

**RESEARCH PAPER****Role of Karnataka State Primary School Teachers Association in Influencing Policies of Elementary Education: A Critical Appraisal****Pradeep Ramavath Jayanaik<sup>1</sup> and Sankardas Chakrabarti<sup>2</sup>**<sup>1</sup>Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bengaluru<sup>2</sup>Retd Employee, Kendriya Vidyalaya Sanghatan (KVS), BengaluruEmail: [pradeep.ramavath@gmail.com](mailto:pradeep.ramavath@gmail.com)Received: 15<sup>th</sup> September 2017, Revised: 8<sup>th</sup> November 2017, Accepted: 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017**ABSTRACT**

*The influence of teacher associations in impacting educational policies is an important discourse at the national and sub national levels. Present study is a qualitative exploration designed to examine the existence of 'neo-corporate' strategies in educational governance system as demonstrated through the actions of primary school teachers association in Karnataka. Karnataka State Primary School Teachers Association (KSPSTA) is a largest 'organized interest group' of primary school teachers which influences the routine administration practices and in turn shapes the extra educational politics at the state and sub-district levels. Its actions have a larger inclination towards personal wellbeing at the cost of systemic educational goals. It is largely grappled with the issues of individual wellbeing of teachers such as, time bound increment in pay scale, transfer, posting, promotion, training and vacation related issues. Its ability to impact policy implementation processes and influencing curricular areas are hardly evident in its actions even after explicit mention of such novel intentions in its constitution byelaw document. Present paper critically examines the organizational practices of KSPSTA vis-a-vis analyses the objectives expressed in its constitution document. An interaction with elected association members, educational bureaucrats at the state and district level has helped to understand the hidden political dimensions of policy implementation processes in school education. Further comparing maturity level of selected primary school teacher association with national and international teacher associations demonstrated on the primitive maturity status of KSPSTA in established policy networks.*

**Key words:** Primary School Teacher, Influencing Policies, Elementary Education

**INTRODUCTION**

*"There are at least four centers of power that can significantly facilitate an educational decentralization programme if they collaborate within the context of a shared vision: political parties, national and regional government institutions, teachers unions and local citizens" .....Bjork, 2006*

The process of transforming the educational governance system, in a multilevel hierarchy as in India, policy implementation process becomes complex, as each level of the hierarchy is eager to assume the authority for decision making; but pass on the responsibility of implementation to others (Govinda, 1997). In today's context of structured planning processes, efforts of teachers to achieve quality outcomes determines the efficacy of governance system along with centrally crafted policies at the national and sub national levels. Education systems in India do not engage with local teaching community when it comes to formulation of educational policies.

Teachers are just expected to carry out the functions of controlling and teaching children through prescribed textbooks and norms in classrooms, thus becoming 'meek dictators' (Kumar 2008). In this process, state blames teachers for not ensuring adequate educational outcomes. This vicious process of not involving teachers in deciding the nature and composition of inputs, processes, and outcomes in policy cycles makes our education system a non-participatory and hierarchical closed system.

Higher level of educational bureaucracy decides on what is supposedly good for the school system and teachers. In this process the 'welfare' and 'wellbeing' of teachers are at greater risk, as there is tendency to attribute quality outcomes with performance of teachers. But interestingly welfare of teachers is largely determined by the political actions and not by rationality. Thus political nexus

between teaching community and educational bureaucracy looks for individual benefits, rather than visualizing for benefit of the system as a whole, resulting in 'loose' and probably 'incoherent' coalition of interest groups with some foretold adjustments at various levels, which can be seen as one of the main reason for teacher unionization. Due to presence of professional code of conduct and service rules as prescribed by department of education, teacher unionization takes the shape of professional teacher associations at different strata of society. As these associations are formed for the purpose of personal wellbeing, they attract many political parties for influencing voter behaviour. Hence these associations end up deriving political mileage in the form of personal wellbeing and rarely act as unit for policy consultation processes relating to education.

Present paper has tried to critically appraise the role of Karnataka State Primary School Teachers Association in influencing the elementary education system in Karnataka through neo corporate strategies. KSPSTA is chosen for the present study as it is one of the largest recognized primary school teachers association represented in executive committee of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) and having its presence in all educational blocks and clusters of Karnataka. The primary objectives of the study are-

1. To build an understanding on organizational structure of KSPSTA.
2. To examine the influence exerted by KSPSTA on educational policies, extra-educational politics and on routine administration of the state education department that has implications on elementary education.
3. To analyze the perception of teacher association members, government functionaries and educational researchers on the role of KSPSTA in influencing the quality of elementary education in Karnataka.

Review of contemporary national and international literatures was carried out to see the difference between industrial trade unions and teacher associations, types and hierarchy of teacher associations in education sector, influence of these associations on policies and planning processes and to analyze the impact of teacher association activities on learning outcomes.

### **1. TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS: CRITICAL DIFFERENCES:**

Actions of trade unions in private industries give stimulation for diverse set of phenomenon through interaction between people, values, finance and scarce resources. These interactions might predetermine a set of outcomes influencing the quality. On the contrary, due to presence of predetermined norms and official code of conduct imposed by education department on teachers any strong level of unionism may not predetermine the desired outcomes as aspired by the teachers. The functioning of teacher association and the trade unions have a basic difference; trade unions are directly affiliated to one or other political forces, ideologies and are mostly aggressive in actions for bargaining, though, mutual interest plays an important role through neo-corporate model (Garrity and Picard 1991). Whereas, the teacher associations by virtue of the nature are superficially apolitical and publically do not show any affinity with political parties. Strategically this gives them a unique identity of common interest groups formed for the purpose of teacher welfare and not having any political motives of its own. Hence, they mostly try to influence the actions of political parties in power to act positively on the demands put forward. These demands largely seem to be pre-determined through collective consensus of larger teaching community routed through elected teacher association representatives. By virtue of power realized through potential organizational factors such as leadership, membership size, larger reach, influence and ability to mobilize for protest or participation makes teacher associations very important vote banks for any political parties

Krechner and Mitchell (1989), while studying the unionization process among teachers in United Kingdom (UK) identify three stages of negotiations which are critical in shaping educational outcomes determined through centralized policy intentions. These stages are,

- a. **Meet-and-Confer Generation:** Teachers advance their collective interests in the form of demands but defer to administrators and school board members when the interest of the teachers is at stake. This process largely determined by attitude of mutual benefit to both the parties involved in negotiation.

- b. Good Faith-Bargaining Generation:** The management in the education administration identifying rights of the teachers as bargain on financial and procedural matters.
- c. Negotiated Policy Generation:** The stakeholders stop trying to manage around collective bargaining instead; they begin to shape school policy with the help of contract and the union.

Most of Teacher associations in India figure at stage i. partly in stage ii. and rarely in stage iii. The third level negotiation by them demands for maturity, mutual respect and understanding from both parties and recognizing the strengths of each other.

## 2. HIERARCHICAL ASSOCIATIONS:

Naik, J.P (1975), was concerned about presence of multiple teacher associations in India. He says, "University teachers' stand as superior class; they get unionized and behave as 'Brahmins' of the profession." Multiplicity of the unions is seen across all levels- there are college teachers unions, teachers in government colleges, secondary teachers, head teachers of secondary schools and finally primary teachers. All have different class and hierarchical identities associated with them. They rarely interact and help each other. Contrary to this in United States (US) all teacher associations come under a single umbrella of National Education Association (NEA) which is the largest professional organization representing public school teachers, support personnel, faculty and staffs at colleges, universities, retired teachers, and pre-service college teachers. This type of unification has shown positive impact and helped U.S to improve quality of the education through mutual interaction across all levels.

R.D Coates, (1972) tries to see these types of behaviors of teacher associations as the actions and influence of organized interest groups outside the education sector in England; but in the process he identifies the significance of associations in impacting education policies. In India their actions and behaviors are more political and rarely influence any policy decisions either at macro or micro levels (NCT, 1986). In higher education, teachers' associations which were organized systematically at the state level became important and effective bodies to influence policies, legislation, and programme implementation strategies for the improvement in quality of education (Usha Devi 1995). Thus Naik, J.P. (1975) gave a modified version of Marxist Manifesto, by saying "Teachers of all categories unite!" Unified teaching community, irrespective of what level they are engaged is possible only through changing attitudes and better institutional setups. Increasing urban-rural divide, liberalization, privatization issues are important challenges for idea of unified teaching community in India. But, looking at the kind of facilities and resources provided for university teachers it is justified to walk extra miles to help teachers at primary and secondary levels.

## 3. INFLUENCE ON EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND PLANS:

In UK it was difficult to trace the influence of National Union of Teachers (NUT) on education policy. The presence of 'educational sub-government' where various political parties, local authority, teacher unions' etc consult, bargain and negotiate till some educational policy consensus emerges. Much of this was seen as private discussion taking place between the officials and representatives. In rare circumstances when the difference of opinions between these interest groups increases they take the issues for settlement in political system. In England and Wales such appeal was negotiated through 'public campaigns'. But, opting for political arena instead of administrative arena is very rare event (Manzer, 1970). The position of NUT on certain issues such as greater equality, etc need to be studied in more detail, but it is not possible to prove their influence on educational policy with the help of limited subjective evidences (Lodge & Blackstone, 1985). Earlier the government influence on curriculum was indirect since the main advisory body on curriculum was not government department but the autonomous school councils, on which the NUT was strongly represented. But, after dissolving of such council it becomes only guess work to identify the influence of NUT on curriculum related issues (Jones, 1985). Hence, most of the time NUT which is the largest teacher trade union in Europe with 295,000 members is seen as carrying out campaigns for improving the working conditions of teachers and pick up certain educational issues which impacts wellbeing of teaching community.

The National Policy on Education (NPE)-1986 in India has highlighted the significant role that teachers' organization can play in upholding professional integrity, enhancing dignity of the teachers and in curbing professional misconduct. The National Commission on Teachers- II (1986) observes that, teachers association in India must certainly strive to improve the material and other service conditions of teachers ...further, the Commission (1986)- viewed the effects of teacher politics and of teacher unions on the functioning of schooling system as being very negative. These interpretations were derived from interviews of teachers, school principals, educational administrators, teacher union representatives, etc., over a period of two years. But 1986 Commission's report was written with much sympathy for the teaching profession. However, it did not shy away from a frank assessment of the situation. It categorically said, the most important factor responsible for vitiating the atmosphere in schools, was the role of teacher politicians and teachers' organizations (NCT: 1986). Ironically, the role of association in supporting, formulating, drafting, and implementing of policies in schools through huge teacher support is not evaluated or mentioned in any of the later studies.

Experience of non involvement of teachers in preparation and implementation of education plans has made a negative impact on the functioning of current education system. From the point of teachers they were never involved in planning process; this was clearly evident from the historical experience of five year planning process (Naik, 1975). Once the programmes are decided by the higher authorities, teachers are assigned to implement the centrally drafted programmes and schemes. This unidirectional process gives rise to discomfort from teaching community on the non-participatory nature of planning process. Occasional spaces are created for participation in planning process if teachers agitate and protest on the discrepancies in outcome of planning process. All India KendriaVidhyalayaSanghatanaTeacher's Association (AIKVTA) successfully protested through indirect political pressure, the proposed system of evaluations of teachers through student achievement and feedback. .But, impact of such involvement is difficult to assess.

#### **4. IMPACT OF ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES ON OUTCOMES:**

Learning outcomes and teacher participation in union activities is negatively correlated. Aggregate learning outcomes and achievement of students which forms the basis to determine the efficiency of education system to deliver quality is negatively correlated with the teacher participation in union activities in India (Kingdon & Muzammil, 2010). This dimension of negative correlation between teacher engagement in unionization process and its impact on quality raises key questions on formalization of teacher associations in education system.

Most of the studies on teacher unionization and associations across the continents were qualitative in nature and looks at the politics played by these associations in determining the policies and programmes at the national and local levels. In this study we designed a qualitative exploration using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, content analysis of documents on the composition, activities and nature of influence on policies, planning processes by KSPSTA at the state, district and sub-district levels.

#### **5. EXTRA EDUCATIONAL POLITICS:**

Moe (2005, 2006) has examined the teacher unions and issue of extra educational politics in US- and has found that unions as powerful forces in school board elections in the U.S. By actively participating in school board elections, teachers help to select their employers- the very people who set their salaries, benefits, and working conditions (Moe 2006).

#### **METHODOLOGY**

This study followed a similar methodology used by Usha Devi (1995), in her study of "Teacher's association in higher education- an appraisal (1995)". Data obtained through documentary analysis, content analysis, dialogue, discussion and interviews with the office bearers of association, higher functionaries in the education department was analysed using triangulation methodology.

Triangulation of the secondary data sources such content analysis of the bye law documents, association newsletters, association demand documents, news letter by association, proceeding of

executive committee meetings of SSA etc., along with primary sources of data such as interviews, group discussions, and dialogue helped to construct the validity or trustworthiness of the data sources. Triangulation of the opinions of the association members (teacher association president, secretary at the state level, district level and block level), educational functionaries and educational researchers working on the issues of governance and decentralization in education were consulted before arriving at the conclusions. Triangulation of data sources helped us to ensure the validity and dependability of the data as the study was qualitative and opinions of the stakeholders were intended to be captured without any biases or prejudices. These evidences helped us to critically appraise the role of KSPSTA in influencing the educational policies, planning and extra-educational politics.

## **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

KSPSTA is one among the two and largest recognized associations of teachers in Karnataka. It has been officially recognized by government as an important 'organized interest group' of primary teachers. It is one of the largest pressure group, formed for collective bargaining on issues of salary, transfers, service benefits, incentives and issues in education system impacting teachers' welfare. KSPSTA was established in 1972 as a registered society. In its bye law association, it is mandated for democratic, secular ideologies for the universal quality education for all. Officially it got recognition from the state government in the year 1982 to take up the activities and concerns of the teachers to be represented in front of state government (as per KSPTA byelaw of 2011). According to the byelaw of the association, there is a system of election of representatives for every fifty teachers; every five year they have the teacher union elections at the block, district and state level. State education department does monitoring of these elections for a smooth transaction and avoid conflicts at different levels. There are total 3400 teacher union representatives across Karnataka with 33% of seats reserved to the women members.

### **A. INFLUENCE OF KSPSTA ON EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION:**

Day to day interference of the association on administration is being noticed as important element bringing inefficiency. Because of close existence, most of the time there is a conflict of interest between the teacher association representatives and educational bureaucracy. Teacher absentism, request for extra work such as data collection are causes for conflict. These conflicts impact the implementation of programmes at field level. The influence of teacher association on daily functioning is seen as an important cause of concern by education department. These influences are seen more in the northern parts of Karnataka compared to southern parts of the state.

### **B. DEMANDS AND MEMORANDUM BY KSPSTA:**

Association bargains at different levels in education department, some of the issues and demands are raised at the Commissionerate and Secretariat level. Long standing issues and demands are put in front of education minister and chief minister's office. Association submits its demand through a series of consultation and discussions at the block and district levels. The demands are generally ignored or tried to be solved by government based on criticality of issues and its impact on education system, most of the times KSPSTA is called for one to one discussion with appropriate authorities. Negotiations are mostly resolved or turned into some benefits by association representatives and educational bureaucrats. Till now KSPSTA has resolved or negotiated their demands peacefully and has not gone for any major clashes with the government. Through mutual cooperation and discussions most of the demands are amicably resolved at different levels in the system.

Some of the demands like introduction of common schooling system and issues of teachers' voting power in member of legislative council elections, abolition of Nali Kali, posting of head teachers in all schools have not been considered seriously by the government and hence situation of conflict is being speculated by KSPSTA members. Association is ready to go for intensive protest and agitation if these kind of critical demands are not considered seriously by state functionaries. Few negotiations by association with respect to increment in pay scale, transfer and vacation have a

direct impact on overall governance of education system and its indirect impacts are visible on quality outcomes.

**a. Time Bound Increment in Pay Scale:**

As per government policy, teachers are not entitled for time bound increment of pay after completion of ten years of service, though it is in practice for staff of other departments, but not for teachers. The teacher association started campaigning, held various demonstrations and make litigations in high court suing the government of partisan policy. The high court decided in the favour of Karnataka government, but recently government revoked the same order of the high court in favour of teacher association for seniority linked increment without 'seniority tag' attached to them. Further, KSPSTA is demanding for timely implementation of recommendations from 5th Pay Commission at the earliest which is acceded to recently

**b. Transfer, Posting and Promotion:**

State has criteria based teacher transfer policy and as a practice, recommendations from local authorities were considered before transfers were carried out. This became a serious cause of concern as the criteria were very arbitrary in nature, and against equality of justice. Hence the yearly time of transfer used to be a dreaded time and all will approach to use the association office bearers and local politicians to influence transfers. This called for attention from the association and government tried to provide solution to this problem through use of ICT.

Digitalization of teacher transfers was started by the department; KSPSTA readily accepted this suggestion as it was intended to bring more transparency into departmental transfer process. The present transfer policy is seen as a novel policy by KSPSTA, though arm twisting is common at block level. During 2007, Karnataka education secretariat through a notification has provided scope for positive discrimination for elected members of the teacher association thus violating the principles of equality treatment visualized in digitalization process.

**c. Issues of Vacation:**

Teacher association was able to bargain on reducing total number of schooling days from 240 days a year to about 220 days; still they are trying to reduce the number. Every year, the vacation days are changed by the teachers association to suit to their needs, sometime non contextual. State could not come up with yearly vacation policy in the department and left it to School Development and Monitoring Committees (SDMCs) which has caused large scale dissimilarity of vacation in schools, thus causing discomfort in organizing centralized training programs for teachers.

KSPSTA wants the education department to strictly follow the rules of the vacation departments. This is because government organizes some of the trainings during vacation and do not compensate for the extra time spent for training programmes. On the other hand, if any government servant of vacation department is called for any duty during vacation, will be entitled for appropriate earned leave which is credited to his leave account and can be en-cashed on retirement. KSPSTA opines that, trainings during the holidays will not help in improving the attendance of teachers and quality of performance.

**C. INFLUENCE ON EDUCATIONAL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION:**

Association is mandated to take up initiatives for the improvement of education quality at different levels. At district, block, cluster, school level they are supposed to take up constructive programmes. Education welfare at all levels is the prime motto. In tune with this during 1987, positions head teachers were created by the education department to all the schools through the actions of KSPSTA. Association designed the training modules, conducted the training at block and cluster levels. All the expenses such as travel, food, stationary, training modules were provided by the association on its own cost. These administrative trainings were initially provided in school complexes (ShalaSankulas), which were later converted into clusters. Similarly, much of the trainings related to specific subjects, basic education etc., are being provided by the association without taking any financial support from the government. During its initial days association helped the government for the effective implementation of midday meal programme through resource mobilization at the local level.

*Nail kali* programme is implemented only in government schools; this has created confusion among the parents and guardians. This impacted on the government school enrollments on a large level. *Nali Kali* is implemented only in class 1 and 2 in all government schools. In the opinion of association, this programme is against the vision of equal quality education for all the children. Thus because of differential treatment, association feels this programme needs to be given up. KSPSTA appreciates the initiative of Kerala government for drawing its own version of National Curriculum Framework. They feel that, *Nali-Kali* is irrelevant to Karnataka's situation; they say "When most improved states like Kerala is not practicing the activity based learning, then what is the relevance of such failed methodologies in Karnataka?"

#### **D. EXTRA EDUCATIONAL POLITICS:**

Due to the sheer number of KSPSTA members in all levels and their presence in all habitation their influence on party politics and deciding the fate of political power is a matter of curiosity. Interaction of teachers, department officials, and politicians during election time demonstrated by 'incentives' and 'disincentives' they pass on to each other (Beteille, 2009). Some time the promise of a politician for incentive for better transfer/or other incentives ensures the electoral support by the teachers at the local level. Further, teachers have shown the significant influence on vote bank politics and decide the political fate based on the significant correlation values (Kingdon and Muzammil, 2003). These research evidences have been reinforced during the interaction with educational department officials and teacher association members.

One of the long pending demands of the association is about request for voting rights during member of legislative council (MLC) elections represented by the teacher constituencies. Association said that, presently they don't have voting rights in the teacher reserved constituency (*Shikshakara Kshetra*), this is unconstitutional, and they intend to make a judicial case in Supreme Court challenging the law. The present teacher constituency is represented by the secondary school teachers and KSPSTA feels that, it is an injustice made to them.

Sufficient indication of political nexus between teacher union members and educational functionaries is noticed at the block and district level which has implication on administrative matters. Some of the educational functionaries at state level feel that, there is strong nexus between BEO and block teacher association members; they use each other for the mutual benefit. This nexus is very powerful and can impact the policy implementation by twisting the key processes at the local level. The issues related to transfer gets politicized at the block level. Similarly there is symmetrical political nexus is expected at the district and state level. These issues are matter of research curiosity from the point of right to education act implementation in the state.

Office bearers of the teacher association are noticed to neglect classes or remain absent from the schools because of their 'virtual power' to negotiate at the level of BEO and DDPI for petty reasons without taking leave. Most of the time, it is informal adjustments, that provides provision for teacher association members to be absent from school and carrying out activities related to sundry activities of teacher association. This has negative bearing, impacting the quality at local level. Study by Kingdon & Muzammil (2010), suggests a substantial negative relationship with teachers' union members having political connections with student achievement. Performance of student taught by a teacher who is both an union member and politically connected, has lower achievement score than his/her counterpart in the same school who is taught by a teacher who is neither an union member nor politically connected

In Karnataka, except district collector no one else was having the power of disciplinary cases against employees including the teachers and other employees of education department. The association very closely fought this policy to take away the power from district collector and made it to be vested with BEO. After a long battle, the then commissioner of public instruction (CPI) agreed to the proposal and delved the disciplinary power to Block Education Officer (BEO). The BEO is thus the disciplinary authority though DDPI is appointing authority. They feel that BEO understand their problems better than anyone else in the system.

**CONCLUSION**

Due to lesser autonomy and capacity for individual bargaining power, teachers find it difficult to bargain on their own with the system. They get organized by forming teacher associations at different levels, on different values and ideologies. On papers KSPSTA is an apolitical body formed with an idea of quality education but most of the times it remains as a political body bargaining with government on personal wellbeing. Though government understands the importance of KSPSTA as providers of checks and balances for the bureaucracy, but very rarely they recognize their involvement in policy planning processes. Rarely their involvement is seen through representatives of association in some of the executive committees. In effect the policies are formulated and placed before association for their acceptance through different negotiation practices; as such association mainly restricts its activity to carve out various benefits out of the policy rather than negotiating at the policy itself.

Both the parties i.e. government and association wants to create a win-win situation for mutual benefit and make unhealthy compromises on various issues. When the policy is proposed, the government will think about its benefit; it may include both political and developmental agenda and association will look at their benefits and do not bring the real spirit and aspiration intended through the reform. Hence, even though association has been officially recognized by the government as policy negotiator; its role remains mostly limited to impacting the policies of personal benefits and influencing the political mileage. Due the very nature of 'neo-corporate model' of functioning, they could not visualize and create their vision strongly in any area of educational improvement and policies.

The association is organized through interests and characterized by singular, non competitive hierarchically ordered representatives. Being autonomous in origin, it created a 'symbiotic relationship' with the state and to the extent that 'state legitimacy becomes partly reliant on the active consent of recognized interests of the organization'. Like all the other association KSPSTA is busy in creating the image in public by opposing the policy decisions whereas during the negotiation process they are mostly remain as silent spectator and supporters to the government decisions. Due to lack of will and maturity of members they remained in a bargaining mode rather than in a constructive mode. Some time the demands of association placed are merely the wishes without any substantial evidences or reason for the same.

Though present association is not having any political affiliation, in most of the cases they are blessed by the legislature and occupy a key place for filling the quorum for any important meeting issue. This sinks very well with the 'neo-corporate' model of organization that offers a promising alternative for them to attempt to implant the organized interests in decision making process and attempts to reconcile their often divergent objectives through a process of negotiation and bargaining. Like any other associations KSPSTA takes this platform to escape from classroom activities; and department have to yield to their requests and they see it as the obligation made to them, thus recognize the 'structural adjustment syndrome' of devaluation, deregulation to erode the dominance of state system. Policy makers in this situation make a calculated decision to 'share' their authority so that they can build support for the enactment and implementation of policies by granting privileged participation to these organized interest groups. In this study, we have not come across any evidence to demonstrate any interference by KSPSTA in making policies. Also through discussions it is evident that, the expertise of members of association could have been better utilized by the department in educational policy discussions to make the process more participatory so that, acceptance is higher at the implementation level. This could have been empowered the association members from the positions of 'issue bargainers' to 'policy negotiators'.

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