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Learning from Indian teacher expertise

A policy and practice report for educational organisations in India

Dr Jason Anderson



Economic
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Executive summary

Introduction

This report offers an overview of the findings of an empirical study of teacher expertise conducted to gain insights into the practices, cognition and professionalism of teachers identified as experts working in Indian schools. Eight expert secondary teachers of English working in government or government-aided schools participated in this study: five from Maharashtra, two from Telangana and one from West Bengal. Their practices, cognition and professionalism were compared and found to have much in common, both with each other and with expert teachers studied in other contexts around the world. Nonetheless, there were also important differences due to the particular circumstances, conditions and challenges that Indian teachers face; these teachers found ways of overcoming these challenges and remaining effective despite less than ideal conditions in their schools and classrooms. The report offers a number of recommendations for policy and teacher education practice, particularly of relevance to the three states involved in the study, but also potentially for teachers working in secondary education across India.

Key findings of the study

Teaching: All eight expert teachers demonstrated warm, supportive relationships with their learners. They were inclusive of all learners in their classrooms, offering differentiated tuition when appropriate. Most balanced between teacher-led whole class interactive teaching and learner-independent seatwork and groupwork during which they were able to provide support to individuals and groups through active monitoring. As teachers of English, none had an 'English-only' policy in their classes; all made use of a combination of languages, although in different degrees, and also allowed learners to use languages other than English in the classroom.

Cognition: All eight teachers were found to have well developed pedagogical content knowledge and high proficiency in Indian English. They believed in building learner self-confidence, engaging learners in class and promoting learner understanding over rote memorisation. They were able to plan lessons quickly, usually without written notes, and adapt their teaching in class based on learner needs and challenges.

Professionalism: Most engaged in both critical reflection of their teaching and lifelong learning, underpinned by motivation driven primarily by care for their learners.

Policy recommendations

Pre-service teacher education

1. Raise trainee teacher awareness of the relative merits of both learner-centred and teacher-led instruction during pre-service teacher education – both are important. Help trainee teachers offer individualised support during learner-independent activities.
2. Focus English language teacher preparation on foreign language (FL) rather than second language (SL) teaching. Reduce the emphasis on English literature studies, and increase teachers' understandings of how to develop learner oracy and literacy in English as a foreign language.

In-service teacher education

3. Learners benefit more when teachers are flexible and inclusive in their language choices, using multilingual approaches themselves and encouraging learners to do so if required. 'English only' policies often exclude the most disadvantaged learners.
4. Particularly in rural contexts, where curriculum progress is often too ambitious for learners, encourage teachers to simplify this content and take more time to teach it, particularly by getting learners to work together in pairs or small groups. This is likely to be more successful than rushing through the curriculum to focus on rote learning of answers to exam questions, as sometimes observed in less effective teachers' classes.

Teacher recruitment

5. Preservice teacher tests (e.g. the Teacher Eligibility Test) may benefit by focusing in part on the testing of characteristics such as teacher empathy and care for learners alongside the testing of teacher knowledge.

Future research

6. Future studies of expert teachers in India are likely to increase our understanding of Indian teacher expertise in ways that can usefully inform policy and practice, particularly in subjects other than English.

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Why was the study conducted?

Several hundred studies have investigated the practices and cognition of expert teachers around the world since the 1980s.¹ These have revealed important shared features among expert teachers that can be useful to teacher education, curriculum development and educational policy development. However, almost all of these studies have been conducted in high-income countries or contexts, particularly in North America and Western Europe, but also an increasing number in East Asia. To date, few researchers have attempted to investigate teacher expertise in lower income countries typical of the Global South. Despite challenges to the educational systems in these countries, there is nonetheless very clear evidence that teaching quality matters in the Global South, and that some teachers are more effective than others.² Research that can find these teachers, study their practice and cognition can help us to understand which features of teacher expertise may be universal, and which seem to be specific to an educational context (e.g. a national or state system).³

India today has the largest educational system in the world. With nine million primary and secondary teachers teaching over 260 million students in over 1.5 million schools, it is now larger than China's and continues to grow.⁴ While there are many among these nine million teachers who lack the knowledge, experience and skills to support their pupils' learning effectively, there are also many who possess these attributes, alongside the care and reflective skills necessary to make them effective practitioners. Yet, with very few exceptions, research in education in India continues to focus on the negatives, implying that all teachers and systems are failing, when in fact the picture is very varied.⁵ While a number of teacher awards celebrate India's many great teachers,⁶ there is still almost no empirical research on what such teachers do in their classrooms, why, and how this facilitates learning, socialisation and development.

Just as in other countries around the world, research into expert teachers in India can help us to understand what works in Indian classrooms, and, importantly, what doesn't work so well. Such research can inform teacher education, both in India's thousands of Teacher Education Institutes, and through in-service teacher development support offered by local educational authorities. It can also inform the development of national policy, particularly important today as India looks to implement the forward-thinking, yet ambitious National Education Policy of 2020.⁷ Because research on expert teachers is conducted in real classrooms with real students, working within the constraints that other Indian teachers face, it can tell us which policy directives are likely to be feasible, culturally appropriate and sustainable, and which may not be so. Such research can inform curriculum development, particularly in the subject area in question. This study involves Indian teachers of English, and uncovers challenges and successes in their attempts to implement

¹ See Berliner (2004) for an overview.

² E.g. Azigwe et al. (2016), Buhl-Wiggers et al. (2018).

³ See Sternberg and Horvath's expert teacher prototype (1995).

⁴ Anderson and Lightfoot (2019).

⁵ E.g. Wu et al. (2009).

⁶ See, e.g. NCERT (2017).

⁷ Government of India (2020).

both language learning and appreciation of literature in what is a foreign (not 'second') language for the vast majority of learners in India.⁸

How was the study conducted?

The study was conducted by the author of this report, Dr Jason Anderson of the University of Warwick (UK) in association with the English and Foreign Languages University of Hyderabad as the Indian partner institution and the AINET teacher association of India. It was sponsored by the UK's Economic and Social Research Council⁹ and conducted over three years between 2018 and 2021.¹⁰

The study adopted a participatory comparative case study methodology in order to provide a rounded, contextualised description of each teacher's practices and cognition that enabled comparison despite important differences between the contexts and state-level education systems involved. The eight expert teachers recruited for the study were all found to meet at least five indicators of expertise identified in the research literature.¹¹ These include: experience as state-level teacher educators; higher student achievement in exams than comparable peers; the receipt of international scholarships or national teacher awards; higher qualifications in their subject field; experience in publishing articles and presenting at national-level conferences on aspects of teaching; and evidence of commitment to their own lifelong continuing professional development.

The teachers worked in a range of contexts, including small village schools in rural areas where up to 99% of learners were disadvantaged,¹² and schools in both more and less privileged urban environments, where disadvantaged children were in a minority (see Table 1). All teachers worked in either government or government-aided schools that were non-selective in their intake.

Each teacher was observed in their own classrooms over several weeks for an average of 30 lessons. They were each interviewed at least 7 times to gain insight into their beliefs and theories as well as their reflections on teaching and learning. Comparable, non-expert peers were also observed in the same school or nearby, and headteachers, learners and parents were interviewed to understand more about their needs, beliefs about teaching and relationships with the participant teachers. Lesson observations and interviews were transcribed and analysed inductively to identify prominent patterns in their teaching practice, professionalism and cognition. The results were then compared in order to identify similarities and differences. The study followed relevant guidelines from the comparative case study literature¹³ and best practice guidance from the critical realist literature and qualitative research literature.¹⁴ Ethical approval for the study was granted by the University of Warwick, and all eight teachers, their school headteachers, the learners in their classes and their parents all provided consent for the study to take place. The study was participatory, meaning all eight teachers contributed to the research design and focus, and all were all given the choice to be anonymised or identified after reading the findings of the study. All chose to be

⁸ Annamalai (2005).

⁹ ESRC grant number ES/P000771/1.

¹⁰ See Anderson (2021) for full details.

¹¹ See Palmer et al. (2005).

¹² Disadvantaged learners included those qualifying for 'reservation'.

¹³ Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) and Stake (2006).

¹⁴ Maxwell (2012) and Tracy (2010).

identified, and have also co-authored their own publication as an additional output of the project.¹⁵ A short summary of findings is presented below; more detailed findings are reported in other publications.¹⁶

Teacher name	Grades taught	State	Context	School details	Learner Socio-economic status
Vinay	7-10	Telangana	Rural	small government school	99% disadvantaged
Dipika	8-10	Maharashtra	Urban	large government-aided school	64% disadvantaged
Raju	6-10	Telangana	Rural	small government school	99% disadvantaged
Manjusha	8-12	Maharashtra	Semi-urban	large government-aided school	84% disadvantaged
Shekhar	9-10	Maharashtra	Rural	large government-aided school	99% disadvantaged
Kuheli	7-11	West Bengal	Urban	large government school	25% disadvantaged
Nurjahan	5-10	Maharashtra	Semi-urban	large government-aided school	35% disadvantaged
Gajanan	8-10	Maharashtra	Rural	small government-aided school	78% disadvantaged

Table 1. Participant teachers' contexts of work.



¹⁵ This is freely available on the AINET website. See Gode et al. (2021).

¹⁶ Anderson (2021, 2022a, 2022b).

What were the main findings of the study?

Similarities among the eight expert teachers

The following key findings were found to be shared between all or most of the eight expert teachers, and less common, rare or absent among their colleagues.

Teaching

All eight participant teachers demonstrated warm and supportive relationships with their learners. They were inclusive of all learners in their classrooms, particularly lower achievers, and drew upon their knowledge of their learners as individuals to provide effective differentiated support to them. As a result of these supportive relationships, learners enjoyed their lessons, lost the 'fear' towards English that some possess, and were observed to contribute more actively to lessons than in the classes of non-expert peers. Off-task behaviour was only rarely observed in the expert teachers' classes and occasional sanctions were administered sensitively and effectively.

With regard to teaching methodology, the majority of these eight teachers balanced interactive whole-class instruction with learner-independent activities, such as individual seatwork, pairwork and groupwork, depending on the lesson type, content and difficulty. They also showed evidence of 'adaptive expertise',¹⁷ modifying their teaching to manage unexpected occurrences effectively during lessons. During whole class instruction all eight teachers asked varied questions to learners and encouraged them also to ask questions. They regularly engaged learners with regular praise, anecdotes or jokes, and several regularly negotiated with their learners, asking them about their preferences for activity types and procedures. Learner-independent activities balanced between individual seatwork, when each learner had time to work on an activity alone, and collaborative pairwork and groupwork (usually small groups of 3 to 5), in which learners worked on activities and exercises together. During these learner-independent activities, expert teachers frequently circulated around the classroom, actively monitoring what their learners were doing (in contrast to non-expert teachers who typically waited at the front of the classroom for learners to finish). This enabled them to offer both individual and group support as well as correction when required and praise when due, even in large classes. Expert teachers used this 'active monitoring' as opportunities for formative assessment, and when they noticed shared difficulties they provided subsequent remedial teaching support or correction.

When teaching English, the eight teachers were inclusive of all their learners' languages in the classroom, and none of them adopted an 'English-only' classroom policy. Lower achieving learners were encouraged to contribute ideas in other languages, and the eight teachers patiently encouraged and scaffolded increasing amounts of English in the classroom. The eight teachers also made use of their learners' languages themselves, particularly at more cognitively challenging times in lessons (e.g. to explain complex grammar or figures of speech), and sometimes blended two languages flexibly through the practice known as translanguaging¹⁸ – although there was variation in

¹⁷ In 'adaptive expertise', experts are able to develop innovative solutions to new problems. See Carbonell et al., (2014).

¹⁸ 'Translanguaging' refers to the flexible blended use of two or more languages, as occurs across India. See Anderson (2022b).

how much they used these languages themselves. While rote learning and memorisation practices were sometimes observed among their non-expert colleagues (who also often progressed through curriculum content more rapidly), the eight expert teachers focused more on promoting learner understanding of content, using multiple languages where required, and progressing more slowly through the curriculum if necessary to provide opportunities for revision, informal assessment and consolidation of learning.

Outside of the classroom, the eight expert teachers demonstrated the ability to plan lessons quickly and efficiently, with few (if any) written notes. While a small number of them made use of additional teaching and learning materials, this was not central to the practice of all eight. More often the expert teachers tailored the material provided in textbooks and supplementary materials to their learners' ability levels, for example by changing comprehension questions on reading texts to make them easier or by offering simple vocabulary consolidation tasks at the end of lessons.

Cognition

Concerning their knowledge and cognition, the eight teachers were found to have extensive subject knowledge and well developed 'pedagogical content knowledge'; what Lee Shulman calls 'a special amalgam of content and pedagogy'.¹⁹ Their Indian English proficiency was generally very high yet they were able to simplify their English in class to ensure that their learners understood them and learnt through comprehension. While their theories of learning varied, they shared generally strong beliefs in the importance of building learner self-confidence, engaging learners in class, and prioritising learner cognitive understanding of lesson content.

Professionalism

Most of the expert teachers engaged in critical reflection of their own practice when evaluating their lessons and planning for the future. They all demonstrated a commitment to lifelong learning by obtaining higher teacher qualifications, participating voluntarily in conferences and seminars (often as presenters or organisers), taking on the role of mentors on teacher research projects, and sharing their materials and reflections on teaching through publications, blog posts and social media activities. Finally, their pedagogic and professional practice was primarily underpinned by care for their learners, whose evaluations of their teaching these expert teachers valued most of all. As one of them put it, 'we are here to serve the children'.²⁰

Differences between the eight expert teachers

Variations were noticed between the eight teachers concerning how much they made use of whole class and collaborative learning activities – some preferred to lead the lesson themselves, only offering brief or occasional opportunities for learners to interact together (often in larger classes) and others arranged much longer learner-centred project work activities in which learners would work together for a large part of each lesson.

There were also differences in the level of discipline that they maintained in their classes. Several of the eight teachers considered themselves to be quite strict, and had lower tolerance for off-task behaviour (again more common in larger class contexts), while others were more lenient, allowing

¹⁹ Shulman (1987).

²⁰ See Anderson (2021, p. 257).

learners more freedom to interact naturally but also expecting them to develop more autonomous learning skills and exhibiting more patience when managing disruptions.

With regard to how they taught the subject, several of the eight participant teachers taught English more as a communicative system by encouraging learners to develop their English through using it, and using higher levels of English in the class themselves. Others taught English more as a traditional school subject, focusing on building learner understanding of texts and important literary features (e.g. metaphor, simile, rhyme schemes), using higher quantities of the mother tongue to do so.

How similar were these Indian experts to expert teachers researched in other countries?

When the practices, cognition and professionalism of these eight teachers were compared to prior research on teacher expertise, a high degree of similarity was found. Of 92 themes that were evidenced in at least four prior teacher expertise studies around the world, strong support for 78 of these was found among the eight Indian expert teachers – i.e. 85% similarity in quantitative terms.²¹ There was also clear evidence of similarity between the eight teachers' practices and the findings of research on effective teaching in developing country contexts. In a metareview of this research, Jo Westbrook and colleagues²² identified three strategies and six practices as being important to effective teaching in developing countries. Among the eight Indian expert teachers of this study, there was strong or fairly strong support for all three strategies and four of the six practices.

However, some important differences were found, particularly when comparing the findings of this study to research on teacher expertise in higher income contexts. These differences typically related to areas of teaching that were likely to be influenced by either contextual challenges and constraints (e.g. few additional resources, learner disadvantage, large classes) or teachers' theories of learning and teaching, which tended to be closely related to these contextual constraints. These eight Indian expert teachers placed a much stronger emphasis on prioritising learner inclusion and confidence-building than on setting high standards and challenging learners – the latter often reflect those reported from teacher expertise studies in higher income contexts.²³ The Indian expert teachers also placed a stronger emphasis on learner understanding and somewhat less on developing higher-order thinking skills, which were rarely tested in end-of-year exams. By prioritising understanding, these teachers generally achieved very high or 100% learner achievement in exams, which was obviously appreciated by the learners, their parents and the teachers' institutions.

While the review conducted by Westbrook's team found evidence for frequent and relevant use of teaching and learning materials beyond the textbook, these eight teachers were more likely to adapt the activities rather than create new materials. While Westbrook's team found evidence of varying lesson structures to engage and challenge students, these eight teachers were able to engage students through either the content of their lessons or their interpersonal skills, and most had a small number of fairly predictable activity types and routines that learners were used to and generally found enjoyable.

²¹ Example themes include: extensive knowledge about curriculum; plans flexibly and contingently; has clear routines and procedures. All themes are listed in Anderson (2021, p. 274).

²² Westbrook et al. (2013).

²³ E.g. Milstein (2015), Sorensen (2014).

Other aspects of these eight teachers' expertise that are rarely reported in the literature included: their frequent interaction with learners' parents; their selective curriculum coverage appropriate to the needs and ability levels of their learners; and the fact that they viewed their learners as the most important evaluators of their work. All of these can be seen to relate to the challenges of their contexts to some extent.

What are the implications for policy and practice in Indian education?

A number of implications for policy and practice in Indian education can be extrapolated from this study, either directly or indirectly. The following may be useful for consideration in district (e.g. DIET), state-level (e.g. SCERT) and national-level (e.g. NCERT) educational departments, for teacher education programmes in universities and institutes of education, and for NGOs and private charities working in the field of education in state school contexts across India.

Lesson teaching and preparation

Effective Indian teachers tailor teaching methods to learners and content

This study indicates that effective Indian teachers balance between learner-centred and teacher-led activities, and that this balance needs to vary depending on learner needs, lesson content and

activity type. This is broadly consistent with the approach known as Direct Instruction, which John Hattie's research²⁴ finds to be highly effective.

Emphasise the importance of both interactive whole class teaching and the use of collaborative learning (i.e., groupwork and pairwork) and individual seatwork.

For this reason, in teacher education, emphasise the importance of both interactive whole class teaching, and the use of collaborative learning (i.e., groupwork and pairwork) and individual seatwork. The relative merits of all of these can also be explored with teachers during in-service teacher education, when questions about which of these interaction

patterns may be most suitable for a specific activity or content area and why.

Effective Indian teachers actively monitor learners

Encourage teachers to engage in active monitoring while learners are working on activities. The specific skills involved at such stages can be explored – particularly individual and group tuition, formative assessment and classroom management.

Encourage teachers to engage in active monitoring while learners are working on activities.

²⁴ Hattie (2009, pp. 204-207).

Flexibility and inclusivity in language choice in class

This study indicates that Indian teachers can be flexible and inclusive in their language-use practices to ensure that learners with lower levels of proficiency are not left behind. It also indicates that 'English only' policies often exclude the most disadvantaged learners. This is especially important in contexts where instruction is provided in an additional or foreign language. Learners can be encouraged to contribute to lessons using alternative languages, or in a combination of languages through the practice of

Indian teachers can be flexible and inclusive in their language-use practices to ensure that learners with lower levels of proficiency are not left behind.

translanguaging (see above). Teachers may also want to consider using learners' more-enabled languages for cognitively challenging lesson content.²⁵

Tailor curriculum management and spacing to learner needs

Education in India is diverse: In urban contexts (most often in private school education), learners are learning faster and able to keep up with challenging curriculum content.²⁶ This study supports this established research, confirming that teachers of less disadvantaged learners working in urban contexts experienced fewer curriculum challenges. In contrast, in rural areas (particularly with more disadvantaged learners in government schools), curriculum content is clearly too ambitious, a finding also emphasised in research by Pratham.²⁷ While simplifying such curriculum content will take time, this study offers simple and feasible solutions/adaptations even in the most challenging contexts:

Curriculum content can be better managed by spacing it out over the academic year, and focusing on learner understanding, rather than rote learning. This is in contrast to the widespread practice of teachers rushing through the curriculum in one or two terms and then spending the rest of the year on exam preparation through memorisation of set answers. Teachers can simplify curriculum content through two means: making tasks simpler (e.g. reading comprehension questions for complex texts can be made easier) and allowing learners to work on difficult curriculum content collaboratively (i.e. in pairs or small groups) with the support of dictionaries and teacher tuition while they do so.

Teacher professionalism and recruitment

Effective Indian teachers demonstrate care for their learners

One of the most consistent findings across the eight participant teachers of this study is their care for their learners, echoing teacher effectiveness research across the world.²⁸ This is hardly surprising: teachers who care for their learners are more likely to care about their teaching. They are more likely to be hard-working and reflective practitioners, interested in engaging in continuing professional

'English only' policies often exclude the most disadvantaged learners.

One of the most consistent findings across the eight participant teachers of this study is their care for their learners, echoing teacher effectiveness research across the world.

²⁵ See Anderson (2022b) for justification.

²⁶ E.g. Central Square Foundation (2020).

²⁷ See Banerji and Chavan (2016) and www.teachingattherightlevel.org.

²⁸ See Stronge (2007).

development irrespective of the challenges of their context or their isolation. It is notable that this propensity to care is likely to be a personal characteristic, rather than something that can be taught in preservice teacher education. Put simply, if teachers are recruited who don't care about learners, they are less likely to be effective than ones who do, all other things considered equal.

Evaluate levels of empathy in teacher recruitment

Current tests used in teacher recruitment procedures in India (e.g. the Teacher Eligibility Test²⁹) focus primarily on teacher explicit knowledge, and do not attempt to evaluate teachers' personal characteristics, such as those that are more likely to link to teacher empathy. It is suggested that teacher recruitment procedures may benefit from evaluating not only candidates' knowledge, but also their empathy towards learners.

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English language teacher and curriculum preparation

Because of India's complex history, English is still taught primarily as a 'second language' in India. While English does have co-official status in India,³⁰ the second/foreign language distinction in English language pedagogy specifically relates to the extent to which English is used in the community outside the classroom.³¹ In India, the vast majority of learners (particularly those who are most disadvantaged) have no useful exposure to English outside the school environment.

As Annamalai has observed 'the ESL method is not best suited for teaching English to [Indian learners]; it must be combined with the principles of teaching English as a foreign language'.³² This study supports this observation, finding that even expert Indian teachers of English find it challenging to engage learners using the difficult and unfamiliar literary texts found in many school textbooks when so many learners are challenged by basic English literacy and oracy.³³

Shift the focus of teacher education towards TESOL

The vast majority of qualifications for English teachers in India, particularly at MA level retain a heavy focus on English literature studies, and very little on what is often called TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages).³⁴ It is the latter

Qualifications preparing trainee teachers to teach English in primary or secondary contexts are likely to benefit from focusing primarily on TESOL, rather than on English literature.

that Indian English teachers need if they are to help learners who are studying English as a foreign language. Thus, qualifications preparing trainee teachers to teach English in primary or secondary contexts are likely to benefit from focusing primarily on TESOL, rather than on English literature.

²⁹ Central Teacher Eligibility Test (2019).

³⁰ Anderson and Lightfoot (2019).

³¹ See Kramsch (2002).

³² Annamalai (2005, p. 34).

³³ See numerous ASER reports (e.g. 2017, 2018).

³⁴ Chattopadhyay (2020), Padwad (2020).

Prioritise language learning in textbooks over literary studies

Current textbooks for secondary English across India are often far too difficult for learners in government schools, assuming much higher levels of proficiency than learners typically possess, particularly in rural areas.³⁵ They typically draw texts from historical literature, which features low-frequency lexis and sometimes archaic language. Because these texts are often culturally alien to learners, they are more difficult for them to understand and rarely focus on topics of interest for Indian teenagers. This combination often makes such textbooks a barrier to language learning. This study recommends that curriculum authorities prioritise basic oracy and literacy in secondary textbooks through engaging texts that develop learners' English proficiency gradually and include supplementary remedial activities for teachers who work with disadvantaged learners.

Prioritise basic oracy and literacy in secondary textbooks through engaging texts that develop learners' English proficiency gradually and include supplementary remedial activities for teachers who work with disadvantaged learners.

Future research

Given the insights and recommendations that this study offers, it is likely that further research on expert teachers in India will contribute to building a knowledge base on effective Indian pedagogy that is culturally appropriate, feasible in Indian classrooms and sustainable. There is a particular need for such studies in subjects other than English. Such research may include PhD studies or larger scale projects commissioned by educational authorities.

Conclusion

While almost all research on education in India today tends to focus on challenges and inadequacies, this study of Indian teacher expertise uncovers clear evidence of effective teaching, in at least some Indian classrooms. As such, it offers concrete proposals for changes in educational policy and practice with regard to teacher education, school management, and curriculum development due to the high ecological validity of the findings (i.e. based on what good Indian teachers already do in their classrooms). It should be noted however that these proposals emerge from a primarily qualitative study with a small sample size and only one researcher, whose own personal biases and interests may also have influenced the findings.

It is recommended that any changes being considered based on the findings of this report also adopt other sources of evidence to triangulate the findings in question. This may include more quantitatively-oriented studies with larger sample sizes focusing on a specific hypothesis originating in the findings of this study. It may also include evidence from teachers' and learners' opinions on potential policy or curriculum changes. Further, any such changes should always begin with pilot studies that involve close monitoring and evaluation before any decision is made to scale up a change to state or national level.

³⁵ ASER (2017, 2018).



Further information

This report was compiled in March 2022 by Dr Jason Anderson of the University of Warwick and is based primarily on the following works:

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Images of teachers and learners were taken with permission of all appropriate stakeholders.

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Disclaimer

The views contained in this briefing do not necessarily reflect the views of the University of Warwick.

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