3.1 Systematic Reviews (SR).....	18
3.1.1 Search Strategy	18
3.1.2 Search Criteria	19
3.1.3 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria.....	20
3.2 Review Process	21
3.3 Methodological Limitations.....	23
Chapter 4: What contextual factors influence the development of Contract teacher employment?	25
4.1 Historical Factors	25
4.1.1 Evidence from China	26
4.1.2 Evidence from India.....	26
4.2 Socio-Economic Factors	27
4.2.1 Evidence from China	27
4.2.2 Evidence from India.....	28
4.3 Cultural Factors.....	29
4.3.1 Evidence from China	29
4.3.2 Evidence from India.....	30
4.4 Local Policies.....	31
4.4.1 Evidence from China	31

4.4.2 Evidence from India.....	32
Chapter 5: How does Contract teacher issue influenced by contextual factors?	34
5.1 Historical Factors	34
5.1.1 China	34
5.1.2 India	34
5.1.3 Social Justice and History	35
5.2 Socio-Economic Factors	35
5.2.1 China	36
5.2.2 India	36
5.2.3 Social Justice and Socio-Economy	38
5.3 Cultural Factors.....	38
5.3.1 China	39
5.3.2 India	39
5.3.3 Social Justice and Culture	40
5.4 Policy Implementations	40
5.4.1 China	41
5.4.2 India	41
5.4.3 Social Justice and Policy	42
5.5 Policy Recommendations.....	43
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	45
6.1 Summary	45
6.2 Limitations and Recommendations.....	46
Reference	48

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Backgrounds

International research on contract teacher policies has been increasing since around 2000. This is greatly influenced by the rise of the Education for All (EFA) movement (Duthilleul, 2005; Pandey, 2006; Robinson and Yi, 2008), which has been launched in 1990 at the World Conference on Education for All. The movement is committed to achieving universal primary education and a significant reduction in illiteracy in participating countries by the end of the 2005-2015 decade (UNESCO, 2015). In this context, the hiring of contract teachers has been widely used and studied internationally, as a response to ensure sufficient teachers in the process of achieving universal primary education (Anwar and Nazmul Islam, 2013; Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque, 2014; Duthilleul, 2005). In these studies, the concept of contract teachers, as opposed to regular full-time teachers employed by national governments permanently, usually refers to non-regular teachers who are employed on a short-term basis by contract. In contrast to regular teachers, contract teachers typically lack adequate pre-service training, often receive much lower salaries and benefits than regular teachers, and do not have access to promotion channels or effective policy protection (Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque, 2014; Duthilleul, 2005). Therefore, contract teachers are widely hired in low- and middle-income areas and are often used as a means of alleviating the contradiction between teacher shortages and underfunding of education (Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque, 2014; Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007; Nkengne, 2010).

Also, besides the spontaneously hiring of contract teachers by local government to make educational ends meet, the international debate on the issue of expanding access to education for all, usually considers teachers as the human resources of the local national education system, analysing and viewing the shortage of teachers faced in the coverage of basic education from the perspective of human capital (Ginsburg, 2017). In the perspective of human capital theory, therefore, contract teachers, who are generally not professionally qualified as teachers, are employed at low pay as workers with low human capital and are an economically appropriate response to the absolute shortage of teachers. However, the cultural nature of the educational profession predisposes the issue of employing contract teachers to be analysed not in a single economic perspective of human capital. Given that contract teachers have long been seen as a low-quality human resource, and at a time when the goal of building education has shifted from simply providing universal access to national education to improving the quality of national education, contract teachers have gradually gone from being an effective response to the

shortage of teachers to a social problem that drags down the quality of teachers and needs to be addressed. The high degree of precariousness of the contract teaching profession runs counter to the stability of the teaching profession (Duthilleul, 2005; Normand et al., 2018), and this precariousness inevitably has an impact on the quality of education (Xaba, 2003). As a result, there has been a proliferation of international research in recent years on the impact of employing contract teachers on the quality of education. There is also a growing body of research that looks beyond the maximisation of education funding to focus on the physical and mental health of contract teachers and the negative impact of contract teaching positions as precarious careers on teachers and the quality of education.

China and India, as two of the world's most populous countries, have seen a nationwide social phenomenon of widespread recruitment of contract teachers as part of the drive to universalise basic national education. Interestingly, the two governments have very different attitudes to this phenomenon. China has been working to eliminate the phenomenon of contract teachers from its education system to improve the quality of the country's primary education. Since the founding of the country, the composition of contract teachers in China's education segment has changed, consisting mainly of different groups of teachers at different times (Lei et al., 2018; Robinson and Yi, 2008), but contract teachers still exist today (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2021), raising issues of equity such as high teacher turnover and instability in the teaching profession (Hulme, 2022). Oppositely, in India, the recruitment of contract teachers has been encouraged by the government as an efficient solution to ease the contradiction between a tight education budget and a universal call for EFA (Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007; Goyal and Pandey, 2013). Thus, the paper aims at exploring what factors led the Chinese and Indian governments to choose different approaches to the issue of contract teachers, also trying to distil some general policy recommendations for dealing with contract teachers.

1.2 Research Question and Structure

Based on the above background, the main research question of this paper: what factors influence the employment of contract teachers in both China and India, is posted firstly. The second part is a literature review on contract teachers' phenomena from an international perspective and a brief introduction of the chosen theoretical lens: the social justice framework. In the third part, the systematic review is introduced as methodology, and the data collection process and methodologic limitations are explained. In the fourth part, four thematic elements

are found: historical, socio-economic, cultural and policy factors. In the fifth part, how the four factors in both countries affect contract teacher employment from the social justice view is discussed, and general policy recommendations to address the issue of contract teacher hiring are proposed.

1.3 Definitional and Conceptual Issues

Contract teachers are widely used internationally, especially in developing countries, as a short-term measure to alleviate teacher shortages (Fyfe, 2007). In India, the hiring of contract teachers has even become used as a long-term way to alleviate teacher shortages (Ramachandran et al., 2020). In China, although the Chinese government has tried to reduce the number of this contract teachers with various policies (Robinson and Yi, 2008), the phenomenon of contract teachers has never been fully resolved (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2020). Given that the phenomenon of contract teacher employment has been developing in China and India for a long time and involves some specific terminology and context, this section thus specifically elaborates on the relevant concepts and definitions.

1.3.1 Types of Contract Teachers in China

In China today, a group of teachers similar to the international group of contract teachers is officially known as substitute teachers (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2020). The group of substitute teachers in China studied in this paper refers to those teachers who have the same work obligations as full-time staffed teachers in public primary schools, but are not a portion of the government's foundation of school staffing (Lei et al., 2018; Robinson and Yi, 2008).

Minban Teachers

Substitute teachers in China can be traced back to the locally hired (Minban) teachers. Minban teachers were often local peasants and generally did not have a secondary school diploma or graduated from a formal teacher training programme, and were therefore considered to lack qualified teaching qualifications (Epstein, 1993). The concept of Minban teachers is relative to the concept of state-salaried (Gongban) teachers. Government-employed Gongban instructors are paid a consistent monthly income, as well as a government food allowance (because they have an urban residence and their kids can go to public schools in urban areas). After they retire, they will be qualified for a government pension. Minban teachers, on the other hand, are employed directly by the local community. They received a subsistence allowance of

approximately 70% of the monthly salary of a Gongban teacher as remuneration. Due to no urban household registration, Minban teachers could not receive a food allowance, their children could not attend urban schools, and they could not receive a government pension. Although Minban teachers' pay increased in the 1980s, it was still far below that of Gongban teachers (Tsang, 1994). China officially abolished the Minban teacher policy in 2000 (Sharpe, 1997a). Most Minban teachers who taught for over 15 years were converted to Gongban teachers after passing a professional test (Sharpe, 1997). Those who were unqualified were dismissed (Liu and Teddlie, 2009).

Substitute Teachers

After 2000, China no longer recognises the existence of Minban teachers. However, the number of Gongban teachers is not sufficient for the normal running of primary education (Wang, 1990), so Minban teachers continued teaching as substitute teachers (also called Daike, stand-in, or temporarily engaged teachers) (BRAY, 2003; KEXIAN and HAO, 2006). Substitute teachers are not part of the official establishment and were treated as "whoever hired them paid for them", with the village, the township or the county paying for them. In some places, there are also financial subsidies for salaries, but they vary in standard and are very low. The difference between a substitute teacher's salary and that of a public teacher is as little as five times and as much as ten times. They are not entitled to the same salary, social insurance, title evaluation, business training and various other merit activities as regular teachers, or even the benefits of annual medical check-ups (Sargent and Hannum, 2005). Most substitute teachers are concentrated in remote areas where public teachers are reluctant to go (Guo et al., 2013). The background of substitute teachers is more complex than that of Minban teachers in rural areas, and currently, many substitute teachers are highly educated and are working in urban schools (Xuehui, 2018).

1.3.2 Types of Contract Teachers in India

In contrast to the Chinese government's attitude towards contract teachers, the Indian government has encouraged the employment of contract teachers as a low-cost solution to teacher shortages and encouraged their expansion across the country (Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013).

Para teachers

In India, contract teachers are usually known as para teachers (also called Shiksha Mitra, Shiksha Karmi, ad hoc teachers, etc.). The employment of para teachers in India can be traced

back to the mid-1980s when they were initially used to provide out-of-school informal teaching and supplement formal schooling in remote areas. Under the pressure of global calls for EFA goals (Pandey, 2006), the use of para teachers has been supported by the Indian government since the late 1990s (Fyfe, 2007). Thus, number of para-teachers began to appear in large numbers in formal primary education in India in the late 1990s (Duthilleul, 2005).

Para teachers are generally employed through a one-year contract with a local agency and are not protected by equal pay legislation. They are usually residents and lack formal and adequate pre-service training. Para teachers are usually employed in one of two ways. Firstly, they are employed as temporary teachers at low pay in regular schools; secondly, they are recruited to help improve access to education in remote areas. The former is often used as a way of saving government funds for education, while the latter is more focused on increasing educational access (Fyfe, 2007).

Guest Teachers

In India, guest teachers refer to educators who are often paid on a lecture basis (Ramachandran et al., 2020). Unlike para teachers who undertake the same level of work as full-time teachers, guest teachers are more part-time in nature and are billed on a course basis instead of monthly. There are cases of districts in India where guest teachers are unofficially required to conduct full-time teaching within public schools (Ramachandran et al., 2020). Some studies have therefore counted guest teachers as a type of hidden contract teachers (Kumari, 2008). However, guest teachers are often not included in the official Indian statistics on contract teachers in the Unified District Information System for Education (UDISE) (Ramachandran et al., 2020). As a result, this paper only focuses specifically on teachers in the public basic education sector who are not formally employed by the state and who have the same job responsibilities as regular qualified teachers, no matter if they are identified as para teachers or guest teachers.

1.3.3 Basic Education

This paper focuses on the process of development of the phenomenon of contract teachers, which has been influenced by the process of the EFA movement, whose main goal is universal basic education (UNITED NATIONS, 2013).

Public Basic Education System

The study focuses on contract teachers teaching in public primary education (specifically influenced by EFA goals) in China and India, the public lower secondary school segment in China, and the public upper primary school segment in India. The difference in the basic

education system in China and India can be seen in *Figure 1* below. State-subsidised basic education in China consists mainly of grades one to nine, including six years of primary schooling (Grade 1-6) and three years of lower secondary schooling (Grade 7-9). Some provinces apply a slightly different model of five years of primary schooling and four years of lower secondary schooling (Kumar and Varghese, 2022). In India, state-subsidised basic education consists mainly of grades one to eight, including five years of primary school study (class I-V) and three years of upper primary school study (class VI-VIII) (SAHNI, 2015). Given the fact that data related to nine years of compulsory education in China and eight years of elementary education in India are generally discussed together in research, extending the scope of the study population to the whole state-subsidised basic education segment helps to obtain a wider range of data to produce more valid findings. Also, India has relied on a mixed model of public and private education to provide universal access to basic education, while China has provided universal access to basic education through a strong focus on public education (Smith and Joshi, 2016). However, public basic education in both countries continues to be the sector most affected by the EFA initiative, gathering a large number of contract teachers. This paper will therefore select contract teachers teaching in the state-subsidised public basic education segment in both India and China as the subject of the study.

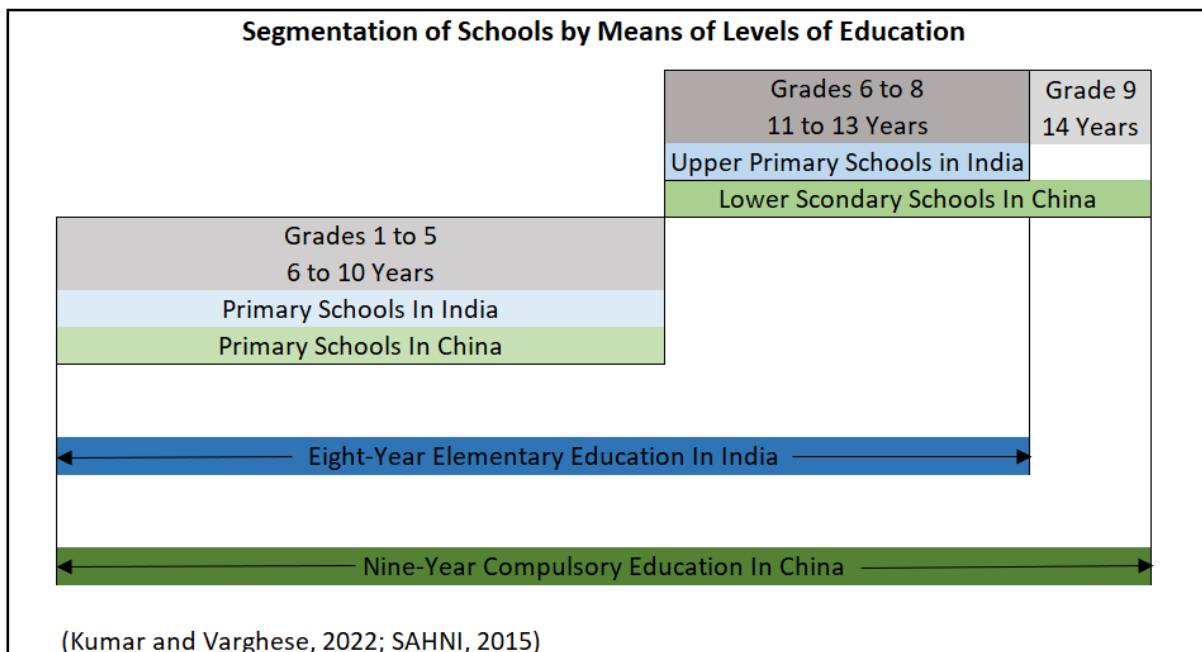


Figure 1 Basic Education

Spending on Basic Education

In addition to the above-mentioned differences in the education systems of the two countries, there are also differences in the financial expenditures on basic education. In terms of education spending, India has been spending more on education than China, but the actual utilisation of basic education is lower than in China. As shown in *Figure 2* below, according to World Bank data for 2015-2020 (The world bank, 2021), the Chinese government has been spending less on education as a percentage of GDP than the Indian government. 2014 data shows that China offers all students with free education for nine years while only allocating 2.3% of its GDP to education (Fyfe, 2007). China's spending on education is below the average spending of developing countries (around 3.9% of GDP), while India's spending on education is among the highest in the developing world and even higher than that of the developed country of South Korea (Goldman, Kumar and Liu, 2008). Although India spends 3.3% of its GDP on education, it does not guarantee that 50% of children receive a five-year primary education (Jain, 2016). In comparison to other nations, India's average primary school teacher wage is frequently three times the global average, representing a far greater multiple of GDP per capita (Jain, 2016). However, Indian education has still been plagued by high dropout rates and teacher absenteeism, suggesting that India's spending on education is not being used effectively (Goldman, Kumar and Liu, 2008).

COMPARISON OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION

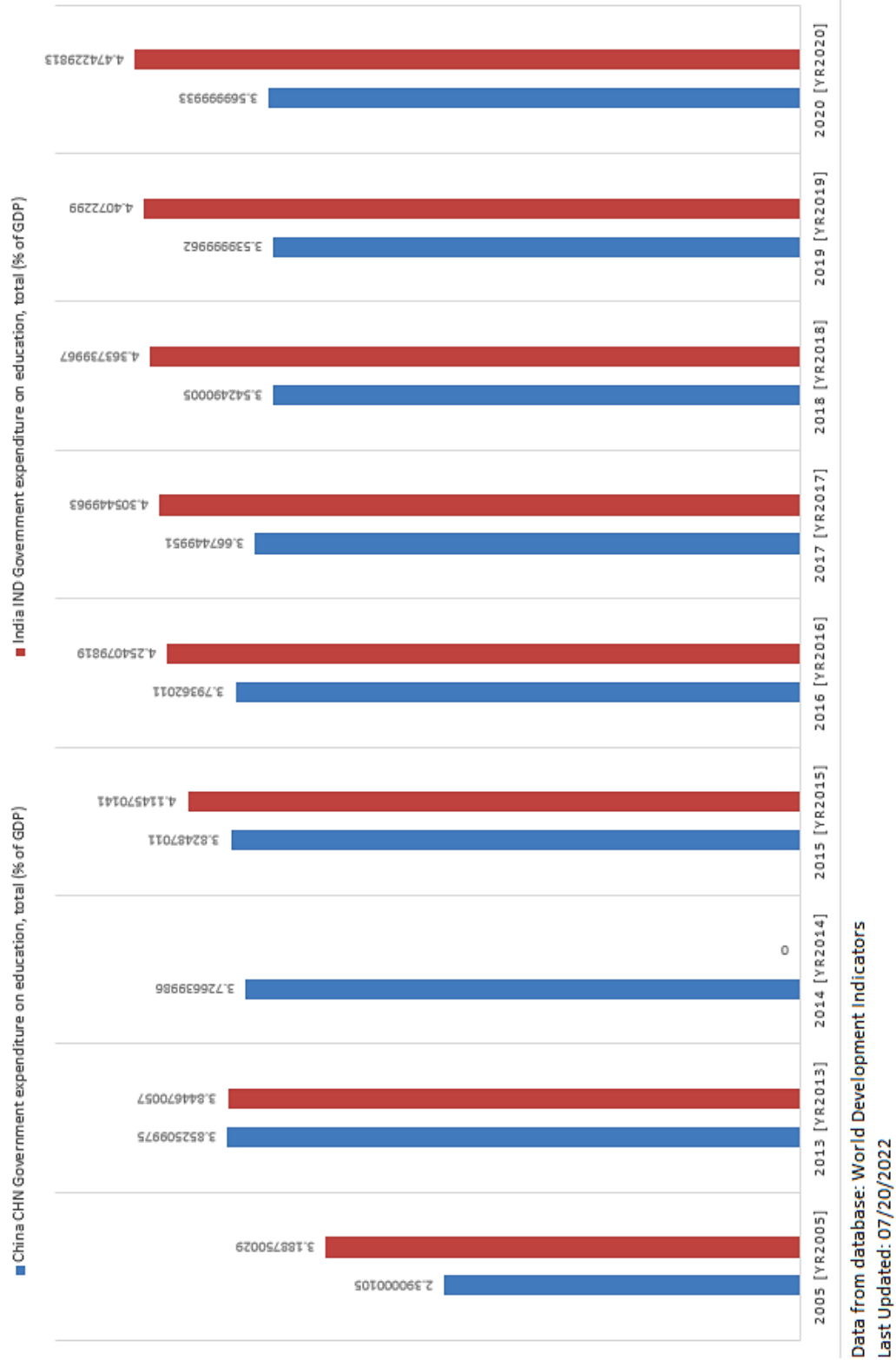


Figure 2¹ Spending on Education

¹ The World Development Indicators database does not include relevant data for China and India from 2006 to 2013, as well as relevant data for India in 2014. However, the trend in figure 1 can still show that the Indian government tends to have a higher expenditure on education than the Chinese government.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Global Contract Teachers Issue

International research on the phenomenon and policies of contract teachers has often focused on rural areas in developing countries (Agarwal and Reis, 2018; Lei et al., 2018; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013), with research contexts concentrated in African countries and India (Agarwal and Reis, 2018; Chandra, 2015; Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007; Goyal and Pandey, 2013; Kingdon et al., 2010; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013; Nkengne, 2010; Pandey, 2006; Ramachandran et al., 2020; Raval, Mckenney and Pieters, 2014; Senou, 2015). Only little English-language literature specifically focuses on the theme of China's contract teachers (Lei et al., 2018; Robinson and Yi, 2008). The perspective of the research on contract teachers is often based on the impact of the contract teacher phenomenon on the quality of education (Chudgar, 2015; Duflo, Dupas and Kremer, 2015; Fyfe, 2007; Goyal and Pandey, 2013; Kingdon et al., 2013; Lei et al., 2018; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013; Vegas and Laat, 2003), the economic efficiency of hiring (Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque, 2014; Fyfe, 2007; Kingdon et al., 2010; Kingdon et al., 2013; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013; Pandey, 2006; Senou, 2015), and teacher shortage (Adebola et al., 2020; Fyfe, 2007; Goyal and Pandey, 2013; Habib, 2010; Senou, 2015). Scarcely are researchers paying attention to what kind of context facilitates or prevents the contract teacher policy (Nkengne, 2010).

Studies by Duthilleul (2005), Fyfe (2007), Nkengne (2010), Anwar and Nazmul Islam (2013) and others on the widespread employment of contract teachers in various developing countries have contextualised the local impact of EFA initiatives on the employment of contract teachers. Among them, Duthilleul (2005) analyses the case of Nicaragua from a human capital perspective, arguing that the local practice of linking contract teachers' performance to salary levels promotes teacher accountability. Fyfe (2007), on the other hand, argues that the goals of EFA are economically unaffordable for many developing countries and that employing large numbers of contract teachers on a long-term basis solely from the perspective of maximising human capital and subjecting them to precarious and poor working conditions is a violation of teachers' basic human rights.

At the same time, research results based on different country contexts are mixed as to whether the employment of contract teachers is a cost-effective measure to compensate for the shortage of teachers. In the case of Togo, studied by Vegas and Laat (2003), and in the five countries of Benin, Chad, Cameroon, Guinea and Mali, synthesised by Chudgar (2015), there is no uniformly clear evidence showing that contract teachers can be an efficient solution to short-

term teacher problems and enhance teaching effectiveness. In contrast, Kingdon et al. (2013), in an analysis of several low- and middle-income countries, concluded that hiring contract teachers are more effective than employing regular teachers. However, Duflo, Dupas and Kremer's (2015) case study of Kenya highlights that such efficiency is often based on specific contextual conditions, such as the fact that only locally hired contract teachers are more effective.

Very few studies focus on the poor treatment and working conditions of contract teachers and called for the protection of their basic human rights at work. Fanggi, Keraf and Kiling (2021) explored the issue of job anxiety and job well-being among contract teachers. Sobari and Hartini's (2020) study, based on the Indonesian context, suggests that government regulations should be strictly followed to regulate and safeguard contract teachers' salaries, recruitment processes and career development. Most studies, while they may refer to the insecurity of contract teachers' jobs, tend to view this high degree of instability as a variable contributing to the low hiring efficiency (Duflo, Dupas and Kremer, 2015; Habib, 2010; Senou, 2015), rather than focusing on the well-being of the contract teachers themselves.

There is, therefore, a need to shed light on how the development of hiring contract teachers has been influenced by the special context of China and India, and how the policy of the two countries affects their local contract teacher phenomena from a social justice perspective.

2.2 Education for All (EFA)

The emergence of contract teacher employment has been heavily influenced by the EFA movement. Considering that the EFA framework combines the perspectives of human capital and the human rights approaches (UNESCO, 2000, Tikly and Barrett, 2011), this section tries to elaborate on the omissions in the development of the EFA goals' guiding framework through both approaches, which results in social justice issues regarding Chinese and Indian contract teachers.

2.2.1 Human Capital Perspective

From a human capital perspective, education policy should be mindful of the need to maximise economic efficiency (Myung, Martinez and Nordstrum, 2013). The EFA goals are therefore simply given quantitative targets as a goal of educational access, without specific and detailed guidance programmes tailored to local conditions (Ginsburg, 2017). Thus, when digital targets such as increased enrolment and literacy are set as policy objectives (Global Education

Monitoring Report Team, 2004), but are met with a shortage of local education finance and teacher resources, local governments are naturally led to resort to hiring a large number of contract teachers at low salaries to address the shortage of teachers. This narrow view of teachers as human capital has also influenced the approaches taken to the phenomenon of contract teachers in China and India.

2.2.2 Human Rights Perspective

The formulation of EFA goals from a human rights perspective tends to emphasise the formulation of negative rights, such as the right to education and the rights of the educated in education (Unterhalter, 2008, Tikly and Barrett, 2011). However, the EFA movement tends to set target standards from the perspective of high-level international developed countries, which can easily become unconvincing in the process of implementation in developing countries (Robeyns, 2006). For example, its focus on ensuring teacher-student ratios to guarantee learners' rights in education, and ensuring that teachers can teach based on a language and culture that is acceptable and understandable to learners, guarantees learners' rights in education (UNESCO, 2000). In developed countries with well-developed and well-funded education systems, this can be achieved by investing more money in pre-service and professional training for teachers, as the EFA movement aims to do. In developing countries such as China and India, however, simply hiring enough teachers to support the rapid expansion of universal primary education in the short term is already beyond the means of education funding, let alone the capacity to rapidly build and improve teacher delivery and training systems. The application of the EFA's guidance framework in both China and India has therefore been unsuccessful.

Also, it is interesting to note that the contractual employment of teachers, which started as a short-term solution to localise the objectives of the EFA movement, seems to have gradually evolved into a persistent problem that is pulling down the quality of national education. This shift in attitude towards the employment of contract teachers has also been influenced by the gradual shift in the focus of the EFA movement from absolute quantitative targets of universal access to the pursuit of enhanced quality of education. As a result, a debate has emerged on whether the employment of contract teachers is harmful to education quality and social justice. In this context, it is appropriate to use a social justice framework explained below to analyse and compare the issue of contract teachers in India and China.

2.3 Social Justice Framework

Given that international research on the phenomenon of contract teachers has focused on its impact on the quality of education, this paper has chosen to introduce the Social Justice Framework, which is closely related to education quality concern, proposed by Tikly and Barrett (2011) to understand the issue of contract teachers. This framework combines and extends human capital and human rights approaches via a social justice concept, and applies to the analysis of education in low-income countries. Compared to the education quality framework for guidance produced by the EFA movement which combines the human capital and human rights approaches (UNESCO, 2000, Tikly and Barrett, 2011), Tikly and Barrett (2011)'s Social Justice Framework is more aimed at providing a theoretical critical lens. Thus, given the fact that the development of the contractual teacher issue studied here has been heavily influenced by the international movement of EFA, and that the study is limited to two developing countries: China and India, this social justice framework is suitable to be chosen to analyse the contract teacher issue.

The social justice framework used in this paper can be divided into three specific dimensions: inclusion, relevance and democracy (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). **Under the inclusion dimension**, education should provide opportunities for individuals and groups to access quality education and pursue desired outcomes (Domingo-Martos, Domingo-Segovia and Pérez-García, 2022). **Under the relevance dimension**, education should be able to be meaningful to all learners and identify and reflect the specific needs of different groups (Porto, 2022). **Under the dimension of democracy**, the focus is on the political nature of education, whether it reflects the voices of various groups democratically, and whether there is a strong international perception of over-interference and inappropriate direction in the implementation of local education policies (Afzal Tajik, Shamatov and Fillipova, 2021).

Therefore, besides the main research question of what contextual factors influence the development of Contract teacher employment, the hypothesises of this paper is that the reason why the employment of contract teachers persists in India and China are because (1) it enhances educational inclusion to some extent, (2) meets the educational needs of specific groups and (3) has been interfered with by international discourses.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Systematic Reviews (SR)

The use of the qualitative systematic review as a research method can be understood as a way of identifying systematically and scientifically the collection and critical analysis of qualitative data in the relevant literature (Davis et al., 2014; Liberati, 2009). In social science research, the use of systematic reviews as a methodological approach can often be used to minimise research bias, produce reliable results and provide guidance for future policy development through explicit and systematic analysing (Moher, 2009). Also, systematic reviews can be used to explore the impact of different cultural contexts on different outcomes (Snyder, 2019).

Among single-context-based research on contract teachers, much of them undertaken to examine the relationship between contract teacher employment and student learning outcomes has been from a quantitative experimental perspective (Agarwal and Reis, 2018; Azhar, Javeed and Amin, 2021; Duflo, Dupas and Kremer, 2015; Fanggi, Keraf and Kiling, 2021; Goyal and Pandey, 2013; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013; Vegas and Laat, 2003). Some also examine the causes and patterns of contract teacher employment effectiveness through qualitative (Anwar and Nazmul Islam, 2013; Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007; Habib, 2010; Ramachandran et al., 2020; Raval, Mckenney and Pieters, 2014; Sobari and Hartini, 2020) or mixed (Adebola et al., 2020; Lei et al., 2018; Robinson and Yi, 2008) analysis. However, when the issue of contract teachers is studied in a comparative multi-national context, a qualitative literature review analysis is the most common method used (Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque, 2014; Kingdon et al., 2013; Nkengne, 2010).

Given the previous experience and the background of multiple countries in this research, the method of a qualitative systematic literature review is chosen. Therefore, based on existing English language literature data on the contract teacher issue in China and India, this research is designed to qualitatively sort out the origins and development of the contract teacher phenomenon and its related policies in China and India, to explore and compare the factors that affect the contract teacher phenomenon in different contexts.

3.1.1 Search Strategy

The search strategy for this paper is to use English keywords related to the research question, in the 14 education and economics databases which can be accessed through the University of Glasgow library system or open resource, to conduct an online search for relevant literature. The databases used are listed in *Table 1* below.

The databases used to search for published papers and reports include:	
JSTOR	www.jstor.org/
Taylor & Francis Online	https://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/
International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) economics, politics, sociology, anthropology and economics	https://www.proquest.com/ibss?accountid=14540
EBSCO: business and economics databases	http://search.ebscohost.com
ScienceDirect: all sciences and humanities	www.sciencedirect.com
ERIC	https://eric-ed-gov.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/
ASSIA	https://www.proquest.com/assia?accountid=14540
PsycINFO	http://www.apa.org/pubs/databases/psycinfo/index.aspx
Australian Education Index	https://opac.acer.edu.au/edresearch/index.html
The following database is used to search for academic working papers and forthcoming papers and reports:	
Social Science Research Network (SSRN)	http://papers.ssrn.com
National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Working Papers	www.nber.org/papers
RePEc	http://econpapers.repec.org
The database system used to search for Grey literature:	
System for Information on Grey Literature in Europe (SIGLE)	www.opengrey.eu/
Google Scholar	http://scholar.google.co.uk/

Table 1 List of Databases

In the search process, it is revealed that a paucity of Chinese contextual data in the English language literature. Thus, a manual search is conducted in addition to the automatic database search to expand the data volume as much as possible and cover potentially grey literature. References to papers in the sample, citations and the most published authors on the subject of contract teachers are searched in the manual search stage to query the knowledge of other work in the field (Centre For Reviews And Dissemination, 2009; Joanna Briggs Institute, 2008; Kingdon et al., 2013).

3.1.2 Search Criteria

The literature data are searched using several keywords and synonyms. Firstly, the search is conducted in title and abstract. To improve the search process, Boolean operators like "AND" and "NOT" are used, and their application varies depending on the database being searched (Cronin, Ryan and Coughlan, 2008). The search terms are shown in *Table 2* below and the searches are carried out for four main concepts:

<p>CONCEPT 1: TERMS FOR CONTRACT TEACHERS</p> <p>contract teacher(s), contract teaching staff, contract educator(s), contract personnel, para teacher(s), para teaching staff, para educator(s), para education staff, para personnel, temporary teacher(s), temporary teaching staff, temporary educator(s), temporary education staff, temporary personnel, interim teacher(s), interim teaching staff, interim educator(s), interim education staff, interim personnel, substitute teacher(s), substitute teaching staff, substitute educator(s), substitute personnel, daike teacher(s), daike teaching staff, daike educator(s), daike personnel, minban teacher(s), minban teaching staff, minban educator(s), minban personnel.</p> <p>(When implementing the search, phrase searches such as “contract teaching staff” or proximity searches such as contract AND “teaching staff” and contract within three words of “teaching staff” were done.)</p>
<p>CONCEPT 2: TERMS FOR BASIC EDUCATION</p> <p>primary education, primary school(s), elementary education, elementary school(s), lower secondary education, lower secondary school(s), upper primary education, upper primary school(s), basic education, compulsory education.</p> <p>(No search term is specifically set for public education in the initial search process, but selected literature in this round focusing only on private education system will be excluded in the subsequent screening.)</p>
<p>CONCEPT 3: TERMS FOR THE CONTEXT OF CHINA</p> <p>China, Chinese.</p> <p>(Because of the specificity of the background of the political system and the history of the development of the education system, this paper does not deal with the discussion of contract teachers in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.)</p>
<p>CONCEPT 4: TERMS FOR THE CONTEXT OF INDIA</p> <p>India, Indian.</p>

Table 2 Search Terms And Concepts

3.1.3 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Each study retrieved and identified as relevant is recorded in a Word file and screened for its relevance to the research theme. The relevance criteria used for screening are as follows: as the review only looks at studies that use China and India as a context, studies that do not include a Chinese or Indian context are excluded. The review focused only on programmes employing contract teachers as full-time regular teachers, so volunteer teachers, teaching or classroom assistants are excluded. This paper looks at studies comparing contract and regular teachers in the public sector, private schools and non-government organizations (NGOs) are excluded. However, studies comparing contract teachers in the public basic education system with teachers in the private education system are included, for evidence about contract teachers in the state sector is included. Studies comparing teachers in formal government and private schools are excluded from the review because the contractual employment of private-school teachers is different from the group of contract teachers that is the focus of this paper. Published and unpublished articles, including conference working papers and non-peer-reviewed papers, are included. At the same time, because the focus of this paper is on the application of contract

teacher employment in basic education, papers focusing on teachers in other education levels should be excluded. Therefore, it focuses only on public basic education and excludes research on kindergarten, higher secondary education, vocational education, higher education, etc. Studies in languages other than English, or where the full text is not accessible through the University of Glasgow library system or open resources, are also excluded.

3.2 Review Process

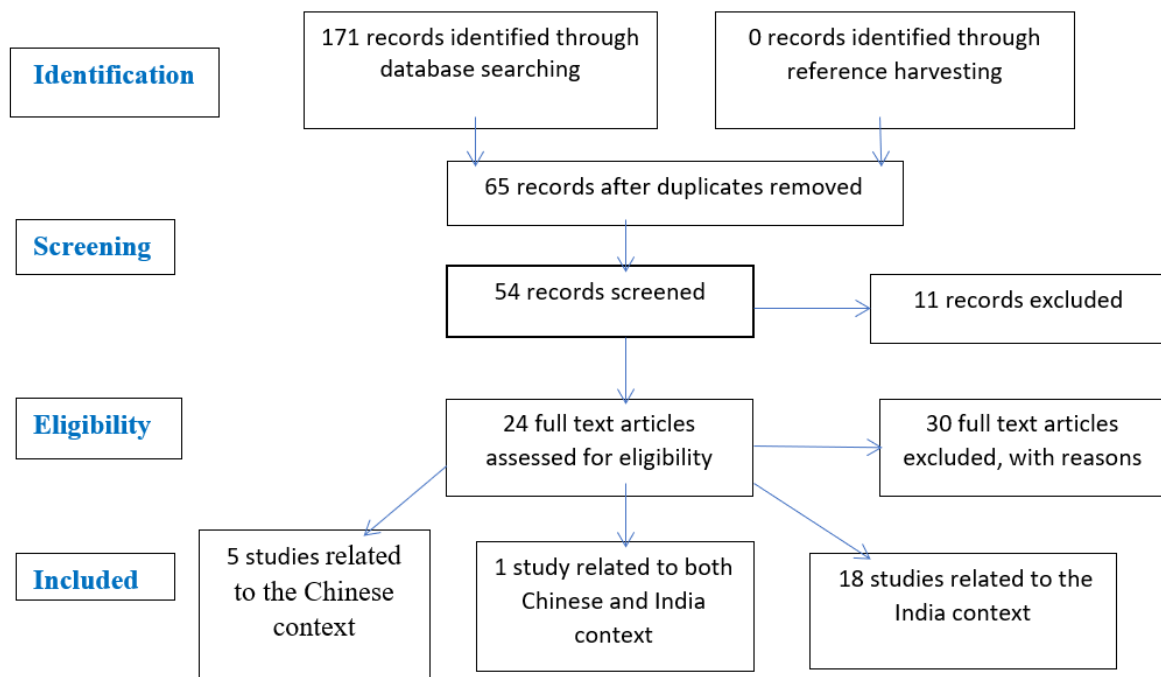


Figure 3 Review Framework (Moher, 2009)

As shown in *Figure 3* above, after the identification stage, 65 documents are obtained for the next stage of screening. The results from the various databases are combined and duplicated literature is excluded.

After the screening stage, a total of 54 documents are reserved, of which 25 are in the Chinese context, 27 in the Indian context, and 2 of them refer to both Chinese and Indian contexts. 11 papers are excluded because only their titles and abstracts are written in English and their content is in non-English languages.

After the eligibility stage, a total of 24 papers strongly related to the research question are retained, including 6 papers related to the Chinese context and 19 papers related to the Indian context, including one covering both Chinese and Indian cases. A total of 21 pieces of literature

are excluded that did not fit the Chinese context of the research topic. Of these, 20 are excluded where the issue of contract teachers is only briefly mentioned, but where the study itself is not relevant to contract teachers. One further paper is excluded in which the contract teachers studied did not include those within the public basic education system. A total of 10 pieces of literature are excluded that did not fit the Indian context of the research topic. Of these, 3 papers are excluded that targeted contract teachers within NGOs, rather than within the public education system. 2 papers are excluded where the findings are not relevant to the issue of contract teachers, but simply where the study sample happened to include a group of contract teachers. 3 papers that did not specify whether the contract teachers in the sample are working in the public basic education system are excluded. 1 paper is excluded that briefly mentioned contract teacher policy but is not highly relevant to the research questions in this paper. 1 paper is excluded where the full text could not be accessed through the database provided by the University of Glasgow.

The final inclusion of the 24 pieces of literature that met the review criteria and entered the analysis is shown in *Table 3* below:

Context	Reference	No. of article
China	(Lei et al., 2018)	6 articles
	(Yu, 2015)	
	(Yang et al., 2009)	
	(Robinson and Yi, 2008)	
	(Fyfe, 2007)	
	(Sargent and Hannum, 2005)	
India	(Ramachandran et al., 2020)	19 articles
	(KUMARI, 2018)	
	(Agarwal and Reis, 2018)	
	(Chairperson, School and Noida, 2017)	
	(BÉTEILLE and RAMACHANDRAN, 2016)	
	(Chandra, 2015)	
	(Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque, 2014)	
	(Goyal and Pandey, 2013)	
	(Verger, Altinyelken and Mireille De Koning, 2013)	
	(Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013)	
	(Fagernäs and Pelkonen, 2011)	
	(Robinson and Gauri, 2011)	
	(Kingdon et al., 2010)	
	(Atherton and Kingdon, 2010)	
	(Ramachandran, Bhattacharjea and Sheshagiri, 2008)	
	(Fyfe, 2007)	
(Pandey, 2006)		
(Govmda and Josephine, 2005)		
(Duthilleul, 2005)		
*One study included a focus on both China and India, and therefore appear twice		

Table 3 Included Data

3.3 Methodological Limitations

This paper uses qualitative research methods to analyse the factors that influence the phenomenon of contract teachers in the Chinese and Indian contexts through the collection of secondary data. The literature review for this paper has several limitations.

Firstly, it is limited by a focus on the English language literature, which may miss cutting-edge insights written in local languages and shared by local research institutions. There is a lack of available literature on the Chinese context for this study. Because of the lack of regulatory framework and the marginal invisibility of contract teacher employment in China and India,

there is a lack of valid, reliable and comprehensive quantitative data on education in this context. This study is therefore given entirely second-hand qualitative data, experimental lacking evidence.

Secondly, it is limited by the uneven amount of literature data collected for each case in the case comparison. Because the scope of data inclusion is limited to the English language, including the literature on contract teachers working in government schools at the primary level, the amount of data included in the study is small. This is particularly true for the Chinese context, where few data are available in English, and reflects the Chinese government's avoidance of the issue of contract teachers as a problem that needs to be addressed. Thus, one of the limitations of this paper is that the data are small and group-specific and may be less generalisable. Also, the inferences drawn from this paper apply only to contract teachers in primary government schools and may be generalisable to groups of contract teachers in various developing countries that fit this profile.

Thirdly, although this paper follows the data collection methodology of a systematic literature review and sets strict criteria for data inclusion, it still does not avoid potential bias caused by personal subjective factors in the selection process (Evans, 2002). In other words, this paper extracts relevant evidence from the literature for data analysis through a research theme framework, a process that may be subject to personal subjective bias and poses difficulties in repeating the research process.

Therefore, if there is a need to further test the extent to which various contextual factors and trends in international education movements have influenced the evolution of the contract teacher phenomenon, and whether there is a causal relationship, it is recommended that further experiments be set up to collect primary data in specific contextual exposed objects for in-depth study.

Chapter 4: What contextual factors influence the development of Contract teacher employment?

Following a thematic analysis of the data collected (Braun and Clarke, 2006), it is found that the factors influencing the development of contract teacher employment in both China and India could be grouped under four themes: historical, socio-economic, cultural and policy. The findings can be briefly summarised in *Table 4* below and the details are shown in the following part of this chapter:

Factors	China	India
<i>Historical</i>	Endogeneity; Obstacle to teacher quality	Exogenous origin; Treated as volunteers
<i>Socio-economic</i>	Regional economic imbalances; Urban migration	Regional economic imbalances; Poor teacher job market
<i>Cultural</i>	belonging feel to local community; Familiar with local culture; Strong local tie	Short commute; Familiar with local culture; Smaller social distance
<i>Policy</i>	Initial negativity; Elimination	Official Promotion Lacking regulation

Table 4 Summary of Findings

4.1 Historical Factors

The data collected reveals the local historical factors that have influenced the development of the contract teaching phenomenon differently in China and India. The development of the contract teacher phenomenon in China is heavily influenced by the country's early goals of expanding basic education. Therefore, the contract teacher issue is more an endogenous problem that developed in Chinese society, especially in rural areas, to expand education in the short term. Thus, Chinese contract teachers have long been seen as an obstacle to improving the quality of teachers. The development of contract teacher employment in India has been inspired by the International funded Education programme. It is an exogenous phenomenon that has been subject to international intervention. This results in the fact that Indian contract teachers tend to be viewed as volunteers rather than professional educators.

4.1.1 Evidence from China

Under the theme of historical factors, four of the six pieces of literature data directly or indirectly demonstrate that the current phase of contract teacher employment in China is a continuation of the failure to properly address the employment of Minban teachers before the year 2000. Lei et al. (2018), Yang et al. (2009), Robinson and Yi (2008), and Sargent and Hannum (2005) all suggest that China's existing contract teachers, or substitute teachers, were formerly low-quality teachers employed in rural areas by local communities at low salaries in response to the expansion of universal primary education. All of them highlight that China's refusal to recognise the legitimacy of Minban teachers after two millennia is due to the perception of low-quality Minban teachers as one of the obstacles to improving the quality of education. In particular, Robinson and Yi (2008) and Sargent and Hannum (2005) highlight the shift in official attitudes towards Minban teachers in China, from praising them as essential to the spread of education in poorly educated areas such as rural areas, after 2000, to a phenomenon that needs to be addressed as an obstacle to improving the quality of basic education. Lei et al. (2018) argue that the large number of contract teachers employed over the last few decades is considered to have contributed significantly to the significant improvement in access to education for rural students in China. While Robinson and Yi (2008) explicitly mention that allowing Minban teachers to teach does harm to the process of enhancing rural teacher quality for implementing EFA. They also mention that because of the difficulty of hiring and retaining sufficient numbers of qualified public teachers in rural areas of China, Minban teachers continue to teach in schools as substitute teachers and for long periods, even though the state has explicitly banned their existence. Historically, therefore, contract teachers in China are a product of the massive expansion of education in the early years of the state and are seen as an obstacle to the quality of education and illegitimate.

4.1.2 Evidence from India

Data from eight of the 19 papers collected (BÉTEILLE and RAMACHANDRAN, 2016; Chairperson, School and Noida, 2017; Govinda and Josephine, 2005; KUMARI, 2018; Pandey, 2006; Ramachandran, Bhattacharjea and Sheshagiri, 2008; Ramachandran et al., 2020; Verger, Altinyelken and Mireille De Koning, 2013) indicate that the employment of contract teachers in public primary schools has received international funding support and promotion throughout its developmental history in India. Govinda and Josephine (2005), Pandey (2006) Ramachandran, Bhattacharjea and Sheshagiri (2008), Mireille De Koning (2013), Kumari (2018) and Ramachandran et al. (2020) have identified the 'Shiksha Karmi Project' in the state

of Rajasthan, which is carried out in the late 1980s. The project was financially funded by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). The state of Rajasthan can be seen as one of the first projects to lower the standards for employing local people as teachers in remote and inaccessible areas to enhance access to education. In this project, local people employed to teach are defined as volunteer teachers, showing that contract teacher employment is historical of a volunteer nature from the earliest times. This particular nature also set the scene for the subsequent mass adoption of contract teachers who are not government employees and are considered to be teaching voluntarily and are therefore generally underpaid and insecure.

In other words, the employment of contract teachers in India had its origins in the expansion of immature attempts at international education programs. The historical factor that the contract teacher hiring model was first designed to recruit local volunteers resulted in low pay and job insecurity for contract teachers.

4.2 Socio-Economic Factors

The findings show that the socio-economic factors contributing to the phenomenon of contract teachers are similar in China and India. These are due to regional economic imbalances, where local governments cannot afford to employ sufficient numbers of regular teachers and have to employ contract teachers at low salaries to alleviate teacher shortages. The data also suggests that the poor development of the local job market for teachers in India has also had an impact.

4.2.1 Evidence from China

All the studies collected agree that the reason why many schools in less developed areas have no choice but to hire substitute teachers is the inability of local finances to provide schools with enough public teachers. Lei et al. (2018), Yu (2015), Fyfe (2007), and Yang et al. (2009) all argue that the imbalance in educational resources resulting from local decentralisation of education has prompted the Lei et al. (2018) to focus on the case of Gansu province, arguing that instead of hiring substitute teachers to reduce class sizes, substitute teachers are hired in response to local budget constraints. Yu (2015) suggests that in the early years of the emergence of contract teachers, the decentralisation of school finance in China made the economic resources available to schools in different areas unequal, resulting in a rural massive loss of qualified teachers from poorer areas forcing the employment of substitute teachers. Now, however, while absolute local financial inequalities have been relatively alleviated through government redistribution, the teacher labour market has developed to be more flexible and

open. Fyfe (2007) also suggests that local decentralisation has led to regional imbalances in education finance, forcing local schools to employ supply teachers to keep them afloat. (2009) also agree that the persistence of the substitute teacher phenomenon in China is due to the difficulty of hiring sufficient qualified teachers with local education funds. Specifically, they cite the case of Tongren, Guizhou, where the local budget could not afford to replace all 4,000 or so substitute teachers with public school teachers. Many districts have insufficient funds for education and tend to use their limited funds to hire more contract teachers to save money, even though there may be vacant public teaching positions in schools.

Robinson and Yi (2008) and Yang et al. (2009) focus on the structural shortage of teachers caused by the misallocation of the teacher hiring system in China and the population movement due to urbanisation, which has prompted schools to hire contract teachers. Robinson and Yi (2008) mention that one of the reasons for the emergence of contract teachers is the old, outdated school staffing norms of the Chinese teacher hiring system. The hiring system lags in responding to changes in student numbers and school demand, and there is no effective mechanism to respond to short and long-term supply and demand for teachers. Yang et al. (2009) mention that the substitute teacher population in Shenzhen is heavily influenced by high population mobility. The significant rise in the urban population has resulted in a rise in the number of students, leading to the hiring of many atypical and highly qualified substitute teachers with teaching qualifications locally in Shenzhen to meet the basic right to education of students.

The clues, therefore, suggest that the imbalance in the local education budget and the lag in the national teacher employment system in the face of the demand for teachers caused by population mobility has contributed to the development of contract teacher employment in China.

4.2.2 Evidence from India

15 of the 19 papers on the Indian context suggest that the Indian government employs contract teachers as a way of saving money on education. Duthilleul (2005), Govinda and Josephine (2005), Pandey (2006), Fyfe (2007), Ramachandran, Bhattacharjea and Sheshagiri (2008), Atherton and Kingdon (2010), Fagernäs and Pelkonen (2011), Robinson and Gauri (2011), Mireille De Koning (2013) Muralidharan and Sundararaman (2013), Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque (2014), Chairperson, School and Noida (2017) and Ramachandran et al. (2020) all argue that based on the uneven socio-economic development of the Indian (2020), it is

unrealistic for states to increase education allocations significantly to ensure sufficient teachers in schools within a short period, given the uneven level of socio-economic development across states. In contrast, 75% of India's out-of-school population is concentrated in the six poorest states, which are most dependent on the central government to improve education (Fyfe, 2007). This view is supported by Kumari (2018), who found that the reason for employing contract teachers in public schools in Delhi, as in other poor states in India, is to expand access to education with a smaller government budget. Goyal and Pandey's (2013) study in government schools in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh shows that contract teachers are a more effective resource than regular teachers in the short term. They found that contract teachers had higher attendance and engagement than regular teachers, and that contract teaching led to positive growth in student achievement in both language and mathematics. This speculation is supported by Kumari's (2018) study of Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) schools in Delhi, which found that many Kingdon et al. (2010) also found that the average qualifications of contract teachers may be better than those of regular teachers and speculate that this phenomenon is due to the high graduate unemployment rate, which leads many qualified young people to choose to become contract teachers to avoid unemployment.

The above clues suggest that the underlying socio-economic factors contributing to the rapid growth of contract teacher employment in India, similar to those in China, are also due to regional imbalances in development. But beyond the inability of local finances to hire regular teachers, the depressed teacher job market in Indian society has also contributed to the massive proliferation of contract teachers there.

4.3 Cultural Factors

The literature collected points to the development of contract teacher employment in both China and India is influenced by the cultural factor that contract teachers, who are mostly local, are more familiar with the local culture and can easily teach in remote and less developed areas.

4.3.1 Evidence from China

Half of the data collected in the literature focused on the employment of contract teachers locally, which helps teachers to teach and connect with the culture of the local community. The cases of Gansu and Chongqing mentioned in Yang et al. (2009) illustrate those substitute teachers in China are mainly located in less developed areas in the mountainous and hilly regions of the west. Sargent and Hannum (2005) also demonstrate in their study that substitute

teachers in the north-western region who come from outside the village tend to feel isolated from the local community and find it difficult to integrate. This again emphasises the need for teachers to integrate into the culture of the local community, giving rise to the employment of contract teachers. Robinson and Yi (2008) also highlight in their study that teachers with strong local ties are more likely to stay in the area for a long time and those long-term stable teachers help improve the quality of education. This is also a side-effect of the cultural factors behind the development of the phenomenon of employing local people as contract teachers.

This suggests that the characteristic local cultural factors in less developed areas of China may have contributed to the development of the trend of employing local people as contract teachers.

4.3.2 Evidence from India

Fifteen of the 19 papers provide clues to the cultural factors influencing the development of contract teacher employment in India. Duthilleul (2005), Govinda and Josephine (2005), Ramachandran, Bhattacharjea and Sheshagiri (2008) Atherton and Kingdon (2010), Kingdon et al. (2010), Chandra (2015), Goyal and Pandey (2013), Mireille De Koning (2013), Muralidharan and Sundararaman (2013), Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque (2014), Chairperson, School and Noida (2017), Ramachandran et al. (2020) all found that contract teachers employed in India are predominantly local and work in more challenging contexts. Fagerlös and Pelkonen (2011) found that paraprofessionals' preferences may help them to adapt better to more difficult working conditions.

In their study, Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque (2014) found that employing local people as contract teachers helped to improve the academic performance of local students. Muralidharan and Sundararaman's (2013) study in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh (AP) even shows that hiring additional contract teachers in remote schools is more helpful to students than hiring regular teachers. Agarwal and Reis (2018) also found that local people working as contract teachers had a significant positive impact on the achievement of Grade 6 students. Contract teachers are more likely than regular teachers to support the learning of disadvantaged children, mitigating the impact on test scores of disadvantaged backgrounds such as fathers with below-average education, health problems and lack of access to private tuition.

The data suggest that employing local contract teachers is more effective because local people have an easier commute and are more responsible for teaching with a less social distance between communities due to their knowledge of the local language, culture and customs. Ramachandran et al. (2020) and Goyal and Pandey (2013) both find that many states hire

contract teachers in response to teachers' reluctance to commute long distances and agree, as do Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque (2014), that hiring local people helps increase teachers' sense of responsibility. accountability. In addition, Duthilleul (2005), Govinda and Josephine (2005), and Goyal and Pandey (2013) all agree that employing locals as supply teachers may reduce the social separation of teachers from the local society, and Duthilleul (2005) in a study of public primary schools in two districts of Uttar Pradesh Atherton and Kingdon (2010) found that all of the above-mentioned characteristics of employing contract teachers locally contributed to contract teachers putting in more effort than regular teachers.

Thus, the clues suggest that the preference for hiring local people as contract teachers in remote areas of India may be driven by the fact that local contract teachers are more identified with and familiar with the local culture and are therefore more likely to produce better teaching results.

4.4 Local Policies

The literature trail leads to a generalisation of the different orientations of Chinese and Indian policy towards the development of the local phenomenon of contract teacher employment. Chinese policy emphasises the regulation and elimination of contract teachers, while Indian policy is lack oversight and guidance after the promotion of contract teacher employment.

4.4.1 Evidence from China

Data from two of the six papers specifically address the impact of central and local policies on the employment of contract teachers in China.

In their study, Robinson and Yi (2008) specifically looked at the policies enacted in China to strengthen the teacher force. They conclude that since 1985, a series of educational policy strategies have been taken by China, showing that the Chinese government have always considered improving the quality of the teaching force as essential to improving basic education. Around 1990, a guideline was released about the elimination of Minban teachers and the term 'Minban teacher' was officially ceased. In August 1992, five methods for eliminating Minban teachers were launched by the State Education Commission: i. stopping the recruitment of new Minban teachers; ii. convert Minban to Gongban teachers through examinations and assessments; iii. persuade Minban teachers to transfer into other professions; iv. dismiss unqualified Minban teachers; v. subsidises old Minban teachers who have retired. In 1994, the goal of solving the problem of Minban teachers by the year 2000 was set by the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council. The reason for solving the problem of Minban teachers was recorded as that China considered the existence of the Minban teacher community to be inappropriate for China's national conditions. In 1997, the State Council Standing Office issued the 'Announcement on Solving the Problem of Minban Teachers', which re-emphasised the need to strive to improve the quality of teachers by implementing education for all.

Yang et al. (2009), for their part, specifically sorted out the relevant policies enacted by local governments regarding contract teachers in their study. In Shenzhen, the local government dismissed contract teachers on a large scale, announcing in 2007 that it would dismiss 8,000 substitute teachers, which sparked much public debate. In the same year, the local government of Gansu dismissed more than 600 substitute teachers with low severance pay. The 177 contract teachers who passed the recruitment test three years ago have not yet been officially hired as public teachers.

In Chongqing, the local government selected 8,000 substitute teachers from a pool of 10,000 to be transferred to the public sector in September 2007 by public examination. The Implementation Programme for the Re-education of Primary School Teachers in Public Schools in Chongqing has been implemented. On 5 September of the same year, the mayor of Chongqing announced that no new substitute teachers would be employed. And an annual increase of 160 million yuan in investment in education guaranteed equal pay for substitute teachers and public teachers for the same work. In Guangxi, the local government transferred 958 substitute teachers to the public sector through public examinations. In Hubei, the local government provided social pension insurance for 2,770 substitute teachers in 2007.

The above policy clues show that the attitude of the Chinese authorities towards the phenomenon of contract teachers has gradually shifted from negative to objective. Initially, contract teachers are seen as an obstacle to improving the quality of teachers and are considered to be eliminated in the short term. Currently, the trend has evolved into a long-term, localised policy of support for contract teachers by local governments under local conditions.

4.4.2 Evidence from India

Thirteen papers in the collected data provide clues to local policies in India. Mireille De Koning (2013) argues that contract teacher employment has been influenced by The Second National Policy on Education in 1986. Education. Duthilleul (2005), Govinda and Josephine (2005), Pandey (2006), Fyfe (2007) and Ramachandran, Bhattacharjea and Sheshagiri (2008) all refer

to national policy documents from the late 1990s that proposed paraprofessionals as a solution to the shortage problem to demonstrate the Indian government's policy support for contract teacher employment.) study of all relevant contract teacher labour cases in the Supreme Court and the High Courts of Kerala, West Bengal, Gujarat, and Bihar over three decades supports this view, finding that while the Supreme Court used to be more supportive to contract teachers' protests, after the 1980s, it tended to reject callings for contract teachers' labour rights and support the authority of local governments to hire teachers as they saw fit. Kumari (2018) also argues that the Indian government explicitly supports the expanded use of contract teachers to address teacher shortages but lacks corresponding policies in practice to sanction unconscionable practices in contract teacher employment. Mireille De Koning (2013) argues that there is a discrepancy between the government's policy direction and the actual implementation of the decree, with the slogan of improving the quality of education but the continued use of contract teachers for the education of the disadvantaged and marginalized. They found that Parliament rarely discussed the complex issues that could affect the quality of education, reflecting the lack of concern of legislators about the state of education in the country.

In the absence of regulation of contract teacher employment policies by Indian authorities, policies on contract teacher employment vary across India and lack uniformity. Fyfe (2007) and Chandra (2015) both argue that contract teacher employment in India lacks consistency across states. Béteille and Ramachandran (2016) analysed data from nine districts - Jharkhand, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Mizoram, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh - and found that contract teacher hiring policies varied and lacked stability across districts. Mireille De Koning (2013) argues that the Right to Education (RTE) Act of 2009 has influenced the varying development of contract teacher hiring policies across regions. The Act required all teachers to obtain a minimum qualification within five years but offered to leave it up to the state to decide exactly how to practice. As a result, it has been difficult for states to have a uniform and effective initiatives on how to qualify the teachers they hire.

In summary, the impact of Indian policy on the development of the contract teaching phenomenon can be seen via the evidence above. The authorities in India have promoted the employment of contract teachers because they have found it economically efficient, but have been unable to regulate it, resulting in ambiguity in local policies and difficulties in protecting the rights of contract teachers.

Chapter 5: How does Contract teacher issue influenced by contextual factors?

In this section, the social justice framework is introduced to explore how the phenomenon of contract teachers in both China and India is influenced by local historical, socio-economic, cultural and policy factors. Based on the discussion, policy recommendations will be made to deal with the social issue of contract teacher hiring. It is discussed that the contextual factors influencing the employment of contract teachers in India and China do, to some extent, enhance educational inclusion and meet the educational needs of specific groups. The factors influencing the development of contract teachers in India are particularly influenced by international research perceptions.

5.1 Historical Factors

5.1.1 China

In terms of historical inheritance, the contract teacher phenomenon **in China** is a continuation of the earlier problem of Minban teachers. It is a spontaneous alternative to the employment of regular teachers that are adopted by local governments and schools during the massive and rapid expansion of basic education in China before 2000, in response to the short-term problem of absolute numbers of teachers (Liu and Teddlie, 2009; Ye and Chen, 2019). However, since 2000, the existence of Minban teachers has been recognized as illegal by Chinese authorities (Wang, 2002). After 2000, substitute teachers that emerged to replace the role of Minban teachers, as the existing contract teachers in the local Chinese context, have been regarded as being inferior in terms of social status and legitimacy. This is due to their succession to the illegal role of Minban teachers, and are considered to be deserving of removal due to their negative effect on education quality (Adams, 2012). It can therefore be argued that in the Chinese historical context, the phenomenon of contract teachers has long been considered a negative social problem that should be addressed.

5.1.2 India

On the other hand, the history of the development of contract teachers in India presents a different picture. Historically the earliest contract teacher recruitment in India was originally intended to create a resource of teacher volunteers in local communities (Sethi and Ramachandran, 2003), and now contract teachers continue their historical traits: lack of adequate pre-service training, low salaries and a preference for recruiting local people. As an experiment in internationally funded projects in India, contract teacher recruitment was seen

as a positive initiative in India that could be used to alleviate teacher shortages (Snehi, 2004). In subsequent developments, the performance-based renewal of contract teachers was even seen to help increase teacher accountability and economically alleviate teacher absenteeism and inactivity (Narayan and Mooij, 2010).

It is clear from the above clues that different historical contextual influences have contributed to the different perceptions of the contract teacher employment phenomenon by the Chinese and Indian authorities. China tends to see it as an immature, unregulated local employment practice that should be outlawed, while India sees it as an alternative, experimental tool introduced by international projects to help solve the teacher shortage problem.

5.1.3 Social Justice and History

From the perspective of the social justice framework, historical factors have contributed to the development of the phenomenon of contract teachers in China and India, essentially to meet **the inclusive dimension** of basic education. To make basic education as accessible as possible to the nation's children within the constraints of limited financial investment in education, both countries have had to hire teachers on a large scale at low cost in remote and poor areas to sustain teaching. However, the low-quality contract teachers hired at low prices do not meet **the relevance dimension of education**. Extremely low salaries and poor working conditions prevent contract teachers from devoting themselves to teaching and from using cutting-edge educational tools to suit their needs (Ramachandran et al., 2020). At the same time, the historical limitations of the Chinese and Indian authorities' understanding of the phenomenon of contract teachers have contributed to **a lack of a democratic dimension** in their responses to the issue. In China, the negative bias of historical factors has led to contract teachers being seen as the main culprits of poor teacher quality (Zhang, 2022), rather than citizens in need of help in poor working conditions. In India, historical factors have contributed to the perpetuation of contract teachers in an unregulated employment system, where they are seen as efficient human resources rather than as workers who need to be safeguarded (Ginsburg, 2017).

5.2 Socio-Economic Factors

From a socio-economic perspective, the factors affecting the perpetuation of the contract teaching phenomenon in China and India are relatively similar and are essential because education funding in both countries is not sufficient to employ a sufficient number of regular

teachers on a permanent and stable basis. However, the underlying causes of this phenomenon are not quite the same.

5.2.1 China

In China, the persistent imbalance in socio-economic development between urban and rural areas provides the ground for the development of contract teachers. Education funding relies heavily on local government financial provision, with the central government focusing on aid and redistribution of education resources (Peng et al., 2020), and huge differences in different levels of economic development between regions still lead to serious imbalances in education funding (Li, Shi and Xue, 2020). Economic imbalances lead to difficulties in retaining highly qualified teachers in poor areas (Wang, Tigelaar and Admiraal, 2021). In contrast, teacher shortages in urban areas are more likely to be due to a high turnover of highly qualified teachers, leading to the hiring of more contract teachers to compensate for the quality of teaching (Xuehui, 2018).

At the same time, the high mobility of the Chinese population has contributed to the phenomenon of contract teachers. China's teacher recruitment system tends to have a lag in staffing the number of school teachers according to the number of locally registered permanent residents (Mao, 2022). The massive migration of the population due to urbanisation, causing the quick increment of unregistered students in the short term, has created a severe shortage of teachers in the areas where migrant labour gathers (Yu, 2015). Thus, the socio-economic factors of the mass migration of migrant workers with families have thus contributed to the massive recruitment of contract teachers in schools in urban, urban-rural bordering areas to cope with the unstable number of students.

Thus, in the Chinese context, socio-economic factors such as regional imbalances in development and the unstable number of students due to urbanisation have affected the hiring of contract teachers, not only in economically disadvantaged areas but also in urban areas with high population mobility.

5.2.2 India

In India, on the other hand, where the power in education is more decentralised to the local level and local policies for hiring teachers are inadequate, resulting in a large number of vacant teaching posts, causing a teacher shortage in numbers (Pandey, 2006). For example, many schools are not financially capable of hiring newly qualified regular teachers due to local financial instability. Many schools even rely on just one contract teacher to keep daily

education (Ramachandran et al., 2020). Multiple court disputes are also found to arise due to a lack of formal employment local policies, providing obstacles to hiring regular teachers (Robinson and Gauri, 2011). This has also created instability in the overall teacher employment market, to the extent that many teacher candidates with legitimate teaching qualifications are unable to be hired as regular teachers and have no choice but to opt for contract teaching positions (Ramachandran, Bhattacharjea and Sheshagiri, 2008). As a result, the large-scale employment of contract teachers in India has been influenced by poor local economic development and management.

At the same time, the social issue of integrating learners with special needs into the formal schooling system is also on the agenda in India, as basic education becomes more accessible to the masses (Ramachandran et al., 2020). This has led to various educational projects such as the Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) scheme, which guarantees primary education for deprived girls via hiring contract teachers in schools at the upper primary level (Vinay and Chauhan, 2019). Given the fact that the schools models in the KGBV scheme are not government schools, which should be excluded from this research. But, as the whole scheme is launched by the Indian government, and does highly influence the development of the contract teacher hiring by Indian authorities (Ramachandran et al., 2020), the discussion of it has been retained here. As a result, the Indian government has found contract teaching to be more affordable and flexible in response to the need for inclusive education and thus has promoted the employment of contract professors in broader educational aspects.

It can therefore be argued that the influence on the employment of contract teachers in the Indian context is the factor of local management and the need for inclusive education development and that the employment of contract teachers is favoured by the Indian government because of its low economic cost and high flexibility.

In summary, the root cause of the persistence of contract teacher employment in India and China is the shortage of teachers, due to the socioeconomic difficulty that both countries are unable to afford and attract sufficient numbers of qualified teachers in poor areas. However, the hiring contract teacher phenomenon in China is not only widely spread by regional imbalances in economic development, but also by the socio-economic factor of urbanised population migration. In India, on the other hand, the contract teacher phenomenon is more influenced by mismanagement by local governments and the volatility of the overall teacher

employment market. In addition, the use of contract teachers in the spread of inclusive education has again expanded the local employment of contract teachers in India.

5.2.3 Social Justice and Socio-Economy

Explained in terms of the social justice framework, similar socio-economic factors in China and India have given rise to the phenomenon of contract teachers. In the international context of the EFA initiative, and the country's own need for universal basic education, China and India, as less developed countries, do not have the financial and human resources to meet **the inclusion of basic education** in the short term. As a result, under quantitative measures such as teacher-student ratios and enrolment rates, unqualified contract teachers are hired at low salaries to compensate for quality in quantity (UNESCO, 2000). But the inclusion achieved under such conditions is superficial and unequal. This false inclusion has resulted in slightly wealthier families in rural China preferring to send their children to quality schools at a greater distance (Zhao and Parolin, 2013) than to attend a school with only unqualified contract teachers close by. Although the Indian authorities have used contract teachers in inclusive education for special learners (Vimala et al., 2018), poor systematic local management and economic distress have resulted in many inclusive contract teacher programmes not being implemented at the grassroots level. At the same time, **the relevance of education** based on financial and economic considerations for education is even more difficult to achieve. It is difficult enough to hire qualified teachers at adequate salaries, let alone provide appropriate teaching aids and materials for contract teachers to teach. Moreover, **the democratic dimension** is not realistic for contract teachers who are employed with limited financial resources for education. Social news of contract teachers in China and India struggling to receive regular pay has been commonplace (China Daily, 2006; Robinson and Gauri, 2011). It is even more difficult to make the voices of these contract teachers, who are already disadvantaged in the socio-economic hierarchy, heard and adopted democratically in the education system.

5.3 Cultural Factors

From the perspective of cultural factors, the implementation of contract teacher recruitment in both China and India is influenced by the local cultural context, particularly the ethnic minorities' local context.

5.3.1 China

In the Chinese context, contract teachers in China are mainly located in the mountainous and hilly areas of the central and western parts of the country (Lei et al., 2018), which are economically underdeveloped, and this includes provinces with major concentrations of ethnic minorities, such as Gansu province, which has the Hui autonomous region (CAO, 2008). Many local schoolchildren may not have a Chinese language environment at home, and to provide universal access to education, local teachers must be fluent in the local language and understand the local cultural context (Zhou, 2001). There are not sufficient resources for teachers who have a good grasp of the local language and culture, who are educated as teachers and who are willing to stay in the area (Postiglione, 2002, Yang and Wu, 2009). The specific requirements for local teachers in these areas, therefore, lead local schools to employ local staff on a contract basis (Lee, 2016). The employment of contract teachers is therefore necessary for many of China's ethnic minority areas to meet the basic rights of the educated and to receive a basic education that is adapted to the local culture.

5.3.2 India

In the Indian context, areas with unique local cultures are likewise home to a large number of contract teachers, showing that local area culture has its influence on contract teacher hiring in India. There is evidence that employing local people as contract teachers in local areas has a more positive impact on student learning outcomes than even employing qualified teachers (Pandey, 2006). Although this evidence may be limited by some factors, such as the fact that primary education may require a lower level of professionalism than higher levels of education, that non-specialist teachers who are more familiar with the local cultural context in the primary education sector are at an advantage over specialist teachers (Agarwal and Reis, 2018). Also, local contract teachers at low-income levels are more likely to teach to the best of their ability relative to the unreasonably high-income levels of teachers who are regular government employees in India (Jain, 2016). Because of this perceived advantage, many schools in India are even making the recruitment of contract teachers conditional on hiring only locals (Govinda and Josephine, 2005). Thus, in the Indian context, the employment of local contract teachers is an advantageous option from the point of view of universal access to education and improved educational outcomes.

As mentioned above, employing people who are familiar with the local cultural background as contract teachers helps to increase teacher motivation and make teaching more relevant to the local context, thus contributing to the quality of teaching and the learning experience of those

who receive it. This cultural factor has contributed to the growth of contract teachers now in China and India, particularly in areas with specific local cultures.

5.3.3 Social Justice and Culture

When analysed in depth from the perspective of the social justice framework, the necessity of local contract teacher employment in China and India brought about by cultural factors is also **a false relevance dimension trap**. Essentially, the factor that makes teaching by contract teachers promote educational relevance is the characteristic that contract teachers are mostly local. If local people with teaching qualifications can be employed at reasonable salaries to teach, both **the relevance of the educational content** and the level of responsibility of the teachers are inevitably better than relying on contract teachers. In the case of China, many local contract teachers in rural areas use teaching as a side job to supplement their families and are not able to devote themselves to teaching (Sargent and Hannum, 2005). In India, while the employment of local people as contract teachers has reduced the socio-economic gap between teachers and students, it has also increased inequality in educational resources, making it difficult for children in lower socio-economic strata to access quality teachers and teaching resources (Govinda and Josephine, 2005). The hiring of contract teachers to take advantage of their familiarity with the local culture to enhance educational relevance is therefore more of an excuse to whitewash the huge shortcomings of this alternative employment measure itself. As already mentioned, the hiring of contract teachers is a desperate attempt to achieve the goal of universal access and inclusion in quality education when the country's economic development is unable to do so. The hiring process also **lacks a democratic dimension**. The current system of hiring contract teachers does not support local teachers who wish to teach to leave the region to learn from more advanced teaching methods, but merely disguises the reality that local teachers have no choice but to accept low-paid contracts with superficial advantages such as short commuting distances and easy integration into the community (Guo et al., 2013).

5.4 Policy Implementations

After analysing the various factors influencing the development of the phenomenon of contract teachers, this section attempts to analyse the policies developed by China and India concerning contract teachers, to provide a glimpse into more evidence that influenced their different paths to address the issue.

5.4.1 China

In China, findings indicate that policies portray contract teachers as low-end teachers who should be eliminated in the short term and that reducing the number of contract teachers everywhere is seen as a quantifiable political goal. Such a policy orientation has led China to ignore the basic rights and needs of contract teachers as human beings for a long time. Under the demand for universal education, contract teachers were glorified as devotees, and martyrs to universal education without the need for artificial or material rewards (Liu, 2017).

After 2000, the legitimacy of contract teachers was no longer recognised (Robinson and Yi, 2008). By 2001, the State Council re-emphasised the need to phase out teacher supply in its Decision on the Reform and Development of Basic Education (Robinson and Yi, 2008). In 2006, the Ministry of Education again proposed to abolish the remaining 448,000 substitute teachers within three years (Yang et al., 2009). As a result, in 2008, many local governments began mass dismissals of supply teachers to achieve this political goal (Yang et al., 2009). Faced with a political goal of a clear deadline, some local governments dismissed contract teachers on a large scale, sparking huge public protests (Liu, 2006; Yang et al., 2009). This eventually brought the demands of China's contract teachers into the public eye and led to an explicit policy of equal pay for equal work for contract and regular teachers and a gradual pledge to reduce the number of contract teachers (China Daily, 2006).

To this day, substitute teachers are still active in basic education classrooms in many parts of China, and China has de-emphasised the specific timeframe for the removal of substitute teachers, but still maintains an attitude toward removal (Yang et al., 2009). Policy interpretations of how to deal with substitute teachers have also shifted from aggressive short-term dismissals to more moderate solutions, such as increased compensation for dismissal, inclusion in the social security system and active vocational training (Yang et al., 2009).

In other words, Chinese policy has moved away from viewing contract teachers as a monolithic low-end teacher force and has gradually begun to reflect the basic needs and rights of contract teachers.

5.4.2 India

Similarly in India, findings show that the argument for contract teachers was once suppressed in the policy. The earliest government document on the employment of contract teachers in India: the 1999 recommendations of the National Commission of the Minister of State for Education (Department of Education, 1999) introduced the idea of contract teachers in the pursuit of Universal Elementary Education (UEE) in the District Primary Education

Programme (DPEP) (Department of Education, 1999). In this policy document, absent and poorly motivated regular teachers were considered to be inefficient human capital, and para teachers should be recruited at lower salaries to improve resource utilisation and fill teacher vacancies in the short term (Department of Education, 1999). Para teachers are retained based on performance appraisal, thus theoretically avoiding the problem of teacher absenteeism (Pandey, 2006).

The non-permanent contracts of contract teachers also allow the government to avoid accountability. For a long time, there has been no regulated policy for the recruitment of contract teachers in India (Ramachandran et al., 2020). The local government offsets its educational management by blaming individual teachers for not taking responsibility for their students, believing that hiring on a low-guarantee contract basis will promote teachers' efforts to keep their jobs. However, as the number of contract teachers grows, contract teacher unions have emerged (Ramachandran et al., 2020). More and more contract teachers are demanding basic job security through court protests against unfair working conditions (Robinson and Gauri, 2011). It is in the draft National Education Policy 2019 that the demand for equal pay for equal work for contract teachers in India is finally heard (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2019).

In other words, Indian policy, which once ignored the deeply unfair working conditions of contract teachers in the pursuit of efficiency and shifting responsibilities, has gradually begun to address the legitimate needs of contract teachers.

5.4.3 Social Justice and Policy

Policies in both countries initially misinterpreted universal education and **increased inclusion** as a political goal measured in numbers, ignoring the basic rights of contract teachers. Even though five suggested methods were offered (Robinson and Yi, 2008), the local Chinese government still carried out mass and unconditional dismissals of contract teachers under a one-sided policy direction (Yang et al., 2009). The central government in India has long allowed local governments to use contract teachers to avoid managerial accountability (Narayan and Mooij, 2010). Contract teachers, regarded as human resources and low-end teachers, endure poor working conditions and are demotivated to work. **Education policy was also once irrelevant to contract teachers.** China's central education policy focused on improving the quality of teachers and avoided the issue of contract teachers (Mao, 2022). India's education policy gives discretionary power to local governments to employ contract teachers and does not give them any legal or regulatory control over their employment

(Chandra, 2015). However, as the issue of education quality has come to the fore and contract teachers have continued to make their voices heard, policies in both countries have gradually begun to reflect the demands of contract teachers **democratically**. Local governments in China have begun to implement policies to help them under local conditions (Yang et al., 2009). Policy proposals in India have brought the issue of equal pay for contract and regular teachers into the discussion (Mireille De Koning, 2013).

5.5 Policy Recommendations

The social justice framework is a theory that combines human resource and human rights approaches and introduces social justice as compensation for the critical analysis of educational issues (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). Therefore, using the social justice framework to analyse the phenomenon of contract teachers in India and China under the influence of EFA can help to make useful policy recommendations on the issue of contract teachers in both countries and may even be useful for contract teacher policy issues globally.

The social justice framework is divided into three main dimensions: inclusion, relevance and democracy (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). **The inclusion dimension** suggests that employing contract teachers can help to expand access to education in poor and remote areas (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). However, the low salaries of contract teachers and the lack of professional training can also affect teacher morale and the quality of teaching (Ramachandran, 2005). It is therefore recommended that China and India face up to the advantages and disadvantages of employing contract teachers, and not simply deny the indispensable role of contract teachers in expanding access to basic education in less developed areas; nor should they be promoted blindly and unregulated because of short-term economic benefits.

In terms of relevance, the fact that contract teachers are mostly local and more likely to stay in the area for a long time because of the hometown effect (Zhang, Wang and Yi, 2022) helps local teaching to recognise and reflect the identity and needs of local learners (Tikly and Barrett, 2011), for example, by using minority languages and cultures to support teaching. It is therefore recommended that both countries make good use of this advantage of contract teachers by enhancing training and career development channels for local contract teachers and converting contract teaching staff with local language and cultural strengths into highly qualified local regular teachers.

On the democratic dimension, the voice of contract teachers tends to be invisible in the education debate in both China and India (Zhang, Wang and Yi, 2022), with little international literature on the issue in the Chinese context and no formal policy regulating contract teachers in India to date. It is recommended that the voice of contract teachers should be strengthened in the education debate by objectively identifying this group and speaking out for their rights through legislation and policy planning. For example, the gradual introduction of equal pay for contract teachers and regular teachers through legislation should be guaranteed.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Summary

International research on the phenomenon of contract teachers has mostly focused on the human resource benefits of contract teachers, and less attention has been paid to how the contract teacher phenomenon is influenced by different national contexts (Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque, 2014). This paper, therefore, attempts to explore the main research question of how different contextual factors influence the local development of contract teacher hiring by comparing the cases in China and India. Qualitative data on English language writing related to contract teachers in Chinese and Indian contexts are collected through a systematic literature review approach.

The research question is answered by systematically generalising the impact of historical, socio-economic, cultural and policy elements on the development of contract teachers locally, using contract teachers in the public basic education systems of both China and India as the subject of the study. Historically, the development of contract teachers in China is endogenous, an indigenous and spontaneous act to face the limitation of a tight educational budget. While the case of India is exogenous and contract teachers are firstly hired as volunteers. Socio-economically, the development of contract teachers in both China and India has been heavily constrained by their imbalanced national development. The phenomenon of contract teachers in China is particularly affected by the ripple effects of mass urban migration, while in India contract teachers are more affected by low rates of investment in education and the caste system. Culturally, contract teachers in both countries are welcomed for the advantages of hiring local teachers. In terms of policy, contract teachers in China are seen as a negative factor in reducing teacher quality, while contract teachers in India are seen as a panacea for improving the efficiency of teacher employment while avoiding governmental accountability.

In response to the characteristics of China and India as non-developing countries, this paper selects the social justice framework (Tikly and Barrett, 2011) as a theoretical lens to further explore the impact of each thematic element in the issue of contract teachers. In the analysis, it is found that the employment of contract teachers in less economically developed countries and regions is a necessary evil to rapidly accomplish the international goal of universal access to education. However, the use of low-cost contract teachers, while fulfilling ostensible indicators of educational inclusion in the short term, can harm the quality and equity of education in the long term. The hiring of local contract teachers, which seems to contribute to the relevance dimension of education, can also contribute to the unequal distribution of educational resources

and class entrenchment. The absence of a dimension of educational democracy is also particularly problematic in the development of contract teachers in the Chinese and Indian contexts. Several policy recommendations are therefore made: i. The government should objectively view the strengths and weaknesses of contract teachers in aiding the enhancement of educational inclusion and plan for short and long-term policy responses; ii. The government should make full use of the advantages of local contract teachers in terms of cultural factors and establish sustainable channels for local contract teachers to upgrade to qualified regular teachers through career development and other means; iii. The government give contract teachers adequate and accessible channels for democratic voice and safeguard and identify the needs and rights of contract teachers in policies and regulations and news reports.

6.2 Limitations and Recommendations

However, there are still several limitations to this study. **Methodologically**, the limitation of the literature included in the study to be written in full in English has resulted in a low amount of data from the Chinese context. The imbalance in the amount of data between Chinese and Indian contexts may lead to the low validity of the study findings. **It is therefore recommended that** future studies expand the scope of data inclusion to consider the inclusion of ethnographic literature written in non-English contexts to explore in greater depth the impact of local contexts on the issue of contract teachers.

In addition, this paper uses a qualitative systematic literature review approach, which inevitably leads to bias from individual subjective factors in the process of data inclusion and thematic analysis. Given that subjective factors may affect the credibility of the findings (Evans, 2002), **it is recommended that** further mixed experimental approaches are used in future studies to test the strength of the correlation between various contextual factors and the contract teacher phenomenon.

From a theoretical perspective, the social justice framework is more appropriate for analysing general education issues in low-income countries (Tikly and Barrett, 2011), whereas the main research question in this paper focuses on the phenomenon of contract teachers in particular. Also, both China and India have been identified as middle-income countries² since 2009

² According to the World Bank's classification of countries by income level by 2021, countries with an Atlas GNI per capita below 1085 are considered low-income countries, and those with an Atlas GNI per capita between 1086 and 4095 are considered lower-middle-income countries (HAMADEH et al., 2022). China reached the lower-middle income level in 2002 (1110 atlas GNI per capita) and the upper-middle income level in 2010

(World Bank, 2022). Although contract teachers were rapidly widespread in China and India during the period when both countries were still at a low-income level, the social justice framework is not entirely appropriate for analysing the current situation of contract teachers. **It is suggested that** future research could be conducted from a theoretical perspective that is more in line with the national characteristics of China and India, as well as the characteristics of the contract teacher problem.

(4340 atlas GNI per capita) (The world bank, 2021). Since 2009, India has been a lower-middle income country (Atlas GNI per capita of 1120 in 2009 and 2117 in 2021) (The world bank, 2021). In the World Development Report 2012, China was classified as an 'upper middle-income country for the first time (Wang and Zheng, 2012; World Bank, 2022). Both countries' classifications have remained unchanged since the classification criteria were updated in 2022 July (HAMADEH et al., 2022).

Reference

- Adams, J. (2012). *Identifying the Attributes of Effective Rural Teachers: Teacher Attributes and Mathematics Achievement among Rural Primary School Students in Northwest China*. [online] *Gansu Survey of Children and Families Papers*. Available at: https://repository.upenn.edu/gansu_papers/32/ [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].
- Adebola, L.O., Ana, M., Claudia, Q. and Boris, A. (2020). Precarious Employment in the Chilean English Language Teaching Industry. *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, 8(11B), pp.6000–6013. doi:10.13189/ujer.2020.082236.
- Afzal Tajik, M., Shamatov, D. and Phillipova, L. (2021). Stakeholders' Perceptions of the Quality of Education in Rural Schools in Kazakhstan. *Improving Schools*, p.136548022110310. doi:10.1177/13654802211031088.
- Agarwal, M. and Reis, A. (2018). Look No farther: the Impact of Local Contract Teachers on Student Outcomes. [online] Available at: <https://www.isid.ac.in/~epu/acegd2018/papers/MadhuriAgarwal.pdf> [Accessed 3 Jul. 2022].
- Anwar, A. and Nazmul Islam, M. (2013). Achieving EFA by 2015: Lessons from BRAC's Para-Professional Teacher Model in Afghanistan. *Teacher Reforms Around the World: Implementations and Outcomes*, pp.99–119. doi:10.1108/s1479-3679(2013)0000019010.
- Atherton, P. and Kingdon, G. (2010). *The Relative Effectiveness and Costs of Contract and Regular Teachers in India*. [online] *Semantic Scholar*. Available at: <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-relative-effectiveness-and-costs-of-contract-in-Atherton-Kingdon/471e021bbba16c3f45a65de05da23e8f60116b5a> [Accessed 21 Jul. 2022].
- Azhar, M.A., Javeed, M.F. and Amin, B. (2021). Comparative Study to Analyze the Communication Competencies of Regular Vs Contract Based Educational Teachers. *International Journal of Agricultural Extension*, 8(3), pp.251–256. doi:10.33687/008.03.3407.
- BÉTEILLE, T. and RAMACHANDRAN, V. (2016). Contract Teachers in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, [online] 51(25), pp.40–47. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44003636> [Accessed 20 Jul. 2022].

- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), pp.77–101.
- BRAY, M. (2003). Community Initiatives in Education: Goals, Dimensions and Linkages with Governments. *Compare: a Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 33(1), pp.31–45. doi:10.1080/03057920302598.
- CAO, H. (2008). Spatial Inequality in children’s Schooling in Gansu, Western China: Reality and Challenges. *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien*, 52(3), pp.331–350. doi:10.1111/j.1541-0064.2008.00216.x.
- Centre For Reviews And Dissemination (2009). *Systematic Reviews : CRD’s Guidance for Undertaking Reviews in Health Care*. University of York (York, Gb.). Centre for Reviews and Dissemination.
- Chairperson, A., School, K. and Noida (2017). Analysis of the Role of Para Teachers in India. [online] Available at: https://www.ijiras.com/2017/Vol_4-Issue_11/paper_2.pdf [Accessed 20 Jul. 2022].
- Chandra, M. (2015). The Implications of Contract Teaching in India: a Review. *Policy Futures in Education*, 13(2), pp.247–259. doi:10.1177/1478210314567288.
- China Daily (2006). *Treat Substitute Teachers Properly*. [online] www.chinadaily.com.cn. Available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2006-03/31/content_556920.htm [Accessed 12 Aug. 2022].
- Chudgar, A. (2015). Association between Contract Teachers and Student Learning in Five Francophone African Countries. *Comparative Education Review*, 59(2), pp.261–288. doi:10.1086/680351.
- Chudgar, A., Chandra, M. and Razzaque, A. (2014). Alternative Forms of Teacher Hiring in Developing Countries and Its implications: a Review of Literature. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 37, pp.150–161. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2013.10.009.
- Cronin, P., Ryan, F. and Coughlan, M. (2008). Undertaking a Literature review: a step-by-step Approach. *British Journal of Nursing*, 17(1), pp.38–43. doi:10.12968/bjon.2008.17.1.28059.

Davis, J., Mengersen, K., Bennett, S. and Mazerolle, L. (2014). Viewing Systematic Reviews and meta-analysis in Social Research through Different Lenses. *SpringerPlus*, [online] 3(1), p.511. doi:10.1186/2193-1801-3-511.

Department of Education (1999). *NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF STATE EDUCATION MINISTERS UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT TO DEVELOP THE STRUCTURE AND OUTLINES OF IMPLEMENTING UNIVERSAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN a MISSION MODE.*

[online] Available at:

<http://14.139.60.153/bitstream/123456789/9271/1/Report%20of%20committee%20of%20state%20education%20ministers%20on%20universalising%20elementary%20education%20in%20the%20mission%20mode.pdf> [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].

Dogar, I.A., Afzal, S., Ali, M.A., Haider, N. and Asmat, A. (2015). Job Satisfaction of Physicians and Teachers. *The Professional Medical Journal*, 22(11), pp.1525–1530. doi:10.29309/tpmj/2015.22.11.2445.

Domingo-Martos, L., Domingo-Segovia, J. and Pérez-García, P. (2022). Broadening the View of Inclusion from a Social Justice perspective. a Scoping Review of the Literature. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, pp.1–23. doi:10.1080/13603116.2022.2095043.

Duflo, E., Dupas, P. and Kremer, M. (2015). School governance, Teacher incentives, and Pupil–teacher ratios: Experimental Evidence from Kenyan Primary Schools. *Journal of Public Economics*, 123, pp.92–110. doi:10.1016/j.jpubeco.2014.11.008.

Duthilleul, Y. (2005). *Lessons Learnt in the Use of ‘Contract’ Teachers. Synthesis Report.*

[online] ERIC. International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) UNESCO. Available at:

<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED495404#:~:text=It%20provides%20lessons%20learned%20and%20highlights%20policy%20recommendations.> [Accessed 3 Jul. 2022].

Epstein, I. (1993). Class and Inequality in Chinese Education. *Compare: a Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 23(2), pp.131–147.

doi:10.1080/0305792930230204.

Evans, D. (2002). Systematic Reviews of Interpretive research: Interpretive Data Synthesis of Processed Data. *The Australian Journal of Advanced Nursing: a Quarterly Publication of the Royal Australian Nursing Federation*, [online] 20(2), pp.22–26. Available at: <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/12537149/> [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].

Fagnäs, S. and Pelkonen, P. (2011). *Whether to Hire Local Contract Teachers? Trade-Off between Skills and Preferences in India*. [online] papers.ssrn.com. Available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1869223 [Accessed 21 Jul. 2022].

Fanggi, Y.M., Keraf, M.K.P.A. and Kiling, I. (2021). Differences in the Level of Work Anxiety on Contract Teachers. *Journal of Health and Behavioral Science*, 3(2), pp.158–168. doi:10.35508/jhbs.v3i2.3294.

Fyfe, A. (2007). The Use of Contract Teachers in Developing countries: Trends and Impact. In: *www.ilo.org*. [online] Available at: https://www.ilo.org/sector/Resources/publications/WCMS_160813/lang--en/index.htm.

Ginsburg, M. (2017). Teachers as Human Capital or Human Beings? USAID’s Perspective on Teachers. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, [online] 20(1), pp.6–30. Available at: <https://eric.ed.gov/?q=as&pg=519&id=EJ1170256> [Accessed 24 Jul. 2022].

Global Education Monitoring Report Team (2004). *Education for all: the Quality imperative; EFA Global Monitoring report, 2005*. [online] *Unesco.org*. UNESCO. Available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000137333>.

Goldman, C.A., Kumar, K.B. and Liu, Y. (2008). *Education and the Asian Surge: a Comparison of the Education Systems in India and China. Occasional Paper*. [online] ERIC. RAND Corporation. Available at: <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED502691> [Accessed 8 Aug. 2022].

Govinda, R. and Josephine, Y. (2005). Para-teachers in India: a Review. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 2(2), pp.193–224. doi:10.1177/097318490500200204.

Goyal, S. and Pandey, P. (2013). Contract Teachers in India. *Education Economics*, 21(5), pp.464–484. doi:10.1080/09645292.2010.511854.

Guo, S., Guo, Y., Beckett, G., Li, Q. and Guo, L. (2013). Changes in Chinese Education under Globalisation and Market economy: Emerging Issues and Debates. *Compare: a*

Journal of Comparative and International Education, 43(2), pp.244–264.

doi:10.1080/03057925.2012.721524.

Habib, M. (2010). *The Impact of 2002 National Teacher Contract Policy Reform on Teacher Absenteeism in Lahore, Pakistan*. [online] ERIC. ProQuest LLC. Available at:

<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED514935>.

HAMADEH, N., ROMPAEY, C.V., METREAU, E. and EAPEN, S.G. (2022). *New World Bank Country Classifications by Income level: 2022-2023*. [online] blogs.worldbank.org.

Available at: <https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/new-world-bank-country-classifications-income-level-2022-2023>.

Hulme, M. (2022). The Supply, Recruitment, and Retention of Teachers. *The Palgrave Handbook of Teacher Education Research*, pp.1–15. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-59533-3_81-2.

Jain, P.S. (2016). *Education Budget Allocation and National Education Goals: Implications for Teacher Salary Level*. [online] GYAN SHALA. Available at:

<https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fgyanshala.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2016%2F04%2FEcoPap-1.doc&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK>

[Accessed 8 Aug. 2022].

Joanna Briggs Institute (2008). *Joanna Briggs Institute reviewers' Manual : 2008 edition*.

Adelaide: Joanna Briggs Institute.

KEXIAN, J. and HAO, T. (2006). Seventy Issues of Concern to Teachers. *Chinese Education & Society*, 39(1), pp.41–50. doi:10.2753/ced1061-1932390104.

Kingdon, G., Sipahimalani-Rao, V., Sarup, V., Kaul, A., Rao, N., Singh, R., Kaul, V., Sankar, D., Kumar, K., Govinda, Dayaram, G., Nambissan, A., Rampal, P. and Batra (2010). Para-Teachers in India: Status and Impact. *Economic and Political Weekly*, [online] 12.

Available at:

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08b0ee5274a27b2000921/KingdonandSipahimalani-Rao_ParaTeachersIndia.pdf#:~:text=Para-](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08b0ee5274a27b2000921/KingdonandSipahimalani-Rao_ParaTeachersIndia.pdf#:~:text=Para-teachers%2C%20sometimes%20called%20E2%80%9Dcontract%20teachers%E2%80%9D%2C%20are%20being%20hired)

[teachers%2C%20sometimes%20called%20E2%80%9Dcontract%20teachers%E2%80%9D%2C%20are%20being%20hired](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08b0ee5274a27b2000921/KingdonandSipahimalani-Rao_ParaTeachersIndia.pdf#:~:text=Para-teachers%2C%20sometimes%20called%20E2%80%9Dcontract%20teachers%E2%80%9D%2C%20are%20being%20hired) [Accessed 3 Jul. 2022].

Kingdon, G.G., Aslam, M., Rawal, S. and Das, S. (2013). *Are Contract Teachers and para-teachers a cost-effective Intervention to Address Teacher Shortage and Improve Learning outcomes?* London, UK: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London.

Kumar, N. and Varghese, V. (2022). *Elementary Education in India versus China: Guidelines for NEP Implementation. WIDER Working Paper*. doi:10.35188/unu-wider/2022/195-2.

KUMARI, J. (2018). Analysis of Work and Employment Conditions of Contractual Teachers in India. *NMIMS JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC POLICY*. [online] Available at: <https://vdocuments.site/analysis-of-work-and-employment-conditions-of-contractual-the-employment-and.html?page=1> [Accessed 21 Jul. 2022].

Kumari, J. (2008). Employment Conditions of Guest Teachers in Delhi Government Schools. In: *IMDS Working Paper Series*. New Delhi: International Migration and Diaspora Studies Project, Zakir Husain Centre for Education Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, pp.1–12.

Lee, M.B. (2016). Sociological Perspectives on Ethnic Minority Teachers in China: a Review of the Research Literature. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 10(1), pp.55–68. doi:10.1080/15595692.2015.1098611.

Lei, W., Li, M., Zhang, S., Sun, Y., Sylvia, S., Yang, E., Ma, G., Zhang, L., Mo, D. and Rozelle, S. (2018). Contract Teachers and Student Achievement in Rural China: Evidence from Class Fixed Effects. *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, [online] 62(2), pp.299–322. doi:10.1111/1467-8489.12250.

Li, J., Shi, Z. and Xue, E. (2020). The problems, Needs and Strategies of Rural Teacher Development at Deep Poverty Areas in China: Rural Schooling Stakeholder Perspectives. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 99, p.101496. doi:10.1016/j.ijer.2019.101496.

Liberati, A. (2009). The PRISMA Statement for Reporting Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses of Studies That Evaluate Health Care Interventions: Explanation and Elaboration. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 151(4), p.W. doi:10.7326/0003-4819-151-4-200908180-00136.

- Liu, H. (2017). *Rural CPC member's Contribution Is Family Tradition*. [online] www.chinadaily.com.cn. Available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2017-09/21/content_32289600.htm [Accessed 12 Aug. 2022].
- Liu, S. (2006). *Substitute Teachers Should Be Respected*. [online] www.chinadaily.com.cn. Available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2006-11/08/content_727352.htm [Accessed 12 Aug. 2022].
- Liu, S. and Teddlie, C. (2009). Case Studies of Educational Effectiveness in Rural China. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR)*, 14(4), pp.334–355. doi:10.1080/10824660903409294.
- Mao, Y. (2022). Exploring Compulsory Education Policy of Rural and Urban Area in China. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*. doi:10.2991/assehr.k.220504.427.
- Ministry of Human Resource Development (2019). *National Education Policy 2019 Draft*. [online] Available at: https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/Draft_NEP_2019_EN_Revised.pdf.
- Moher, D. (2009). Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA Statement. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 151(4), p.264. doi:10.7326/0003-4819-151-4-200908180-00135.
- Muralidharan, K. and Sundararaman, V. (2013). Contract Teachers: Experimental Evidence from India. In: *papers.ssrn.com*. [online] Rochester, NY. Available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2332515> [Accessed 3 Jul. 2022].
- Myung, J., Martinez, K. and Nordstrum, L. (2013). *A Human Capital Framework for a Stronger Teacher Workforce. Advancing Teaching--Improving Learning. White Paper*. [online] ERIC. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Available at: <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED560118> [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].
- Narayan, K. and Mooij, J. (2010). Solutions to Teacher Absenteeism in Rural Government Primary Schools in India: a Comparison of Management Approaches. *The Open Education Journal*, 3(1), pp.63–71. doi:10.2174/1874920801003010063.

- Nkengne, A.P. (2007). *Understanding Recent Trends in Education Policy Making in sub-Saharan Africa: the Case of the Contract Teacher Policy*. [online] citeseerx.ist.psu.edu. Available at:
<https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.679.9752&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
 [Accessed 23 May 2022].
- Nkengne, A.P.N. (2010). What Contexts Are Favorable for the Adoption of the Contract Teacher Policy ? *halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr*, [online] pp.40 p. Available at:
<https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00488908> [Accessed 3 Jul. 2022].
- Normand, R., Liu, M., Luís Miguel Carvalho, Dalila Andrade Oliveira and Levasseur, L. (2018). *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*. Singapore Springer Singapore.
- Pandey, S. (2006). Para-teacher Scheme and Quality Education for All in India: Policy Perspectives and Challenges for School Effectiveness. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 32(3), pp.319–334. doi:10.1080/02607470600782468.
- Peng, H., Qi, L., Wan, G., Li, B. and Hu, B. (2020). Child population, Economic Development and Regional Inequality of Education Resources in China. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 110, p.104819. doi:10.1016/j.chilyouth.2020.104819.
- Porto, M. (2022). Experientially Grounded Praxis of Social Justice Language education: pre-service Teachers of English Engage in Field Work in an Argentine NGO. *Teaching Education*, pp.1–21. doi:10.1080/10476210.2022.2078299.
- Postiglione, G.A. (2002). Ethnic Minority Teacher Education in Guizhou Province. *Chinese Education & Society*, 35(3), pp.87–104. doi:10.2753/ced1061-1932350387.
- Ramachandran, V. (2005). Why School Teachers Are Demotivated and Disheartened. *Economic and Political Weekly*, [online] 40(21), pp.2141–2144. Available at:
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4416666> [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].
- Ramachandran, V., Bhattacharjea, S. and Sheshagiri, K.M. (2008). *Primary School Teachers : the Twists and Turns of Everyday Practice*. [online] publications.azimpremjifoundation.org. Available at:
<http://publications.azimpremjifoundation.org/id/eprint/413> [Accessed 21 Jul. 2022].

Ramachandran, V., Das, D., Nigam, G. and Shandilya, A. (2020). *CONTRACT TEACHERS IN INDIA Recent Trends and Current Status*. [online] Available at: <https://eruindia.org/files/Contract%20Teachers%20in%20India%202020.pdf> [Accessed 3 Jul. 2022].

Raval, H., Mckenney, S. and Pieters, J. (2014). Remedial Teaching in Indian under-resourced communities: Professional Development of para-teachers. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 38, pp.87–93. doi:10.1016/j.ijedudev.2014.02.004.

Robeyns, I. (2006). Three Models of education: rights, Capabilities and Human Capital. *Theory and Research in Education*, 4(1), pp.69–84. doi:10.1177/1477878506060683.

Robinson, B. and Yi, W. (2008). The Role and Status of non-governmental (‘daike’) Teachers in China’s Rural Education. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 28(1), pp.35–54. doi:10.1016/j.ijedudev.2007.02.004.

Robinson, N. and Gauri, V. (2011). *Education, Labor Rights, and Incentives: Contract Teacher Cases in the Indian Courts*. [online] papers.ssrn.com. Available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1908428> [Accessed 21 Jul. 2022].

SAHNI, U. (2015). *Primary Education in India: Progress & Challenges*. [online] [scholar.googleusercontent.com](https://scholar.googleusercontent.com/scholar?q=cache:PgS54KwZcmkJ:scholar.google.com/+primary+school+system+in+India&hl=en&as_sdt=0). Available at: https://scholar.googleusercontent.com/scholar?q=cache:PgS54KwZcmkJ:scholar.google.com/+primary+school+system+in+India&hl=en&as_sdt=0 [Accessed 31 Jul. 2022].

Sargent and Hannum (2005). Keeping Teachers Happy: Job Satisfaction among Primary School Teachers in Rural Northwest China. *Comparative Education Review*, 49(2), p.173. doi:10.2307/3542162.

Senou, B. (2015). Contract Type and Teachers’ Absenteeism: the Role of Teachers’ Extra-Activities Incomes. *American Journal of Educational Science*, [online] 1. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/68086730/Contract_Type_and_Teachers_Absenteeism_The_Role_of_Teachers_Extra_Activities_Incomes [Accessed 3 Jul. 2022].

Sethi, H. and Ramachandran, V. (2003). *Rajasthan Shiksha Karmi Project. an Overall Appraisal - Desk Study Commissioned by Sida, Emassy of Sweden, New Dehli*. [online] Sida. Available at: <https://www.sida.se/publikationer/rajasthan-shiksha-karmi-project-an-overall->

appraisal-desk-study-commissioned-by-sida-emassy-of-sweden-new-dehli [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].

Sharpe, M.E. (1997a). Opinions of the State Education Commission concerning a Number of Issues Related to the Implementation of the Education Law of the People's Republic of China. *Chinese Education & Society*, 30(2), pp.74–77. doi:10.2753/ced1061-1932300274.

Sharpe, M.E. (1997b). Speed up the Solution of the Minban Teacher Problem. *Chinese Education & Society*, 30(2), Mar., pp.53–54. doi:10.2753/ced1061-1932300253.

Smith, W.C. and Joshi, D.K. (2016). Public vs. Private Schooling as a Route to Universal Basic education: a Comparison of China and India. *International Journal of Educational Development*, [online] 46, pp.153–165. doi:10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.11.016.

Snehi, N. (2004). Para Teachers in Elementary Education. *Perspectives in Education*, [online] 20. Available at:
https://www.academia.edu/es/5268603/Para_Teachers_in_Elementary_Education [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].

Snyder, H. (2019). Literature Review as a Research methodology: an Overview and Guidelines. *Journal of Business Research*, [online] 104(104), pp.333–339. doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039.

Sobari, A.M. and Hartini, N. (2020). A Study Related to 'Government Employees with Agreement' Policy in Order to Overcome Problems Faced by the Contract Teachers. *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Research of Educational Administration and Management (ICREAM 2019)*. doi:10.2991/assehr.k.200130.169.

The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (2020). *National Base Situation - Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China*. [online] en.moe.gov.cn. Available at: http://en.moe.gov.cn/documents/statistics/2019/national/index_7.html [Accessed 27 Jun. 2022].

The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (2021). *Announcement of the Ministry of Education on the Public Consultation on the (Draft) Revised Teachers Law of the People's Republic of China (Draft for Comments)*. [online] www.gov.cn. Available at: http://www.gov.cn/hudong/2021-11/29/content_5654845.htm [Accessed 23 Jun. 2022].

The world bank (2021). *World Development Indicators / DataBank*. [online] Worldbank.org. Available at: <https://databank.worldbank.org/reports.aspx?source=world-development-indicators#>.

Tikly, L. and Barrett, A.M. (2011). Social justice, Capabilities and the Quality of Education in Low Income Countries. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31(1), pp.3–14. doi:10.1016/j.ijedudev.2010.06.001.

Tsang, M.C. (1994). Costs of Education in China: Issues of Resource Mobilization, Equality, Equity and Efficiency. *Education Economics*, 2(3), pp.287–312. doi:10.1080/09645299400000028.

UIS-UNESCO (2006). *TEACHERS AND EDUCATIONAL QUALITY: Monitoring Global Needs for 2015*. [online] Available at: http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/teachers-and-educational-quality-monitoring-global-needs-for-2015-en_0.pdf.

UNESCO (2000). *The Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments (including Six Regional Frameworks for action)*. [online] *Unesco.org*. Available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000121147>.

UNESCO (2015). *Education for All 2000-2015 : Achievements and challenges*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific And Cultural Organization.

UNITED NATIONS (2013). *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2013*. [online] Available at: <https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/report-2013/mdg-report-2013-english.pdf>.

Unterhalter, E. (2008). Gender, Schooling and Global Social Justice. *Gender and Education*, 20(5), pp.545–546. doi:10.1080/09540250802321843.

Vegas, E. and Laat, J.D. (2003). *Do Differences in Teacher Contracts Affect Student Performance : Evidence from Togo*. [online] *World Bank*. Available at: <https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/113391468759576945/do-differences-in-teacher-contracts-affect-student-performance-evidence-from-togo> [Accessed 3 Jul. 2022].

Verger, A., Altinyelken H.K. and Mireille De Koning (2013). *Global Managerial Education Reforms and Teachers : Emerging policies, Controversies and Issues in Developing Contexts*. Brussels: Education International.

Vimala, R., Tara, B., Toby, L., Sangeeta, D., Sangeeta, G. and Purna, G.C. (2018). *Getting the Right Teachers into the Right Schools*. [online] Washington, DC: World Bank. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/28618> [Accessed 12 Aug. 2022].

Vinay, K.S. and Chauhan, S.C. (2019). Issues and Challenges in Implementation of Inclusive Education in Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas in Madhya Pradesh State of India: Case Studies. *Parichay: Maharaja Surajmal Institute Journal of Applied Research*, [online] 2(2). Available at: https://msi-ggsip.org/msijr/papers/vol2issue2/2_2_1.pdf [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].

Wang, C. (2002). Minban education: the Planned Elimination of the ‘people-managed’ Teachers in Reforming China. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 22(2), pp.109–129. doi:10.1016/s0738-0593(00)00079-1.

Wang, G. and Zheng, Y. (2012). *China: Development and Governance*. WORLD SCIENTIFIC. doi:10.1142/8606.

Wang, J. (1990). Compulsory Nine Year Education in China: Issues and Prospects. *Journal of Education Finance*, [online] 15(4), pp.487–497. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40703838> [Accessed 31 Dec. 2021].

Wang, J., Tigelaar, D.E.H. and Admiraal, W. (2021). Rural Teachers’ Sharing of Digital Educational resources: from Motivation to Behavior. *Computers & Education*, 161, p.104055. doi:10.1016/j.compedu.2020.104055.

World Bank (2022). *World Bank Country and Lending Groups*. [online] Worldbank.org. Available at: <https://datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/articles/906519-world-bank-country-and-lending-groups>.

Xaba, M.I. (2003). Managing Teacher Turnover. *South African Journal of Education*, [online] 23(4), pp.287–291. doi:10.10520/EJC31961.

- Xuehui, A. (2018). Teacher Salaries and the Shortage of High-Quality Teachers in China's Rural Primary and Secondary Schools. *Chinese Education & Society*, 51(2), pp.103–116. doi:10.1080/10611932.2018.1433411.
- Yang, D., Chai, C., Zhu, Y., Ke, H. and Ebrary, I. (2009). *The China Educational Development Yearbook Volume 1*. Leiden ; Boston: BRILL.
- Yang, R. and Wu, M. (2009). Education for Ethnic Minorities in China: a Policy Critique. *SA-eDUC JOURNAL*, [online] 6(2). Available at: <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Education-for-ethnic-minorities-in-China%3A-a-policy-Yang-Wu/8cb0d84420ba7e2392ae4812d4ca50f8da4d1df4> [Accessed 27 Jul. 2022].
- Ye, W. and Chen, H. (2019). Education Policy Functioning in Rural society: Ethnography of 'minban' Teachers in M County. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 14(3), pp.513–515. doi:10.1007/s11516-019-0025-5.
- Yu, M. (2015). Revisiting Gender and Class in Urban China: Undervalued Work of Migrant Teachers and Their Resistance. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 9(2), pp.124–139. doi:10.1080/15595692.2015.1011781.
- Zhang, T., Wang, W. and Yi, L. (2022). Who Teaches in Rural Schools in Underdeveloped Areas? an Investigation Based on a Survey of 5,554 Teachers from 117 Towns in H Province in Wuling Mountains Zone, China. *Best Evidence in Chinese Education*, 11(1), pp.1429–1448. doi:10.15354/bece.22.or060.
- Zhang, Y. (2022). The Dilemma of China's Education Policy. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*. doi:10.2991/assehr.k.220504.072.
- Zhao, D. and Parolin, B. (2013). Merged or Unmerged School? School Preferences in the Context of School Mapping Restructure in Rural China. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 23(3), pp.547–563. doi:10.1007/s40299-013-0129-2.
- Zhou, M. (2001). The Politics of Bilingual Education and Educational Levels in Ethnic Minority Communities in China. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 4(2), pp.125–149. doi:10.1080/13670050108667723.