Teacher professional norms in the Global South: Intersections between selves, situations, standards, and society

Yue-Yi Hwa
RISE Programme / University of Oxford
RISE Annual Conference, 23 June 2022
Motivation for this asynchronous symposium: teacher norms often override policy instruments (even if these norms are informal/tacit)

In most cases, teachers knew about the program [and] could summarize its core objectives …

They do not, however, see it as leading up to action related to greater accountability or better pedagogy. Rather, they primarily recall the program as a source of paperwork (and logistics associated with uploading reports). …

Whereas the intervention was premised on CRCs playing a role of monitoring, accountability and coaching for schools, in practice they are seen mainly as conduits for communication, especially of paperwork, from schools to the bureaucracy.


Source: Muralidharan & Singh (2020).
Interlocutors in the paired interviews in this asynchronous symposium

- Verónica Cabezas, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile/Elige Educar
- Jessica Holloway, Australian Catholic University
- Joan DeJaeghere, University of Minnesota
- Shwetlena Sabarwal, World Bank
- Dan Honig, University College London
- Sharath Jeevan, STiR Education/Intrinsic Labs
- Margarita Gómez, University of Oxford
- Wendy Kopp, Teach For All
- Lucy Crehan, author of Cleverlands
- Katlego Sengadi, Youth Impact
- Belay Hagos Hailu, Addis Ababa University
- Shintia Revina, SMERU Research Institute
- Yamini Aiyar, Centre for Policy Research
- Soufia Anis Siddiqi, LUMS
- Masooda Bano, Oxford University
- Ying-yi Hong, Chinese University of Hong Kong
- Melanie Ehren, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
- Michael Woolcock, Harvard University/World Bank
- David K. Evans, Center for Global Development
- Maria Teresa Tatro, Arizona State University
- Kwame Akyeampong, Open University
- Luis Crouch, RTI International
- Juliet Wajega, Hivos (formerly at Uganda National Teacher’s Union)
- Barbara Tournier, IIEP-Unesco
- Alice Cornish, Better Purpose
- Mike Hobbiss, University College London/secondary school teacher
- Laura Savage, IEFG
- Carlos Vargas Tamez, UNESCO
1. Recruit interlocutors and refine interview pairings

2. Conduct interviews

3. Edit interview transcripts
   - Transcribe using Otter.ai
   - Edit transcripts to read as conversational written text; add references and cross-references
   - Share with interlocutors for their revisions
   - Copyedit for consistency

4. Commission discussant-style essays
   - Identify, recruit, and contract authors
   - Share recordings and draft transcripts
   - Review initial drafts

5. Conduct analysis
   - First round of inductive coding
     // initial coding in grounded theory
   - Development of conceptual framework
   - Second round of coding in line with framework
     // theoretical coding
   - Reviewing the literature for empirical examples that can clarify, saturate, disconfirm
     // theoretical sampling

6. Prepare publications
   - Academic paper
   - Edited volume:
     - introductory synthesis chapter
     - interview transcripts
     - discussant essays (Barbara Bruns, Vu Dao & Khoa Vu, Sameer Sampat)
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Defining teacher norms

(Bicchieri, 2017, on norms; Weick, 1995, on sensemaking; Buehl & Beck, 2015, on teacher beliefs & teacher practice; Maxwell, 2012, on symbolic/mental vs physical phenomena)
Defining teacher norms

Beliefs & Perceptions

Individual perceptions and beliefs, including those relating to:
- selves
- situations
- standards

Collectively contribute to

Influence

Choices & Actions

Individual choices, (both intentional or automatic) about practices and priorities

Collectively contribute to

Filter perceptions of

Influence

Observed practices, expressed priorities, and their visible results

Norms = dominant beliefs about what most teachers will practice and prioritise

Influence

All of these interactions take place within, and are influenced by, the broader context of society as well as material circumstances.

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Conceptual framework …
Conceptual framework … and how norms fit in

**Working definition:**
Teacher norms are dominant beliefs among teachers about what most teachers will practise and prioritise in a given context.

*Note:* norms can relate to what is done (blue, pink, green) or what is not done (grey)

**Working hypothesis:**
Norms are most likely to emerge at the intersections of what most teachers value (selves) and formal/informal expectations of employers (standards) and/or what is possible in their schools and classrooms (situations).
Conceptual framework … and how norms fit in

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Broader influences:
What kind of environments do teachers work in? What is the support structure for teachers? Where do they live and how do they get to school? These may look trivial, but they are very important if you want to improve quality.

I've been with teachers who walk about an hour and a half to get to school. And of course, when they get there, they are tired, which can affect their performance. And in many cases, that's also the reason why they don't attend regularly.

—Kwame Akyeampong

Working hypothesis:
Norms are most likely to emerge at the intersections of what most teachers value (selves) and formal/informal expectations of employers (standards) and/or what is possible in their schools and classrooms (situations).
One framework I drew on: Saadi Lahlou’s (2018) installation theory

“Installations consist of a set of components that simultaneously support and socially control individual behaviour. The components are distributed over the physical space (affordances), the subject (embodied competences) and the social space (institutions, enacted and enforced by other subjects).”

—Lahlou, 2018, p. 428

Example: boarding a plane at an airport

(Other key theoretical references include: Lipsky, 1980, on street-level bureaucrats; Bronfenbrenner, 1979, on embeddedness in ecological systems; Bicchieri, 2017, on social norms; March & Olsen, 2008. on logic of appropriateness; Hobbiss, Sims, & Allen, 2021, on habit formation and teacher effectiveness)
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Example 1: teacher identities and performance evaluation reports in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan (Soufia Siddiqui)
“Initially, I started the project with a question around two-way identity, which was that these teachers are both teachers and bureaucrats. But then, as I went deeper into the fieldwork, I realised that they’re carrying at least three sources of identity at any given time.”
Example 1: teacher identities and performance evaluation reports in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan (Soufia Siddiqui)

“For the female teachers, it’s about being somebody’s mother, or daughter, or sister, … this was a nicer place to be compared to the alternative of being stuck at home.

“Contrastingly, for the men, … this is a makeshift arrangement, and that, ‘This is where we are until we find a better job’…”
“KP within Pakistan is predominantly Muslim. ... Also, KP is predominantly Pakhtun. So there are certain cultural sentiments and drivers of teacher norms, which are very homogenous ... And one of them is the association of teaching with the life of the Prophet Muhammad, and this idea that he was a teacher, he was a reformer, he was a thinker, and he was a progressive.”
“... this multiple split of who you are and what you’re supposed to be doing during the day is constantly determining how much time is ultimately dedicated to a coherent learning process.
“And then the particulars that count for evaluation metrics are, for example, number one: “Judgement and sense of proportion”. And there’s no rubric to explain what in the world that means. … And for the responses, … there’s just a short line. You’re supposed to capture all these really complex and difficult ways of being into a line.”

Example 1: teacher identities and performance evaluation reports in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan (Soufia Siddiqui)
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“I asked them to explain to me, ‘How would you fill this out?’ They said, ‘We wouldn’t. We would just write, “Good,” “Good,” “Good,” “Good.”’ Who has time to unpack what any of this means or whether they’re doing it in the classroom?”
Example 2: a novice teacher in Botswana (Katlego Sengadi)

“As a young teacher, … you’re thinking, ‘Okay, I’m going to be innovating. Classes are so boring these days, and I want my class to be fun. …

“And I really want to target all those that are struggling and those that are not struggling, and see how I can best balance those needs.’”
Example 2: a novice teacher in Botswana (Katlego Sengadi)

“Unfortunately, when I got to the school, I had so many classes and so many students to deal with that I literally didn’t even know how best I could innovate.”

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“And I noticed that everyone was just pushing to get the curriculum going, and no one was thinking about innovations. …

“We have end-of-month tests that happen in each and every school every month—and so every month, you have a target that you need to get to.”
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“Even the way the timetable is set up, it becomes a challenge for you to even say, ‘Today, I mainly want to focus on numeracy; I want to focus on literacy.’”
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“... you need to reach just the minimal bar—‘This is what I need to get my students through’—and that’s it.”

1. “As a young teacher, … you’re thinking, ‘Okay, I’m going to be innovating. Classes are so boring these days, and I want my class to be fun. … And I really want to target all those that are struggling and those that are not struggling, and see how I can best balance those needs.’”

2. “Unfortunately, when I got to the school, I had so many classes and so many students to deal with that I literally didn’t even know how best I could innovate.”

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4. “It was just like, ‘You need to get this curriculum going, you need to finish these topics by the set time.’”

5. “Whether your students are progressing quickly or slowly, whether or not they are grasping the concept, it really doesn’t matter.”

6. “Even the way the timetable is set up, it becomes a challenge for you to even say, ‘Today, I mainly want to focus on numeracy; I want to focus on literacy.’”

7. “… you need to reach just the minimal bar—‘This is what I need to get my students through’—and that’s it.”
Example 2: a novice teacher in Botswana (Katlego Sengadi)

“But in Botswana, the sad situation is that now teachers don’t drop out. ... they can’t quit due to lack of employment, et cetera, et cetera.”

Note: similar experiences described by other interlocutors
Example 2: a novice teacher in Botswana (Katlego Sengadi)

“Most [teachers] actually got into the profession not because they’re passionate about it, but because of a lack of other jobs.”

SOCIETY

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STANDARDS

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SELVES

1. “As a young teacher, … you’re thinking, ‘Okay, I’m going to be innovating. Classes are so boring these days, and I want my class to be fun. … And I really want to target all those that are struggling and those that are not struggling, and see how I can best balance those needs.'”

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8. “Even the way the timetable is set up, it becomes a challenge for you to even say, ‘Today, I mainly want to focus on numeracy; I want to focus on literacy.’”

SITUATIONS

9. “Most [teachers] actually got into the profession not because they’re passionate about it, but because of a lack of other jobs.”
“They become so unmotivated to do anything that they just go to class, do the minimum that is expected of them, and go home.”

Note: similar experiences described by other interlocutors
“In a nutshell, installations, because of their redundant threefold structure, have enough resilience and regulatory power to channel ‘appropriate’ behaviour even in novice or reluctant subjects. As a consequence, novices learn by doing: subjects are socialized into cultural skills by being channelled into experiencing appropriate practice, within local installations. …”
Conceptual framework … and how norms fit in

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**Working hypothesis:**
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Testing the hypothesis (i): the second round of coding (in the spirit of grounded theory’s theoretical coding)

Transcripts were analysed using a coding scheme with categories including:

**Norms-content**
- e.g.
  - practices-collaboration, mentoring, collegiality
  - priorities-compliance

**Factors-content**
- e.g.
  - environment-children’s needs
  - narratives-definitions of teacher quality

**Norms-dominance**
- e.g.
  - practices-likely to be done superficially
  - priorities-held by most or all

**Factors-domains**
- e.g.
  - selves-personal satisfaction
  - standards-informal
Testing the hypothesis (i): observations from the second round of coding for norms in the ‘very likely to be done’ category

Interlocutors’ descriptions of factors influencing norms that are practices-likely to be done

- all involve standards
- all involve either situations or society or both

SOCIETY
Broader influences

STANDARDS
“What those in charge expect”

likely to be “completed” for appearances’ sake

very likely to be done

feasible but unlikely because not prioritised

outside of endorsed standards but likely

SITUATIONS
“What can be done”

SELVES
“What I value”

Related Norms-content codes:
- curricular completion, exam prep
- reporting, assessment, data collection
- instructional routines
- long hours, financial contributions
- community duties
- collaboration, mentoring, collegiality
- responsiveness, reflection
- not otherwise classified
Testing the hypothesis (ii): Searching the literature for empirical examples that can clarify, saturate, disconfirm (in the spirit of theoretical sampling)

Scopus search:
- 'teacher' (title), 'ethnograph*' (title/abstract/keywords),
- LMICs (author affiliation), English (publication language)

179 papers

Reading abstracts:
- initial exclusions based on topic and method; removing duplicates; etc

49 papers

Initial reading of the papers:
- further exclusion of papers that do not discuss perceived dominant practices and priorities (i.e., norms)

31 papers

Final reading of the papers:
- analysis of types of norms and the factors supporting those norms

11 papers
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
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<td>commuting between the rural school on weekdays and urban home on weekends, with grandparents providing childcare during the week</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandran (2020)</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>extensive administrative paperwork, including new documentation required under a child-centred assessment reform</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu &amp; Wang (2020)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>classroom lessons that prepare students with the formal linguistic knowledge tested in exams</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ávila-Meléndez et al. (2022)</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>partial adoption of recommended pedagogical innovations</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boer &amp; Asino (2022)</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>creating printed learning materials for parents to collect during COVID-19 school closures; communicating with parents via WhatsApp</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Testing the hypothesis (ii): practices/priorities seen as likely to be done superficially are supported by selves & standards but not situations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th><strong>Likely to be done superficially</strong></th>
<th>Selves</th>
<th>Situations</th>
<th>Standards</th>
<th>Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yan &amp; He (2012)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>participatory listening and speaking activities <em>(when conducted, these activities tended to follow assessment formats and/or to involve little active input from students)</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liao (2019)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>maintaining a long-term commitment to teaching in impoverished rural regions <em>(many teachers commit for long enough to gain tenure, then seek transfers or apply to graduate school)</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandran (2020)</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>meeting students’ academic and socioemotional needs <em>(teachers wanted to do this but felt they had no time to do so adequately)</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boer &amp; Asino (2022)</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>creating Google/Edmodo learning materials <em>(a few teachers did this initially, but stopped because most students couldn’t access the materials)</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Testing the hypothesis (ii): practices/priorities seen as outside of endorsed standards but likely to be done are supported by selves & situations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th><strong>Outside of endorsed standards but likely</strong></th>
<th>Selves</th>
<th>Situations</th>
<th>Standards</th>
<th>Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cliggett &amp; Wyssmann (2009)</td>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>other income diversification strategies such as moonlighting as tutors, selling printed references on coursework not covered in class, informal retail trade or service provision; teacher strikes</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yan &amp; He (2012)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>extra lessons during evenings and holidays</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ávila-Meléndez et al. (2022)</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>union-led action against education reform, including refusal to participate in teacher evaluation</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Testing the hypothesis (ii): practices/priorities seen as **feasible but unlikely** are supported by situations & standards but not selves.

- **SOCIETY**: Broader influences
- **STANDARDS**: "What those in charge expect"
- **SELVES**: "What I value"
- **SITUATIONS**: "What can be done"

**Feasible but unlikely**
- Outside of endorsed standards but likely
- Very likely to be done
- Likely to be "completed" for appearances' sake
- Feasible but unlikely because not prioritised
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Feasible but unlikely <em>(i.e., the norm is that these practices are not dominant)</em></th>
<th>Selves</th>
<th>Situations</th>
<th>Standards</th>
<th>Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yan &amp; He (2012)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>paying attention to students who are less academically prepared/academically inclined <em>(instead, teachers typically neglected these students unless they disrupted lessons oriented toward their more exam-ready classmates)</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>(✓)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oswald (2014)</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td><em>for positive deviants</em>: taking on informal leadership positions to try to drive schoolwide change</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang et al. (2018)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>caring, equal interpersonal relationships between colleagues <em>(interactions tend to be cordial but shallow, partly because of department head’s leadership style)</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu &amp; Wang (2020)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>classroom lessons that equip students with practical communicative English language skills <em>(done in demonstration classes, but not in regular classes)</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boer &amp; Asino (2022)</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>marking the homework that students submitted <em>(some teachers feared COVID infection via submitted worksheets)</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Testing the hypothesis (ii): possible modification to the category of practices/priorities seen as **feasible but unlikely**
Testing the hypothesis (ii): possible (tautological?) modification to the category of practices/priorities seen as **feasible but unlikely**
Open question #1: Besides the degree of overlap/support/alignment/redundancy/etc, does the degree of **clarity** also affect the dominance of norms?

Theoretical arguments for the importance of clarity include:

**Public policy:**
March & Olsen (2008) on the logic of appropriateness vs. the logic of consequentiality

“A more promising route may be to differentiate logics of action in terms of their prescriptive clarity and hypothesize that a clear logic will dominate a less clear logic.” (p. 703)

**Economics:**
Gibbons & Henderson (2012) on relational contracts

“… effective relational contracts must solve the twin problems of credibility and clarity … clarity may take time to develop and may interact with credibility in complex ways so that relational contracts may often be difficult to build.” (p. 1350)

**Management/Psychology:**
Vroom (1964) on valence, expectancy, and instrumentality in motivation

“… it seems clear that [an individual’s] behavior is affected not only by his preference between these outcomes but also by the degree to which he believes these outcomes to be probable.” (p. 17)
Open question #2: Is this the right way to conceptualise broader societal influences?
Open question #2: Is this the right way to conceptualise broader societal influences?

… in a lot of Islamiyya schools in the Nigerian context, which aren’t just Islamic schools but do modern education as well, **you can mobilise a lot of volunteer teachers through religious norms**. And they work very seriously and do very good work.

I’m not trying to undermine financial incentives, but all I’m saying is that the **balance of the two can enhance your ability to mobilise many more teachers in these countries**. But the state and donors just don’t have any idea how to do it.

—Masooda Bano
Takeaway #1: Complementarity between bird’s eye view (left) and a teacher’s perspective (right) in systems thinking for education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal-agent relationships</th>
<th>Five features of each relationship of accountability (Principal [P] to Agent [A])</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Politics: Citizens and the highest executive, legislative, and fiduciary authorities of the state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compact: Highest executive, legislative, and fiduciary authorities of the State to education authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Management: Education authorities and frontline providers (schools, school leaders, and teachers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voice &amp; Choice: Service recipients (parents/children) and providers of service (schools, school leaders, teachers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Delegation: What the principal wants the agent to do.

Finance: The resources the principal has allocated to the agent to achieve assigned task.

Information: How the principal assesses the agent’s performance

Support: Preparation and assistance that the principal provides to the agent to complete the task.

Motivation: How the principal motivates the agent, including the ways in which agent’s welfare is contingent on their performance against objectives.

Performance of agent is the endogenous, or organic, outcome of the interactions between the actors in the system. The interaction between the actors in the system are characterised by the design elements of the relationships.

Systems deliver learning when strong relationships of accountability align across design elements around learning objectives.

Source: Table 5 in Spivack (2021), adapted from Pritchett (2015)

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SOCIETY

Broader influences

STANDARDS

“What those in charge expect”

Teacher professional development can move selves closer (on average) to standards if it socialises them to prioritise new curricular goals

SELVES

“What I value”

Teacher professional development can move situations closer to standards if it meaningfully equips teachers to bridge the gap between curricular standards and their students’ needs

SITUATIONS

very likely to be done

likely to be done outside of formal expectations

likely to be “completed” for appearances’ sake

feasible but unlikely because not prioritised
So if we want to change things over time—not just for some short-run quick fix—it means reshaping the systems that are around these people, drawing in good, motivated people, giving them the support they need to succeed, and then also holding them accountable for delivering in response to that support.

*It’s all of these pieces together.* Any intervention that does just one of these is likely going to be short-sighted.

—David K. Evans
Takeaway #2: Preliminary practical implications: intervene across domains … … but everything in moderation?

So if we want to change things over time—not just for some short-run quick fix—it means reshaping the systems that are around these people, drawing in good, motivated people, giving them the support they need to succeed, and then also holding them accountable for delivering in response to that support.

It’s all of these pieces together. Any intervention that does just one of these is likely going to be short-sighted.

—David K. Evans

The typical “how” recommendation … is that we need to grapple with recruitment, deployment, professional development, incentives—basically, everything. “Do it all at once. And oh, by the way, while you’re doing it, you’ve got to reorient the curriculum as well as the pedagogy related to the curriculum.” …

But then we know of so many other instances where that has been tried, and it hasn’t worked. Digging into why these big reforms didn’t work should surely offer a cautionary tale that says, “Let’s not try to do all of it at once.”

—Laura Savage
Takeaway #3: Open-ended conversations can be fascinating!
Many thanks to these interlocutors for sharing their insights 😊

- Verónica Cabezas, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile/ Elige Educar
- Jessica Holloway, Australian Catholic University
- Joan DeJaeghere, University of Minnesota
- Shwetlena Sabarwal, World Bank
- Dan Honig, University College London
- Sharath Jeevan, STiR Education/Intrinsic Labs
- Margarita Gómez, University of Oxford
- Wendy Kopp, Teach For All
- Lucy Crehan, author of Cleverlands
- Katlego Sengadi, Youth Impact
- Belay Hagos Hailu, Addis Ababa University
- Shintia Revina, SMERU Research Institute
- Yamini Aiyar, Centre for Policy Research
- Soufia Anis Siddiqi, LUMS

- Masooda Bano, Oxford University
- Ying-yi Hong, Chinese University of Hong Kong
- Melanie Ehren, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
- Michael Woolcock, Harvard University/World Bank
- David K. Evans, Center for Global Development
- Maria Teresa Tatto, Arizona State University
- Kwame Akyeampong, Open University
- Luis Crouch, RTI International
- Juliet Wajega, Hivos (formerly at Uganda National Teacher’s Union)
- Barbara Tournier, IIEP-Unesco
- Alice Cornish, Better Purpose
- Mike Hobbiss, University College London/secondary school teacher
- Laura Savage, IEFG
- Carlos Vargas Tamez, UNESCO
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[Logos of various organizations]