# PROFESSIONAL PRESTIGE, STATUS, AND ESTEEM OF **TEACHING IN KAZAKHSTAN:** TEMPORAL, REGIONAL AND GENDER ANALYSIS OF PAYROLL DATA

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Since gaining independence after the dissolution of the USSR, the education system in Kazakhstan has undergone significant reforms. The retention of highly qualified teachers is crucial for the successful progress of the education sphere. However, employing the majority of the workforce (26.5%, almost one million people), education is one of the lowest paying sectors. Low pay causes a lack of popularity of the teaching profession among youth; results in an aging and highly feminized workforce; and harms prestige, status and esteem of teachers, thus intensifying turnover and making retention of qualified teachers difficult. This study proposes the use of three-tiered temporal, regional, and gender payroll data to analyze the prestige, status, and esteem of the teaching profession in Kazakhstan. It argues that although improving a social package is important, fundamental reforms of the education payment system could be the most effective measure to improve the prestige and status of teachers.

**Keywords:** Kazakhstan, Central Asia, educational occupation, payroll, employment, gender pay gap

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### Kazakhstan is one of the five Central Asian republics that gained independence following the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. As a newly independent state, it has faced challenges of political, economic and social transformation. An education system that was built and developed under the Soviet rule has undergone three stages of reformation. The first stage (1991 – 2000) was a period led by the rhetoric of international donors and focused mainly on the reduction of public education expenditures. The second stage (2001 - 2010) focused on the integration of

Kazakhstan's education into the so-called

INTRODUCTION

"international educational space" by introducing standardized assessment mechanisms and restructuring the higher education system in requirements of joining the European Higher Education Area (Bologna process). And finally, reforms of the ongoing decade have been implemented under the slogan of developing Kazakhstan's original way of educational innovation (2011 ongoing), which represented by an establishment of 21 secondary education schools for gifted children and opening a brand new university with focus on innovative education and research, all named after first president Nursultan Nazarbayev. Three

languages of instruction - Kazakh, Russian and English - are adopted in these 21 Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools (NIS). New education contents and teaching methods that have been practiced and approved in NIS are planned to be transmitted to all secondary schools across the country. It also means a transition to trilingual instruction in Kazakh, Russian and English languages.

The success of these reforms largely depends on the existence of highly qualified teachers. Throughout the region during the turmoil of the 1990s, the resignation of teachers from educational organizations and increasing of side jobs (such as shuttle (or tourist) trading) due to salary reduction and pay pauses (or payment in kind) led to a significant devaluation of teachers' profession and social status (Silova, 2009). As it is stated in Harris-Van Keuren (2011), "educational systems in this region suffer from an absence of teacher candidate selectivity, poor preservice training, and a problematic pay structure with low salary levels" (p.173-174). All together these factors decrease the status of the profession. However, teacher education, as well as teachers' social status, were rarely prioritized in the reforms of the first and second stages, that emphasized restructuring of secondary, postsecondary and higher education systems. Teacher education has been gaining more attention since 2014 when the introduction of progressive teaching and learning methods was declared. Significant funds have been funneled, particularly into reforms to pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher training programs (Tastanbekova, 2018), and teachers' social status has come to the political spotlight.

In November 2018 the Ministry of Education and Science (MoES) proposed the legislature to improve teachers' status. In the "Concept of the law on status of teacher" (2018) MoES pointed out the following reasons prompting education reform: low initial level of students electing pedagogical specialty, low salaries, high level of feminization, non-relevant duties forced on teachers, high number of abrupt inspections, lack of legal protection, lack of autonomy, and high teaching load to achieve adequate pay level resulting in psycho-emotional stress. The recent analysis identified four challenges related to the low prestige, status, and esteem of the teaching

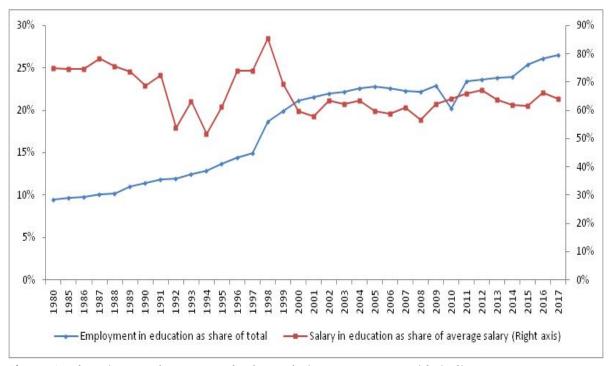
occupation: low pass marks for students of pedagogical specialty and low initial requirements for graduates entering teaching non-competitive jobs, salary, feeling overburdened with work, and low prestige of the occupation (Irsalivev et al., 2019). Furthermore, many graduates of pedagogical universities do not pursue the teaching profession, or they consider it a temporary job (Korotkikh, 2016; Irsaliyev et al., 2019). According to a sociological survey conducted by Valitova et al. (2016), occupations valuable to the community, including teachers, are less profitable and often considered non-prestigious by youth Kazakhstan. Arguably, the abovementioned factors directly affect the occupational prestige, status, and esteem of teachers in Kazakhstan.

Hoyle's research utilizes definitions of occupational prestige as "public perception of the relative position of an occupation in a hierarchy of occupations" (p.139), occupational status as "a category to which knowledgeable groups allocate an occupation" (p.144) and occupational esteem as "the regard in which the general public holds an occupation by virtue of the personal qualities which members are perceived as bringing to their core task" (p.147). The research agrees with Symeonidis (2015) that pay is one of the most critical factors affecting the occupational status and self-esteem of teachers and that low pay can influence the morale and performance of

Employment in education has increased since the Soviet period, whereas relative wage to economy-wide wage has declined in the same period, as seen in Figure 1. Employment in education has increased by 71% since 1980. However. a closer look indicates employment in education in Kazakhstan, like in other sectors, declined after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The number of people in the teaching profession has been steadily growing since 2000 following an oil boom in Kazakhstan. It is important to bear in mind that since 2000, the economy has been overly reliant on the export of hydrocarbons. According to the World Bank data, total natural resources rents, as share of national GDP, have increased from slightly more than 3% in 1998 to over 16% in 2017 with a maximum of 32.5%, in 2008 (World Bank,

2019a). Obviously, such drastic transformation would result in payroll changes across the economy. The average salary in education as a share of the national salary declined from 75% in 1980 to 64% in 2017 with the lowest value of 52%, in 1994. Those numbers are congruent with the decline in education expenditure as a share of GDP, which has dropped from 4.04% in 1995 to

2.8% in 2017 with the lowest share of 2.4%, in 2004 (World Bank, 20019b). This could indicate the decline of the prestige of the educational profession in Kazakhstan. Moreover, the majority of teachers in Kazakhstan consider their salary and social benefits as inadequate (Irsaliyev et al., 2019).

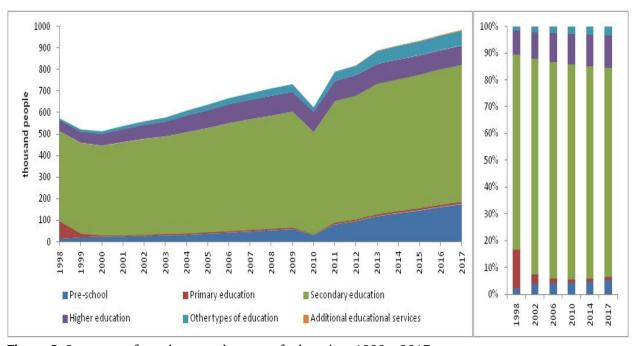


**Figure 1**. Education employment and salary relative to economy-wide indicators. Note: compiled by the author based on the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

Most of the teachers in Kazakhstan are employed in secondary education schools (almost 80%), followed by higher education (12%) and pre-schools (5%) as shown in Figure 2.

Employment in primary education has declined in optimization reforms in the sector. A decline in almost every type of educational employment, except higher education, in 2010 occurred at every level. This was likely the

aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008 – 2009 and primarily affected private educational organizations. In 1998, only a few people were employed in additional educational services (e.g. cram schools, out-of-school activities in arts, sports, ICT etc.), whereas in 2017, this number was 4,600 due to a growth in demand for additional education and higher income of the population. Primary is the only level of education where employment has declined since 1998.



**Figure 2**. Structure of employment by type of education, 1998 – 2017 Note: compiled by the author based on the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous research on teacher salary is concentrated on the influence of neoliberal reforms on the structure of the teaching loadbased salary, which is characterized as fragmented, comprised of low base salary for 18-24h of contact teaching per week (stavka) and additional payments for various duties and activities like serving as a class teacher, grading student notebooks (Steiner-Khamsi et.al., 2008; Harris-Van Keuren, 2011; Steiner-Khamsi, 2016). These studies are very valuable as they shed light on the general situation and many political, economic and social factors that influence occupational prestige, status, and esteem of the teaching profession in the Central Asia region in general, but they are not providing insights to the situations in each country. On top of that, they are limited to the analysis of legislature and payment structure and ignore such important factors as a temporal comparison, differences between regions by major industry, and gender specifics.

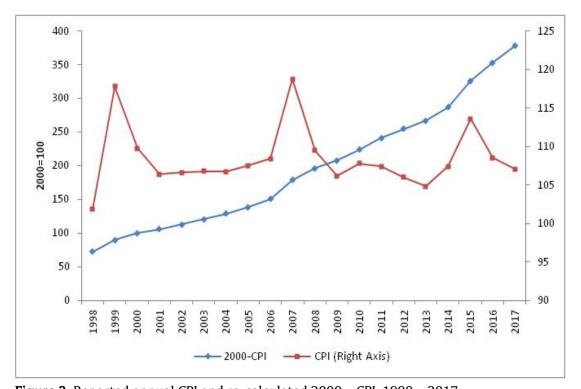
This study suggests using regionally and gender-disaggregated national payroll time series data to assess the prestige, status, and esteem of educational occupations in Kazakhstan. Following national statistics by sectors of the

economy, here, the educational occupation is taken as a general term for the teaching profession of all levels and types of education: from pre-primary to higher education, general, vocational and additional. A comparison of salary in education with other sectors and sub-sectors is going to help to define the occupational prestige of the job. The study period of 1998 – 2017 is particularly important as the oil boom occurred during that time. This paper argues that an economy with high dependence on natural resources, such as in Kazakhstan, does not prioritize education (Cockx & Francken, 2016), resulting in low prestige, status and esteem of educational occupation.

#### **METHODOLOGY AND DATA**

This study proposes three-tier analyses of payroll data: temporal, regional and gender. The temporal analysis compares annual data of average monthly salary per worker with the wages in the other sectors and sub-sectors in Kazakhstan. This comparison is an assessment of the position of educational occupation in the national hierarchy of occupations. Furthermore, the salaries in different types of education are compared. The effects of inflation are removed

by adjusting salaries for the annual consumer price index (CPI) with the fiscal year 2000 as a base year. This will also help to identify temporal changes in real wages. Reported and recalculated CPI data are presented in Figure 3.



**Figure 3**. Reported annual CPI and re-calculated 2000 – CPI, 1998 – 2017 Note: compiled by the author based on the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

Regional analysis is based on the regionally disaggregated annual data of average monthly salary in education per worker in 14 regions (*oblast*s), the capital city Astana which was renamed to Nur-Sultan in March 2019, and the biggest metropolis of the country – Almaty. The previous studies suggested that the regions of

Kazakhstan could be divided into four distinct groups based on the structure of regional economy and employment: agricultural, oil and gas, industrial, and capitals (Esanov, 2006; Akhmetov, 2017). Hence, the regions are grouped accordingly in this study as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Grouping of regions by type

Type of regions	Oblasts	
Agricultural	Akmola, Almaty, Kostanai, North Kazakhstan, South Kazakhstan, and Zhambyl	
Oil and gas	Aktobe, Atyrau, Kyzylorda, Mangystau, and West Kazakhstan	
Industrial	East Kazakhstan, Karagandy, and Pavlodar	
Capitals	Almaty city and Astana (Nur-Sultan)	

Source: Akhmetov, 2017

The average regional salaries in education are compared with the national average to estimate interregional pay inequality as follows:

$$S_r^t = \frac{E_r^t}{E_n^t} \times 100\% \tag{1}$$

where  $S_r^t$  is a share of the regional salary in education comparing with the national average in year t,  $E_r^t$  is the average salary in education in region r in year t and  $E_n^t$  is the average national salary in education in year t. The study period is 1998 - 2017.

Furthermore, the regional salaries in education are compared with average regional salaries to assess the position of teaching occupation in the regional hierarchy of occupations:

$$S_{er}^t = \frac{E_r^t}{R^t} \times 100\% \tag{2}$$

where  $S_{er}^t$  is a share of the regional salary in education comparing with the regional average salary in year t and  $R^t$  is the average regional salary in all sectors in year t.

Gender analysis starts with an assessment of women in the workforce in different sectors and sub-sectors. The gender gap is then considered as women's salary in education as a percentage of men's salary and compared with other sectors and sub-sectors as follows:

$$G_e^t = \frac{E_W^t}{E_m^t} \times 100\%$$
 (3)

where  $G_e^t$  is the gender pay gap in education,  $E_w^t$  is the average salary of women in education, and  $E_m^t$  is the average salary of men in education. Similarly, the gender gap is calculated for other sectors and sub-sectors. Moreover, the gender pay gap is assessed for different levels of education.

The study uses regionally and gender-disaggregated payroll time-series data, which include employment and average monthly salary, of the Committee on Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy of Kazakhstan. The Committee collects annual payroll data disaggregated by sectors, sub-sectors, regions and gender. Furthermore, the Committee collects payroll data disaggregated by levels of education. The summary of the data used in the study is provided in Table 2.

**Table 2**. The summary of data

Indicator	Туре	Period
Employment by sectors and sub-sectors	National, regional	1998 – 2017
Gender-disaggregated employment by sectors and sub-sectors	National regional	1998 – 2017
Average monthly salary by sectors and sub-sectors	National, regional	1998 – 2017
Gender-disaggregated salary by sectors and subsectors	National, regional	1998 – 2017
Gender-disaggregated salaries at different levels of education	National	1998 – 2017
СРІ	National	1998 – 2017

#### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

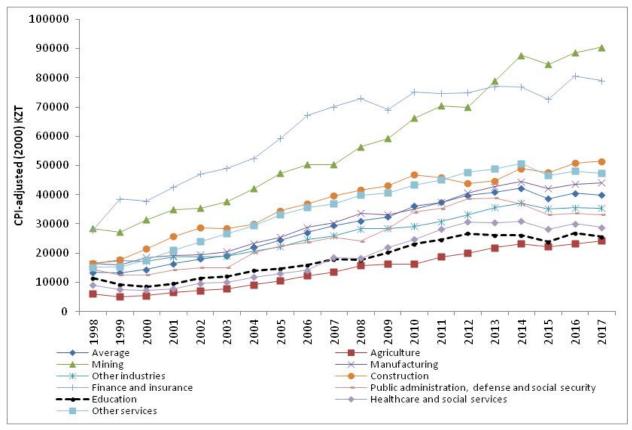
#### Temporal analysis

The results of the temporal analysis indicate that the educational occupation has been one of

the lowest paid since 1998, as seen in Figure 4. Real salary in education has increased by 124% for this period, whereas nationwide salary increased by 198% for the same period. Real salary in education has become the second

lowest in the country. The salary is only 6% higher than in agriculture, whereas it is lower than the average and in the mining industry, the highest in Kazakhstan, salaries by 56% and 254%, respectively. Salaries in healthcare and social

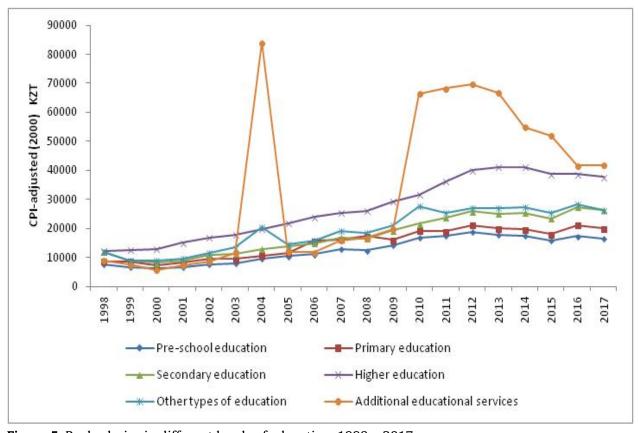
services overtook education wages in 2007 and are higher by almost 13%.



**Figure 4**. Real monthly salaries in Kazakhstan by sectors and sub-sectors, 1998 – 2017 Note: compiled by the author based on calculations using the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

Salaries in additional educational services have become the highest in education since 1998, as shown in Figure 5. It has grown by 366%, followed by higher education (210%), whereas the lowest growth in salary occurred in secondary education and pre-school education by 120% and 118%, respectively. The additional educational services salary spike in 2004 was not representative as only three people were employed in this sub-sector that year.

The results of historical data analysis indicate that education has been and remains one of the lowest-paid occupations in Kazakhstan. Currently, employment in education is the second lowest-wage job. Hence, it reflects that the relative position of educational occupation in a hierarchy of occupations is extremely low. It harms the prestige and status of teaching occupations in Kazakhstan.



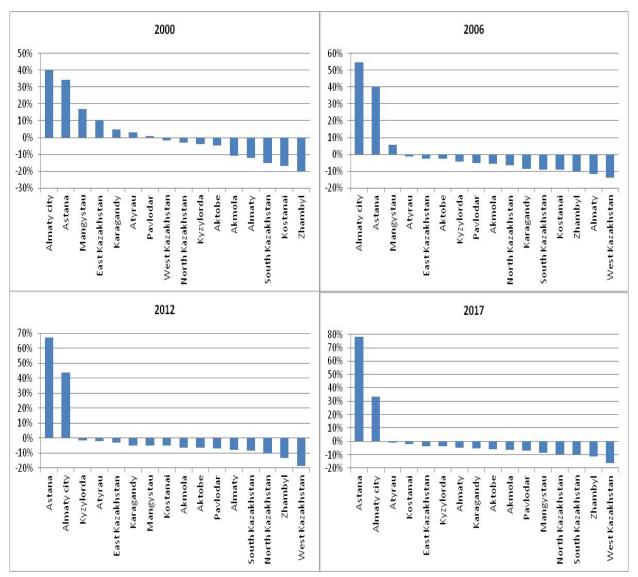
**Figure 5**. Real salaries in different levels of education, 1998 – 2017 Note: compiled by the author based on calculations using the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

Furthermore, overburdening teaching work without adequate compensation and benefits causes low self-esteem among the teachers. Widespread corruption is present in every level of education in Kazakhstan (Oka, 2013; Oka, 2018), and a low salary is likely the main cause of it.

Additional educational services have become the highest-paid area of education in Kazakhstan. It is likely that the services, which are mainly private entities, attract the best teachers from other levels of education, which are mainly public organizations, degrading the level of teaching in the public sector. Given the regional diversity of the Kazakh economy caused by the oil boom (Akhmetov, 2017), it is important to analyze regionally disaggregated data to have a fuller picture.

#### Regional analysis

The results of the regional analysis indicate the presence of significant interregional pay inequality in education in Kazakhstan, as presented in Figure 6. The number of regions with wages higher than the national average has declined from seven in 2000 to two in 2017. The capital Astana (Nur-Sultan) has emerged as the region with the highest salaries in education since 2010. In contrast, West Kazakhstan has become the region with the lowest salary in education since 2006. The gap between the highest and lowest-paying regions has increased from 74% in 2000 to 113% in 2017 and with a maximum of 138% in 2015.

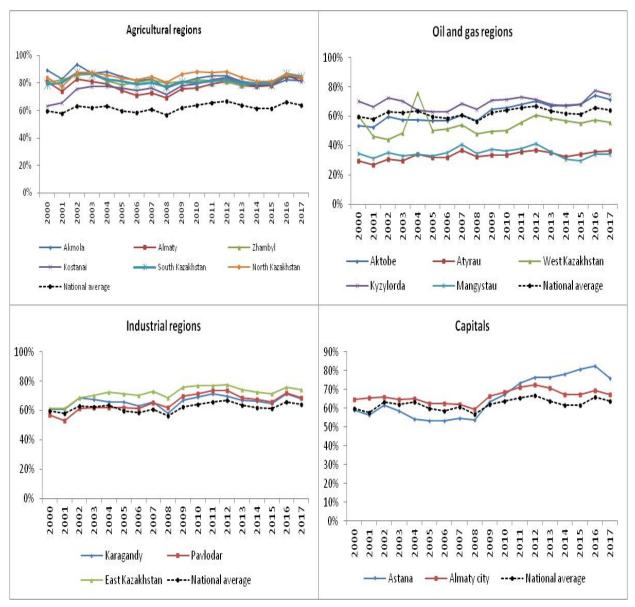


**Figure 6.** Regional salaries in education compared with the national average salary in education, 2000 – 2017

Note: compiled by the author based on calculations using the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

The regional salaries in education as a percentage of the average regional salaries are presented accordingly, as in Figure 7. There are significant differences between the groups and the regions in Kazakhstan. Education wages as a percentage of the regional average in agricultural regions are higher than in other groups due to lower regional average salaries. Capitals and

industrial regions have similar values, whereas oil and gas regions have the lowest indicators. Education salaries as a percentage of the regional average in Mangystau, Atyrau, and West Kazakhstan, the biggest oil and gas producing regions in the country, are notably lower than the national average due to higher regional average salaries.



**Figure 7.** Regional wages in education as a percentage of the regional average wages, 2000 – 2017

Note: compiled by the author based on calculations using the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

Education wages vary between the regions in Kazakhstan and the gap between the highest and lowest-paying regions has increased since 2000. The majority of universities and private schools are located in Almaty city and Astana (Nur-Sultan). Hence, education wages are higher in capitals. Furthermore, the higher salaries, coupled with a higher standard of living likely attract the best teachers from the other regions.

Although West Kazakhstan, one of the biggest oil and gas producing regions, has the lowest paying education jobs, three out of five low-paying regions are agricultural.

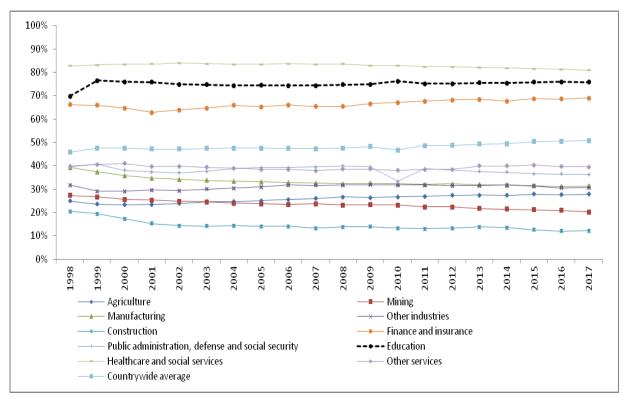
When compared with the regional average, education wages in oil and gas regions are significantly lower. Hence, the prestige and status of teaching occupations in those regions may be lower than in other regions.

Furthermore, it could also be suggested that the cognitive self-esteem of teachers in oil and gas regions may be lower than in other regions.

#### Gender analysis

Education is the second-most feminized sector after healthcare and social services, in Kazakhstan, as seen in Figure 8. However, almost 750,000 women, which is almost 40% of all women in the economy, are employed in

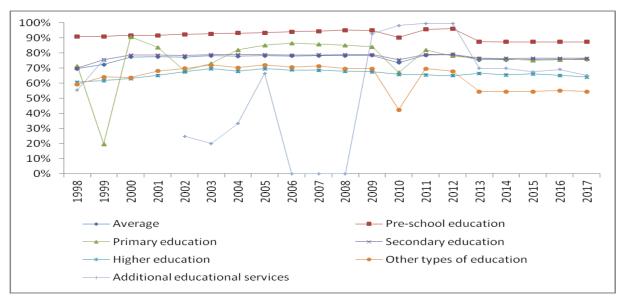
education, which is by far the highest number in Kazakhstan. For example, healthcare and social services employ only about 350,000 women or slightly more than 18% of women in the workforce. The number of women in educational occupations has increased by 86% since 1998, whereas the number of men increased by 37% for the same period.



**Figure 8.** Women in the workforce as a percentage of the total workforce, 1998 – 2017 Note: compiled by the author based on calculations using the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

The number of women employed in pre-school, primary, and secondary education as a percentage of the total workforce is higher or around the average in the sector as shown in Figure 9. Meanwhile, the indicators for additional educational services, higher education, and other types of education are below the average in

education. Almost 490,000 women, more than half of all women in education, are employed in secondary education, whereas only 3,000 women are employed in additional educational services.

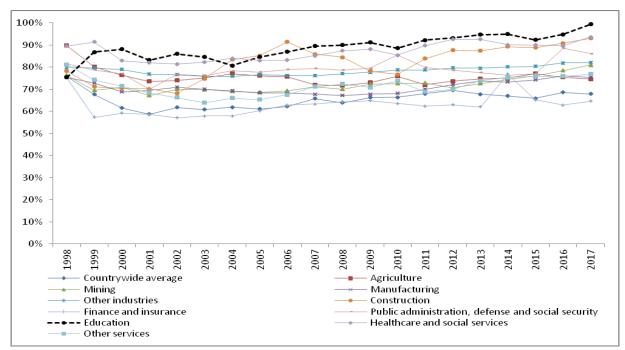


**Figure 9.** Women in the workforce by the area of education as a percentage of the total workforce, 1998 – 2017

Note: compiled by the author based on calculations using the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

Women get paid over 30% less than men in Kazakhstan, as seen in Figure 10. However, education is the only sector in the economy that

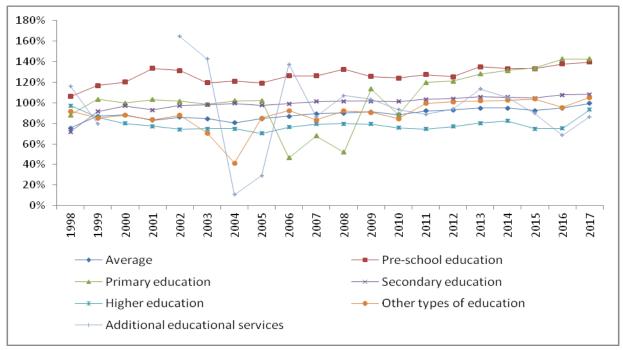
almost achieved gender parity (99.5%) in 2017. It is a significant achievement given the fact that, in 1998, women earned almost 25% less than men.



**Figure 10.** Women's salary as a percentage of men's salary by sector, 1998 – 2017 Note: compiled by the author based on calculations using the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

However, gender pay analysis for different levels of education indicates that the parity has not been achieved at every level, as shown in Figure 11. Women in pre-school, primary, secondary and other types of education get paid

more than men by 39%, 43%, 8%, and 5%, respectively. Meanwhile, women in higher education and additional educational services receive 7% and 14% less salary, respectively.



**Figure 11.** Women's salary as a percentage of men's salary in different areas of education, 1998 – 2017

Note: compiled by the author based on calculations using the data of the Committee on Statistics, 2019

As it was mentioned above, the majority of women who work full time in Kazakhstan work in the education field, and more than half of them are employed in secondary education. In other words. women in Kazakhstan underrepresented and underpaid in the mining industry, the highest-paying sector, and overrepresented in education, one of the lowestpaying sectors. Economic reasons behind that can be explained as follows. According to Ross (2012), the oil boom economically benefits men more than women. The oil production causes growth in economic sectors like oil and gas, construction and heavy industry that primarily employ men, whereas crowding out sectors like light and food industries that primarily employ women.

Furthermore, Ross (2009) argues that in lowand middle-income countries, women often take jobs in export-oriented manufacturing factories. However, the situation slightly differs in oil-rich middle-income countries, like Kazakhstan. As Akhmetov (2017) argues, since the beginning of the new century, the Kazakh industry has undergone remarkable structural a transformation caused by the oil boom, which deteriorated many export-oriented manufactures and made them non-tradable and unprofitable. Akhmetov (2017) demonstrates that the share of oil industry in total industrial output has increased from 5% in 1990 to 55% in 2013, whereas the food industry has declined from 23% to 5%, respectively. Based on industrial output and the national trade profile, Akhmetov (2017) states that tradable industries consist of iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, and oil and

gas, whereas to the non-tradable industries he includes power, chemical, light, food, pulp and paper, machinery, and coal industries. As the results of this study indicate, women in Kazakhstan primarily take jobs in healthcare, education and finance and insurance. Furthermore, women in almost every sector and sub-sector get paid less than men, which leads to a decline of women's economic and political empowerment (Ross, 2009).

Finally, as it was mentioned above (Fig.9), women constitute a majority of working personnel in every area of education in Kazakhstan. Furthermore, the results of this study have shown that they get paid less in areas of higher education and additional educational services. This can be explained by the fact that despite being the minority in the workforce, men in those areas likely hold higher-paying positions. Only 13 (15%) positions of university rectors in Kazakhstan are held by women, while 71 (85%) positions are held by men (Association of Higher Education Entities in the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2019). Further analysis of gender segregation and pay inequality by job classification is needed.

#### CONCLUSION

The number of people employed in education as a percentage of the total workforce has almost tripled since the Soviet period. Currently, the education sector is the largest employer in the economy. However, when it comes to salaries, the sector is one of the lowest paying in the country. This negatively affects the prestige and status of educational occupation, and low pay, coupled with high teaching workload and non-relevant duties, lowers the self-esteem of teachers in Kazakhstan.

As informal conversations of the author with schoolteachers in Kazakhstan show, despite the low salary, teachers stay in the profession as it is a guaranteed source of income, which makes it easier to get bank loans and mortgages. Furthermore, a guaranteed income is especially important in rural areas where most of the jobs are seasonal. Hence, competition in those areas for positions at schools and nurseries is intense to that point that people are willing to pay bribes to get a job, and as Oka (2013) finds in her ethnographic study on corruption in everyday life in Kazakhstan, with a rise of competition for

a steady job, this practice becomes institutionalized.

The regional pay disparity in education between different regions in Kazakhstan is significant. The gap between wages in capitals and other regions has widened since 1998. The occupational prestige of teachers in agricultural regions may be higher as their wages compared with the regional average are more competitive than in other regions. In contrast, data suggest that educational occupation in oil and gas regions could be the least prestigious among the regions.

Education is a female-dominated sector in Kazakhstan and low pay is one of the main causes, as men tend to opt for a career in a better-paying sector. Although on a sector-level, gender pay parity has almost been achieved, women in higher education and additional educational services still get paid less than men, whereas in other education areas, women get paid more than men. Due to a lack of regionally disaggregated data, no regional-level analysis of gender pay parity was possible.

The much-needed economic diversification of the Kazakh economy to overcome oil export dependency (Akhmetov, 2017) and the reduction of the technology gap with more developed countries (Cherif, 2013) is not possible without significantly improving prestige, status, and esteem of the educational occupation. This study suggests that although improving a social package is important, fundamental reforms of the payment system in education are likely to be the most effective measure to improve the prestige and status of teachers.

The limitation of this study is in using quantitative methods only. Conduct of nation-wide in-depth social survey among teaching personnel of all areas of education is required for the further identification of other aspects affecting prestige, status and esteem of the teaching profession in Kazakhstan.

At the time of writing this conclusion, "Law on status of teachers" was adopted (KazInform, 2019). The legislature is expected to have a positive effect on the prestige, status and esteem of the teaching profession if properly implemented.

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