

Professional Development of Schoolteacher in Bangladesh ((1971—2001)¹

S.M. Abdul Quddus²

Abstract: The picture of schoolteachers' professional development in general, particularly in the developing world looks chaotic as educational reform policy aims directly or indirectly to influence teachers' professional capacity. Some argued teachers as catalysts of 'knowledge society' and new 'informational societies' must therefore be able to build a special kind of professionalism—a new professionalism, where they can become their own skilled changed agents, responding swiftly and effectively to the social and educational changes happening all around them. The paper focuses on the development of teaching as a professional occupation in primary education sub-sector in Bangladesh. Our point of departure is that to understand the dynamics of basic schooling in a country such as Bangladesh one has to grasp who the teachers are and how they stand out as an occupational group: i.e. their skills and training, how their jobs are defined, and the status and power they possess in relation to other groups and in a wider societal context. Our main thesis is that primary school teachers in Bangladesh only to a very limited degree have been able to come forward as an autonomous profession that is an occupation where its members are carriers of a professional identity and approach, which is based on a professional role model. To explain the lack of professionalisation we examine (a) how different political regimes have defined teachers' roles, (b) how teachers' training has been organised, (c) the ways material rewards and social prestige have been linked to their jobs, (d) what role the teaching practitioners themselves have played in developing professional associations etc. The theory of profession has been used as a guideline to understand the dynamics of basic schooling in a developing country such as Bangladesh.

1. Introduction:

The future role of the teacher as technician or professional is perhaps the most important one to be made in education today. If we opt for the professional role, we would be reasonably assured of having teachers who will be capable of dealing with the enormous changes in knowledge and conditions that are going to take place in coming years. Given professional teachers, we might reasonably expect that this knowledge will be understood and accepted by them and assimilated into educational practices (Burke, 1996). While changes in the conceptual basis of teaching and advances in the understanding of the professional nature of the teacher's role may not have impacted in any significant way, as yet, on policy and practice in most developing countries. In fact, the professional vision of

¹ Paper presented in the CSP conference "Professionalism, Trust and Competence" held in Oslo on 17-19 June, 2004

² PhD candidate, Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway
Email: Abdul.Quddus@aorg.uib.no

teaching sets broader parameters for the total development of teachers and teaching. It should be an effective factors in improving teachers' self—image and in motivating them to master the basic skills of teaching and to provide a better professional service to pupils and parents (Burke op. cit).

The environment in which teachers teach and children learn evolves from the intricate interplay between inputs into both the individual school and the national system of education. While the state particularly in developing countries plays an important role in overall educational finance, planning, administration, teacher training, and evaluation, pupils' performance is directly influenced by inputs at the level of the school, including facilities, textbooks and teaching materials, and in particular the head teacher and the teachers (Makau and Coombe, 1994).

This paper takes an attempt to examine the historical overview of professionalization of primary schoolteacher in Bangladesh in terms of major dimensions of profession and also insure the perceived causes for its failure to ensure professionalization of teaching force particularly at the primary sub-sector. The theory of professionalism would be used as a guideline to explain professional status of schoolteachers.

2. The Theory of Profession:

Since the days of Durkheim scholars have been interested in the division of labour between different occupational groups some of which have come to be labelled professions. Two major approaches can be distinguished in the study of professions: one trying to characterize different occupational groups and their particular role in the society, and the other concentrates on the process through which an occupational group becomes a profession.

Scholars writing mainly in the 1930s claim that a profession is an occupational group with particular features or traits. Among writers in this tradition we find Carr— Saunders & Wilson (1933) and Marshall (1938). Some decade later attention was directed towards the development of the profession, but there were writers such as Parsons (1951) and Wilensky (1964) who did concentrate on its attributes. For instance, Wilensky argues that selflessness is an important characteristic of a professional. In the 1970s writers for example Leggatt

(1970:156) identified the following criteria that according to him determines whether or not it is sensible to speak of a occupation as a profession:

- Practice is founded upon a base of theoretical, esoteric knowledge
- The acquisition of knowledge requires a long period of education and socialization
- Practitioners are motivated by an ideal of altruistic service rather than the pursuit of material and economic gain
- Careful control is exercised over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice
- The colleague group is well organized and has disciplinary powers to enforce a code of ethical practice

Writers like Freidson (1970a, 1970b), Johnson (1972) and Larson (1977) brought the profession into the political arena, emphasizing its role in the community and its connection to the state. What was of major importance now was not the attributes but the ability to be recognized by the state in order to safeguard a degree of autonomy and to have a secure platform from which a producer monopoly could be established. As Freidson (1970b) remarked:

“The foundation on which the analysis of a profession must be based is its relationship to the ultimate source of power and authority in modern society—the state.”

Freidson highlights the role of state recognition and the delegation of power, which gives the profession a high degree of autonomy. This makes it different from other occupational groups. For Freidson, the term ‘profession’ refers to specialized work by which one gains a living in an exchange economy (Freidson, 1994). The kind of work, according to Freidson, professionals do is esoteric, complex and discretionary in character and it requires theoretical knowledge, skill and judgement that ordinary people do not possess, may not wholly comprehend, and can not readily evaluate. For Freidson, professional work suggests two basic elements of professionalism: (a) commitment to practicing a body of knowledge and skill of special value and (b) to maintaining a fiduciary relationship with clients. A. Abbott (1988) mentioned that a profession was an occupational group with some special skill. For Abbott, this was an abstract skill, one that required extensive training. It was not applied in a purely routine fashion, but required revised application case by case.

Theodore Caplow (quoted in Abbott, 1988) described the process of professionalization in the following way:

Professions begin with the establishment of professional associations that have explicit membership rules to exclude the unqualified. Second, they change their names, in order to lose their past, to assert their monopoly and most importantly, to give themselves a level capable of legislative restriction. Third, they set up a code of ethics to assert their social utility, to further regulate the incompetence, and to reduce internal competition. Fourth, they agitate politically to obtain legal recognition, aiming at first to limit the professional title and later to criminalize unlicensed work in their jurisdiction.

Caplow's story indicates that there are clear sequences of functions within the process of professionalization. On the other hand, Kocka (Conze & Kocka, 1985 also quoted in Burrage & Torstendahl, 1990) provided more working definition of profession from sociological point of view. His suggestion is as follows:

Profession means a largely non—manual, full time occupation whose practice presupposes specialized, systematic and scholarly training.... Access (in the profession) depends upon passing certain examinations, which entitle to titles and diploma, thereby sanctioning its role in the division of labor....[Professions] tend to demand a monopoly of services as well as freedom from control by others such as laymen, the state etc....Based upon competence, professional ethics and the special importance of their work for society and common weal, the professions claim specific material rewards and higher social prestige.

Kocka's above—mentioned definition of profession distinguishes between the characteristics that describe professional occupations and the demands and claims that they make and provides clear criteria for recognizing both. Moreover, it provides criteria of profession that can be operationalized and measured.

The mainstream literature on the professions perceives the state and the professions as antithetical phenomena. State bureaucracies and other bureaucratic structures are seen as threats to professional autonomy. Terry Johnson (1982: 189 to the contrary that a close relationship of a profession to the state apparatus ' may constitute the very conditions within which occupational autonomy is possible'. He further argued that state formation in the modern world includes the professions, thus eliminating the professional/ state duality. He mentioned (1995:13):

....the state is the outcome of governing; its institutionalised residue, so to speak. It also follows that those procedures and technologies, forms of classification and notation that, in part, embody the state are embedded both in those formal bureaucratic organs that we normally identify as the state apparatus and in the agents of institutionalised expertise, the professions. In short, the state, as the particular form that government has taken in the modern world, includes expertise, or the professions. The duality, profession/ state, is eliminated.

In fact, by implication professional autonomy and state intervention cannot be seen as antithetic concepts. Very different processes of professionalization—including those that are ‘state-near’—might give rise to powerful, though differently constituted, professions. Bureaucratization, state—making and professionalization should thus be seen as interrelated, and indeed interdependent processes (Erichsen, 1995). A proliferation of scholarly work specifying national particularities in the historical development of professions is being seen in 1980s in Europe. Historically, professions have developed along very different routes across countries. In continental Europe, professions have been shaped strongly by their close links to the state (Erichsen, 1995). From a position internal to the state apparatus they have influenced policy—making. In the United States and Britain, on the other hand, professions have largely developed external to the state (Ibid). Generally, they have “run their own business” in an autonomous relationship to the state. Influence in policy matters is the result of pressure group politics, as professions are seeking alliances inside and outside government to push for certain policy choices. These two distinct developments are reflected in analytical models of professions. On the one side, a state—centred model stresses integration with the state and the authority of professions. On the other, the ‘pressure—group perspective’, emphasizes non—integration with the state and the autonomy of professions.

2.1. Four actors that matter professionalism:

Burrage et.al. (1990), identified four interacting actors that according to them, determine the form and success or failure of professionalization. These are:

Practising professionals: For, Burrage et.al practising professionals themselves are the key actors in their own development. In order to pursue and uphold professional goals i.e. protect and enhance the corporate interests, monopoly of services, maintain professional autonomy etc., practising professionals use their essential ‘resources’ e.g. organization, ideology and ‘proximity and persistence’. According to Burrage et.al there are four major/ ideal types of practitioners’ organization. First are those that give primary emphasis to the knowledge base of the profession for example, academy or learned society. Second are those, which primarily seek to represent and lobby on behalf of the profession and to obtain some legislative relief or support. This representative association is primarily oriented towards the

state. Third are those, which negotiate on behalf of their members and are often barely distinguishable from trade unions but the trade-union type of organization is primarily concerned to protect members having to deal with organized users of professional services, whether public or private. Finally, there are those that seek to regulate the members of the profession.

States, according to Burrage et. al are the second actors and both regulators of professional life and instruments of professional advancement. In fact, states are directly or indirectly involved in every facet of professional existence, their organization, their resources and ‘education and licensing’, their relationships with other professions as well as for the ‘market’ for their services. The power, resources and prestige of any profession, therefore, depends largely on the policies of the state to which they are subjects (Burrage et. al 1990).

Users of professional services, according to Burrage et. al are the third significant actor in the professional domain. They also pointed out that ‘fee-for- service’ clients are the ideal users of professional services because their resources e.g. their fees, publicity, malpractice suits etc., are all can be used to reward or sanction or control professional standard of the individual members of the profession.

Training Institutes, for Burrage et. al (1990) are the fourth significant actor in the professional domain. Their major resources are the knowledge on which profession may depend and the status, which their degrees may provide.

The above-mentioned discussion signify that professionalization is a multi—route project and there is no agreement in the literature about the dimensions or criteria that would mark a profession off from other occupational groups; many authors accept that several dimensions are involved. In fact, the term “profession” and “professionalization” has been the subject of intense debate and frequent disagreement. However, despite these disagreements almost all definitions have identified the profession as an intellectual service occupation having:

- State recognition and the delegation of power, which gives the profession a high degree of autonomy and some legal mechanism to enforce its monopoly over the provision of its service and the use of its title;

- Commitment to practicing a body of knowledge and skill of special value resulted from specialized, systematic and scholarly training and to maintaining a fiduciary relationship with clients;
- Specific material rewards and higher social prestige and recognition, which gives the professionals a high degree of motivation by an idea of altruistic service rather than pursuit of material and economic gain;
- Professional organization as a means both of exercising control over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice and access to basic occupational resources.

Professionalization will likewise mean the process by which occupations acquire these characteristics (Clark 1990).

3. PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLTEACHER IN BANGLADEH:

A number of observers (e.g., Dove, 1986; Hallak, 1990; Farrell & Oliveira, 1993) pointed out daunting problems facing educators and policy makers in a developing countries such as Bangladesh is that of finding ways and means to insure that a quality teaching force is available for schools. After liberation war with Pakistan in 1971 Bangladesh emerged out as an independent country. The essence of education policy has been clearly explained in Chapter Seventeen of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

The following is an attempt to discuss historical development of professionalization of primary schoolteacher in Bangladesh in terms of identified dimensions of professions.

3.1. State recognition and empowerment of schoolteacher

From the very beginning of country's independence in 1971 the teaching—learning process particularly at primary level became dependent on a system of bureaucratic control and structure. In fact, the process of centralization and bureaucratisation in the education sector began since the inception of famous Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854 and The Bengal Rural Primary Education Act, 1930 in the then British Bengal. The Despatch formally

inaugurated the scientific culture of modern European knowledge as well as modernization of school administration included a new department of education in every Indian province including Bengal and the introduction of strict school discipline. On the other hand, The Bengal Rural Primary Education Act, 1930 introduced school based management system through establishment of School Management Committee (SMC) and provided school board authority to levy cess for primary education as well as instituted a professional and financial accountability in primary education. But both of them accepted the principle that mass education was a duty of the state, giving the state enormous power over a vast population and their popular educational institutions (Wood's Educational Despatch, 1854 also quoted in Hossain 1994:3). During Pakistan era, The East Pakistan (Rural) Primary Education (Supplementary Provisions) Act of 1957 brought all primary school and obviously all teachers under central control by making the District Magistrate as the key person and the District Inspector of school as the executive head of the school district. Thus centralisation became the key government policy during the Pakistan era with regard to school management, teaching—learning process.

Bangladesh has inherited the legacy of the British colonial bureaucracy and 'modern' Bangladesh bureaucracy retains elements of colonial administration and bureaucracy. The first ruling party in Bangladesh after independence was Mujib's Awami League. **Mujib regime** (1971-75) set goal to improve the quality of education through teacher training, curriculum development and the supply of materials for the school under the inherited from previous British and Pakistani administration of centralized bureaucratic mechanism (First Five Year Plan 1973-78). One of the first acts of the Awami League government in connection with primary education in general and schoolteacher in particular was the nationalization of the privately managed primary schools, which made the schoolteachers central government employees and put them under the rigid bureaucratic system prohibiting teachers to participate in aspects of the local culture, erecting barriers to interaction with local citizens, making teachers to robot-like beings who merely followed orders. Analysts called Mujib's Primary Schools (Taking Over) Act, 1974 as 'full state control took over' of primary education and management. But many of the Awami League supporters and leaders exploited Mujib's nationalization policy by recruiting untrained teacher instead of available PTI trained candidates merely because of political affiliation to the ruling party Awami League. One of the government notifications during Mujib era remarked that:

It is unfortunate that among total 155,000 primary schoolteachers 50 percent of them are untrained. Moreover, recruitment³ of untrained teachers by avoiding justified claims of about eight thousands PTI graduates from 47 PTI each year were not only unfair and violation of rules and ethical norms but also created different problems for the government (GoB, Ministry of Education, Scientific and Technical Research & Atomic Energy, Education Division, Notification no: Branch—8/259-education, Date: 03.04.1975).

Even Mujib termed this unfair teacher recruitment process during his era as an “unfortunate incident for the future generation of the nation” (GoB, Notification no: Branch—8/259-education, Date: 03.04.1975). One of the principle objectives of the education system in Bangladesh during Mujib era was, according to National Education Commission (Qudrat-e-Khuda Commission), “to create enthusiasm to establish the cherished socialistic society” (Prokaushali, 1988), which reflect the political and ideological character of the then education system in Bangladesh. This political-ideological objectives of the education policy and hence nationalization of the primary education and teaching profession aimed at neutralize the subversive elements among the highly politicised primary school teachers working in rural areas by turning them into government servants and giving them a stake in the system. Nationalization was also sources for political patronage and the supply of jobs and contracts for Awami League supporters and a state school system provided the source (Dove, 1983a). It is to mention that Mujib’s ‘Decree of Nationalization’ of all 36,165 primary school assumed sole authority and responsibility for the management and supervision of all primary school in general and schoolteacher in particular in the country to the exclusion of local community participation taking over funds and properties of the individual school. The Act of 1974 imposed upon the government the vast onus of the development of quality education and teaching at the primary level of education under a centralized administration, which ultimately reflect the state recognition about the professional image of the primary school teaching as a ‘directed profession’. In fact, during Mujib era ‘lack of proper attitude’ i.e. a climate shift in the allocations in favour of institutional strengthening; training software development for teachers seemed a major problem of making progress towards teacher quality, effectiveness, supply issues and empowerment. Moreover, political aim of the education policy made primary teaching professionals more complex i.e. political activist because satisfaction of political leaders

³ 06 July, 1973 Mujib government formed *Mohakuma* (Sub-Divisional) Selection (teacher) Committee in each Sub-Division constituted by the then ruling party leaders and supporters.

rather than professional performance was the criteria for professional achievements of schoolteachers during Mujib era.

During Major **Zia's regime** (1976—1981) some measures had been taken so far to decentralize education administration and involve different stakeholders in the Local Education Authority (LEA) at the sub—divisional level to implement and manage primary education development project. Among these measures The Primary Education Act 1981 was utmost important. This Act re-established school based management through the formation of the school management committee under the provision of LEA. Each LEA had 5 ex-officio members, nominated members, women members, elected Gram Prodhans (Village Chief) and schoolteacher, ex-officio chairperson and secretary, elected vice-chairman and a four year term (GOB, The Primary Education Act, 1981). It is also to mention that Clause 12 of The Primary Education Act, 1981 re—assured schoolteachers as central government employees putting them as usual under the rigid bureaucratic system. Even though there was an attempt to incorporate schoolteacher as well as variety of stakeholders including appointed, nominated and elected women members in the each LEA but these innovative attempts were not implemented due to Zia's assassination in May 1981. So, state recognition as a 'directed profession' of the primary school teaching had remained unchanged up to end of Zia regime.

After the assassination of Zia, his vice— **president Satter** took over for a few months with military support. In April 1982 martial law was instituted under General Ershad. During **Ershad regime** (1982—1990) most remarkable administrative reform commenced in 1983 underscored the centrality of thana instead of sub—division as a administrative unit of all development efforts including primary education. The Primary Education Act of 1981 was superseded by the Executive Order (of 15th August 1983), which put the responsibility for the management of primary schools and schoolteachers on the Upazila Parishad. Under the 'new' Upa-Zilla (UZ) system, the UZ parishad had been granted some powers over local matters such as the power to appoint, promote/ transfer teachers within the UZ as well as the overall supervision of schools and selected teachers for training within the UZ. Nevertheless, primary schoolteacher continued to be employees of the central government, which controlled hiring, salaries, allowances, pension and other financial benefits. In addition, the national government retained absolute control over policy on primary education, curriculum, textbooks, standardization of school facilities, quality of teaching, teachers training, teaching

job creation and teacher transfer from one Upa—Zilla to another (Ministry of Education, 1983. Pp. 1-6 also quoted in Hossain, 1996). Even though some analysts called the creation of UZ primary education committee as well as other ad hoc committees like the teacher transfer committee, the employment and promotion committee, the examination committee, the tender committee and the project selection committee under the said UZ committee as decentralization revisited but still schoolteacher remained at the periphery of all educational development committee/ initiatives in the UZ.

Alam (2000) mentioned that though some flickers of decentralized primary educational administration were observed in the framing of Primary Education Act of 1981 and Upa—Zilla Parishad related Executive order of 15 August 1983 but a detailed administrative and management mechanism, from the national capital via district, Upa—Zila (sub—district), down to union and ultimately to the school was spelled out in the CPE (Compulsory Primary Education) of 1990. But during **Khaleda Zia's 1st term regime** (1991—96) some 'cosmetic' changes had been taken place in terms of decentralization (not 'devolution') of administrative power with regard to primary school and schoolteacher in Bangladesh. The 'top—down' four—tiered bureaucracy was still persist. During the period 1991—96, the newly elected democratic government set up a separate Ministry level Division under the name of Primary and Mass education Division (PMED) in August 1992 to strengthen the activities of primary and mass education and the concern personnel including the schoolteacher. The CPE was introduced under the Act for the first time in 1992 in 68 thanas/ Upa- Zila and all over the country from 1993. A Food for Education programme (FFEP) was initiated experimentally in the 460 unions in the 1993/ 94 provided children of selected poor families of primary schools 15 to 20 Kg. Of wheat every month for attending school regularly. Though this FFEP was reported to have significant increased enrolment, attendance and reduced dropout but it put a lot of non-academic work (e.g. prepare list of beneficiaries students, distribution of wheat among students, keep and maintain wheat distribution records etc) burden on primary schoolteacher. Moreover, the curriculum based on 53 terminal competences, which National Curriculum and Text Book Board (NCTB) started designing in 1986 ultimately, started to get implemented at the school-level from 1992.

21 years after throwing down Awami League regain power under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina (daughter of Skeikh Muib) in 1996. Her government put emphasis on local (district)

level planning with regard to primary education under a donor supported project called IDEAL (Intensive District Approach to Education for All). The key elements of this approach are: local planning with community participation; a holistic approach, a matrix of networking between district and national institutions; an emphasis on capacity—building; professional input for teacher and a focus on girls and other socially disadvantaged groups (Alam, 2000). IDEAL project, which began in 1996 has been implemented in 30 districts by 2000, envisages that planning facilities and educational programmes begin at the village level with progressive integration and consolidation at the Ward, Union, Upazila and District Levels. All head teachers have received 6 days training under IDEAL project. British government supported another project named Effective Schools Through Enhanced Education Management (ESTEEM) also began in October, 1998 with the goal of providing all primary school age children (6-10) with access to a 'quality' primary education within an environment sufficient to encourage them to attend regularly and to complete successfully the five—year primary cycle. ESTEEM project, which has gone underway, aims at providing management development service for the Primary Education Development Programme as well as assisting government to improve the quality of school management and teachers' classroom practices (ESTEEM, First Quarterly Report/ E8, 1999).

The 'modernization' of school administration in Bangladesh imposed ideologies of bureaucratic and democratic administration on the school (Hossain, 1994). The bureaucratic administration that prized discipline, order, rationality, efficiency, documentation, and impersonality was simply inappropriate and contradictory with the spirit of teacher professionalization. Officials and teachers working under the system feel prevailing school administration at odds with the democratic and participatory elements of modern philosophy of education (Hossain, 1994). The increasing bureaucratisation of teachers' career threatened to destroy the traditional respect that teachers have always received in the village community. Consequently, teachers lost their self-direction. This process also threatened teachers' freedom in many ways: 'prohibiting teachers to participate in aspects of the local culture, erecting barriers to interaction with local citizens, making teachers to robot-like beings who merely followed orders (Hossain, 1994). Teachers' professional autonomy has long been replaced by bureaucratic formalism. The bureaucratisation process threatened the democratic governance of education and teacher professionalization. All initiatives that have been incepted since independence relating to primary education have simply failed to ensure teacher empowerment and quality education. Government's policy initiatives also failed to

recognize school teachers as the effective catalyst and equipped them with necessary inputs for successful completion of government programme and policies hence ensure expected outcome against each year highest national budget to education sector in general and primary education in particular.

3.2. Teachers' training and commitment to practicing a specialized body of knowledge and skill

To create a cadre of well motivated, disciplined and professionally competent teachers continuous training and re-training are considered essential. Since the independence governments of Bangladesh recognizes that for the achievement of sustainable development of her population must be provided with a sound basic education. It is also recognized that for schools to deliver the required quality of education they need professionally competent teachers. For this a sound programme of teacher preparation considered to be absolutely necessary around the world.

For improvement of the quality of primary school teaching in Bangladesh includes 'structured initial' and 'continued' in-service training also 'school focused professional development activities' for practising teachers. This is the recognition of the fact that teachers' professional competence is an important determinant of students' academic performance. The increase in teachers' productivity and commitment to practicing specialized knowledge will depend not only on the number of teachers that will be trained but also on the quality of the training which they receive, an effective system of teacher supervision and support and choice of better candidates.

The schoolteacher recruitment criteria under nationalization policy of **Mujib regime** as mentioned before were aimed to extend political patronage and the supply of jobs and contracts for Awami League supporters. Even though among total 155,000 primary schoolteachers 50 percent of them were untrained during the time of nationalization in 1973 but the trend were underway to recruit teachers without training and non-matriculate candidates on condition that they will complete their minimum qualification (matriculate/SSC) within three years of joining the teaching profession simply because of political affiliation bypassing available PTI trained and matriculate candidates until the regime end in 1975 (Dove, 1983a). Because of the war- torn economy during Mujib era there were lacking of textbooks, teachers' guides, instructional materials and eventually supervision. Consequently, due to inadequate supervision along with low level of education teachers

absenteeism was high and quality of education was out of imagination. It is to mention that there were 47 Primary Training Institute (PTI) by the year 1975 having the capacity to produce about eight thousands graduates each year.

During the rule of **General Zia** no significant achievements were reported to overcome basic challenges of primary education and quality teaching e.g. quality crisis of teacher, sanitation, supply of pure drinking water, internal walls between two classrooms, school furniture, teaching aid and equipment, high (on average 1:50 and higher in some schools) teacher—pupil ration (Dove, 1983a). Even, Zia regime exempted the minimum academic condition to be fulfilled by those non-matriculate and untrained teachers recruited during the Awami League regime by regularize their salaries (GoB, Education Direction Division, notification no. 3068/ 20-pri date: 27.04.1981). Some of the achievements that had been attained during Zia's era included: introduce new national curriculum⁴; the number of primary school teachers increased by 28%; the intake capacity of the Primary training Institutes increased by 15% to 9200 in 1980. In 1975 to 1978 72% of the 80,000 untrained serving teachers had received eight months in service training on a crash programme. Though the numbers of teacher increased 28% by the time but 15 projected training institutes were not built only increased intake capacity of the existing 47 PTIs. One of the remarkable establishments during Zia regime with regard to primary teacher training was the establishment of an academy for fundamental education (now named NAPE) with the assistance of UNDP/UNESCO in 1978. The aim of establishing the Academy was to advise and assist in the development of the primary teacher-training programme and to link primary education with rural development programmes (Dove, 1983a). The creation of separate directorates for the management and supervision of primary and secondary and higher education in 1981 was believed to have strengthened the supervision structure of primary education. Still, supervision and teacher training remained inadequate hence hampered the regular attendance of teachers and quality teaching.

Under **Ershad's** decentralization policy the most crucial changes that had taken place was structural in terms of teacher supervision and training. For example, in 1986 four deputy directors' offices were turned into eight regional offices with the aim to decrease the distance between schools/ schoolteachers and supervisors. School supervision systems have therefore become more elaborate through a horizontal expansion. Ershad regime took the initiatives

⁴ Dove (1983a) mentioned that teachers failed to follow/ implement this new curriculum largely because of inadequate training, lower educational background and preparation to teach it

for creation of 1,834 post of Assistant Upa-Zilla Education Officers (AUEO) to strengthen field level supervision and inspection. There had also been an increase in the scope and duties of supervisory personnel (AUEO/ ATEOs). During Ershad period regional, district and field –level (Thana or block) staffs had been given some supervisory task and target, which means schools were supervised by different actors. But the ‘real’ supervisor during Ershad regime was Assistant Upazila Education Officers (AUEOs). An AUEO was assigned to supervise 15 to 20 schools and their teachers every month and to visit each school at least once a month and number of schools and teachers per supervisor posts (ATEO) were 18 and 80 respectively (Carron et. al. 1998). AUEOs were also demanded to ‘improve the professional ability of the teachers through demonstration lessons and sub-cluster training’. In Bangladesh supervision staff (AUEO now called ATEO) have a more active role to play in in-service teacher training. For example, the ATEOs devote a considerable amount of their time (13 per cent on average) to running and improving sub-cluster training (UNESCO, 1998).

The need for professional training of supervisor/ trainers is well recognized in all over the world. In Bangladesh, there are short-term (see table 1) in-service training courses for supervisors/ trainers ranging from 3-12 days are offered by the NAPE and BMDC (Bangladesh Management Development Corporation). Officially, the supervisory function was always considered the most important, but as times passed administrative and professional roles began to absorb more time and energy. Intense administrative workload points out the intrinsic ills of the school supervision system. In reality, school supervision results in dysfunctional consequences and is reduced to statistical indices (Hossain, 1997). In addition, professional training and preparation of school supervisors does not equip them with the appropriate knowledge of primary school teaching as they get little training (table 1). The assumption that a 3—12 days in-service training (in comparison with one year pre-service training in Sri Lanka) can equip the ATEOs with adequate leadership skills and competencies to initiate new teaching behaviours in the teachers is not realistic, when most of the ATEOs come from a secondary background.

The same UNESCO (1998) study exposed that Bangladeshi schoolteachers expressed the feeling that supervision staff suffer from an attitude of a controller and superior officer and they show little patience and respect for teachers, even in the presence of the learners. Their visit to schools therefore leads to stress among teachers, rather than helping them to develop their skills.

Table 1
Duration of in-service courses for supervisors/ trainers

Supervisory staff	Training agency	Subject area of training	Duration
Assistant Thana Education Officer (ATEO)	NAPE	-School management and supervision -Orientation in sub-cluster training	9 days
	BMDC	Management	2-3 days
Thana Education Officer (TEO)	NAPE	Management of primary education and supervision	6 days
	BMDC	Management	12 days

Source: Carron, et.al. 1998

Pupil—Teacher ratio is considered to be a measure of quality teaching and teacher's enthusiasm. Every student in the school more particularly in the primary school needs teacher's attention and assistance. Moreover, student—ration Teacher in primary school is an important determining factor of the quality of education received by the pupils. Historically, public schools in Bangladesh do not present a pleasant scenario with a large number of pupils per teacher (see table 2). Government as such has had recognized the situation and the policy is to improve the pupil—teacher ratio but the process of selection, in addition to resource constraints affects the recruitment of more teachers. One government report revealed that the private schools being in a better situation with the ratio of 43:1, compared to the public schools with 76:1 (GOB, PMED, 1999). These ratios loose much of their significance due to wide spread absenteeism among students and teachers⁵. To reduce the present student— teacher ratio to a reasonable level (50:1) one report reveals that the primary school system need to recruit 150,000 more teachers (Task Force Report, 1993:50).

One Commonwealth Secretariat study revealed that during **Khaleda Zia's 1st term** rule approximately 95 per cent of the working primary teacher was trained and there were 53 PTIs in comparison 47 in 1971. Moreover, her government introduced a Higher Certificate-in-Education (HC-in-Ed) course initially in four PTIs for the prospective head teachers of primary schools and a proposal for introducing B Ed (Primary) course was also under consideration in the ministry of education at that time (Thomas, et. al. 1993).

⁵ The absenteeism is said to be up to 30%. Alam et al. (1996) gave a details picture of absenteeism in primary education in Bangladesh.

Table: 2

Estimates on teacher-pupil ratio in primary educational institutions

Types of institutions	Regime							
	Mujib 1971-- 1975	Zia 1978-- 1981	Ershad 1982- 1990	Khaleda 1990-1995	Hasina 1995--1998			
					1995	1996	1997	1998
State-owned schools	1:50*	1:50**	---	---	1:73	1:73	1:75	1:76
Non-state (registered) schools	---	---	---	---	1:36	1:43	1:50	1:50
Others (Satellite, community, high school-attached etc)	---	---	---	---	1:52	1:53	1:53	1:55
Non-formal (NGO) schools	---	---	---	---	1:35	1:35	1:35	1:35
<i>Madrassa</i> (Mainly Ebtedaiya	---	---	---	---	1:17	1:17	1:18	1:17
Kinder-gartens (KG schools)	---	---	---	---	1:28	1:24	1:21	1:23

Source: Alam, 2000; Dove, 1983a; GOB/ DPE, 1999

Note:

*Indicates average teacher: pupil ratio during the period 1971-75

**Indicates average teacher: pupil ratio during the period 1978-81

--- Indicates data not available

But, an important national level institution like NAPE had not been made functioning well as its major activities had been limited to conducting examinations for one—year PTIs training and organizing competitions for giving awards to the best teachers. In— service training of teachers was also arranged through cluster—training and refresher courses during Khaleda's 1st term rule. Another remarkable initiative in this period was an attempt to align the teacher training programme with the demands of the new competency—based curriculum that had been introduced in the primary schools of Bangladesh through a phased programme beginning with Class I from the school academic year 1992 but the limiting

factor was that PTI instructors and NAPE staff were generally the product of secondary teacher training colleges (Thomas, et. al. 1993).

Hasina government (1996-2001) during its tenure took the initiative and establish a new institution at the Upazila level called Upazila Resource Centre (URC). The aims of establishing URC were to provide academic support for the primary education system in the Upazila in order to: improve classroom teaching-learning process; improve teaching skills of the classroom teachers; improve the quality of classroom and school management; strengthen sub-cluster training system by providing regular, professional and technical support services; establish a data bank on quality indicators of primary education; and work as a demonstration centre for educational technology (GoB, DPE, 1999).

During 2nd term (2001—2005) in the power Khaleda Zia government has established a new PTI. Moreover, a group of Master Trainers has been developed from NAPE and PTI Staffs and AUEOs and URC instructors have been trained to deliver in-service teacher training. Although a new C in Ed curriculum has been developed, numerous weakness remain with this programme as staff of the PTIs have not been adequately consulted regarding the revisions and the program remains overly academic (Annual Review of PEDP, PMED, May 2002). Most PTIs are seriously understaffed, leading to larger class sizes within the institutions and reduced quality of the training offered. A school-type timetable of 45-minute lessons in the PTI classes generally resulted reduction in the quality of training. URCs have not been established according to PEDP Plans. Institutions need much resource and high quality inputs if they are to be effective. NAPE is not able to fulfil its 'apex' role as its autonomous status has not yet been resolved and there are serious staffing problem at the institutions. Staffs are deputed for relatively short periods of time and are not sufficiently experienced in primary education, nor trained in modern primary methods, creating a gap between the training offered to teachers through PEDP components and the capacities of NAPE staff (Annual Review of PEDP, PMED, May 2002).

In general, teachers training in Bangladesh are 'costly, outdated, over-theoretical and mostly irrelevant to the skills required by a professional primary teacher'. The instructional strategies used by teaching staffs of the PTI often focus on a knowledge transmission approach with emphasis on rote learning and teacher-centred style of teaching, which simply reinforced in the PTI graduates classes. The one-year durable C-in-Ed training is too short to

train teachers who only have ten (SSC) or twelve (HSC) years of academic background. It also put little emphasis on developing subject-matter knowledge and suffers from the weakness of the theoretical bias of the course but not focus on children's needs. This poor quality of training as well as teachers' academic competence results ineffective and de-professionalized teaching. Teachers with such weak academic and training background cannot teach children with confidence. Moreover, primary teachers in Bangladesh attend their respective training programme only due to system demands and also to get on to a higher pay scale but not for the purpose of their professional development. Teachers' training background helped them very little to achieve basic spirit of professional norms and values (Hossain, 1996).

3.3. Material Rewards, Social Status and Altruistic Service

The most important employee incentive was salary (Herbert A. Simon; 1952:331). If a service is valued by a society, that society ordinarily rewards the workers adequately, so as to attract talented and intellectually and morally qualified young persons in competition with the demands of other services. Can teachers be fully motivated in their work if rewards, particularly financial, are inadequate to meet their needs? As in the case of teacher qualifications, many writers also discuss this issue.

Lockheed and Verspoor (1992:91) explained status depends on how society and prospective teachers perceive the extrinsic compensation and conditions of the workplace and the intrinsic rewards of professional accomplishment. They also add that status plays a significant role in attracting academically prepared candidates and encouraging them to remain within the profession. However, many writers pointed out that teacher particularly primary level status is at an extreme low and is cited as a cause of low teacher competence and poor teacher motivation. As a result, teaching, as a profession, does not generally attract academically prepared candidates in developing countries. This according to relevant literature is one result of the impoverished status associated with the teaching profession at present.

Many writers argue that this situation is caused by insufficient remuneration of teachers. Hallak (1990:37) for example suggests that current scale of teachers' remuneration are so inadequate that many teachers in developing countries are forced to hold down two or three

jobs to make a living wage. He also concluded that cuts in the real level of teacher salaries means that morale would be low and it might be impossible to keep trained teachers in the profession. Other researchers for example, Makau and Coombe (1994) also supported this claim. Researchers like Lewin (1993) and Anderson (1991) also mentioned that poor motivation translates into poor classroom performance.

The issue of rewards and salaries to ensure altruistic service of primary schoolteachers in Bangladesh also seems relevant. To be an assistant teacher of government primary school requires⁶ to possess qualifications minimum of SSC (for female candidates) and HSC with C in Ed training or graduate/ post-graduate degree from a recognized university (for male candidate) and to be qualified as a head teacher the requirements⁷ includes. a bachelor's degree/ post graduate degree from a recognized university or its equivalent with at least 3 years teaching experiences either in primary or secondary school. However, to qualify for employment as teachers in government schools also requires one additional qualification namely C in Ed training from PTI or B. Ed. certificate from teacher training colleague. These are obtained from special education institutes located in major urban centres of Bangladesh. Teachers are, naturally, encouraged by the government study for a B. Ed (bachelor in education) degree but there are no incentives to attract teachers to do so (Haran, 1995:48).

During British colonial era a detailed system of extrinsic rewards such as varying the size of the teacher's pay packet according to a competitive system based on achievement had been adopted in then East Bengal (now Bangladesh) under circle⁸ school system by Sir G.P. Grant in 1860 (Shahidullah, 1987 quoted in Hossain, 1996). Even Pakistan government continued to pay some extra increments as incentive to attract qualified schoolteacher for example, to pay two extra increments⁹ to the trained intermediate—passed schoolteacher and four extra

⁶ Advertisement No. DPE—13 (recruitment)/ 99 (part-3)/ 1006 (129) date 02-04-2000 from the Director—General for primary education, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mirpur—2, Dhaka 1216. This advertisement about employment of teachers places basic pay scales for trained and non—trained teachers at Tk 1875—2505 (\$35—\$46) and Tk 1625—2080 (\$30—\$38) respectively. **Note:** 1 US \$ is equivalent to Bangladesh (taka) TK 54.30 at the present market value.

⁷ Advertisement No. DPE—13 (recruitment)/ 99—PE (part-2)/ 5005/ 130 date 08-11-1999 from the Director—General for primary education, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka 1216. This advertisement about employment of head teachers places basic pay scales for trained and non—trained teachers at Tk 1975—2710 (\$36—\$50) and Tk 1750—2310 (\$32—\$43) respectively

⁸ A circle school under British rule consisted of three to four patshalas (school) with a minimum 120 pupils. Many circle systems enrolled only 40 pupils at least three six times smaller than the target (250 pupils in a school) set by the government.

⁹ A teacher's final basic salary (on the basis of which their other benefits were calculated) was calculated after adding these advance increments with initial basic salary in the salary-scale at that time. For example, if a

increments to the bachelor-passed teachers (Government of East Pakistan, memorandum no. SIV/756 (200)-Edn. Dated: 29.06.1970).

After nationalization of primary education in 1973 the central government became responsible for the payment of basic salaries, allowances, pensions, and gratuities to primary school teachers as like as other government employees. The **Mujib government** followed the same Pakistani policy to pay extra increments to the trained and graduate schoolteacher. But **Zia regime** brought a change in the revised pay scale in 1977. The new revised pay scale, in fact, reduces the number of extra increment compare to previous regime i.e. trained intermediate-passed teacher would get one extra increment (instead of two) and bachelor-passed teacher would get two extra increment (instead of four). Why it was the situation? In the years after independence, primary education did not get a proportional share of the education sector investments. It was because the political arena in Bangladesh is dominated by an elite composed of professional politicians, civil servants, wealthy farmers, businessmen, military officers, university teachers which acts as ‘pressure group’ to gain access to a larger share of allocation in the education sub-sector than due and the masses like schoolteacher do not compete and influence in the political arena (Dove, 1983:76 and Askvik, 2000). Employment contracts from the Primary Education Directorate (PED) specified teachers’ basic salary and other benefits: house rent, medical expenses, travel, recreation, festivals, and cost of living allowances for teachers and school officials. As per primary teacher recruitment policy/ rule concern, higher educational qualifications and professional training of a teacher make a significant difference in status both within the school community and in the system at large. Trained teachers enjoy a bit high pay scales and yearly increments. The civil servant¹⁰ status of teachers qualifies them from 1973 to date to draw house rent as well as medical and festival allowances. In addition to these privileges, teachers are also entitled to provident and benevolent funds,¹¹ in addition to pension and welfare plans.

The following table 3 shows the salary state of affairs of schoolteacher in Bangladesh during different regimes since independence.

teacher’s initial basic salary TK. 3000 and annual pay increase (increment) TK 500 then after adding two increments (500X2) a trained intermediate-passed schoolteacher final basic salary will be TK. 4000. He is also entitle to get other benefits i.e. house rent: 45% of this final basic salary Tk. 4000.

¹⁰ In Bangladesh, primary school teachers are designated as 3rd class government employees.

¹¹ Provident and benevolent funds are two social insurance plans for the civil servants.

Table 3
Schoolteachers' salary scenario since independence

Regime	Category of teachers	Pay-scale (in Taka)
Mujib	Trained matriculate (head teacher)	220—420
	Non-trained matriculate asstt. teacher	120-2-130
	Non-trained non matriculate asstt. teacher	80 (fixed)
Major Zia	----	---
General Ershad	Head teacher	325—610
	Assistant teacher	300-540
Khaleda 1 st term	----	----
Hasina	Trained head teacher	1975-105X7-2710-EB-110X11-3920
	Trained asstt. teacher	1875-90X7-2505-EB-100X11-3605

Source: GoB, ME no.-ge:10/ 5p-16 dt. 13.11.1983; no. Gen: 10/ 10M-8/ 84/ 433-edu, dt 14-06.84;

GoB, DPE no-DPE-13 (recuit)/ 99 (part-3)/ 1006, date: 02-04-2000;

Note: --- Indicate data not available

Table 4
Different pay scenario among the same grade government employees

Name of the institute	Position	Educational qualification	Pay scale Tk ¹² .	Total pay (with other benefits) Tk
Govt Primary School	Asstt. teacher	Bachelor/ Masters	1625—1875	2775—3025
Govt Secondary School	Assistant teacher	Bachelor, B. Ed.	2550—3400	4147—5060
Govt Secondary School	Head teacher	Bachelor, B. Ed.	6300	101208 (fixed)
Gov Primary School	Head teacher	Bachelor with 3 years experience/ M.A.	1750—1975	3100—3125
PTI Primary School	Asstt. teacher	Bachelor, B. Ed.	3400	5060 (fixed)
College/ Madrasha	Lecturer	Masters (M.A)	4300	6400
College/ Madrasha	Principal	Masters (M. A.)	7200	10380
Government Office	Auto Driver	SSC	1975	
Government hospital	Nurse	SSC	2550	
Department of Food	Food Inspector	Bachelor	2550	
Veterinary College	Compounder	HSC	2100	

Source: The Bengali Daily *Sangram*, Dhaka, 03 July, 2000.

¹² Abbreviated name of Bangladeshi currency *Taka*.

The above-mentioned table 4 reveal different pay—scenario among the same grade¹³ government employees during **Hasina** regime. It also shows that there are significant pay differences among the same grade government employees working in the different public offices having the same educational qualification. In fact, primary teachers are getting low-wage (having same and even higher qualification) in comparison with the other government employees of the same grade job . There is significant pay difference with teachers working in the higher secondary school and college/ *Madrasha* (religious school) having the same academic qualification as primary schoolteacher. From the table 3 it is also evident that the government policies as well as society has regarded primary teaching as a low status profession, which is reflected in the government pay policy (shown in table 4) and ultimately affect the primary teaching profession in terms of motivation and perform altruistic service. As a result, teachers frequently tend to pursue their private interest rather than attend to their teaching tasks and their controlling mid level managers do not have sufficient power and resources to change the existing system (Askvik, 2000). Why schoolteachers lack motivation and altruistic service in Bangladesh? Askvik (2000) argued that there is lack of knowledge and motivation for addressing the problems at the central level of policy arena. For Dove (1983a), Bangladeshi elites consider primary education is less important since they always can afford to send their children to prestigious private schools, while higher education (where elites send their children) is more conveniently funded by the state and teachers in higher educational institution obviously enjoy high status.

3.4. Professional organization as a means of control over standards of practice and access to basic occupational resources

Instead of ‘knowledge base’ organization of profession schoolteachers in Bangladesh belong to trade—union type of organization (Alam and Askvik, 1996, Gustavsson, 1991). Because of the absence of direct pay and benefit negotiations system with employers and the centralization of administrative authority particularly in public sector, professional associations (unions) can not pursue their objectives (e.g. salaries and working conditions improvement) through the usual method of collective bargaining, which ultimately make

¹³ According to salary and power structures members of Bangladesh Civil Service are classified into four categories(grade) i.e. 1st class (Officials those appointment are confirmed by government gazette notification); 2nd class (non-gazetted official); 3rd class (clerical position) and 4th class (driver, cleaner etc).

them depend on political parties to achieve their professional objectives and to pressure the government. So, political parties backed primary teachers' associations and their distinctive ideologies resulted lack of interest articulation of the profession in a single voice. Political nature of teachers' organizations has contributed to 'provoke' conflicts within the profession and lead to the emergence of rival, competing forms of association. As primary teachers' associations in Bangladesh rely on distinct political ideologies that lack uniformity and consistency, which Burrage et. al (1990) termed as 'persistence' in the goals of their profession. Moreover, primary teachers' organizations in Bangladesh suffer from lack of motivational role of unions in inspiring, helping and encouraging teachers to be more professional, efficient, hardworking and ideal.

Conclusion:

Teachers are the most critical inputs in every education system. They can present a literate nation provided they are honest, well equipped, responsible and professionally motivated. However, to do the same they would have to be provided with sufficient facilities and developed by necessary training. They should be able to understand clearly their responsibilities and roles. Their training should strengthen their ability to perform their role satisfactorily so that they can attract and retain children. Teachers do, after all, make and implement decisions that critically affect the lives and future prospects of their pupils and the welfare of their countries.

But within the highly structured framework of education in Bangladesh, where clearly defined rules and regulations determined every aspect of teachers' activities, there is no place for individual initiatives or a creative mind. The existing 'new' system demanded conformity and did not tolerate any deviation from the bureaucratic order. Consequently, schoolteachers are little more than 'classroom managers'. The teachers have to follow the dictates of the planning department of the curriculum board without any modification to suit local demand (Hossain, 1996). Their autonomy is restricted, their tasks are over—simplified and their roles are trivialized by bureaucratic constraints.

The above review suggests that progress towards educational reforms and a literate Bangladesh is not only a socio-economic problem, but also, and maybe in the first place, a

political one. It seems that unless the political authorities are committed to ensure teacher professionalism and enjoy the confidence of the educational institution (teachers and students) and local communities, decentralization and implementation of educational plans will hardly be effective (Gustavsson, 1991:20). The Bangladeshi educational leaders have recognized the need for quality teachers, but the low cost policy initiatives they adopted have resulted low learning achievements in primary education. Teachers tend to be isolated professionally, poorly motivated and lack supervision and support (World Bank, 2000). To continue progress toward the development of a ‘world class’ teaching force, the Bangladeshi hiring officials must rethink both goals and strategies and make more judicious use of a wide variety of strategies, to employ what Hallak (1990:169) has called ‘a package of complementary action’ designed to address the issue from different perspectives.

References:

- Abbott, A. 1988. *The system of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labour*, The University of Chicago Press.
- Ahmed, Moudud 1984 *The Era of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman*, Dhaka, University Press Limited (Fourth Impression).
- Alam, Mahmudul 2000. “Development of Primary Education in Bangladesh: The Ways Ahead”. *The Bangladesh Development Studies*, Vol.XXVI, No.4, BIDS, Dhaka.
- Alam, Mahmudul and Hossain, Hedayet 1999 “A Review of Primary Educational Development in Bangladesh” in Mustaque R Chowdhury et.al. (eds.) *Hope Not Complacency Primary Education in Bangladesh*, Chapter 2, Education watch, CAMPE-UPL, Dhaka.
- Askvik, Steinar 2000. ”Modernization, Mass Education and the Role of the State in Bangladesh” paper presented in the NFU Conference title “The State under Pressure” organized by the Norwegian Association for Development Research and Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, 5-6 October 2000
- Askvik, Steinar, & Alam, Mahmudul, 1996. “Sustainable Development and Planned Institution – Building in Primary Education Sub-Sector in Bangladesh”, paper presented at the BIDS—CMI Seminar title Planning for Sustainable Development in Bangladesh, Dhaka, September 24—25, 1996.
- BANBEIS, 1987 *Primary Education in Bangladesh*, Dhaka

- Burrage Michael and Rolf Torstendahl (eds.) 1990. *The Formation of Professions: Knowledge, state and strategy*, London, SAGE Publication.
- Burke, Andrew 1996 “Professionalism: Its Relevance for Teachers and Teacher Educators in Developing Countries” in *Prospect: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, Vol. XXVI, No.3.
- Carron, A., De Grauwe, A. and Govinda, R. 1998. *Trends in School Supervision: Supervision and Support Services in Asia: A comparative analysis*, Vol. I, UNESCO, Paris
- Carr-Sunders, A. M., and Wilson, P.A. 1933. *The Professions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Clark, Vincent 1990 “A Struggle for Existence: The Professionalization of German Architects” in Cocks, Geoffrey and Jarausch, Konrad H. (eds.) *German Professions 1800-1950*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Constitution of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1975
- Dove, L.A. 1986 *Teachers and Teacher Education in Developing Countries: issues in Planning, management and training*, London, Croom Helm
- Dove, L.A. 1983a “Education Policy in Bangladesh 1978-81: promise and performance in political perspective” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 19 No. 1.
- Erichsen, V. 1995. Health Care Reform in Norway: The End of “Profession State”?, LOS—senter Notat 9509.
- 1995, “State traditions and medical professionalization in Scandinavia” in Freidson, E. 1994. *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy and Policy*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- ESTEEM (Effective Schools Through Enhanced Education Management), First Quarterly Report, Report—E8, 1999. The Cambridge Consortium, U.K
- Farrell, J.P. & Oliveira, J.B. 1993 *Teachers in Developing Countries: improving effectiveness and managing costs*, Washington DC, World Bank.
- FREPD: 1985 *A study on promotion of Girls Education in the context of universalization of primary education in Bangladesh*, Dhaka.
- Freidson, E. 1970a. *Profession of Medicine: A study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Freidson, E. 1970b. *Professional Dominance: The social Structure of Medical care*. New York: Atherton Press Inc.
- GoB, DPE, 1999. *Upazila Resource Centre of Primary Education in Bangladesh*
- Gustavsson, S. (1991). *Primary Education in Bangladesh: Review, Analysis and*

Recommendations, SIDA

Hallak, J. 1990 *Investing in the Future: setting educational priorities in the developing world*, Paris, UNESCO.

Haran, Neil, (1995). Unpublished MA Thesis title "*The Effect of the De—Professionalisation of Teaching on Primary School Teacher Effectiveness in Developing Countries: A Case Study of NGOs in Bangladesh*", Institute of Education, University of London.

Jamil, I. 1998. *Administrative Culture in Public Administration: Five Essays on Bangladesh*, Bergen: LOS-Senteret. Rappott, 98/01

Johnson, Terence J. 1972. *Professions and Power*, London, MacMillan.

Johnson, Terry 1995. "Governmentality and the Institutionalization of Expertise" in Terry Johnson et. al. (eds.) *Health Professions and the State in Europe*, Routledge, London/ New York.

Johnson, Terry et. al. (eds.) 1982 *Health Professions and the State in Europe*, Routledge, London/ New York

Larson, M.S. 1977, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Khatun, Sharifa, 1992 *Development of Primary Education Policy in Bangladesh*, University of Dhaka.

Leggatt, T. (1970) 'Teaching as a profession', in J.A. Jackson (ed.) *Profession and Professionalization*, London, Cambridge University Press.

Lockheed and Verspoor (1992). *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries: A Review of Policy Options*, Washington D C: World Bank.

Makau, Ben and Carol Combe, 1994 *Teacher Morale and Motivation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Making Practical Improvements*, Donors to African Education Working Group on the Teaching Profession, London

Marshall, T.H. 1938. *Class Conflict and Social Stratification*. London: LePlay House.

Ministry of Education, 1983. *Decentralization of Powers and Functions Relating to Management of Primary Education*, Pp. 1-6

NICEF, 1987. *An analysis of the situation of children in Bangladesh*,

Parsons, T. 1963. "The Professions and Social Structure", in Parsons, *Essays in Sociological theory*, Glencoe IL: Free Press.

Parsons, T. 1951. *The Social System*, London: Free Press.

PMED, GoB, 2002. *Annual Review of Primary Education Development Programme*, Dhaka

- The Primary Education Act (Act No. IV)*, 1981 The Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Bangladesh, Dhaka
- Prokaushali Sangsad Limited 1988 *Study of Non-Formal Education, UPE-project*. Dhaka.
- Quddus, S.M. Abdul, 2001. *Professional Role Orientation of Schoolteacher in Bangladesh: Mission Improbable?*, unpublished MPhil thesis in the Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway
- Satter, Ellen 1983 *Universal Primary Education In Bangladesh*, UPL, Dhaka.
- Task Force Report on Primary Education*, 1993, Dhaka
- Simon, Herbert A. (1952). "Inducements and Incentives in Bureaucracy" in Robert K. Merton et al (eds.) *Reader in Bureaucracy*, p. 331.
- Thomas, Elwyn, Sharma, M., Khanna, A., Jatoi, H. 1993. *Professional Development of Teachers: Policy and Practice in Initial Teacher Training*, Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Wilensky, H.L. 1964. "The Professionalization of Everyone" in *American Journal of Sociology*, 70, (1964):137-158.
- World Bank, 2000. *Bangladesh Education Sector Review Vol. I*, The University Press Limited, Dhaka