Teachers and Teaching Profession in South Asia

Working Paper

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Centre for Budget and Policy Studies (CBPS)Bangalore

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Abstract: This working paper provides a historical analysis of education systems in the South Asian countries and tries to contextualise the development of the education system, with a special focus on teaching profession, within this framework. It looks at present system of education and teacher management (pre-service training, recruitment, transfers, in-service professional development, grievance redressal procedures) in the South Asian countries of India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives and Myanmar. It also tries to understand the linkages between efficient systems of teacher management and teacher motivation, which ultimately leads to better teacher quality.

Keywords: Education, Teacher Management, Teacher Recruitment, Teacher Deployment, South Asia, Teacher Professional Development, Teacher Training, Teacher Salaries, Education Systems.

1.0 Background

Teaching, at times referred to as 'mother of all professions' is yet to be seen and perceived fully as a 'profession' in South Asia. While on one hand a teacher is referred to as 'Guru' or a teacher who possesses and transfers knowledge that is to be received unquestionably by disciples, on the other hand, teachers – especially at school level- often remain part of a low-status, low-regarded job that is not always 'professionalised'. The question that is often asked in this context is whether teaching is at all a profession. Tyler (1964) addressed this question by using Flexnor's (1915) six criteria of intellectual activity, continuous improvement through a variety of means, presence of a physical objective, effective communication, self-organisation and motivation, and concluded that 'the teaching act requires professional status because it is basic to providing a quality education to all who attend our schools and colleges' (Tyler, 1964, p421). She also concluded that the teaching as practiced then 'does not completely meet the criteria' (Tyler, 1964, p421). This perhaps describes the status of teaching profession well even today in South Asia. South Asian countries, largely constituted of post-colonial nation-states, have been struggling to meet the objective of expanding their schooling system for mass formal education while improving the quality of education by professionalising the job of teaching at the same time, often without finding adequate financial or human resources and appropriate policy frameworks. This chapter examines the profession of a school teacher in South Asia by tracing the history and analysing their present status in terms of their motivation, status, nature and terms of employment and training. This includes the historical and current education structures in these countries, aspects of teacher management (pre-service training, recruitment, professional development, grievance redresal etc.) along with their status in the society.

1.1 Colonial and pre-colonial period

The South Asian countries focussed in this chapter include India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives and Myanmar. Most of these countries are located in the geographically and historically distinct South Asian region and are part of the extended Indian sub-continent. On one side, there are the highest mountains in the countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan,

[1] We acknowledge our colleague, Madhuwanti Mitro's contribution. She researched on the historical contexts of school systems in these countries and prepared notes that we used.

India, Nepal and Myanmar while countries like Maldives, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh are at sea level. The region also has a history of some of the early civilisations and has been a hub of cultural diversity with populations belonging to various religions. All governments, except Pakistan, are formally secular states. Nepal was also a Hindu kingdom till May 2008. Economically, South Asia has been performing better since the 1990s. In 2005, GDP for the region grew at 8.1% (Asia total: 7.6%; USA: 3.2% and Europe: 1.3%) (Jennings, 2009). However, indicators like Gini coefficient indicate that significant levels of inequalities exist in income distribution (UNDP, n.d.), and economic advancement is not trickling down to the poorest sections of the population. Most of the countries have medium level of human development (as per the Human Development Index values and ranking) while four countries have been listed as Least Developed Countries, indicating lower per capita income as compared to other countries. Among the South Asian countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan have a high average annual growth rate of population (more than 2%) while the region also includes two of the E9 countries: India and Pakistan with implications for investment and progress in education.[2]

Although the chapter focuses mainly on the present, it is important to trace the past, as the present is always strongly linked with the past. The present status of teachers in South Asia is also linked with developments in the area of education both during colonial and pre-colonial times. At this juncture, it is important to note that the colonial period differs across all these countries and there are countries like Nepal and Bhutan, which were never directly colonised but felt the impact of colonisation in their neighbouring countries.

One important distinction between pre-colonial practices, that they excluded the masses and were meant only for few elite, and therefore not 'secular' either in terms of religion or the nature of learning (e.g., art or music or dance) being pursued, and colonial system of mass education was the role of and expectations from the teacher. While the selection of knowledge was guided by conventions of belief and needs of the village, the teacher had complete autonomy in deciding the pace of the pedagogy based on the teacher's assessment of the pupil's progress; and it is here that 'indigenous tradition contrasted sharply with the colonial system' (Kumar, 1991, p74). Kumar (1991) argues that the teacher lost his autonomy with introduction of prescribed syllabi and textbooks, the assessment of the student was based on a test designed by someone else, he became a government employee[CITATION UNE18 \l 1033] and had a large number of clerical- non teaching responsibilities, and teaching, especially at primary level, became a non-specialised, low-status job. Low salary, the range and kinds of jobs expected to be performed, the high gap between the salary of a primary teacher and that of a school inspector – are all testimony to his low status (Kumar, 1991, p76-78) and here lies the genesis of a large number of features that define the features and issues of the teaching profession today in the entire sub-continent.

Religion and tradition have played an important role as education has intrinsically been linked with religion: Hindu and other emergent traditions in India and Nepal, Islam in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, Buddhism in India, Bhutan, Myanmar, Nepal and Sri Lanka, and the Christian Missions that entered the region during colonial rule, influenced the schooling systems and progress in a significant manner. While India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have a common colonial history as they largely existed as a single unit under the British Colonial system, the pre-colonial histories differ, many of which continued to have implications for both colonial and post-colonial periods as well. Education in ancient India was exclusive and consisted of the orally transmitted education for males belonging to the high caste Brahmin community with Vedic literature as the main source of teaching. With Buddhism, educational institutions for higher education became prominent. The number of learners increased eventually, and the education system begun to get institutionalised. At the same time, the desire for upward social mobility through education had begun to take roots. (Kaur, 1999).

[2] E9 refers to a forum of nine countries, which was formed to achieve the goals of UNESCO's Education For All (EFA) initiative. The "E" stands for education and the "9" represents the following nine countries: Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan representing over half of the world's population and 70% of the world's illiterate adults in the 1990s.

With the advent of Islam, two parallel education structures began to emerge, the Pathshalas (Sanskrit based) for Hindus and the Madrassahs (Persian and Arabic based) for Muslims.

The late 19th century and early 20th century saw some efforts for mass 'secular' education, outside the fold of religious education institutions , with Saurashtra, Mysore and Travancore kingdoms adopting legal measures to make primary education compulsory (Bhattacharaya et al, 2003). During the colonial rule, what is commonly known as Wood's Despatch of 1854, laid the foundation of State sponsored mass education system in India by emphasising the opening of schools across the entire country. A number of acts and resolutions followed in later years and Post-colonial school education systems in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh continue to be using a number of mechanisms and processes that were first initiated by implementation of the recommendations of the Wood's Despatch.

Pakistan also inherited the same colonial system as India at the time of independence. Being a Muslim-majority State, Pakistan also retained its traditional form of education through the madrassahs and madaris (Anjum 2017). In successive years privatisation has also taken roots, as is also true for India; a fifth of children in Pakistan go to private schools, with a larger chunk of this coming from wealthier urban households, as compared to government and out of school children. (Nguyen and Raju, 2014). Starting 1958, Pakistan also experienced major brakes in democracy with long periods of military rule which had implications for education as well. This has especially been true since 1977 when Md. Zia-ul-Haq came to power through a military coup and adopted Islamisation in many sectors including education in his eleven year rule. 'He used education as a foil and as an instrument of state control. Diversity in curriculum was discouraged in Curzonian fashion with added emphasis on uniformity and Islamicity. The syllabus of history courses was revised to begin with the Arab conquest of Sind and omitted the pre-Islamic period of Indian history.' (Akhtar)

Present day Bangladesh, which was erstwhile East Pakistan, came out as a sovereign country in 1971, after gaining independence from Pakistan. The madrassah system was widely present there. Before India's partition, the present day Bangladesh was part of undivided Bengal and the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930, followed by the Bengal Education Code 1931 that created a district school board for administration of primary and secondary education can be seen as initial steps creating a system of mass primary education in Bangladesh. However, before Bangladesh gained independence, education had been exclusively preserved for the elite. Economic and social mobility acted as hindrances for the marginalised groups (Rahman et. al., 2010). Right after its independence, starting with a literacy rate of 16.8%, the government took up measures like nationalisation of private primary education, universal primary education, and establishing separate administrative structures down to the sub-district level. The presence and role of external aid has been high in Bangladesh since its formation as an independent State.

Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, was also a British province and imprints of colonial rule are obvious there as well. During pre-colonial times, boys were imparted Buddhist education in monasteries while girls were taught domestic chores at home[CITATION raghuram-2008-south-asia-social-development:-country-perspectives-and-regional-concerns \l 1033]. During the British regime, parallel education systems existed. The vernacular schools were administered by local authorities and were the only schools available for the majority of children in the country. Higher fees of anglo-vernacular schools made it difficult to afford for children coming from a marginalised background. The country was ruled by Japan directly under military authority during the Second World War and later by a military administration under the British since 1943. Myanmar gained independence and became a republic in 1948. Democracy was short-lived and in 1962, after the military coup, all schools were nationalised, and system of education was reorganised in 1964, comprising of basic education; technical, agricultural, vocational education; higher education. In 1974, with constitutional dictatorship, a fourth component was added, i.e., educational research. The country continued to witness civil wars and political unrest till the elections of 2010. Myanmar is emerging from 50 years of turmoil marked primarily by a closed authoritarian government with poor records in terms of governance and socio-economic development (OECD 2014).This long period of

unrest in the country had its impact on the education system as well. The country is marred with low enrolment rates, high out of school children with large sections of population who have never attended school (UNICEF 2000).

The island countries of Sri Lanka and Maldives have similar historical trajectories. Buddhist education dominated both the countries during pre-colonial times. In Sri Lanka, Buddhist temples and monasteries were centres of learning till the Portuguese invasion, which lead to setting up of the Roman Catholic schools. Formal schools based on western education system were also propagated by the British who occupied Sri Lanka after the Portuguese. Post-independence, education reforms related to curriculum and learning, medium of instruction, teachers training and improvement in overall education system in the country was implemented. Presently, free education is provided to all children in government schools. Maldives was inhabited by Buddhists till the 12th century A.D. when Islam was formally adopted by the country. This period was marked by dominance of religious education. The Portuguese, Dutch and finally the British invasion in Maldives marked setting up of modern education system, similar to that witnessed in Sri Lanka. Government schools for boys and girls, and traditional Islamic school for lower primary levels were set up in each island during pre-independence period. Post-independence, English medium schools and a unified national system of education was introduced, as a move towards universalisation of primary education.

Both Nepal and Bhutan were monarchies, before they finally adopted democracy at different points of time in the early 21st Century. Although these never became colonies, they were at threat from British colonial power and managed to sign treaties to retain their political structure. Sharing a longer and porous border with India, Nepal's educational trajectory was somewhat linked to India's. Under the rule of the Ranas, the first western style school was established in 1854, as a private school for the family members, which was later opened to the public in 1902. It was around this time that the Prime Minister declared free and universal primary education for the first time, as a result of which 200 schools were established across the country, offering non-western education (Pradhan, 2018). In Nepal, currently, there is no provision for compulsory education, although basic and primary education is free. Schools, often, collect contributions on a mandatory basis, which has been critiqued as it can lead to further marginalisation and exclusion. Early childhood development and pre-primary education are still emerging concepts. Besides formal education of primary, secondary and higher secondary education, the non-formal education provides basic and primary education, along with provisions for adult literacy (UNESCO, 2009).

Bhutan, in comparison, is more isolated both geographically and politically. Formal schooling in Bhutan, except for religious learning, was not widespread. In 1988, the new king launched a national policy demanding everyone comply with Buddhist traditions, which led to internal protests and Nepalese residents fled to Nepal, living in refugee camps in Nepal. Currently, there are two kinds of education in Bhutan, modern education and monastic education. From the 8th century, monastic education has played a dominant role, which continues to exist even today. Children in monastic education spend a considerable time reading scriptures and learning prayers, including how to perform rituals. Currently, monasteries are estimated to be catering to 15% of total school enrolment numbers (UNESCO, 2009). Modern education began in Bhutan by a number of students being sent to study in India. Currently the government is trying to develop its own systems of both formal and non-formal education to reach large numbers.

Afghanistan has an ancient history of education under various rulers, ranging from the Mauryan Empire, Kushans and the Islamic dynasty of the Pasthuns. However, the recent history of the country is marred by invasions and wars. The beginning of the British Rule in Colonial India led to Russian forces approaching the northern borders of Afghanistan, leading to number of territorial conflicts. After a number of years of constitutional monarchy, Afghanistan finally established itself as a republic in 1973 but this was disrupted first by Russian troops and then the civil war that broke out in 1992, leading to emergence of Talibans, and finally the formation of an interim government in 2004. This turmoil affected the education system as well. Traditionally, religious education continued till early 20th century, when the king made primary education compulsory for all, including girls. However,

education was largely limited to urban centers. The Taliban banned education for girls and limited education to madrassahs only. After the Taliban was overthrown, education law granted equal rights to education to all Afghan citizens. However the country is still struggling with lack of adequate number of schools, infrastructure, trained teachers and female teachers in rural areas which has led to low enrolment and high dropout rates, especially for girls. Continued threats of disruption and memories of the war make the progress even more challenging.

What emerges is that despite all kinds of differences and diversities that exist in the region, it is united in many ways in its pre-colonial, colonial and contemporary histories. The covert or overt presence and influence of religion in education landscape, continuation of the colonial large-scale, often centralised systems of school-education delivery, post-independent tensions created by internal strives and civil-wars or civil-war kind of situations and the struggles to sustain or deepen their democracies, all have implications for the education processes and the teaching profession in the region. While we are not sure we can do justice to these relationships in this chapter that covers the entire region with huge diversities and nuances, we are making an effort to present the facts about various aspects of the profession that influences the lives and working of a teacher. One observation made by Kumar (1991) about the teaching profession in the colonial era deserves attention, as, it remains central even today. The lack of autonomy in a large-scale, centralised system, where the teacher's primary job was to complete the teaching of prescribes text in the prescribed time-frame, made teacher on one hand, powerless, with no role in deciding the curriculum content, planning and choice of materials, and on the other hand, all powerful, within the classroom, where for children are dictated to do follow all his instructions without any questioning, and without realising that 'their teacher hides his powerlessness behind the mask of being all powerful' (Kumar, 1991, p88). This also meant a lack of mutual trust for teachers and school systems, and that lack of mutual trust, as we would see in subsequent analysis, is reflected in a number of features and policies relating to teachers even during contemporary times in the region.

1.2 Post-colonial and contemporary period

All Post-colonial regimes in South Asia in their initial years of independence tried to adopt some form of democracy and establish and strengthen the colonial structures of mass education as the means to take schooling to their vast, largely illiterate, populations. Since most of these countries were under the British colonial rule and other countries in the region also followed similar models, which is the main reason why the current education structures of these countries are very similar to each other (Jennings, 2009).With time and change in political spaces, although many features of these systems underwent change, the main frames have remained largely the same in especially in terms of grade or class structures, and also in terms of the managements of school.

The current education system in all South Asian countries consists of early-childhood or pre-school education for those in the age-group 3-5 years, followed by basic elementary education of 7 or 8 years from Grade 1 to Grade 7 or 8. Students enter primary classes at the age of 5 or 6 years. Secondary is usually categorised as junior/lower/middle secondary (Grades 8 or 9 till grade 10) and higher secondary (Grades 11 and 12) (Nagpal & Opper, 2013, Jennings, 2009,World Bank & DFID, 2010 and UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2015). Almost all countries have a national level certification examination after the completion of lower and/or higher secondary, conducted through various examination boards. This certification is a benchmark for entrance into the higher/tertiary education and also often the labour market. Public schooling is free in almost all the countries (if not completely free, then some aspects are free like tuition and textbooks) (UNESCO, 2018). The matrix here gives an overview of the education system across all countries.

Table 1: An Overview of Education Systems across South Asia

Country	Early Childhood Education	Primary / Elementary	Lower / Middle / Junior Secondary	Higher Secondary	Post Higher Secondary	Additional Information	No. of years of Free Education
Afghanistan	For those in 5-6 years age group	Compulsory Education from Grades 1 to 6	Grades 7 to 9	Grades 10 to 12	Tertiary and Vocational Education can start at Grade 10 and continue till Grade 16	Islamic Education continues from Grade 1 to 12	Primary: 6 Secondary: 6
Bhutan	Child care centers and nurseries for those in the age-group 3-5 years	Pre-primary + Grades 1 to 6	Lower Secondary: Grades 7 and 8 Middle / Technical Schools: Grades 9 and 10	Grades 11 and 12	Three or more years of Tertiary Education	Primary and Secondary Education is free	Primary: 7 Secondary: 3
Bangladesh	Age-group 3-5 years	Grades 1 to 5	Junior Secondary: Grades 6 to 8 Secondary: Grades 8 to 10	Grades 11 to 12	Technical Vocational education takes place after Grade 8	A parallel system of religious education also exists with similarly advancing levels.	Primary: 5
India	Age-group 3-5 years	Grades 1 to 8	Grades 9 and 10	Grades 11 and 12	Higher and technical education after passing the higher secondary examination	A parallel system of religious education also exists	Primary: 5 Secondary: 3
Maldives	No information available	Grades 1 to 7	Grades 8 to 10	Grades 11 and 12		Universalising 7 years of basic education	Primary: 7 Secondary: 5
Nepal	No information available	Grade 1 to 5	Lower Secondary: Grades 6 to 8 Secondary: Grade 9 – 10	Proficiency Certificate Level (PCL) at university campuses Grade 11 – 12 in		There is no compulsory education but tuition and textbooks are free	Primary: 5 Secondary:3

				higher secondary schools			
Pakistan		Primary: Grades 1 to 5 Middle: Grade 6 to 8	Grades 9 and 10	Grades 11 and 12	Higher Secondary Certification Examination acts as an entrance for higher education		Primary: 5 Secondary: 7
Sri Lanka	Provided by local authorities, religious bodies, voluntary organizations and the private sector for those in 3-5 years age-group	Grades 1 to 5	Junior Secondary: Grades 6 to 9	Two years leading to the G.C.E. (O Levels) examination and followed by two years leading to the G.C.E. (A Levels) examination.		Non formal education caters to the needs of out-of-school children and adult groups in the community with a focus on the needs of disadvantaged groups in the society	Primary: 5 Secondary: 8

Source: Compiled from different sources cited in the chapter

Figure 1: Similarities across Education Systems in South Asia

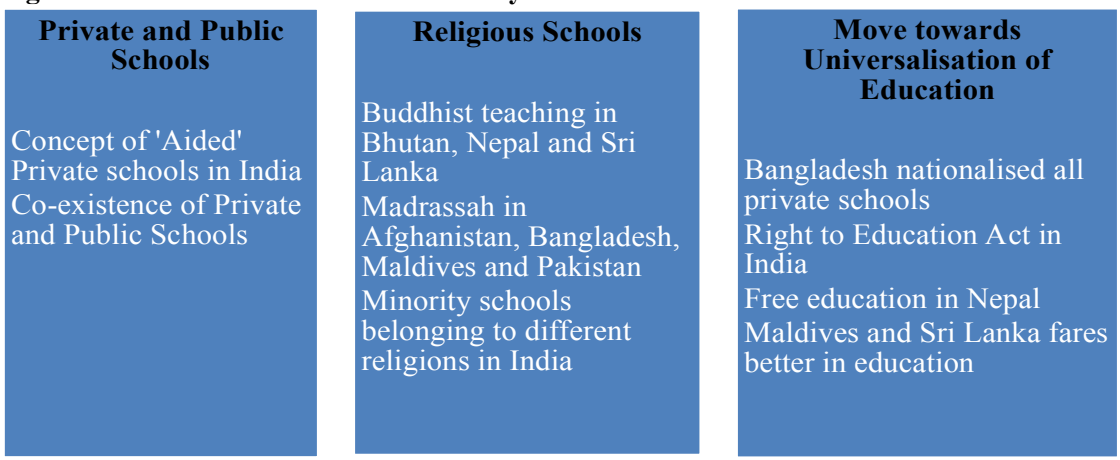

Table 1 above gives an overview of the current education system in the South Asian countries. The table, along with Figure 1, also indicates the similarities across the features of the education system in these countries.

The demand for teachers has been growing with increased enrolment and also with increased commitment to follow the established norms of maintaining particular levels of Pupil Teacher Ratios (PTR). As per the Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report 2019, the PTR for countries like Bangladesh and India are low but an average ratio hides crowded classrooms of 100 or more students as visits to disadvantaged areas would show, which cannot be acceptable to support sound teaching-learning (See Table 2 below). State level Pupil Teacher Ratios indicates a better picture for India. There is also a difference between public and private school systems with respect to PTR. In Pakistan, 30% of students attend private schools, which are outside the regulation for maximum PTR. Hence, average PTR in private schools in Pakistan is high at about 80 (UNESCO 2017-18). Afghanistan, due to massive delay in initiating educational reforms, is still struggling to keep their PTR below 40.However, PTR in countries like Sri Lanka, Maldives and Nepal are better than their neighbouring countries. At the secondary level the gross PTR is more problematic than at the primary level, because teachers need to be specifically qualified to teach certain subjects. The issue of female teachers also adds another dimension to the issue of PTR in countries where single sex schools for girls taught by only women teachers is considered essential for girls. For instance, Afghanistan and Pakistan have female enrolment at around 40 per cent of their total primary enrolment, and a high female out-of-school population for primary and secondary classes (UNESCO, 2018). For Afghanistan, more than 70 per cent of their adolescent girls are currently out of school. Given the degree of political instability in both the countries, lack of female teachers at various levels of education (less than 30 per cent for Afghanistan and around 50 per cent for Pakistan) (UNESCO, 2018) becomes a significant barrier.

Table 2: Pupil Teacher Ratios and Percentage of Trained Teachers across the region for various years

Country		Afghanistan			Bangladesh			Bhutan			India			Maldives			Myanmar			Nepal			Pakistan			Sri Lanka		
Year		**'99**	**'07**	**'15**	**'99**	**'07**	**'15**	**'99**	**'07**	**'15**	**'99**	**'07**	**'15**	**'99**	**'07**	**'15**	**'99**	**'07**	**'15**	**'99**	**'07**	**'15**	**'99**	**'07**	**'15**	**'99**	**'07**	**'15**
Pupil Teacher Ratio	**Pre-Primary**	-	-	-	27	-	-	22	23	12	-	40	20	31	24	16	22	19	28	-	41	21	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Primary	-	43	44	-	45	36	42	30	38	35	-	31	24	15	10	31	29	28	39	38	22	-	40	46	-	23	23
Percentage of Trained Teachers	**Pre-Primary**	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	100	-	-	-	47	45	73	-	54	48	-	73	88	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Primary	-	-	-	-	56	48	100	91	100	-	-	77	67	66	86	60	99	100	46	66	97	-	85	82	-	-	71

Source: EFA Global Monitoring Reports (UNESCO 2010 and UNESCO 2017-18); '-' indicates no data available; Trained teachers are defined as those who have received at least the minimum organized and recognized pre-service and in-service pedagogical training required to teach at a given level of education. Data on trained classroom teachers are not collected for countries whose education statistics are gathered through the OECD, Eurostat or the World Education Indicators questionnaires.

The challenge of universalisation of basic education became far more prominent in the newly independent countries and attracted global attention during the 1970s. The internationalisation of the issue through Education for All (EFA) summits and goals, formation of groupings such as E9 and emergence of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also saw the entry of international aid to school education sector of the region in a major way. While most countries had initiated some steps to expand and enhance the quality of their schooling systems, it faced major challenges in meeting the financial resource needs. Education has often been at the lower end of priority in the context of contesting demands for the available finances and external aid came handy in filling the gap. While the jury is still out, it remains a fact that though the presence of external aid helped in enabling a few desired reforms and also in fast-paced expansion of the schooling system in many cases, it also played a role, direct or indirect, in pushing some measures for teachers with far-reaching undesirable consequences in the long run. For instance, the emergence of so-called para teachers, who is generally lowly paid, working on contract with high levels of insecurity, in high-population countries and sub-national entities was a result of both international pressures and domestic demand to expand their school education system at a fast pace without commensurate public investment in higher education that could generate qualified and trained teachers for school education. Although no one can deny the need for fast expansion to reach each child, and also the dilemma of public policy choices in the context of fiscal constraints, it is also important that the long term views are not lost for short term gains. These measures have led to creation of multiple teaching cadres in many countries and states, and added layers to complexities to what is already a vast and complex management state. We would return to this issue towards the end; here, now we move to the analysis of teacher management and their working condition.

2.0 Teacher Management and their working condition in contemporary South Asia

Teachers are critical as ultimately they are the ones who deliver in the classroom. Teacher motivation, commitment and accountability alongside teacher competence and subject knowledge are considered important for teachers' performance and the quality of teaching (UNESCO, 2016). A number of studies from high-population, developing countries implies that higher salaries in conjunction with curricular reforms, teacher training initiatives and institutional reforms enhance teacher motivation in the classroom, having direct implications on the teaching-learning process. Teacher motivation, commitment and accountability are as important as teacher competence and subject knowledge (CBPS 2011). Status given to teachers is also closely linked with their motivation towards better performance in the classroom. International organisations like ILO and UNESCO have long advocated for better working conditions for teachers in order to ensure that they are accorded a proper status (Stromquist, 2018; UNESCO Bangkok, 2015; UNESCO 2016).

As most South Asian countries with an exception of Afghanistan, have managed to increase school access, at least for elementary classes, students' lack of learning in these schools have become a major concern (Chaudhury et al., 2004; Dundar et al., 2014; Stromquist, 2018). The teacher related policies are being identified as intrinsically linked with the issue. A key finding of the Young Lives Project in India, Ethiopia, Peru and Vietnam, is that teacher characteristics and practices, i.e. what the teacher 'believe and does' in the classroom are two of the most critical factors in determining how children learn in the classroom (Singh & Sarkar 2012). A number of other studies have also tried to define what constitutes teacher policy and importance of teacher management in improving teacher quality. A comprehensive bibliography of teacher management done by UNESCO (Gottlemann and Yekhlef, 2005) identifies three major challenges as the overarching framework for teacher management: (a) Provide enough teachers (to meet the demand): this includes recruitment and deployment; redistribution of teachers (transfer and posting); (b) Enable teachers to do "good work" from both the pupils' and teachers' point of view: this includes status & working conditions, autonomy and freedom, avenues for professional growth and development and school leadership; and, (c) Respond to the major existing (especially financial) constraints: different categories of teachers and their salary and periodic increments, policy decisions on contract teachers, incentives and increments.

Similar dimensions of teacher policy and management have been outlined by The World Bank SABER-Teacher Survey, UNESCO's Teacher Policy Development Guide, Education 2030 Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action, research studies undertaken in various countries (e.g. Ramanchandran et al 2016 in India, Vegas and Ganimian 2011 across 20 countries in Asia, Europe, Africa and Australia) which include (a) recruitment, (b) deployment and re-deployment (transfer and posting), (c) salary and periodic increments, (d) working conditions, (e) professional growth and development and (f) autonomy and freedom (academic and managerial) and (g) school leadership. With this backdrop we examine the existing practices around teacher education, training, employment status, recruitment and deployment processes, professional development and other mechanisms that influence their status, motivation, competence and engagement. Our focus is the State systems, and we are not discussing the private or denominational/ religion based school systems except brief references.

2.1 Working Conditions of Teachers: Nature of Employment, Remuneration and Feminisation of the Profession:

Almost all countries in the region require their trained teachers to have at least grade 12 or equivalent and a special certificate course designed for teachers given in Table 3. Except Bangladesh, all countries all offer Education as a subject in their undergraduate and post-graduate courses in Universities along with special certificate / pre-service course that applicants need to undergo in order to apply for the post of regular / permanent teachers in the public schooling system. The nature of pre-service teacher preparation, and how in-service training and upgrading and supervisory support for teachers complement and re-enforce each other remain an important policy concern (The Print, 2017).

Table 3: Basic Requirements for Teacher Employment

Country	Course	Average Duration of the Course
Sri Lanka	Diploma and Degree	Three years
India	Diploma and Degree (for different levels)	One – Two years
Maldives	Language specific pre-service training; Diploma and Degree	One – Two years
Bangladesh	Diploma in Education	18 months

Source: Lhaden, 2018; UNESCO, 2015; UNESCO Bangkok, 1990

(a) Nature of employment: Most countries, as discussed below, in the region started by recruiting only regular teachers but, as stated earlier, in the course of trying to expand their education system, resorted to recruiting teachers on contract basis on lower salaries. These were often, though not necessarily untrained and local teachers hired to circumvent the legally required and mandated procedures for hiring regular and trained teachers. While, this proved to be cost-effective and ensured increased availability of teachers within a short span of time (Gonzalez Palau, 2012; Lhaden, 2018; UNESCO, 2014, Aturupane & Shojo, 2012). But, it has also created duality in the system leading to teacher discontent, especially because often these contract teachers, with much lower pay, have comparable educational qualifications as the full-time teachers (Ramachandran V. et. al, 2016). In some countries, like Bhutan and Maldives, the contract teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. In federal India, where Education is in the Concurrent List, meaning both union and state governments are responsible for making laws and for service delivery, different states follow different practices. These choices are largely guided by their fiscal ability on one hand, and the need on the other. Southern and Western Indian states that are relatively resource rich with better development indicators and therefore a declining age-group population, need fewer additional teachers and therefore have largely refrained from hiring contract teachers whereas the demand for additional teachers is high in the states in Eastern and Central India with precarious fiscal positions and high population share of children, and they have often adopted the contract teacher route to meet this

demand. While some states where teachers are hired on contract initially, they have a defined career path wherein contract teachers are absorbed as full-time teachers in the system in a given number of years, in others, especially in some eastern states, they continue to be contract teachers for the school till they can pass the qualifying examinations, for which there is no certainty (Ramachandran et. al, 2016).

(b) Remuneration: In a situation where teaching is one of the government jobs, the salary is a good though not the only indicator of the positioning and status. Seen from this perspective, teachers are often paid less than their counterparts in education administration, and therefore indicative of their lower status. In a federal country like India, different states follow different salary structures – some follow the Government of India norms as per the Central Pay Commissions while others follow State-level pay scales. But, as mentioned earlier, the salary – often referred to as honorarium to avoid legal hurdles, for contract teachers are substantially lower than regular teachers (Ramchandran et al, 2016). This is also true for other countries in the region (UNESCO, 2014; UNESCO Bangkok, 2014). In Bhutan, salaries are differentiated as per according to subject, education level and years of service, but not by geographic area or teacher performance. Public financing is the main source of funding education budget, which is transferred from the central level to Dzongkhags. Often, teachers complain about their higher workload compared to civil servants at the same pay grade in other sectors (Nagpal & Opper, 2013). However, level of teachers' salaries is comparatively low in Pakistan and Bangladesh, also considered a major contributor to low quality of teaching and learning (UNESCO, 2018). This is despite the fact that only 5% of the recurrent expenditure in 2009-10 was on non-salary items, as indicated by a an analysis of expenditure in six districts in Pakistan (UNESCO, 2014). Teacher salary (mean) in comparison to other occupations is high in India (1998/99), Pakistan (2008) and Sri Lanka (2008) although working hours for teachers in all the three countries is less than non-teachers. Gap between hourly salary for teachers and non-teachers was highest in Sri Lanka (almost 50%), followed by Pakistan (24%) and Bangladesh (6%). In Nepal, there was no significant difference between salaries of teachers and non-teachers (Dundar et al., 2014).

Teachers' salaries are the largest component of the education budget across most developed and developing countries. The same is true for the South Asian region. Education is about 2.06 per cent of GDP and 11.17 per cent of national budget in Bangladesh however, more than 90 per cent of recurrent expenditure for different levels of education (in 2010) was spent on salaries (Asian Development Bank, 2017). Similarly, salary expenditures form a major share in Nepal's education expenditure, despite total education expenditure being about 4 per cent of their GDP. Sri Lanka has the lowest public investment in education in the region (about 2 per cent of their GDP and 7.3 per cent of their national budget) (Asian Development Bank, 2017) but spends about 85.5 per cent of their primary education expenditure on teachers' compensation (Table 9 in Annex, UNESCO, 2014). Afghanistan, despite lack of teachers, spends about 90 per cent of its Operating Budget of the Ministry of Education on teachers' salaries (World Bank & DFID, 2010). The present system in Afghanistan is a remnant of a prior salary structure in which salary was supplemented by non-salary remuneration, such as allowances for food, transportation, and other costs. Originally, salary represented the largest part of the remuneration, but over the years, it has shrunk to a small fraction of the total (Asian Development Bank, 2003). For Afghanistan's current teacher salary system, the existing grade structure for teachers emphasizes seniority rather than competence and responsibility, and is based on the existing civil service salary scale that is very compressed (highest US$65 and lowest US$25 a month)(World Bank & DFID, 2010). This preference for seniority over competence is true for almost all countries in the region, as teaching is also part of the same bureaucracy where seniority rather than competence is rewarded more.

It can be inferred that the overall expenditure in education is low in the region and therefore, despite low salaries of teachers, the component occupies a high proportion of their education budgets. It will be interesting to compare this to the overall expenditure on personnel cost in the country (which will include government employees in other professions) and social sector spending in the country to understand the relative positioning of teachers in terms of public spending on them. This exercise was

conducted for India which indicates that ---- So, seen from the teacher's perspectives, high expenditure on teachers' salaries does not make much sense to them as they remain at the lowest run of the government white-collar services.

A major difficulty that the countries in this region face is presence of teachers in the rural and remote areas. In some countries like India, Nepal and Pakistan, additional incentives, financial and non-financial, are provided to incentivise teachers to take up positions in difficult terrains / remote areas. Some states in India offer special allowances e.g. hill allowance, for this purpose (Jha et al, 2016). Safe housing in Bangladesh encourages women to teach in rural areas (UNESCO, 2014). Bhutan and Afghanistan have no special financial incentive for teachers working in difficult terrains. However, despite such additional incentives, countries still face high vacancies in rural areas with low number of teachers, especially female teachers, in rural area that has an adverse impact on girls' enrolment and retention, especially at secondary level.

(c) Feminisation of the Profession: An interesting fact about teaching profession in South Asia is that while it has become highly feminised in small countries such as Maldives and Sri Lanka where literacy rates as well as school participation rates have been high for a few decades now (this being also true for sun-national levels such as Kerala and a few Southern states in India), the representation of females is still low in most other countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan and the rest of India. Feminisation of the teaching profession needs to be understood as a complex phenomenon. For instance, in the context of countries that have achieved the goals of Universal Primary Education[CITATION Jha16 \l 1033] on (UPE) and gender parity in education, historical analysis indicates that an influx of women into the teaching profession has been central to these successes (Cortina and San Roman, 2006). But that generally comes with its own issues as outlined by the Second World Congress of Education International in 1998. These included issues of concentration of women overwhelmingly in the early stages of education and the presence[CITATION Fat \l 1033] of direct or indirect discriminations against them within the profession (Kelleher 2011). Such concerns emanate from and also feed into a broader discourse that looks at gender inequality from more nuanced perspectives where issues such as gender pay gap, 'glass ceilings' in promotion, and women's struggle for continued economic equality when dealing with their responsibilities within the reproductive sphere have continued to be present in developed countries with fully-educated and relatively empowered female workforces (Kelleher, 2011). At the same time, we also have examples of countries such as Finland, Korea, Ireland and Cyprus, where highly feminised teacher workforces have not diminished its high social status (Drudy, 2008, Mavrogeni, 2000, Kelleher 2011). It is important for South Asian and other developing countries to understand these phenomena in their entirety so that the trends of feminisations in teaching profession translate themselves into positive individual and collective experiences for women teachers as a whole in the region.

2.2 Pre-Service Education

Development of pre-service education has different trajectories in each of the countries although a number of countries inherited a few colleges of education as well as university departments of education where bachelor's degrees in Education were granted. Barring some exceptions, the nature of teacher training remained the same as during colonial times, at least till the 1990s. This has especially been evident in terms of the main focus on maintain the order in the classroom and the use of 'model lessons' imparted by trainers: 'we need not probe the historical records in order to get an idea of this aspect of teacher training, for the ethos and methods of Indian training institutions have remained remarkably stable over the last 100 years' (Kumar, 1991, p63), a comment made for Indian training system but largely true for eh entire sub-continent. A brief overview of the pre-service education in South Asian region is given in the Table 4 below:

Table 4: Overview of Pre-Service Education in South Asia

Country	Main Features of Pre-Service Education
Afghanistan	• Pre-war: 14 teacher training colleges offering two year course • Post-war: Most full time teachers have no formal teacher training • Tertiary training of teachers does not often lead to graduates taking up the teaching profession
Bangladesh	• Primary teacher training institutes (PTIs) function under Department of Education and are certified by National Academy for Primary Education • Secondary school teacher training institutes are governed by Ministry of Education and are under the National University
Bhutan	• Reformed Pre-Service Education in 2010 • Upgraded Entrance Examination to enter the profession • Distance learning to upgrade teachers' qualifications • Percentage of expatriate teachers is declining (around 8 per cent at present) – mostly needed for Secondary classes to teach Mathematics and Science
India	• Broad policy and legal framework for teacher education is provided by the central government, while implementation of the programmes is the job of the state government. • A large network of teacher training institutions (TTIs), university department and colleges exist in public and private sectors • The National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) is the statutory body that regulates Teacher Education across states and for central government
Maldives	• Language specific teacher training programmes • Two-year programme in Dhivehi for those teaching in atolls • One-year programme in English medium for those with General Certificate in Education "O" levels and teach mostly in English medium schools in Male • One-year special course for Dhivehi, Islam and Environmental Studies teachers as emergency course to train specialised teachers in these subjects
Myanmar	• Two-year diploma at one of the 25 Education Colleges throughout the country • Five-year university degree (Bachelor of Education) offered at Universities of Education. • Post-graduate course (Pre-service Primary Teacher Training) offered through Education Colleges
Nepal	• Implementation of National Education System Plan • Mandatory training to secure tenure and differential pay for trained and untrained teachers • National Center for Educational Development offers certificate programme and affiliated colleges offer degrees outside the university
Pakistan	• Around 300 teacher education/training institutions in public

	and private sectors offer a variety of teacher education programs ranging from primary school certificate to PhD in Education
Sri Lanka	• National Colleges of Education offer diploma level programmes • National Institute of Education offer degree and post-graduate programmes

In almost all countries, teachers are recruited specifically for teaching in English as well as local language. In countries like Bhutan and Maldives, where a large number of teachers are recruited from outside the country, finding teachers to teach in local language becomes a serious challenge. For this purpose, Maldives has designed specific teacher education programme for those interested in teaching in the local language (UNESCO Bangkok, 1990).

Despite, what appears as a well-structured pre-service education programme, these remain patchy, isolated and many a times, perfunctory. Sarangapani (2011) pointed out that the first deficiency was inadequate investments which led to poor quality in general, privatisation, underpaying of staff and general laxity in quality assurance. The second problem was the failure of the regulatory body to exercise its quality control role of establishing and enforcing relevant standards and checking corruption and mismanagement. The regulations were often narrow, focusing on such factors as land, building and formal academic credentials which hampered genuine quality measures and stymied creative approaches (The Print, 2017). The third problem relates to the knowledge base, values and attitudes promoted or neglected by teacher education. Many teachers in India believed fear to be the principal motivation for student learning, that children from scheduled tribes and castes were 'not educable', and that motherhood was the dharma of girls (Sarangpani, 2011).

Apart from these, different countries in the region faced specific challenges in reforming its pre-service education systems. Pakistan took an innovative step towards introducing education as a subject in secondary and higher secondary classes but the programme was unsuccessful due to the lack of interest from the students (UNESCO Bangkok, 1990). Maldives has a higher percentage of untrained teachers, especially in the atolls (islands) and hence a serious need for expansion of pre-service education opportunities is felt (Aturupane & Shojo, 2012). In Sri Lanka, a professional qualification is not a requirement for recruitment as a teacher as is the case in other South Asian countries. Existing programmes for pre-service teacher education and their annual output are small and insufficient to meet the demand for qualified teachers. A peculiarity of Sri Lanka teacher education is that the B.Ed. degree programmes are limited to the students who enter the universities in the arts stream with the contents confined to the subjects offered in the Faculties of Arts. The academic components of these programmes, therefore, do not fully match the needs of the full spectrum of the school curriculum. Unlike smaller countries in the region, Pakistan and India face a major challenge of scale due to their vast population and increasing demand for trained teachers at all levels- primary and secondary. Bangladesh does not face the challenge as it does not have a mandatory pre-service teacher development and education programme. It does not have provisions for education as an area of study within the undergraduate degree programme, though teaching and related education sector is the largest single employer of college graduates. Bangladesh situation highlights problems in respect of the value of high academic credentials, a lack of established standards and the absence of an effective strategy regarding the approach for academic and professional preparation of teachers. The need for trained teachers, especially subject-wise teachers has also thrown various recruitment challenges in the region that we discuss next.

2.3 Recruitment: Criteria and Processes

The first step towards recruitment is to forecast the demand for the teachers, based on the teacher Pupil Ratio and subject-wise teacher vacancies. However, often this is not the procedure that is followed while undertaking recruitment for teachers. In Bangladesh, there is a mismatch between

statistics Education Management Information System and Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics leading to conflicting or duplicating roles. In Nepal, there is an overlap between Department of Education and Teacher Service Commission resulting in teacher registrations leading to excess supply of teachers. In Bhutan, teacher recruitment is merit-based, and evidence points to the on-time disbursement of teacher salaries 7-9 months during the year (Nagpal & Opper, 2013).

Despite having different criteria for pre-service education as an eligibility to enter the education system as teachers, all the countries require basic schooling of 12 years along with certain level of teacher education training. They also follow two kinds of processes for recruitment: either they restrict the number of candidates who enter the system for teacher training or allow large number of students to enter teacher training programmes and then select the top candidates based on some kind of screening (examination and/or interview) (Sclafani, n.d).

Table 5: Criteria for Teacher Recruitment

Country	Screening Test	Interview	Processes of Recruitment
Afghanistan	Not clear	Not Clear	Low allocations from Finance Ministry lead to hiring of contract teachers (local appointment)
Bangladesh	Yes	Yes	Primary school teachers appointed by Directorate of Primary Education and Secondary school teachers are hired by Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education
Bhutan	Not clear	Not clear	Teachers are recruited by Dzongkhags (administrative unit)
India	Yes	Depends upon States	Each State has its own process; Central Government recruits through screening test of eligible candidates
Maldives	Not clear	Not clear	Recruitment of overseas teachers
Myanmar	Not clear	Not clear	English teachers recruited largely from outside the country
Nepal	Yes	Yes	(a) Recruitment of successful candidates through Teacher Service Commission (b) Community managed schools recruit teachers through School Management Committee
Pakistan	Yes	In some cases	Issue of political patronage in recruitment; Reforms initiated for merit-based recruitment
Sri Lanka	Yes	Yes	(a) Through Provincial Councils (i.e. Public Service Commission) (b) Through Ministry of Education (General Education trainee teachers)

Till 1971, Nepal government had delegated all responsibilities of teacher appointment, promotion and transfers to School Management Committees of individual schools. Between 1971 and 1999, teachers were recruited through Teacher Selection Committees at district levels. However, very few recruitments took place in this period due to opposition by teachers' unions regarding the process undertaken by the committees. The Education Act and its amendments finally streamlined the recruitment process by introducing Teacher Service Commissions that organised centralised tests (theory and practical) and conducted interviews to recruitment permanent teachers in government managed community schools. The government also allows community-managed schools to appoint their own permanent teachers through the School Management Committees (Shrestha, 2008).

Bhutan has a long history of recruiting teachers from outside the country. Recruitment is often formalised at the Dzongkhag (largest administrative unit) level. In-country recruitment is done based on the demand raised by the Ministry of Education. Based on this, number of teachers to be trained under Royal University of Bhutan is decided through their Bachelors in Education and Postgraduate Diploma in Education (for those with General Bachelors; degree) courses. The successful candidates are then recommended to the Dzongkhag Education Officer, who in turn, hires them for schools based on vacancies and subject-specialisations. (Lhaden, 2016). Bhutan has introduced added allowance for difficult terrains and altitude based on the location of the schools to encourage teacher recruitment in hard-to-reach places. It also has a practice of hiring contract teachers to fill in vacancies arising due to teacher taking leave for pursuing higher studies, voluntary resignations and extraordinary leave (Kuenzel, 2017).

Like Bhutan, Maldives also depends heavily on recruiting foreign teachers. Hence, it has designed its pre-service training requirements based on language, which in turn acts as a criteria for teacher recruitment in Male and atolls (islands). Myanmar also recruits English teachers from overseas. The country also faces shortage of teachers and there are high vacancies across states. Some of the states have resorted to hiring local residents as contract teachers to ensure students don't suffer due to teacher vacancies (KIC, 2018). Afghanistan has also resorted to large scale hiring of local contract teachers due to lack of allocations for recruiting permanent teachers from the Government. However, not much information is available in terms of how these recruitments, within and from outside the country, takes place for all the three countries.

Bangladesh nationalised all the private schools in 1973, following which responsibility of management of teachers (recruitment and placement, transfers, in-service training etc.) was delegated to Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) for primary school teachers and Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education for secondary school teachers. Since 1991, differential criteria for male and female applicants are being followed so as to attract more female teachers in the education system. Male candidates need a minimum qualification of class 12 while female candidates need a minimum of class 10 certificate. Candidates submit their application to District Primary Education Officer (DPEO), who forwards the list of candidates with requisite qualifications to the DPE. Irrespective of the qualification differences, all candidates have to appear for a recruitment test. Successful candidates are then ranked based on their districts and interviewed by the DPEO along with an interview panel. The final selection is done by the DPE based on recommendations by the DPEO and interview panel while the DPEO issues the letter of appointment (BEPS 2002).

In Sri Lanka, decisions related to recruitment are jointly decided by Ministry of Education and provincial public commission (Asian Development Bank, 2017). There are two ways to enter the system as a teacher: recruitment by Provincial Councils or Ministry of Education – subject-specific job vacancies. Provincial Councils (through Public Service Commission) require at least bachelor's degree. Recruitment is based on academic qualifications but there is screening test and interview if there are more vacancies. The Ministry of Education recruits teachers with General Certificate of Education as trainee teachers. They undergo a three-year diploma in teaching in National Colleges of Education. The diploma graduates are then placed either with National schools or Provincial Schools. All teachers have a probationary period of three years. Instances of relaxation in terms of academic qualification or undertaking general recruitment rather than subject-specific recruitment have been witnessed due to meet the excess shortage of teachers (Raju, 2017; World Bank & Ministry of Education and Higher Education, 1995).

In India, criteria for recruitment of teachers includes academic qualifications, performance in Teacher Eligibility Tests (based on cognitive skills), age limit, reservations or quotas for certain population groups (such as the legally defined 'backward groups') to ensure diversity among teaching personnel, language requirements, etc. Currently, since an National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) notification of 2011, the required academic qualification for a teacher for classes I to V is Senior Secondary education and a two-year Diploma in Elementary Education; for classes VI to VIII, it is

graduation with a two-year Diploma in Elementary Education; and for secondary level, it is graduation with B.Ed. or its equivalent. State governments usually estimate the demand based on the required Pupil-Teacher ratio and current vacancies in the schools (Ramachandran et al, 2016). However, the actual number of recruitment depends on the sanction that they receive from the government. Each state has its own process that they follow however there are certain basic aspects of teacher recruitment that is common across all states. Each state conducts an entrance test to shortlist applicants based on their ability and eligibility to become a teacher. In some states, this is followed by another entrance test where their subject knowledge is tested. These are known as teacher eligibility tests. Only after getting the minimum score required, an applicant can be recruited as a teacher by the state government. In other states, teachers are first recruited as contract teachers and then get promoted to becoming full time permanent teachers over a period of time. The Government of India also conducts a National Eligibility Test, along the same lines as the state level entrance examinations, to recruit teachers for the schools managed by them. In some cases, the process is undertaken using technology while in others, it is undertaken manually (Jha et al, 2016). This matters, as it also is linked to the status of a job.

Pakistan faces a problem of with 'non-meritocratic' recruitments since a large number of teachers employed currently were selected on the basis of quotas given to political personalities, who decided who were to be appointed as teachers. These quota-holders offered teaching jobs as patronage or in exchange of bribe. Some of the teachers can be found working as managers of the local landlord's estate, guards of the ministers' properties, or are busy running errands for their patrons, rather than teaching in school, increasing the problem of 'ghost teachers' (Mahmood, 2014). However, recent years have witnessed a shift towards merit-based recruitment. In southern Sindh area, New Recruitment Policy was enforced in 2012, which introduced a test held by National Testing Service (NTS). Minimum score requirements in the test, along with verification of credentials by district level officials lead to final recruitment (Alam, 2015). Balochistan has separate tests for elementary and secondary schools. New reforms have made two-year Associate Degree mandatory for public sector school recruitments. Masters' degree in Education and Subject Specialisation has also been made compulsory for recruitment in secondary schools (Alam, 2015). In Punjab region, weightage has been assigned to academic qualifications, test conducted by NTS and interview (after clearing the test) for final recruitment (Alam 2015). In Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa region, test along with professional education degree is needed for recruitment of teachers. Both Punjab and Kyber-Pakhtunkhwa, teachers are hired on contractual basis and then regularised after three years of service.

It should be noted that the problem of patronage and bribery in teacher recruitment is not unique to PakistanBangladesh Education Ministry recently pledged to ensure transparent recruitment process to ensure better quality of education (The Financial Express, 2019). Irregularities in the recruitment and other teacher management processes were also noted by Ramachandran et al (2016) across many states in India. . The problem exists in other South Asian countries, though it is rarely documented and difficult to cite specifics and indicate the magnitude.

2.4 Deployment and Redeployment of Teachers

Deployment and redeployment are critical issues as it affects where the teacher is placed and working. In almost all countries across South Asia, number of teachers working in urban areas is higher than those in rural areas, as compared to the needs. In most countries, like Afghanistan, presence of female teachers in rural areas is extremely low, which in turn affects girls' enrolment and retention. Hence, it is extremely important to design an efficient deployment and redeployment process. In most countries, the first appointment of the teacher is often centrally determined by the agency that manages the recruitment. Schools also do not have a choice of the kind of teachers they can hire. After the first placement, teachers often get transferred due to promotion, rationalisation, new vacancies created due to retirement and/or special personal request.

A fair and transparent transfer process could encourage teachers and could work as a reward for good work. However, there is an extensive use of political influence by teachers in South Asia regarding

transfers , as observed for the recruitment processes in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, for being placed in favourable locations and better performing schools, leading to urban-rural disparities, shortage of female teachers where they require them especially to attract girl students and difference in PTRs (Dundar et al., 2014). Another issue, common to most of the South Asian countries, as described in the previous section, is recruitment of contract teachers to overcome shortages and fill vacancies. These appointments are school-specific and hence these teachers cannot be transferred to other schools. Often, contract teachers are hired in areas/terrains where it is difficult to get permanent teachers (e.g. in Bhutan, Afghanistan, Nepal and Maldives). Although teachers teaching in remote and hard to reach areas (contract and permanent teachers) are given additional allowance (in most cases) or even double salary (as in the case of Myanmar) they are unsure of their redeployment to more attractive urban areas.

In India, transfer process, just like the recruitment process, is decided by the state governments. In some states, the process is transparent and inclusive, taking into account preferences of the teachers and priorities of their need (for instance in Karnataka) while in other states (for instance, Jharkhand), it is ad hoc and heavily dependent on political patronage (Jha et al, 2016). A teacher's initial deployment on appointment depends on the cadre to which the teacher belongs as most states do not have a formal process for deployment and redeployment of teachers (Ramachandran et al, 2016).

In Sri Lanka, newly recruited teachers have to serve in rural areas for a fixed term. After that, they often apply for transfer to urban schools or schools near their original residence. Constant transfers from rural schools and replacement of teachers by newly recruited teachers hamper student learning. Teachers applying for transfer also spend considerable time in education offices for processing their application, hence neglecting their teaching duties (Raju, 2017; World Bank & Ministry of Education and Higher Education, 1995).In Bhutan, teacher deployment has been decentralised and managed at the Dzongkhag level (Lhaden, 2018).

In Pakistan, regional governments of Sindh and Punjab are trying to correct lop-sidedness in Pupil-Teacher Ratios by introducing transparent and efficient transfer policies. Punjab Education Department has introduced e-transfer policies to make teacher deployment and redeployment fair, merit based and transparent in nature (Academia, 2019). Sindh Education Department introduced a blanket ban on rampant transfers to formulate and effective placement and transfer policy (Mansoor, 2018).

Myanmar allows teachers assigned to remote government schools to apply for transfer after one year of teaching, despite receiving double the standard salary to work in a remote area. Teachers, especially female teachers, opt out of teaching in remote areas due to issues related to long distances, scarcity of food and safety and security related issues (Myo, 2018). In 2017, the government decided to transfer teachers based on their skills such that teachers with low qualifications and skills will be transferred to remote areas. This was heavily protested by the civil society groups and teachers' unions as this will amount to punishment and will have adverse consequences on the quality of education in the remote areas (Phyu, 2017). However, whether this policy still exists is unclear due to lack of updated information.

Nepal's Education Act 2002 states that while undertaking teacher placement and transfers, attention needs to be paid so that female and physically challenged teachers are not places in unsuitable place. The basic criteria for applying for transfers are based on the area where the teacher works. Teachers in remote areas need a minimum of five years of service before applying for transfers while teachers in other areas (non-remote) need a minimum of seven years of service before applying for transfers (Nepal Gazette, 2002). In 2016, proposals were made regarding mandatory transfer of teachers within 2-5 years of service. However, the current status of this proposal is unknown due to lack of information (The Himalayan Times, 2016).

Bangladesh, like many other South Asia countries, struggles with presence of political influence in teacher recruitment and transfers. In 2017, the Ministry suspended its own power to transfer teachers as a large number of applicants were lobbying to transfer to Dhaka (capital city) and other city corporations from rural and remote areas, with recommendations from powerful political figures. The decision to transfer teachers within the district/Thana (police station area) was passed on to district / Upazilla officials (BD News 24, 2017).

Bhutan has shifted to an online transfer application system in 2019. As per the latest teacher transfer rules, Subject Teacher requirement and vacancies at Thromdes and Dzongkhag (administrative units) are the basis for facilitating transfer. Teachers applying for transfer need to serve for a minimum of three years in their current place of posting. Based on the number of years of service in current posting, seniority is calculated, which is then used as a basis for transfer as well. Teachers can also apply for transfer under Medical and Domestic grounds as certain exceptions are being given for them (e.g. lesser number of years of service in current posting). However, applicants whose spouse is undergoing long-term training, those due for retirement in the next one year and contract teachers are not eligible for transfers. All transfer applications are sent to the respective Dzongkhag / Thromde, which reviews and recommends genuine transfer applications based on consultations with concerned schools. These are then approved by the Ministry (Ministry of Education, 2019).

For most of the South Asian countries, it is extremely difficult to obtain information / data about how teachers are deployed for their initial appointment or redeployed after they are recruited. Information presented here is mostly from newspaper articles as very few academic work exists that documents these processes. But, presence of large number of teachers, including female teachers, in urban areas, high vacancies and lack of trained teachers in rural areas indicate an absence of transparent, efficient and equitable deployment and redeployment process.

2.5 Professional Growth of Teachers: In-service training, Career Progression and Performance Appraisal

2.5.1. Profession Development or In-service Training of Teachers

Professional development is important in any profession for acquiring new skills, knowledge and competencies. Teachers also need access to continuous professional development opportunities during their employment tenure in order to learn new skills or strengthen their current skill-sets. Countries with higher percentage of untrained teachers have a higher need to ensure continuous professional development of their teachers. Traditionally there had been very little avenues for in-service teacher training but this has been an important area of focus in the externally aided education projects in the region. As a result, in the last two to three decades, the countries in the South Asia region have seen a proliferation of a large number of in-service teacher training programmes, teacher guides and various form of teacher supported materials, and also engagement of teachers education institutions in the in-service teacher training programmes. The period has also seen emergence of new collaborations – NGOs evolving as Resource Institutions for the State education systems, use of distance education for in-service teacher training and in some cases, academics and professionals from universities and other such institutions have collaborated for this purpose. A number of countries have also initiated curriculum reforms towards this.

Bangladesh revised curriculum for teacher training and training of instructors, instituting the position of Assistant Upazilla Education Officer for school supervision at sub-district level. A school based support system along with technology enhanced ODL system, called English in Action (EIA) was also implemented (Iyengar, Witenstein, & Byker, 2014). India focussed on strengthening their decentralised training system by establishing Block and Cluster Resource Centres for regular in-service training of teachers. They also developed a system of cluster or block level in-service training programme to address very specific issues of the teacher (Ramachandran et al, 2016). The new textbooks in India include detailed guides for teachers on pedagogy for each lesson. Nepal provides in-service training organised by National Centre for Educational Development (NCED) and Secondary Educational Development Centre (SEDC) via long term in-service training. The

government also provides textbooks, teaching learning materials and teaching guides within the first two weeks of school. Both Nepal and Maldives gave importance to training of untrained teachers to improve regional inequalities in education. These trainings, like in India, are organised in clusters to address specific issues of that region. Resource centres were also set-up for academic support along with use of radio and audio programmes in a number of countries (Iyengar et al., 2014). Maldives also provides in-service teacher training imparted through Centre for Continuing Education (CCE) at the central level and Teacher Resource Centers (TRCs) at regional levels (Aturupane & Shojo, 2012).

Sri Lanka developed teacher-created assessment tools for classroom management and experimented with multi-grade teaching strategies. Like India, they also created cadre of Master Teachers to provide academic support following cascade model of training which was also used for English language training, and used distance education for in-service training, which also included formative evaluation, counselling and feedback from tutors (Iyengar et al., 2014). They also provide two options for in-service training leading to either diploma or certificate: Post Graduate Diploma in Education (full / part time / ODL mode) or Certificate of Teacher Training (two year certificate programme). However, the country does face issues with trainer proficiency and expanding quantity of face to face teacher training and the quality of training offered through part-time and ODL mode is considered low (Asian Development Bank, 2017; Raju, 2017). Pakistan focussed on changes in curricula, teaching methods and teacher evaluation, and also developed a two-year in-service education degree of Masters in Education. Bhutan established National Institutes of Education (NIE) that conducted teacher training using ICT (Iyengar et al., 2014). In Afghanistan, secondary school teachers were educated in teacher training colleges or pedagogical institutes. Most of the 14 teacher training colleges there are no longer functional and no new teachers have been trained in years (Asian Development Bank, 2003). However, Afghanistan faces acute weaknesses in teacher support systems, as they rarely receive support in terms of availability of teaching material and professional development by experienced trainers (The World Bank, 2017).

It is difficult to examine how all these have influenced the practice of teaching and strengthening the teacher's positioning in the system or role in the classroom but the use of new terminology such as child-friendly pedagogy, co-construction of knowledge, teacher as a facilitator, etc. is indeed far more common now as compared to what it was three decades ago. Even if the internalisation of these terms may not be universal and the pedagogical practices still largely hierarchical, a perusal of various studies, documents and reviews indicate towards glimpses of change at least in the primary classroom with children participating in some activities here and there rather than just listening and memorising all the time.

2.5.2 Career Progression of Teachers

Although most South Asian countries have redesigned their professional development aspects for teachers in-service, there seems to be a disjoint between professional development and promotion (UNESCO Asia Pacific, 2016). In general, the promotional avenues are very few for teachers at all levels in all these countries, and even if they exist, they rarely have any connection with professional development. Sometimes, even nomenclature is such that it undermines the status of a teacher. For instance, in Bangladesh, the basic designation for the teaching position is Assistant Teacher; there is no formally designated position of 'teacher'. Almost all teachers enter the profession as an Assistant Teacher and retire from work as an Assistant Teacher. There is no career ladder for teachers that may allow them any kind of mobility. This is undoubtedly a serious de-motivating factor for the teaching profession. Para teacher is another such category in India and a few other countries where they are referred to as a sub-teacher even though they perform the job of a teacher.

In India, teachers undergo in-service training via the two centrally sponsored schemes for elementary and secondary education but these are ad hoc in nature and "subjected to availability of these funds and the associated modalities and priorities" (Ramachandran et al, 2016, pp. 22). Attending the in-service training programmes does not translate into promotion for teachers across states in India.

Despite a raise in their salary every year, they often need to wait for their entire tenure to be promoted as it is dependent upon seniority and cadre. Some states, however, have introduced incentives for teachers to take paid-leave to pursue higher education and then being considered for promotion after completion of their degrees (Jha et al, 2016).The provision for promotion exists in many states but these are rare in practice as the positions on which promotions can take place are very few in number. Another common feature is that promotion, if it exists and takes place, often means moving away from the role of a teacher. For instance, in Sri Lanka, where teachers are required to work for a minimum number of years before they can be considered for promotion, after clearing the Sri Lankan Teacher Education Service, they are promoted from classroom teaching to administrative positions. This too, in some measure, is indicative to the low status of the practice of teaching. In India, under the Sarva Shikha Abhiyan, teachers opted to appear for an examination and be considered for the post of cluster or block resource person for a certain number of years (Jha et al, 2016). This promotion was mostly in terms of their role and not much with respect to their remuneration (Asian Development Bank 2017).

However, Sri Lanka is one country that has rationalised career paths for teachers so that it matches with the regular public service pay scale. They can even qualify for Education Administration Service after clearing qualifying examinations (UNESCO Asia Pacific, 2016; UNESCO Bangkok, 2016). All promotions are based on the Sri Lanka Teachers Service rules enacted in 1995 wherein teachers can be promoted based on specified number of hours of training, marks awarded for number of years of service and marks obtained in competitive examinations (Asian Development Bank 2017). Pakistan also has revamped their education system with the National Education Policy 2009 which increased their salaries and transparency in recruitment and deployment. Nevertheless, teachers have only limited opportunities with respect to leadership roles in the system (UNESCO Bangkok, 2016). Nepal has developed a horizontal (first, second and third class), vertical (primary, lower secondary and secondary) cross-cutting (head teacher, resource person and teacher trainer) opportunities for promotion. A new teacher entrant in primary level belongs to the third class and can be promoted to first class secondary level via open competition and/or internal promotion. Horizontal promotions are based on years of service, performance monitoring and training. This is the regular mode of promotion by the Teacher Service Commission but the chances of promotion are low as it is a lengthy and non-systematic process. Vertical promotions are based on academic qualifications and competency wherein teachers apply for the available positions through open competition. Chances of being promoted are medium wherein experience of the teacher also counts. Cross-cutting promotions are based on referrals (ad hoc in nature) and years of service wherein teachers are nominated by district education office, group of teachers, School Management Committee or any other body. Chances of being promoted are low and this promotion can be temporary depending upon scope of work (Asian Development Bank 2017).

2.5.3 Performance Appraisal

Teacher performance is often reviewed for annual evaluations and/or for initiating promotions. In India, almost all states have no formal appraisal process as it is delinked with promotion and salary increase. However, there is certain degree of informal reviews via multiple sources. Head Teacher reviews their work on a daily basis, cluster and block officials are also expected to review their work periodically and give feedback (Ramachandran et al, 2016). Bangladesh (Asian Development Bank, 2017 and Pakistan (Khan et al, 2018) has almost no system of performance appraisal and promotions. Bhutan introduced an Individual Work Plan (IWP) ranking system for performance appraisal in 2018. However, due to lack of clarity and consistency in assessing the IWPs led redesigning fo the IWP format and evaluation criteria. Currently aspects that are covered for performance evaluation of teachers include curriculum delivery and practice, holistic assessment, leadership and management, green school domain, broader learning domain and community vitality (The Bhutanese, 2019).

Since promotional opportunities are few and avenues very limited, the disputes related to promotions and other aspects are high in number. A common feature of the education systems in the region is the

presence of a large number of legal cases relating to various kinds of grievances. We discuss the issue of grievance redressal next, as that too is an important part of working condition.

2.6 Teacher Status: Quality Assurance, Rights and Responsibilities and Grievance Redresal

Teachers are central to achieving educational advancement and ensuring quality of education in any country. Countries, especially in South Asia, have moved towards higher access to education, it has resulted in a trade-off wherein untrained/ inadequately trained/not fully qualified have been recruited to meet the growing needs of the education system. "In addition, retaining highly trained, well-qualified and competent teachers, remains a challenge due to perceived lesser status, low salaries, poor teaching and learning conditions, lack of career progression and inadequate professional development" (UNESCO 2016, p1). However, teaching as a profession is ranked considerably lower than other professions. Even within the teaching profession, social status of those teaching primary schools is considered very low (Stromquist, 2018). In this light, it is important to understand quality assurance in the profession, rights and responsibilities and grievance redresal mechanisms which would enhance their status as a profession.

2.6.1 Quality Assurance:

The most common method of ensuring quality assurance in the education system is through listing out minimum eligibility criteria, effective recruitment and transfer policies, in-service training and professional development for the teachers. Entry requirements are the most critical form of quality assurance, which also has the potential to enhance the social status of the teaching profession. However, there are different agencies and bodies that also monitor quality assurance after the teacher enters the system. Student Unions can often exert pressure in enforcing teacher performance management systems. Presence of strong Teachers Union can ensure professional ethics being followed. Head teacher and School Management Committees / Parents Groups monitor performance of the teachers within the classroom as well as their conduct outside (regularity, absenteeism etc.) (Asian Development Bank, 2017). Resource persons at various levels provide direct technical support by observing their classrooms on regular basis (Jha et al, 2016, Ramachandran et al, 2016). Although these mechanisms are quite general in nature, how these are implemented in each country can vary. For instance, in Bangladesh and Nepal, teachers unions often have political affiliations and their main concern is regarding financial benefits of teachers. School Management Committees, at present, also do not provide assistance in improving teacher performance in schools (Asian Development Bank, 2017). Sri Lanka set up Management and Quality Assurance Branch (MQAB) within Ministry of Education in 2004 to ensure quality in the education system. It has developed a School Education Quality Index and undertakes internal and external whole-school evaluation based on eight specific evaluation criteria. However, these evaluations pertaining to teacher performance are not linked with any incentive (financial or otherwise) which leads to lesser priority being given by teachers to these evaluations (Asian Development Bank, 2017).

2.6.2 Roles and Responsibilities:

There seems to be a lack of formal documented list of roles and responsibilities that teachers are expected to follow in any of the South Asian countries. In general, they are expected to be regular and attend school every day on time, complete the curriculum within the given educational calendar, evaluate the capacity of each child and motivate the student towards learning, motivate the guardians of students to atten school regularly and hold regular meetings with children / guardians to make them aware of their educational rights (Asian Development Bank, 2017). They are expected to behave in a manner so as to inspire young minds to learn. In many countries, they are expected to undertake a large number of non-teaching duties, in addition to their teaching responsibilities within the classroom. For instance, in India, teachers are also expected to undertake children's survey, are given census and election duty, facilitate provision of scholarships to disadvantaged sections, facilitate provision of mid-day meals given to all students in government schools and undertake administrative duties in absence of the post of Head Master (Jha et al, 2016, Ramachandran et, al, 2016). Such wide

range of responsibilities add to the workload of the teacher, which, when clubbed with lower social status of their profession, adversely affecting their morale and motivation to improve their quality of teaching.

2.6.3 Grievance Redresal:

A clear and effective procedure for redressal of grievances is extremely critical as it allows individuals who believe they have suffered to follow a process through which the wrong may be rectified. Even if the individual's grievance is not addressed as a result of the process, grievance procedures in themselves establish a sense of fairness as they support the rule of law. Teachers could approach the school principal, teachers' union or alleviate the grievance to the education officials. However, this aspect of teacher management is the most neglected and given least attention in many countries in South Asia. In India, there are no formal procedures constituted for addressing grievances of the teachers specifically. They can approach the legal system, like any other citizen or public service officer. One of the states organise district level hearings for teachers to present their grievances but this is organised sporadically (Jha et al, 2016, Ramachandran et al, 2016).Examples of formal grievance redressal mechanisms, specifically designed for teachers, across other South Asia countries is rare and they are left to the mercy of the country's legal system for resolving their issues. Teachers' union, in some of the countries, do provide some legal support for resolution of issues but often they have their own political agendas.

3.0 Concluding Remarks

Since late 1990s and the early 2000s, South Asia has witnessed high public investment in education leading to notable increase in primary school enrolment, decrease in out of school children and out of school girls in the region (Dundar, Beteille, Ribound, & Deolalikar, 2014). During this phase, investments and efforts were mainly directed towards access and availability of schools and enrolment of students. Now, the focus has shifted on one hand to secondary education and on the other towards the issue of quality education and that also includes recruitment and training of trained teachers. UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS 2016) estimates in 2014 indicated that by 2030, South Asia would need to recruit a total of 15 million teachers (4.1 million at the primary level and 10.9 million at the secondary level). This calculation is based on an average pupil-teacher ratio (PTR) of 40, far higher than the world average of 23. However, merely increasing the number of teachers in the education workforce will not be adequate to ensure teacher effectiveness in the classroom, which translates into better student learning. Teacher effectiveness is multi-facet component including preparing and orienting the teachers and their governance and management after they enter the system. Despite efforts to provide conducive external environment in terms of better school infrastructure, continuous teacher training and academic support, revised curriculum and improved systems of teacher education, they still need to regulate their teacher management processes to make them transparent, efficient, inclusive and equitable for both teachers and students. Although sporadic examples of reforms exist in all countries in measures to ensure fair recruitment process, pre-service and in-service teacher development, processes like initial deployment and re-deployment, promotions and grievance redressal remain largely unaddressed.

An important aspect that has remained unaddressed or has turned even from bad to worse is the status of the teacher. Countries like India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have tried to resolve it by equalising their pay with the other public service officials but the presence of large number of contract teachers, who are paid a petty honorarium, are still not given the status that they deserve, makes the systems unequal and even discriminatory in some sense. School teaching remains one of the lowest paid jobs within the government sector, and it is important for governments to acknowledge that teacher effectiveness is a function of their motivation to enable children to learn and self-image and self-esteem (Ramachandran et al, 2016). One reason for their low status is simply the fact that the act of teaching is often not considered a specialisation; everyone cannot be a doctor or an engineer but everyone can be a teacher: somehow this belief seems to have played a role, at least to some extent, in determining the nature of teaching profession in most South Asian countries. This is also indicated by the fact that

teachers are often engaged for non-teaching, often clerical, jobs. Increased focus on high performance and success in competitive examinations at the end of ten or twelve years of schooling, and the consequent focus on ‘coaching’ rather than on ‘teaching’ could be another reason for low status of teachers in the South Asian societies. Education is increasingly perceived as a consumer product and the highest value for their investment is expected, and people ‘trust the coaching institutions to deliver what is promised’ (Kumar, 2019). Therefore, in conclusion, one can safely say that the process that started during the colonial times where the teacher lost his autonomy and became a low-paid government servant has continued, and the status of the teacher has become even worse in neoliberal regimes where education itself has become a highly commercialised commodity.

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