# The Misallocation of Pay and Productivity in the Public Sector: Evidence From the Labor Market for Teachers 

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## How much should teachers be paid?

- How to recruit and reward teachers is key for educational policy
- Teacher quality is consistently important for child learning and later life outcomes across studies.
- Teacher salaries account for $>80 \%$ of education budgets in most LMIC.
- Many policy makers argue that low salaries are the problem in recruitment.
- Auguste et al. (2010): "Money was the most powerful lever in attracting and retaining top-third students."
- Evidence from LMIC sparse because
- Lack of teacher-student matched data.
- Small schools: mean third grade size is 17 students in rural Pakistan.


## This Paper

- Use data we collected over 4 years in rural Pakistan to
- Estimate the importance of teachers for child learning.
- Estimate TVA for both public and private schools and argue for its validity in this context.
- Examine correlates of TVA.
- Combine with policy experiment that suddenly shifted all hiring to lower-paid ( $35 \%$ lower) contract teachers to examine link between wages and TVA.
- Slope: Correlation of wages and TVA in public and private schools.
- Intercept: Did lower wages reduce TVA for immediate hires, as well as those hired after 4 years?


## Relationship with the Literature

- TVA Estimation in the U.S. (Rockoff, 2004; Chetty et al., 2014; Kane and Staiger, 2008; Hanushek and Rivkin, 2012; Araujo et al., 2016)
- Same methods with some variations and a novel test for validity that could have wide applicability in LMIC.
- First set of results for private school teachers.
- Teachers wages in LMIC
- Contract teacher experiments in LMIC with NGOs report higher learning at lower wages (Duflo et al., 2014;
Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2013).
- Extend the validity of these findings to a large-scale policy change.
- First RCT of doubling current teachers' wages in Indonesia find no effects on student learning (De Ree et al., 2015).
- We study the extensive margin instead of the intensive margin.
- Public-private wage differences in OECD
- Uses worker fixed-effects to identify wage premia ranging from 5-10\%.
- In LMIC contexts, this may be as high as 300-500\%.


## Teacher Salaries in 2004



## Outline

(1) Data
(2) TVA Results
(3) Regime Change Results
( ( Conclude

## LEAPS Data

Two key surveys in 112 villages of Punjab Province, Pakistan, each conducted every year from 2004-2007:

- Geo-coded survey of the universe of schools.
- 574 public schools (1,533 teachers) and 345 private schools ( 975 teachers) in 112 villages.
- Data on school and teacher characteristics.
- Data on teacher test scores.
- Surveys of 3rd-6th grade children in the schools, including low-stakes test scores in math, Urdu, and English.
- 22,857 children in public schools.
- 9,741 children in private schools.


## Test Scores

- Tests were administered by our team in each year in English, mathematics, and Urdu.
- Supervised by team with clear instructions not to interfere.
- Test booklets retrieved after class (no missing test material).
- Tests were "low-stakes": teachers and students had no incentive to cheat.
- Use item response theory to grade tests.
- "Weights" different items according to difficulty.
- Item response theory allows us to equate tests over years using "linking items."
- A subset of teachers were also tested.


## Outline

(1) Data
(2) TVA Results
(3) Regime Change Results
(c) Conclude

## TVA Empirical Strategy

Child learning $=$ past learning + classroom quality + year shock + grade shock + idiosyncratic student shock

- To back out classroom quality, estimate the effect of belonging to a classroom on test scores, controlling for
- Past test scores.
- Year fixed effects.
- Grade fixed effects.
- classroom quality combines the effect of time invariant teacher quality and the effects of classroom components (e.g. peers).
- To get the effect of belonging to a 1 sd better classroom, estimate the variance of classroom quality.
- To get the effect of having a 1 sd better teacher, estimate the covariance between classroom qualities for the same teacher over time.


## TVA Empirical Strategy

- Using the same framework, estimate teacher quality (TVA).
- Intuitively, portion of the classroom quality that does not change over time.


## Variance of Teacher and Classroom Effects

- Classroom effect: the effect of being in a 1 sd better classroom on test scores.
- Teacher effect: the effect of having a 1 sd better teacher on test scores.
- Following Araujo et al. (2016), estimate classroom and teacher effects.
- Some statistical innovations to account for the fact only 1 teacher is observed in a school-year.

|  | Math |  | English |  | Urdu |  | Average |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Class | Teacher | Class | Teacher | Class | Teacher | Class | Teacher |
| Full Sample | 0.321 | 0.258 | 0.300 | 0.190 | 0.312 | 0.184 | 0.311 | 0.211 |
| Public Schools Only | 0.356 | 0.199 | 0.337 | 0.134 | 0.351 | 0.152 | 0.348 | 0.162 |

## Comparisons to the Literature

|  | Math | Vernacular |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Punjab (Public Only) | 0.20 | 0.15 |
| Los Angeles (Staiger and Rockoff, 2010) | 0.19 | 0.14 |
| New York (Staiger and Rockoff, 2010) | 0.15 | 0.12 |
| Large Urban School District (Chetty et al., 2014) | 0.13 | 0.10 |
| Ecuador (Araujo et al., 2016) | 0.09 | 0.09 |

- Higher end of still substantial variance in teacher quality in the U.S.


## Association Between Observable Characteristics and Teacher Quality

- First, estimate a single measure of teacher productivity (TVAs), equivalent to teacher "fixed effects."
- Then, estimate the association between TVA and teacher characteristics.
- To estimate the effect of experience, use panel data to estimate the within teacher effect of a year of experience.


## Association Between Teacher Characteristics and TVA

For both private and public school teachers,

- Education and teacher training are not associated with teacher productivity.
- Besides experience, only content knowledge has a strong association
- Unadjusted for measurement error: 1 sd higher mean teacher scores $\rightarrow 0.090^{* * *}(0.038)$ higher TVA.
- Adjusted for measurement error: 1 sd higher mean teacher scores $\rightarrow 0.298^{* * *}(0.072)$ higher TVA.
- Consistent with findings of Bold et al. (2017) in Africa.


## Effect of Years of Experience (Relative to 5+ Years)



Note: Associations for private school teachers are similar.

## TVA Robustness

- Results rely on the assumption that lagged student test scores capture selection of students to teachers.
- We can test this:
- When a student switches schools, does a student's future teacher's TVA predict his present teacher's TVA (Rothstein, 2010)?
- No: Coefficient on mean TVA is 0.002 (0.046).
- Are TVA estimates predictive of actual student gains when students switch schools (Chetty et al., 2014)?
- Yes: Coefficient on mean TVA is $0.852^{* * *}(0.078)$.


## What do we know?

|  | Pakistan | US | Ecuador* | Uganda** |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Teachers are important | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Teachers are heterogeneous | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Characteristics explain little of TVA | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Early experience matters | Y | Y | Y | N.A. |
| Content knowledge matters | Y | No Evidence | No Evidence | N.A. |

*Araujo et al. (2016)
**Buhl-Wiggers et al. (2017)

## Association Between TVA and Teacher Salaries



Note: TVA is measured in student test score sd.

## Outline

(1) Data
(2) TVA Robustness \& Robustness
(3) Regime Change Results
(a) Conclude

## Does Teacher Quality Respond to Salaries?

- Our TVA results suggest that there is little link between teacher salaries and teacher quality.
- Raises an important policy question: How would lowering teacher salaries affect the quality of teachers?
- A regime change following Pakistan's unexpected nuclear tests in 1998 allows us to look at the joint effect of a salary decrease combined with greater accountability.
- Compare teachers right hired right before and after the shock to capture the effect of being hired on a temporary contact.
- Complements work by De Ree et al. (2015) on teacher salaries in Indonesia.
- De Ree et al. (2015) studies effect of doubling salaries on the intensive margin.
- This paper studies effect of lowering salaries on the extensive margin.


## Effect of the Nuclear Test on Dollar Deposits in Pakistan



## Contract Teacher Program (Cyan, 2009)

- The government moved dramatically from hiring almost all teachers on permanent contracts to hiring almost all teachers on temporary contracts.
- Teachers received 3-5 year contracts.
- Renewal was officially based on performance evaluation (in surveys, 45 percent of teachers agreed).
- No formal process for regularizing contract teachers.
- 71 percent of teachers said job did not offer them an opportunity for "professional growth."
- 95 percent reported working on a temporary contract for more than 3 years.
- Hiring freeze from 1998 to 2001.


## Effect of the Regime Change on Teacher Contracts



## Effect on Teacher Characteristics



## Teacher Characteristics Estimates

|  | $(1)$ | $(2)$ | $(3)$ | $(4)$ | $(5)$ | $(6)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | OLS | SE | RD $(3$ Year $)$ | SE | RD $(4)$ Year $)$ | SE |
| Log(Salary) | $-0.284^{* * *}$ | 0.062 | $-0.554^{*}$ | 0.273 | $-0.444^{* *}$ | 0.205 |
| Bachelor's | $0.318^{* * *}$ | 0.032 | 0.003 | 0.186 | 0.109 | 0.140 |
| Some Training | 0.003 | 0.031 | 0.013 | 0.120 | 0.010 | 0.096 |
| Local | -0.017 | 0.037 | -0.006 | 0.178 | -0.066 | 0.134 |
| Age Started | $0.072^{* * *}$ | 0.024 | 1.193 | 1.550 | 0.943 | 1.116 |
| Single | $0.148^{* * *}$ | 0.032 | -0.006 | 0.176 | 0.053 | 0.136 |
| Female | -0.005 | 0.044 | 0.288 | 0.254 | 0.273 | 0.190 |
| Mean Teacher English Score | $0.326^{* * *}$ | 0.080 | $0.570^{* *}$ | 0.231 | 0.319 | 0.248 |
| Mean Teacher Urdu Score | 0.076 | 0.067 | 0.429 | 0.342 | 0.217 | 0.336 |
| Mean Teacher Math Score | -0.013 | 0.080 | 0.604 | 0.427 | -0.502 | 0.375 |

## Effect on TVA




## Effect on TVA

|  | (1) <br> Mean <br> TVA | $(2)$ <br> SE | (3) <br> One-Sided <br> T-test | (4) <br> N | (5) <br> Within School <br> Mean TVA | (6) <br> SE | (7) <br> One-Sided <br> T-test | $(8)$ <br> N |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| OLS (Full Sample) | -0.004 | 0.042 | 0.541 | 1,337 | 0.024 | 0.026 | 0.181 | 1,278 |
| RD (Full Sample) | -0.004 | 0.052 | 0.533 | 1,337 | 0.056 | 0.041 | 0.088 | 1,278 |
| RD (2 Year) | 0.840 | 0.550 | 0.068 | 227 | 0.360 | 0.322 | 0.137 | 201 |
| RD (3 Year) | 0.219 | 0.241 | 0.184 | 376 | $0.254^{* *}$ | 0.123 | 0.022 | 336 |
| RD (4 Year) | 0.350 | 0.234 | 0.070 | 393 | $0.193^{*}$ | 0.097 | 0.026 | 350 |
| RD (5 Year) | -0.074 | 0.120 | 0.732 | 661 | 0.035 | 0.057 | 0.268 | 604 |
| RD (6 Year) | -0.026 | 0.106 | 0.598 | 690 | 0.040 | 0.053 | 0.225 | 631 |
| RD (7 Year) | -0.036 | 0.106 | 0.632 | 692 | 0.035 | 0.052 | 0.250 | 632 |

## Is the Quality of Contract Teachers Declining Over Time?

- The policy change may affect the quality of the teaching pool with a lag.
- Therefore, we also want to see if the quality of incoming contract teachers is declining.
- Identification problem: Observe newer contract teachers with less experience.
- Solution: Differences-in-differences where we compare inexperienced contract teachers hired later and earlier to permanent teachers.
- Result: No evidence quality is decreasing over time.
- Coefficient: -0.007 (0.024).


## Outline

(1) Data
(2) TVA Results
(3) Regime Change Results
(9) Conclude

## Conclusion

- Teacher quality is important in low-income countries.
- As in the United States, besides experience, most observable teacher characteristics do not predict quality.
- Exception: content knowledge.
- Teacher salaries are not related to teacher quality in the public sector (but are in the private sector).
- Students of teachers hired on $35 \%$ lower salaries perform as well or better than students of permanent teachers.


## LEAPS Testing Structure

|  | $\stackrel{\text { (1) }}{\text { Number of Teachers }}$ | (2) <br> Number of Students | (3) <br> Teachers in Schools With > 1 Teacher With Tested Students | (4) <br> Students in Schools With > 1 Teachers With Tested Students |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Public, Rd 1 | 486 | 8,340 | 4 | 131 |
| Private, Rd 1 | 303 | 3,617 | 0 | 0 |
| Public, Rd 2 | 593 | 9,327 | 214 | 3,290 |
| Private, Rd 2 | 336 | 3,340 | 97 | 846 |
| Public, Rd 3 | 1007 | 16,946 | 884 | 15,320 |
| Private, Rd 3 | 579 | 6,777 | 524 | 6,247 |
| Public, Rd 4 | 1103 | 15,357 | 812 | 12,610 |
| Private, Rd 4 | 599 | 5,911 | 478 | 5,020 |

## Public School Students Used in TVA Estimation

|  | Rounds <br> Student-Years |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Grade | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| 3 | 347 | 34 | 364 |
| 4 | 6,676 | 1,135 | 6,449 |
| 5 | 6 | 6,373 | 865 |
| 6 | 0 | 5 | 4,653 |
| 7 | 0 | 0 | 8 |

## Learning Over Time



## What Does a Test Score Mean?

|  | Year 1 <br> Prop correct | Year 2 <br> Prop correct | Year 3 <br> Prop correct | Year 4 <br> Prop correct |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total kids | 6,038 | 6,038 | 6.038 | 6,038 |
| English |  |  |  |  |
| Eng 12: Match picture with word, Banana | 0.631 | 0.75 | 0.834 | 0.873 |
| Eng 18: Fill missing letter for picture, Cat | 0.68 | 0.743 | 0.817 | 0.853 |
| Eng 19: Fill missing letter for picture, Flag | 0.287 | 0.299 | 0.478 | 0.554 |
| Eng 30: Fill missing word in sentence | 0.276 | 0.332 | 0.441 | 0.535 |
| Eng 43: Construct sentence with word 'deep' | 0.01 | 0.014 | 0.037 | 0.108 |
| Eng 44: Construct sentence with word 'play' | 0.024 | 0.027 | 0.113 | 0.218 |
|  | 0.318 | 0.361 | 0.453 | 0.524 |
| Math |  |  |  |  |
| Math 1: Count number of moons, write number | 0.622 | 0.687 | 0.797 | 0.749 |
| Math 9: Add 3+4 4 | 0.903 | 0.91 | 0.951 | 0.94 |
| Math 12: Multiply 4 $\times 5$ | 0.603 | 0.641 | 0.759 | 0.811 |
| Math 24: Add 36 + 61 | 0.855 | 0.878 | 0.922 | 0.93 |
| Math 25: Add $678+923$ | 0.561 | 0.595 | 0.712 | 0.745 |
| Math 27: Subtract 98 -55 | 0.698 | 0.756 | 0.826 | 0.856 |
| Math 30: Multiply 32 $\times 4$ | 0.522 | 0.569 | 0.703 | 0.756 |
| Math 32: Divide 384 / 6 | 0.193 | 0.245 | 0.456 | 0.541 |
| Math 34: Cost of necklace, simple algebra | 0.092 | 0.148 | 0.257 | 0.278 |
| Math 39: Convert $7 / 3$ into mixed fractions | 0.014 | 0.046 | 0.07 | 0.145 |
|  | 0.5063 | 0.5475 | 0.6453 | 0.6751 |
| Urdu |  |  |  |  |
| Urdu 3: Match picture with word, Book | 0.739 | 0.822 | 0.916 | 0.946 |
| Urdu 4: Match picture with word, Banana | 0.736 | 0.824 | 0.906 | 0.945 |
| Urdu 5: Match picture with word, House | 0.538 | 0.601 | 0.679 | 0.755 |
| Urdu 10: Combine letters into word | 0.737 | 0.792 | 0.861 | 0.897 |
| Urdu 12: Combine letters into word | 0.372 | 0.45 | 0.537 | 0.627 |
| Urdu 19: Antonyms, Chouta | 0.44 | 0.502 | 0.688 | 0.792 |
| Urdu 20: Antonyms, Khushk | 0.368 | 0.493 | 0.623 | 0.693 |
| Urdu 36: Complete passage for grammar | 0.293 | 0.391 | 0.563 | 0.678 |

## Teacher Knowledge



## Alternative Methods I: Empirical Bayes (Chetty et al., 2004; Kane and Staiger, 2008)

- Multiply noisy estimate of TVA (such as TVA generated by our method) by an estimate of its reliability.
- Estimate reliability as ratio of signal (TVA) variance to signal plus noise (student and year variance).
- Within classroom variance gives student variance.
- Covariance between average residual in teacher's class in $t$ and $t-1$ gives teacher variance.
- Variance of classroom component is the remainder of the residual's variance.


## Alternative Methods I: Empirical Bayes (Chetty et al., 2004; Kane and Staiger, 2008)

Problems:

- Estimating teacher variance this way requires that a teacher's quality is time-invariant or stationary.
- To satisfy this assumption, we must include experience fixed effects.
- We cannot control for experience without subsuming the contract effect.
- Instead, teacher fixed effects capture mean teacher quality over the surveyed period, including mean experience effects.


## Alternative Methods II: Child Fixed Effects (Rockoff, 2004)

- Method:
- Include child fixed effects in the TVA estimating equation to further control for selection.
- Problem:
- Relies on children switching teachers.
- In Pakistan, teachers teach multiple grades, so this reduces the effective sample by 54 percent.
- Mis-entered teacher ids may dominant the new sample, biasing estimates.


## Alternative Methods II: Child Fixed Effects (Rockoff, 2004)

For example, assume:

- Students are identical and TVA is randomly distributed.
- A student has a probability $p=0.1$ of changing teachers each year.
- An ID has a probability $e=0.01$ of being incorrectly entered.

Then, there are three cases where a change appears to take place:

- Id was incorrectly entered and no change occurs: probability $=0.01 \times 0.9=0.009$
- Id is correctly entered and a change happens: probability $=$ $0.99 \times 0.1=.099$
- Id is incorrectly entered and a change occured: probability $=$ $0.1 \times 0.01=0.001$
So, the probability a teacher id is mis-attributed in the effective sample is $\frac{0.01}{(0.009+0.099+0.001)}=0.09$


## Alternative Methods II: Child Fixed Effects (Rockoff, 2004)

More generally, assume:

- Students are identical and TVA is randomly distributed.
- A student has a probability $p$ of changing teachers each year.
- An ID has a probability e of being incorrectly entered.

Then,

$$
\begin{aligned}
E\left(\widehat{T V A}_{j}\right) & =\frac{p}{e(1-p)+p(1-e)+e p} T V A_{j} \\
& +\frac{e}{e(1-p)+p(1-e)+e p} \overline{T V A_{j}} .
\end{aligned}
$$

## Graphical Results



## Sampling Error

$$
E(\Phi)=E\left(\frac{\sigma^{2}}{\sum_{k t} N_{k t} \mathbf{1}_{k \neq j}}\right)
$$

- $\phi$ is bias in the estimated covariance.
- $N_{k t}$ is the number of students in the class of teacher $k$ in year $t$
- $\sigma^{2}$ is the variance of idiosyncratic shocks at the student-level.

