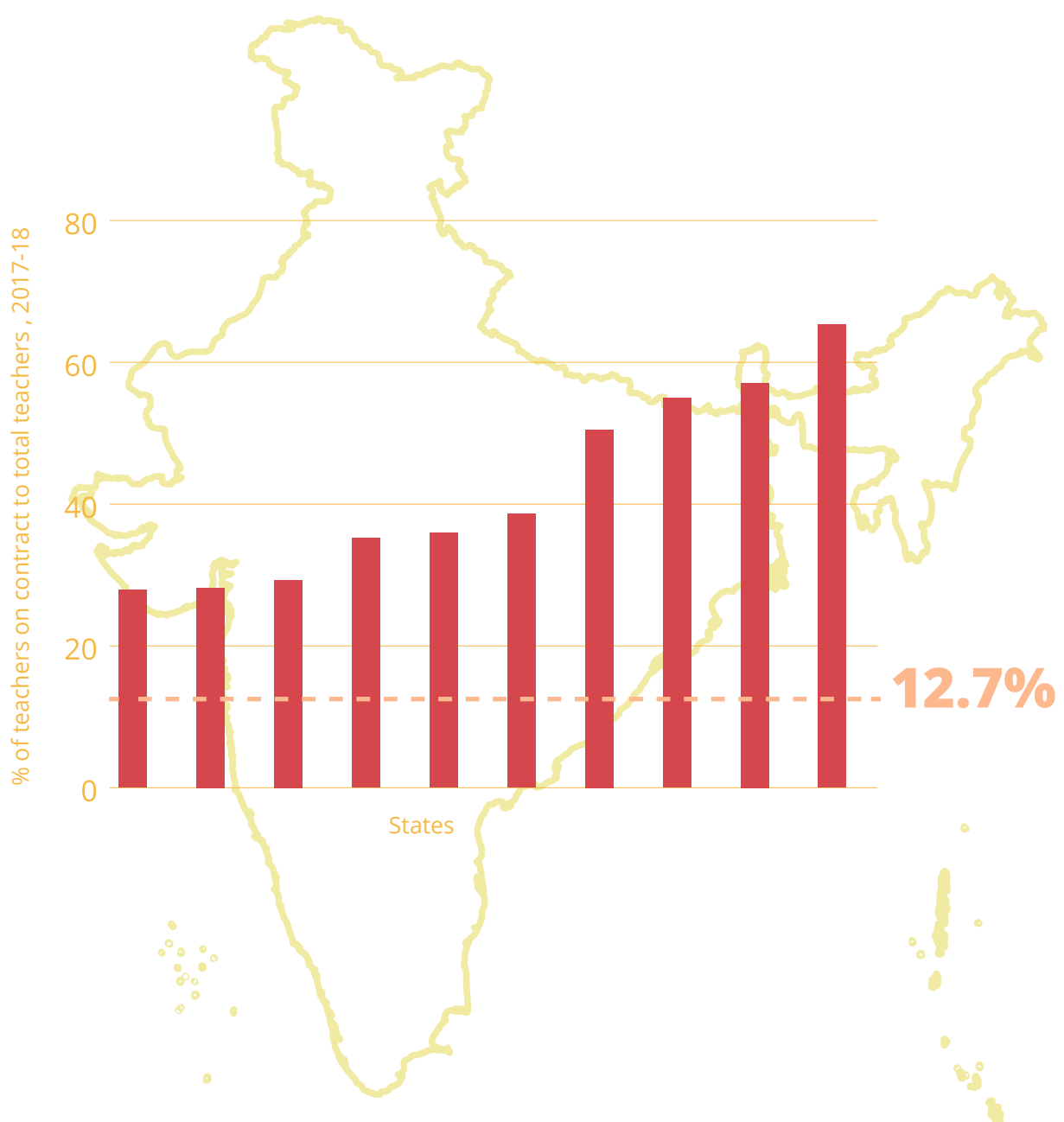




CONTRACT TEACHERS IN INDIA

Recent Trends and Current Status

JUNE 2020



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Vimala Ramachandran, Deepa Das, Ganesh Nigam and Anjali Shandilya*

** Niti Saxena of ERU supported the project in the initial stage and later had to step out.*



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Executive Summary

1. There are very large numbers of contract teachers (also known as Shiksha Mitra, Shiksha Karmi, para teachers, guest teachers, ad hoc teachers, etc.) working in the Indian public education system.
2. These teachers are appointed on short-term contracts ranging from a few months to a couple of years, with much lower ‘salaries’ (called honorariums) than those of regular teachers. These contracts are repeatedly ‘rolled-over’, for years, and very often, for decades. In essence, these are teachers on ‘short-term’ contracts on low salaries, with no service benefits or job security, who are used to fill positions that should be filled by personnel (teachers) in standard and long-term employment.
3. Most such contract teacher appointments happen through ad hoc and non-standardized processes compromising the quality of recruitment and very often, opening more room for corruption and favouritism.
4. The practice of hiring contract teachers began in the early 1990s as a stop-gap solution to teacher shortage and fiscal pressures, consequent to the large expansion in the number of schools and the steady increase in student enrolment. Over the past three decades, this stop-gap solution has become a permanent feature of staffing of public schools in many states. It has been deliberately used to reduce the financial commitment of the states and to also open up a highly discretionary (and prone to abuse) alternative to the appointment of teachers in the regular cadre with full employment status.
5. This study was supported by the Azim Premji University and conducted by ERU (Educational Resource Unit) Consultants to develop a comprehensive overview of the status of contract teachers across the country. Some of the highlights of this study are:
 - a. 12.70 percent teachers were on various forms of such contracts in India in 2017-2018.
 - b. Contract teachers have steadily increased from 5,62,504 (2012-2013) to 6,32,316 (2017-2018). In 2017-18, 13.80 percent teachers at the elementary level and 8.40 percent teachers at the secondary level were contract teachers.¹
 - c. Three states (Meghalaya, Jharkhand, Arunachal Pradesh) have over 50 percent of their teachers on contract; two states (Odisha, Sikkim) have over 35 percent of teachers on contract, and another four states (Mizoram, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, West Bengal) have more than 20 percent teachers on contract.²
6. This practice is exploitative of those on such contract employment and also deeply detrimental to education and children’s learning. Having a set of teachers within the same system, and very often in the same school, being compensated differently for the same work is damaging to the morale of teachers – both those on contract and those in standard employment. This practice also harms the image of the teaching profession and leads to dysfunctional dynamics in schools and affects school culture, thereby, directly affecting student learning.
 - a. Contract teachers do not have the same service conditions as teachers in the regular cadre. They are recipients of a consolidated salary usually ranging on an average from Rs 6,000 to Rs 20,000, which is much lower than the entry-level salary of regular cadre teachers, without any other benefits or opportunities of professional growth/development.

- b. This leads to deep demotivation often leading to disengagement in classrooms, work disruption through strikes, etc.
7. The practice has caused long-term damage not only to the teaching profession but also to student learning due to the following reasons:
- a. A significant proportion of contract teachers do not fulfil the required norms for being a teacher.³
 - i. Around 30 percent of contract teachers do not even have an undergraduate degree.
 - ii. The total number of contract teachers without professional qualifications is huge – 1,86,777 (29.50%) in 2017-18.
 - b. Contract teachers are disproportionately deployed in schools catering to the most disadvantaged.⁴
 - i. The proportion of contract teachers are the highest in the smaller primary schools. The burden of contract teachers, therefore, is disproportionately high for small schools with low enrolments (of up to 90 students); schools that typically cater to the poorest sections of the population.
 - ii. 95.83 percent of children enrolled in schools that have only contract teachers are from rural areas.
 - iii. More teachers are on contract in rural areas across all levels of schooling, with 5,71,363 contract teachers in rural schools as compared to 60,953 in urban schools.
 - iv. The number of single contract teacher schools and two contract teacher schools in 2017-18 were 12,847 and 66,955, respectively, with 22,45,337 children enrolled in these schools.
 - v. Schools meant for the most deprived, i.e., those run by Ministry of Labour and those managed by the Social Welfare Department, have a large proportion of contract teachers – 41.60 percent and 22.50 percent, respectively.
 - c. Contract teachers as an ad hoc arrangement: mismanagement of teacher vacancies, teacher surplus and teacher deployment.
 - i. There are significant vacancies in teacher positions supported both by the state government and Samagra Shiksha in many states.⁵
 - In 2018-19, there were 11.70 percent vacancies against the sanctioned posts of teachers.
 - The four states of Bihar (35.70%), Jharkhand (37.60%), Madhya Pradesh (20.50%) and Uttar Pradesh (31.20%) have the largest numbers of teacher vacancies.
 - ii. Sixteen states do not have the required three subject teachers as mandated by the RTE (Right to Education) Act in many (ranging from 15% to 90%) of their upper primary schools.⁶
 - iii. Eleven states have a surplus of teachers at the primary and upper primary stages, indicating issues in teacher rationalisation.⁷
8. Despite these problems, studies that inadequately frame the work of the teacher as only another technical and substitutable input in the education system continue to endorse contract teachers as a solution to achieve better accountability in the school education system.
9. The Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy submitted in 2019 recognised the urgency of the need to address this problem, and explicitly stated that all ‘para-teacher systems’ must end (P5.1.8, pp 123). The New Education Policy 2020 also reiterates a commitment to providing ‘regular trained teachers at each stage’ of the school system (Para 3.2) and providing a ‘robust merit-based structure of tenure’ for teachers (Para 5.17).
10. What is ultimately required is the discontinuation of this ad hoc system and its replacement by a more comprehensively designed teacher recruitment and tenure system as suggested by the Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy submitted in 2019 and the National Education Policy 2020.

1. Introduction

1.1 The context

Over the years (mid-1990s to 2020), contract teachers have attracted the attention of administrators as well as researchers – and it has also been one of the important causes of strikes and protests in several states/UTs. When a study on working conditions of teachers was underway in 2015-16 (Ramachandran et al 2018⁸), one of the issues that was continually flagged by administrators and teachers was the conundrum surrounding contract teachers in India.

During the 2000-decade, teacher workforce in India increased significantly and in 2013, there were 7.35 million school teachers in India. There has been a gradual increase over the decade, and ‘overall, the compounded annual growth rate (CAGR) is 7.20 percent. There are two significant trends: (a) the increase in the number of teachers has been consistent and unbroken, with more teachers added to the workforce than have been lost in each year since 2003-04, and (b) the rate of growth of the teacher workforce has varied significantly, ranging from a high of 13.40 percent in 2004-05 (year-on-year) to a low of 0.50 percent in 2009-10 (year-on-year)...’ (Beteille and Ramachandran 2016).

It is also noteworthy that during the decade of the 2000s, more than 85 percent of the elementary teacher workforce was employed as ‘regular’ teachers. However, the number/proportion of contract teachers varied from time to time, for example, during the ‘the period from 2004-13, (it) reached its peak of 12.20 percent in 2011-12, before sliding to a 10-year nadir of 7.30 percent. In absolute numbers, these percentages translate into 0.5 million para teachers in 2012-13, compared with 6.8 million regular teachers...’ (Beteille and Ramachandran 2016). As of 2018, the percentage of contract teachers in India was 12.70 and there were 6,32,316 teachers on various forms of contract.

1.2 The current scenario

The current situation with respect to contract teachers remains uneven across the country in terms of their numbers and geographic distribution. Essentially, the system of contract teachers quietly crept in even though until the National Policy on Education (NPE) 1986 there was no policy on appointing contract teachers. The Indian school education system has relied on contract teachers on two counts: one, to meet the shortage of teachers and two, to draw in specialist teachers for specific areas or when there are dire shortages in some subjects.⁹ This proved to be a simpler way of enhancing teacher availability without having to create regular posts or making financial commitments that are mandated for regular teachers. In a situation where educated youth were available and willing to take up these ad hoc positions with the hope that they would, in time, become regular teachers, this has been the reality in several states/UTs.

Over the years, almost all the states/UTs have reported vacancies in approved teacher positions. Posts were not filled for several reasons – delay in recruiting new teachers, teacher recruitment challenged in courts, precarious financial situation of the states/UTs or their inability to finalise recruitment processes. It is well-known that only a few states/UTs have formal teacher recruitment policies and practices that have been accepted across the board. As a result, the situation of teacher vacancies at the elementary level in the states/UTs is quite serious as evident from Table 1. This perhaps, up to some extent, explains the need for adopting alternative means of engaging teachers to tide over the constraints posed by recruitment policies or the absence of these.

Table 1: Teacher vacancies by state and under SSA/SS, 2017-18 and 2019-20

State/UT	Vacancies - by State		Vacancies - Under SSA/SS		Vacancies - Total	
	2017-18	2019-20	2017-18	2019-20	2017-18	2019-20
Andaman & Nicobar	212	423	-	56	212	479
Andhra Pradesh	12,955	10,615	-	-	12,955	10,615
Arunachal Pradesh	58	0	366	492	424	492
Assam	6,888	9,635	13,217	13,217	20,105	22,852
Bihar	82,378	86,064	1,21,556	1,26,740	2,03,934	2,12,806
Chandigarh	880	432	390	0	1,270	432
Chhattisgarh	47,137	553	1,369	38,039	48,506	38,592
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	69	92	105	69	174	161
Daman & Diu	-	216	33	0	33	216
Delhi	5,971	-	2,122	-	8,093	-
Goa	-	0	-	0	-	0
Gujarat	-	0	4,039	4,219	4,039	4,219
Haryana	10,110	2,203	1,821	0	11,931	2,203
Himachal Pradesh	1,632	1,995	-	0	1,632	1,995
Jammu & Kashmir	5,014	5,014	2,194	2,128	7,208	7,142
Jharkhand	23,662	13,997	54,603	56,299	78,265	70,296
Karnataka	5,154	2,436	9,338	9,338	14,492	11,774
Kerala	-	0	1,400	1,371	1,400	1,371
Lakshadweep	50	50	-	0	50	50
Madhya Pradesh	31,967	39,799	34,556	34,556	66,523	74,355
Maharashtra	18,671	-	-	-	18,671	-
Manipur	-	0	364	346	364	346
Meghalaya	-	0	876	0	876	0
Mizoram	1,100	0	35	35	1,135	35
Nagaland	-	0	317	317	317	317
Odisha	-	0	-	0	-	0
Puducherry	767	-	-	-	767	-
Punjab	18,175	1,049	-	1,049	18,175	2,098
Rajasthan	23,242	20,742	13,347	5,625	36,589	26,367
Sikkim	-	0	-	0	-	0
Tamil Nadu	3,788	2,362	-	0	3,788	2,362
Telangana	14,301	2,671	-	0	14,301	2,671
Tripura	4,139	3,844	262	592	4,401	4,436
Uttar Pradesh	1,29,287	47,087	95,040	1,33,911	2,24,327	1,80,998
Uttarakhand	2,991	4,555	4,587	2,450	7,578	7,005
West Bengal	32,661	-	55,120	32,861	87,781	32,861
Total	4,83,259	2,55,834	4,17,057	3,36,970	9,00,316	5,06,740

Source: PAB Minutes, 2017-18 and 2019-20

From Table 1, the vacancies have reduced from 9,00,316 in 2017 to 5,06,740 in 2019-20. But states such as Bihar (2,12,806), Jharkhand (70,296), Madhya Pradesh (74,355) and Uttar Pradesh (1,80,998) have significantly large numbers of vacant positions. Vacancies under the state-supported category of teachers has been higher in Bihar (86,064), Madhya Pradesh (39,799), Rajasthan (20,742) and Uttar Pradesh (47,087). The status with regard to filling up posts under Samagra Shiksha (SS) remains unchanged over the two years in Assam (13,217), Karnataka (9,338), Madhya Pradesh (34,556), Mizoram (35) and Nagaland (317). On the other hand, vacancies remain high for teachers under SS in Bihar (1,26,740), Chhattisgarh (38,039), Jharkhand (56,299), Uttar Pradesh (1,33,911) and West Bengal (32,861). It is noteworthy that Goa, Odisha and Sikkim have no teacher vacancies in 2017 and 2019-20.

1.3 Why contract teachers?

While those contract teachers who were engaged primarily to meet the teacher shortage were vested with roles similar to that of the regular teachers, those hired for special purposes had a more defined and limited role to play. Obviously, contract teachers are neither paid wages comparable with the wage structure of regular teachers nor are they governed by the same service rules. Effectively, contract teachers of the former category end up doing the same amount of work (if not more) as regular teachers while receiving less compensation. There are, in fact, schools being managed only by contract teachers.

This phenomenon combined with a growing body of literature that painted teachers as work shirkers and power brokers led to several researchers arguing in favour of hiring contract teachers. They argued that contract teachers were both cost-effective and easier to 'control' (Muralidharan and Sundararaman 2008 and 2011, Atherton and Kingdon 2010¹⁰). Some of them also argued that the learning outcomes of students taught by contract teachers were better. These views were challenged by a number of researchers and research on teacher absenteeism (APF, 2017¹¹), dispelled the main argument of those who argued in favour of moving to a contract teacher model. After almost two decades of debate, the argument in favour of hiring more contract teachers was (to a great extent) put to rest when the Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy 2019 clearly and unequivocally argued in favour of putting an end to the contract teacher regime across all levels of education – especially school education. This, among other recommendations of the Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy 2019, was welcomed by a significant section of the education community.

While regularisation of contract teachers, discontinuing the contract teacher regime and enabling contract teachers to upgrade their education qualifications have been debated for several decades, the question that begs urgent attention is the nature and process that would best enable state governments to migrate from a mixed contract-regular teacher model to a school system that is powered by teachers governed by the same modalities of engagement and service rules, who have the same working conditions, the same salary package and most importantly, same avenues for training, professional development and career advancement. It is important to get an idea of the scale of the challenge ahead.

1.4 Objectives of the study

At the outset, the overarching rationale for this study is to enable governments to adopt a pragmatic approach to implement the policy as articulated in the Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy 2019. The key issues in this respect would be to examine the possible ways of transitioning professionally trained contract teachers as regular teachers; support professionally untrained contract teachers to qualify to become regular teachers; role of existing teacher training institutions as enablers; systemic capacity development to enable teachers to ensure children reach 'age-appropriate' levels of learning as mandated by the RTE (Right to Education) Act. The specific teacher requirements for physical education, art and crafts, yoga, computer-aided learning and vocational education not only need to be understood, but more importantly, the different practices that exist across different states/UTs need to be documented.

This study has been undertaken to not only update our information of the prevalence of contract teachers across the country, but to also get a handle on the recent trends (especially after 2010-11) and the enormity of the challenge facing the government if it considers doing away with the contract teacher regime altogether. Given the uneven spread of contract teachers across the country, this report seeks to:

- Capture the current status of contract teachers in various states/UTs of India: document (based on available data) the different types of contract teachers, their actual numbers (at different levels – elementary, secondary and higher secondary), their profile, subject-wise situation and professional qualifications.
- Understand the pattern and trends with respect to the deployment of contract teachers in rural and urban areas by gender.¹²
- Capture the situation in schools run by different managements (government, government-aided, private and other (which include KGBV, Navodaya Vidyalaya, Ashram Shala etc.).
- Throw light on the educational qualifications and professional training of contract teachers and whether there is any significant difference in this aspect between contract and regular teachers.
- Understand if some subjects/streams, like Health and Physical Education, Art Education and Work Education, have more contract teachers. Equally, given the shortage of science and maths teachers at the upper primary and secondary levels in some states/UTs of India, whether state governments are using contractual part-time teachers to fill the gap.

The above would be pertinent with reference to some of the school teacher related proposals in the Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy 2019 given in Box 1.

Box 1: School teacher related proposals in the Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy 2019

1. No more para teachers and contract teachers. Tenure track for hiring teachers across all levels of education – starting with three-year probation followed by performance-based confirmation. Ensure parity in service conditions across all levels of education.
2. Redesign teacher education for foundational literacy and numeracy. Move teacher education to ‘multidisciplinary colleges and universities’.
3. Teacher deployment to ensure 30:1 PTR in every school and not just the cluster or block, assess needs and deploy subject teachers in the middle stage and above.
4. Merit based promotion and salary structure – through ‘multiple levels in each teacher rank’.
5. Encourage professional subject groups of teachers for peer learning and support.
6. Introduction of four-year Bachelor of education, scholarships made available for outstanding students, subject specialisation alongside theory and pedagogy.
7. Merit-based recruitment, examination plus interview, appointed to a school complex.
8. Provision of local housing in rural/ remote areas.
9. Halt ‘excessive teacher transfer’, new teachers appointed to school complexes and long tenure to foster better ‘teacher-student-community relationships’.
10. Improve service conditions through ‘adequate and safe infrastructure, in including working toilets, clean drinking water, clean and attractive spaces conducive to learning, electricity, computing devices, and internet...’
11. Teachers ‘will not be allowed any longer to conduct government work that is not directly related to teaching’.
12. Teachers will be ‘given more autonomy in choosing finer aspects of curriculum and pedagogy’.
13. Modular approach to teacher professional development – to enhance teacher capacity. Rejuvenate academic support institutions like SCERT, BITE, DIET, CRC, CTE, IASE etc.
14. Qualified volunteer teachers through National Tutors Programme for remedial instruction.

Source: Summarised from the Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy 2019 by Vimala Ramachandran

1.5 Methodology

This report is primarily based on secondary sources – reports, government data (UDISE¹³), articles in journals, minutes of Project Approval Board (PAB) meetings (of SS of MHRD, GOI) and newspaper

reports on the demands of contract teachers, strikes and other forms of protest in different states/UTs of the country.

2. Disconnect Between Policy and Practice

2.1 An overview

A perusal of the 1968 and 1986 education policies of the government reveals that there is no mention of 'contract teachers' or 'para teachers'. The 1968 policy states that *'Of all the factors which determine the quality of education and its contribution to national development, the teacher is undoubtedly the most important. It is on his personal qualities and character, his educational qualifications and professional competence that the success of all educational endeavours must ultimately depend. Teachers must, therefore, be accorded an honoured place in society. Their emoluments and other service conditions should be adequate and satisfactory having regard to their qualifications and responsibilities.'* (Paragraph 4 (2) of NPE 1968, GOI). Similarly, the 1986 policy states, *'The status of the teacher reflects the socio-cultural ethos of a society; it is said that no people can rise above the level of its teachers... The methods of recruiting teachers will be reorganised to ensure merit, objectivity and conformity with spatial and functional requirements. The pay and service conditions of teachers have to be commensurate with their social and professional responsibilities and with the need to attract talent to the professional. Efforts will be made to reach the desirable objective of uniform emoluments, service conditions and grievance-removal mechanisms for teachers throughout the country...'* (Paragraphs 9.1 and 9.2 of NPE 1986, modified in 1992, MRHD, GOI). There is no policy document of the Government of India that sanctions the practice of hiring teachers on contract and paying them far less than regular teachers for doing the same work.

Looking back, it is evident that the practice of hiring contract teachers/para teachers slipped into the educational practice without adequate/any policy level backing/sanction. The documents of the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) made references to the idea of contract teachers and promoted the practice in schools covered by it. The first major reference to the issue can be found in the recommendations of the National Committee of State Education Ministers (1999) which was set up to recommend the approach to be adopted for achieving Universal Elementary Education (UEE). It is worth reading the Committee's words on the subject: *'Lack of community control over teachers, teacher absenteeism and low teacher motivation are often cited as reasons for not recruiting new teachers but for only concentrating on reducing wastage and internal inefficiency of the educational system. Even after making allowance for enrolment in private unaided and unregistered private schools, the teacher shortages are very significant. It is on this account that the recruitment of para teachers has to be considered a priority if all vacancies have to be filled up in shortest period of time. The issue of teacher / para teacher recruitment has to be addressed by all states as the long-term implications... for meeting the demand for teachers in a manner that the state can afford. Appointment of pay scale teachers to fill up all teacher vacancies as per teacher-pupil norms would require resources that state governments are finding increasingly difficult to find. The economic argument for para teachers is that provision of teachers as per requirement is possible within the financial resources available with the states. The non-economic argument is that a locally selected youth, accountable to the local community, undertakes the duties of teaching children with much greater interest. The accountability*

*framework is well defined and by making the local authority as the appointing authority, the para teachers' performance assessment is the basis for his/her continuance. The quest for UEE as Fundamental Right signifies a certain sense of urgency in doing so. This urgency calls for appropriate modifications in National Policy in order to respond to local felt needs. The recruitment of para teachers is a step in this direction.'*¹⁴

One must hasten to add that before DPEP, some state-specific projects, notably the Shiksha Karmi Programme (SKP) in Rajasthan, introduced a new concept of a community teacher. The project sought to reach out to children in remote rural areas where formal primary schools either did not exist, were dysfunctional or where teacher absenteeism was so high that the schools did not function. The SKP was positioned as a low-key project that did not compete with the mainstream but was aimed at addressing problems that could not be tackled in the formal school system. It was not projected as an alternative to the formal stream, but one that complemented it. Neither MHRD, GOI nor the Government of Rajasthan used the word 'contract' and in fact, did not view it as a permanent arrangement. Equally significant was the fact that the Shiksha Karmis were supported by a resource team at the block level, who visited the SKP schools and provided on-site support and training. They were also expected to participate in regular training programmes designed to build both their subject knowledge as well as their pedagogic practices.

Box 2 : Nomenclatures for contract teachers over the decades

- Shiksha Karmi (Rajasthan, Odisha, Himachal Pradesh)
- Guruji (Madhya Pradesh)
- Vidya Sahayak (Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh)
- Shiksha Sewak (Maharashtra)
- Shiksha Mitra (Uttar Pradesh)
- Panchayat Teacher (Madhya Pradesh)
- Vidya Volunteer (Andariki Vidya, Andhra Pradesh)
- Rehabar-e-Taleem Scheme (Jammu & Kashmir)

However, when DPEP was launched, Shiksha Karmi was called a para teacher for the first time. Several states/UTs appointed teachers on contract who were hired locally on a consolidated salary far below the salary of a regular teacher. However, unlike the Shiksha Karmi Project of Rajasthan, continuous, on-site academic support and rigorous training on a regular basis were not always organised for the para teachers. The situation across different states/UTs was not uniform. As DPEP expanded, the gap between teacher availability and student enrolment grew, this practice spread and over the years, many states/UTs started adopting this model. (Govinda and Josephine, 2004 and Ramachandran, 2016¹⁵) One of the lasting influences of SKP on the mainstream education system was the official acceptance of para teachers, who are now referred to as contract teachers. In the late 1980s, Rajasthan (through SKP) and Himachal Pradesh hired local people to teach in schools located in remote or inaccessible areas where teachers were unwilling to go. At that time, the appointment of locally recruited teachers was not seen from a purely fiscal angle. Gradually, the idea spread to Madhya Pradesh (through the Education Guarantee Scheme), Odisha (Shiksha Karmi), Uttar Pradesh (Shiksha Mitra) and Bihar. Govinda and Josephine were the first to write a paper on contract teachers in 2004 and that paper clearly documents the origin of the contract teacher regime as a practice that was embedded in projects (Govinda and Josephine. 2004¹⁶).

In 2001, the Working Group for the Tenth Five-Year Plan warned¹⁷ *'... In the recent past, there has been a move to decentralise recruitment and to make the teacher accountable to the local community of parents... Some of the newly recruited para teachers may be ill-equipped to teach – particularly beyond class 3. There is yet no long-term career development plan for these teachers. Consequently, this situation could quickly deteriorate into low quality education...'* (p 102). By the mid-2000s, it is interesting that there was no clear definition of 'para' or 'contract' teachers. *'While the main defining feature of para teachers until recently was that they were hired on a contract and did not have permanent tenure like the regular teachers, large numbers of para teachers were hired in 2006 and 2007 in the northern state of Bihar, on permanent tenure, without having to meet the same academic or training qualifications as regular teachers. Thus, the contract feature no longer defines all para teachers in India. Similarly, having lower qualification requirements than regular teachers is also not the unique defining characteristic of para teachers in India as a whole, since in Gujarat and Maharashtra the qualification requirements for para teachers are the same as for regular teachers... In some states, para teachers are hired by the local bodies like the panchayats; in others, the school committees and village education committees (VECs) are responsible for hiring them. The tenure varies between 11 and 60 months. However, in most states, the tenure can be extended if their teaching performance is deemed satisfactory...'* (Kingdon and Sipahimalani_Rao 2010¹⁸).

As Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) and later Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) were rolled out across the country as centrally sponsored schemes, the hiring of teachers on contract became an accepted practice, even though it had no policy level sanction. One must, however, hasten to add that there was consensus in the administration on the need for teachers on contract, albeit as a short- or medium-term strategy to bridge the teacher-student gap. Given the fiscal situation of most state governments coupled with a rapid expansion of the schooling system, policymakers and administrators argued that it was better to have contract teachers

than not having any teachers. Equally, state governments felt that hiring teachers on contract would limit their financial liability to the duration of the project (SSA and RMSA) and not become a permanent fiscal liability. Another important reason why many states/UTs hired contract teachers was *'to deal with the unwillingness of teachers to move to remote locations by employing someone from the same community who is able to relate with the students culturally and socially and is also more accountable...'* (Nandini Jayakumar. 2011¹⁹)

As elementary education was beginning to be viewed more holistically to include all children, a need for teachers for special aspects of education began to emerge. For instance, mainstreaming of school children became a prime concern and the earlier Non-formal Education programme needed to be tweaked for greater efficiency. Thus, was born the alternative schooling programme of DPEP that sought to address the divergent learning requirements of children disadvantaged by their age, home language, geographic location and personal circumstances. Para teachers were placed to provide education to these children through centres that were set up. Gradually, this evolved into the Education Guarantee Scheme in Madhya Pradesh which was later emulated by many other states. Obviously, such efforts at reaching out-of-school children did help to mainstream a large number of children into formal schools.

Similarly, when children with special needs (CWSN) were being mainstreamed into regular schools, the need for special educators was met through contract or part-time teachers. From around the year 2004, integrating children with disabilities into regular schools was given great importance. All schools were expected to construct ramps and a disabled-friendly school environment. This effort was actively promoted by multi-lateral and bi-lateral agencies supporting SSA. The Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) scheme, designed in 2003-04, was envisaged as a special effort to bring out-of-school girls (above the age of 11 years) into the formal schooling system. It combined both a

bridging strategy as well as a model to ensure girls complete class 8. The KGBV model initially relied primarily on contract and part-time teachers.

The community-level mobilisation efforts and the mainstreaming of out-of-school children resulted in an unprecedented surge in enrolment. The school education system was under pressure to provide the required number of teachers and infrastructure. Towards the end of DPEP Phase II, there was a growing realisation that reforms in education administration/system were required to address issues of teachers' availability and their professional qualification, opportunities of professional development and growth. From the early years, the DPEP states could demonstrate improved performance in comparison with non-DPEP ones as the programme was financially in good health and could invest in para teachers and their professional development, the involvement of the community, etc. This, however, was not setting the desired precedence as it was operating through a parallel system functioning with greater motivation and zeal to produce improved results in the ground. Therefore, for SSA and RMSA, reform became the crux and the RTE (Right to Education) Act set reformative norms and standards that were meant to streamline the education delivery system in order to improve the quality of education in Indian schools. The requisite number of teachers based on enrolment laid down in the RTE Act also pressured the system because states/UTs began to be regularly monitored for indicator-based compliance. This may have contributed to the furtherance of the contract teacher regime in many states/UTs. The practice of working through contract teachers persisted after DPEP through the SSA and RMSA and the practice continues through the Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan (SS).

However, teachers argue that hiring teachers on contract has not only been a huge blow to the teaching profession, it has also led to a decline in their social status. Evidence from several countries reveals that short-term contractual appointment has a negative effect on motivation and social status (Bennell and Akyeampong 2007; Ramachandran 2005, Ramachandran et al. 2008, Stromquist 2018²⁰). Contract teachers believe that they are typically posted in the most disadvantaged areas and in high poverty schools (poorly resourced schools in areas that are disadvantaged or very poor). Regular teachers, especially those who have some leverage, manage postings in well-connected schools. Given that the most disadvantaged and poor people send their children to government schools and also in view of the fact that remote, rural and urban areas are populated by migrants who send their children to government schools – the challenges of a diverse classroom is far more acute in such schools.

The silver lining has been that both the RTE (Right to Education) Act of 2009 and the NCTE (National Council for Teacher Education) have stated guidelines on who can be appointed as a teacher. The PTR (Pupil-Teacher Ratio) norms laid down in the RTE Act also pressured the system because states/UTs began to be regularly monitored by GOI for compliance. The PTR was used as an important monitoring indicator. These developments may have led to the furtherance of contract teachers. The introduction of the Teacher Eligibility Test (TET) has also ensured that many more contract teachers today are not only qualified but also have the requisite educational qualifications. This has strengthened the argument made by the Report of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy 2019 to ensure parity between teachers with similar qualifications and job description. Maybe the time has come to ensure that the principle of equal pay for equal work and similar working conditions is made applicable to all teachers. It is with this hope that this report discusses the situation of contract teachers in India.

2.2 Summing up the main takeaway from this chapter

1. The concept of para teacher experimented within the Shiksha Karmi Project in Rajasthan was adopted by DPEP and continued through SSA and SS. Para teachers are better known as contract teachers in present parlance.
2. While there is still no formal policy sanction to the practice of contract teachers, MHRD and GOI schemes like DPEP, SSA and now SS, refer to teachers hired on contract when annual work-plans and budgets are approved. Equally, new schemes like KGBV budgeted for contract teachers to be paid far below regular teachers.
3. The practice of hiring contract teachers gained popularity both as an immediate measure to address the teacher shortage and also to bypass the complications related to the recruitment of regular teachers. This was possible without having to go through the arduous process of getting teacher posts sanctioned and adding to the state's/UT's financial burden. With time, the numbers of contract teachers grew in most states and UTs as the norms for teachers in schools began to be rigorously monitored for compliance of the RTE Act.
4. Hiring teachers on contract led to the lowering of the social status of the school teacher and this adversely impacted their motivation. Very often, contract teachers find a place in high poverty and poorly resourced schools in areas that are disadvantaged or very poor.

3. Recent Trends

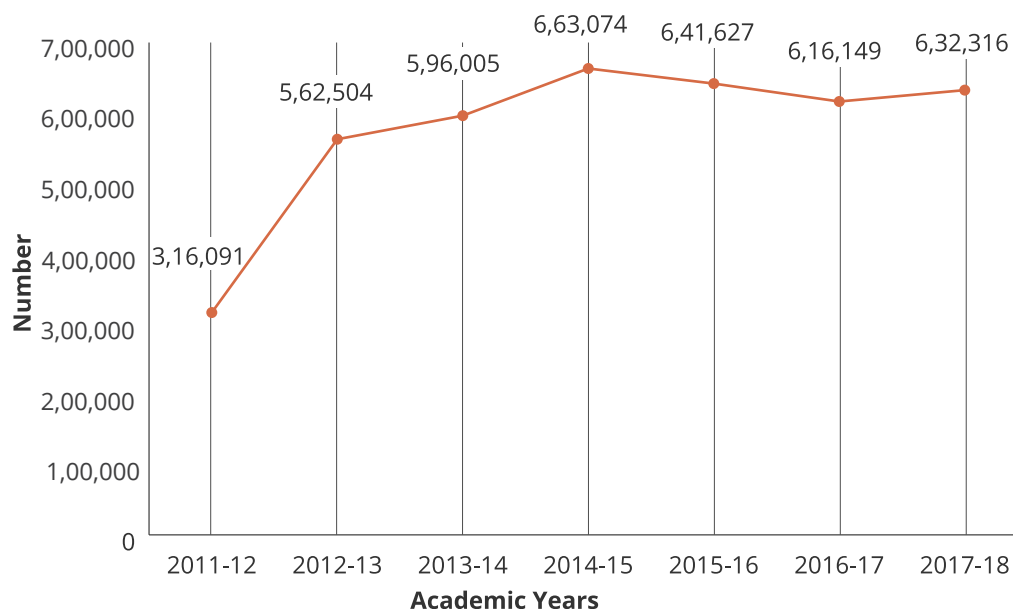
3.1 Overview

In this chapter, our attempt is to capture the trends since 2010. Past trends have been discussed at length in the 2015 study on the working conditions of teachers (Ramachandran et al 2018). A perusal of UDISE data from 2010-11 to 2017-18 (the last year for which UDISE data is available in the public domain) has helped in analysing the trends. Starting with national trends, this section of the report moves on to describe the state-wise situation.

Taken as a whole, the number of contract teachers in India has steadily increased from 2010-11 onwards. In 2010-11 there were 3,16,091 elementary teachers on contract, this went up to 6,32,316 elementary and secondary teachers by 2017-18 (UDISE, various years). It is important to keep in mind that the data for 2010-11 is available for elementary schools only. From 2012-13 the data includes elementary and secondary schools managed by the government.

Figure 1:
Number
of contract
teachers in
India

Source : UDISE
various years



The number of contract teachers peaked in 2014-15 at 663,074 and despite a slightly declining trend, the number has remained above the 6,00,000 mark in the subsequent years until 2017-18.

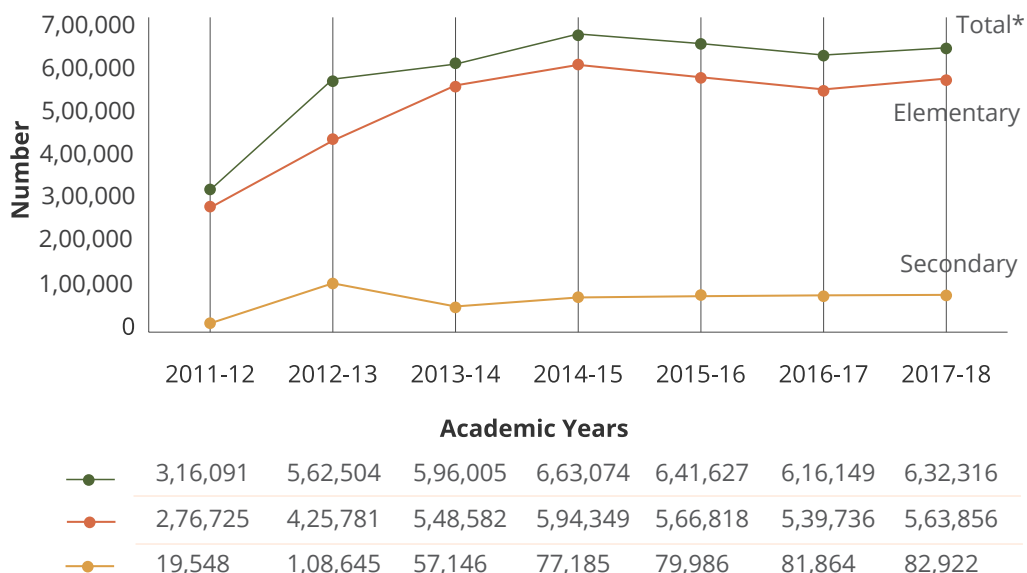
In percentage terms too, there has been a steady increase up to 2014-15 and a marginal drop in

2016-17 and a marginal increase in 2017-18. While the number of teachers on contract is significant, in percentage terms – as of 2017-18 it is 12.70 percent.

The academic year-wise number of contract teachers by level of education in government schools are as given in Figure 2.

Figure 2:
Year-wise
number of
contract
teachers in
government
schools
by level of
education

Source : UDISE
various years



Figures 3 and 4 provide the percentage of contract teachers to total teachers for all schools and separately for elementary and secondary schools.

Figure 3:
Percentage
of contract
teachers to
total teachers
in India

Source : UDISE
various years

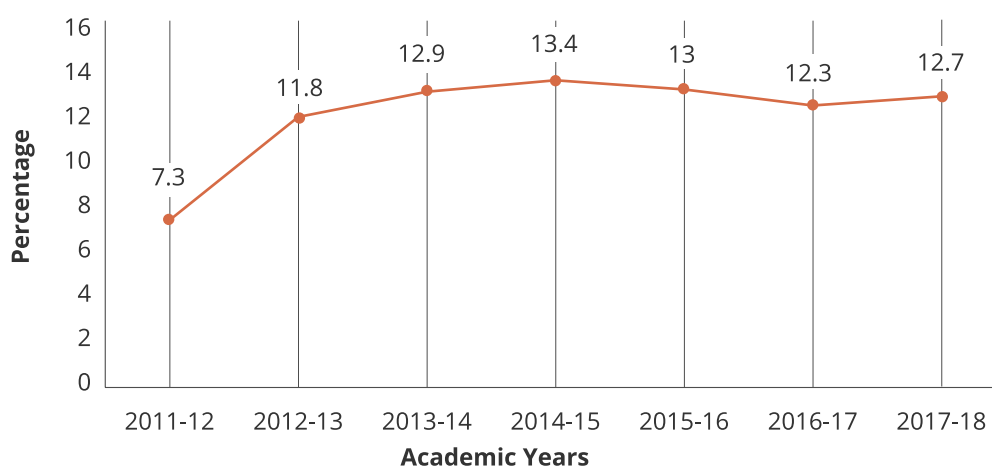


Figure 4:
Year-wise
percentage
of contract
teachers in
government
schools
by level of
education

Source : UDISE
various years

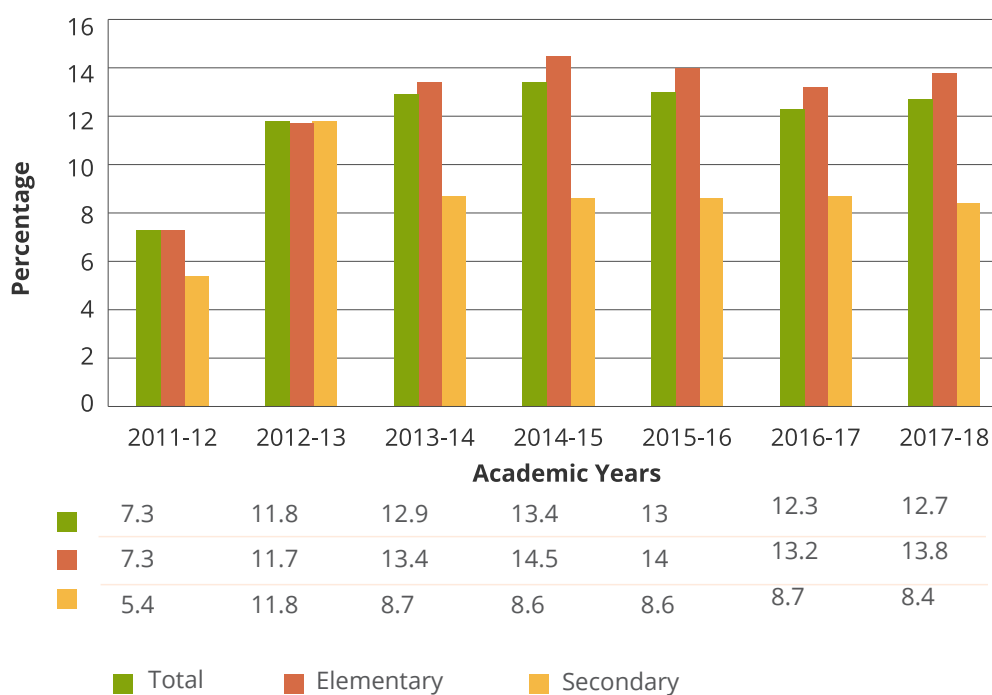


Table 2: State/UT-wise percentage of teachers on contract to total teachers by level of education, 2017-18

State/UT	Pr.	U.Pr.	Pr.+ U.pr.	Sec	HSc	U.Pr.+ Sec	Sec.+ HSc	N.A.	Total
Chhattisgarh	0.01	0.01	4.26	0.43	0.07	4.92	0.21	-	0.06
Madhya Pradesh	0.14	0.14	-	0.14	0.12	59.09	11.01	-	0.14
Karnataka	0.18	0.35	-	0.74	0.48	-	-	25.00	0.36
Gujarat	0.08	0.93	-	5.47	5.67	36.36	39.13	-	0.59
Rajasthan	1.71	0.30	0.26	0.08	0.06	-	0.67	-	0.82
Maharashtra	0.42	1.35	4.75	5.38	7.71	7.41	13.64	-	0.88
Puducherry	1.52	2.67	2.13	1.44	5.48	2.83	8.77	-	2.70
Manipur	1.86	4.97	9.45	3.00	3.99	7.76	23.53	-	2.90
Andhra Pradesh	0.37	3.14	12.45	4.35	35.73	6.50	5.95	-	3.18
Uttarakhand	2.41	0.58	2.52	4.54	8.92	5.13	14.15	4.35	3.73
Tamil Nadu	0.90	10.44	1.67	0.96	0.74	0.67	5.26	-	3.84
Kerala	5.80	4.58	4.88	4.40	7.15	2.63	3.51	-	5.49
Jammu & Kashmir	8.41	5.64	-	0.69	4.38	-	-	-	5.65
Andaman & Nicobar	1.50	9.81	50.00	7.75	4.04	36.11	38.46	-	6.40
Nagaland	6.24	7.53	9.85	24.07	8.87	35.63	15.79	10.00	9.11
Goa	7.16	7.34	-	10.92	39.01	-	-	-	10.18
Bihar	12.68	11.46	12.35	12.38	6.61	3.32	11.80	-	11.78
Haryana	12.56	14.93	6.67	14.17	12.45	26.38	11.51	-	14.36
Tripura	14.65	24.50	47.06	7.30	0.53	4.00	2.94	-	14.57
Telangana	11.60	25.38	55.24	27.12	40.95	13.78	25.52	-	15.56
Assam	22.42	9.02	26.46	13.64	3.68	12.32	4.76	-	16.36
Punjab	17.51	26.77	-	16.36	9.94	-	-	-	18.50
Uttar Pradesh	24.75	5.62	-	1.78	2.56	4.94	8.11	-	18.69
West Bengal	25.46	28.12	21.43	0.58	1.91	1.03	1.57	3.83	21.48
Lakshadweep	17.41	14.88	28.93	14.11	46.84	11.00	43.37	-	23.38
Delhi	17.30	38.81	-	21.83	24.08	-	-	-	25.28
Chandigarh	28.64	33.57	32.48	23.13	15.68	30.82	27.90	13.53	27.87
Himachal Pradesh	18.29	38.87	-	35.63	25.81	38.01	51.23	-	28.16
Mizoram	23.97	31.19	-	36.93	26.39	-	-	-	29.30
Sikkim	21.29	41.92	-	44.08	54.34	-	-	-	35.19
Daman & Diu	35.88	36.45	-	33.82	38.27	27.78	46.15	-	35.86
Odisha	38.82	40.66	41.69	36.08	10.99	31.45	20.18	-	38.63
Arunachal Pradesh	56.25	55.67	49.42	31.39	11.36	42.39	43.30	-	50.46
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	44.96	67.43	-	54.08	69.52	-	-	-	54.99
Jharkhand	64.46	55.95	49.54	6.14	7.76	29.66	6.45	-	57.05
Meghalaya	51.74	88.41	15.38	43.56	11.84	22.22	8.51	-	65.29
Total	14.48	12.09	32.60	7.85	7.27	13.60	9.98	4.25	12.69

Source: UDISE 2017-18

It is noteworthy that between 2003 and 2013 (a span of ten years), the teacher workforce in elementary schools nearly doubled from 3.7 million to 7.4 million, with a compounded annual growth rate (CAGR) of 7.20 percent (Ramachandran et al 2018, pp 17). This sharp increase is in keeping with not just the growth in enrolment but also increase in the number of schools. This has been an important and significant impact of SSA – which took off in 2003 (even though it was formally launched in 2001). According to earlier research, from 2003-04 to 2008-09, the number of schools and teachers increased in keeping with the increase in enrolment in elementary schools. There was a slight slow-down from 2008-2010, and then with the notification of the RTE Act in 2010, the momentum picked up again. But what is interesting in the phase following the RTE Act is ‘the teacher growth outpacing school and

		अनु-जा.		अनु-जन जा.		पि. वर्ग		महायोग	
क्र.	कक्षा	बा.	बालि.	बा.	बालि.	बा.	बालि.	बा.	बालि.
	कातास								
1.	पहली	02	02	—	—	01	—	03	02
2.	दूसरी	03	01	—	—	—	—	03	01
3.	तीसरी	04	01	—	—	—	—	04	01
4.	चौथी	05	03	—	—	01	—	06	03
	पांचवी	—	04	—	—	—	—	—	04
	योग								
		कुल योग 14 / 19							

Table 3: Number of teachers in government elementary and secondary schools

State/UT	Total number of teachers (regular and contract)						
	2011-12 Elementary only	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
Andaman & Nicobar	4,495	4,523	4,451	4,512	4,521	4,574	4,357
Andhra Pradesh	3,48,221	3,07,964	3,20,206	1,90,940	1,86,099	1,90,077	1,90,145
Arunachal Pradesh	14,928	16,979	15,671	15,869	16,041	16,283	17,122
Assam	1,45,935	1,99,313	2,08,117	2,40,367	2,36,730	2,31,956	2,40,386
Bihar	3,47,322	3,73,614	3,64,715	4,30,307	4,31,524	4,36,384	4,32,408
Chandigarh	2,983	4,139	4,849	4,775	5,437	5,529	5,268
Chhattisgarh	1,61,259	1,85,317	1,63,383	1,82,037	1,78,554	1,78,581	1,83,324
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1,129	1,660	1,289	1,725	2,003	2,167	2,155
Daman & Diu	470	734	660	887	949	937	1,015
Delhi	44,523	68,328	75,289	72,128	76,307	76,097	74,557
Goa	3,267	3,931	3,467	3,121	3,359	3,185	3,260
Gujarat	2,06,203	2,38,591	2,04,682	2,11,907	2,12,080	2,10,707	2,11,120
Haryana	83,332	91,980	93,176	99,590	93,507	92,296	97,576
Himachal Pradesh	47,360	64,061	64,284	65,741	66,338	67,552	67,915
Jammu & Kashmir	87,628	1,01,706	96,040	1,07,463	1,09,123	1,11,739	1,09,988
Jharkhand	1,27,770	1,31,287	1,21,569	1,22,156	1,28,369	1,23,345	1,19,974
Karnataka	2,28,681	2,31,218	1,93,284	2,28,460	2,21,770	2,21,187	2,20,077
Kerala	53,738	65,579	71,345	70,345	68,257	69,472	71,359
Lakshadweep	897	887	961	1,015	1,058	1,118	1,125
Madhya Pradesh	2,68,460	3,07,019	2,91,176	3,50,129	3,44,372	3,49,041	3,41,087
Maharashtra	2,89,029	3,03,294	2,72,192	2,71,257	2,67,921	2,65,363	2,62,855
Manipur	15,080	20,360	19,775	20,770	20,823	20,567	19,131
Meghalaya	22,786	27,900	22,739	22,862	23,094	23,097	23,483
Mizoram	14,871	20,993	12,816	14,480	14,403	14,519	13,114
Nagaland	13,030	15,557	18,516	18,877	19,379	20,290	20,132
Odisha	2,05,337	2,06,435	2,15,219	2,20,730	2,28,629	2,31,884	2,24,132
Puducherry	5,320	5,598	5,035	5,080	5,003	5,374	5,079
Punjab	1,10,278	1,19,960	1,35,145	1,26,865	1,28,682	1,35,098	1,17,754
Rajasthan	2,66,498	3,12,875	3,26,202	3,21,535	3,33,471	3,30,747	3,44,192
Sikkim	5,163	8,847	9,430	9,797	10,911	10,911	10,694
Tamil Nadu	1,49,868	2,08,663	2,18,380	2,61,699	2,70,347	2,71,524	2,39,095
Telangana	-	-	-	1,32,020	1,31,847	1,33,124	1,45,177
Tripura	29,632	37,522	37,554	41,431	40,293	40,097	40,963
Uttar Pradesh	5,09,444	5,76,448	5,36,275	5,42,413	5,33,928	5,88,857	5,79,928
Uttarakhand	44,643	58,427	60,741	63,107	67,217	65,720	62,602
West Bengal	4,49,724	4,45,043	4,38,115	4,60,532	4,54,068	4,47,921	4,78,873
Total	43,09,304	47,66,752	46,26,748	49,36,929	49,36,414	49,97,320	49,81,422

Source: UDISE various years

Table 4: Posts sanctioned by department of education

Total number of teachers (regular and contract)

State/UT	2018-2019
Andaman & Nicobar	3,169
Andhra Pradesh	1,97,547
Arunachal Pradesh	14,556
Assam	1,85,228
Bihar	6,71,981
Chandigarh	4,284
Chhattisgarh	1,74,970
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1,804
Daman & Diu	821
Delhi	-
Goa	2,741
Gujarat	2,19,974
Haryana	81,599
Himachal Pradesh	55,920
Jammu & Kashmir	1,20,628
Jharkhand	1,86,865
Karnataka	1,82,783
Kerala	1,45,237
Lakshadweep	731
Madhya Pradesh	3,91,815
Maharashtra	3,24,801
Manipur	19,967
Meghalaya	22,609
Mizoram	3,892
Nagaland	19,434
Odisha	2,61,754
Puducherry	-
Punjab	1,02,223
Rajasthan	2,37,943
Sikkim	8,733
Tamil Nadu	2,07,024
Telangana	1,27,563
Tripura	40,190
Uttar Pradesh	5,95,656
Uttarakhand	64,851
West Bengal	4,54,860
Total	51,34,153

Source: PAB Minutes for SS, 2019-20, MHRD, GOI

3.2 Status and concerns

The PAB 2019-20 Minutes is a useful official source for a fairly clear picture of the sanctioned number of teachers as it is based on the data presented by the states/UTs to Government of India. This enables an estimation of the number of teacher posts sanctioned in the states/UTs. This is an estimation because the complete data is not available in the minutes – states have not provided the sanctioned number of posts for both the elementary and secondary levels; sometimes secondary level has been considered up to class 10 and not class 12.

Taking these data gaps into consideration, a growth in the number of teachers in most states and UTs between 2011-12 and 2019-20 is apparent from Tables 3 and 4, with the exception of Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Lakshadweep, Manipur, Meghalaya, Punjab and Rajasthan. As the number of teachers for Andhra Pradesh in 2011-12 reflects the combined total number of teachers in present Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, any reduction in the number of teachers cannot be considered without factoring the bifurcation. Amongst the bigger states of Karnataka and Rajasthan, the reduced number of teachers is striking. But the other larger states such as Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal have all shown an increase in the number of teachers. Interestingly, however, most of the states and UTs have shown a decline in the number of teachers between 2017-18 and 2018-19 (unfortunately, we do not have the number of sanctioned posts for 2017-18). The exceptions in this regard have been Bihar, Gujarat, Jharkhand and Maharashtra. This may be the outcome of reformative steps taken in these states with regard to teacher recruitment, service rules of teachers, teacher transfer, deployment and rationalisation of teachers. Some states have done school consolidation which may have impacted the total number of teachers. It is noteworthy that the above

analysis is indicative and other reasons may have also contributed to the decline in the total number of teachers. What is clear from the secondary source data is that regular teachers have not been thrown out of the system. The overall number of teachers required by a state is calculated on the norms laid down by the state and/or the RTE Act. The number

of teachers actually recruited may depend on the fiscal situation in a state and the capacity of the state to go ahead with the recruitment – as evident in Table 5. For example, inability to recruit has resulted in huge vacancies in Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan (Table 5).



Table 5: Status of elementary teachers by state (PAB Minutes 2019-20)

State/UT	Sanctioned Post			Working			Vacancies		
	By State	Under SS	Total	By State	Under SS	Total	By State	Under SS	Total
Andaman & Nicobar	2,963	206	3,169	2,540	150	2,690	423	56	479
Andhra Pradesh	89,287	24,353	1,13,640	78,672	24,353	1,03,025	10,615	0	10,615
Arunachal Pradesh*	6,717	7,342	14,059	6,717	6,850	13,567	0	492	492
Assam	1,36,753	45,686	1,82,439	1,27,118	32,469	1,59,587	9,635	13,217	22,852
Bihar	1,90,497	4,02,044	5,92,541	1,04,431	2,75,304	3,79,735	86,066	1,26,740	2,12,806
Chandigarh	2,894	1,390	4,284	2,462	1,390	3,852	432	0	432
Chhattisgarh	1,10,782	52,946	1,63,728	1,10,229	14,907	1,25,136	553	38,039	38,592
Daman & Diu	483	118	601	267	118	385	216	0	216
Delhi**	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	858	946	1,804	766	877	1,643	92	69	161
Goa	2,037	179	2,216	2,037	179	2,216	0	0	0
Gujarat	1,63,418	53,688	2,17,106	1,63,418	49,469	2,12,887	0	4,219	4,219
Haryana	52,696	13,435	66,131	50,493	13,435	63,928	2,203	0	2,203
Himachal	40,441	5,556	45,997	38,446	5,556	44,002	1,995	0	1,995
Jammu & Kashmir	57,830	43,471	1,01,301	52,816	41,343	94,159	5,014	2,128	7,142
Jharkhand	64,187	1,22,678	1,86,865	50,190	66,379	1,16,569	13,997	56,299	70,296
Karnataka	1,53,726	29,057	1,82,783	1,51,290	19,719	1,71,009	2,436	9,338	11,774
Kerala	1,23,457	2,925	1,26,382	1,23,457	1,554	1,25,011	0	1,371	1,371
Lakshadweep	699	32	731	649	32	681	50	0	50
Madhya Pradesh	1,84,171	1,78,928	3,63,099	1,44,372	1,44,372	2,88,744	39,799	34,556	74,355
Maharashtra	3,09,414	15,387	3,24,801	2,85,851	15,387	3,01,238	-	-	-
Manipur	12,963	3,235	16,198	12,963	2,889	15,852	0	346	346
Meghalaya	9,215	12,541	21,756	9,215	12,541	21,756	0	0	0
Mizoram	0	2,228	2,228	0	2,193	2,193	0	35	35
Nagaland	13,866	3,464	17,330	13,866	3,147	17,013	0	317	317
Odisha	1,36,669	92,337	2,29,006	1,36,669	92,337	2,29,006	0	0	0
Puducherry**	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Punjab	62,375	10,661	73,036	61,326	9,612	70,938	1,049	1,049	2,098
Rajasthan	1,61,392	1,22,024	2,83,416	1,38,150	1,08,677	2,46,827	23,242	13,334	36,576
Sikkim	8,010	405	8,415	8,010	405	8,415	0	0	0
Tamil Nadu	1,12,893	35,020	1,47,913	1,10,531	35,020	1,45,551	2,362	0	2,362
Telangana	92,453	14,277	1,06,730	89,782	14,277	92,242	2,671	0	2,671
Tripura	29,021	6,070	35,091	25,177	5,478	30,655	3,844	592	4,436
Uttar Pradesh	3,29,174	2,50,448	5,79,622	2,82,611	1,16,537	3,50,125	47,087	1,33,911	1,80,998
Uttarakhand	35,144	10,909	46,053	30,589	8,459	39,048	4,555	2,450	7,005
West Bengal	2,53,890	2,00,970	4,54,860	2,53,890	1,68,109	4,21,999	0	32,861	32,861
Total	29,50,375	17,64,956	47,18,331	24,37,451	12,93,524	39,01,684	2,58,334	3,37,508	5,51,879

Source: PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20, MHRD, GOI | Note: The totals in the data does not add up because of the data discrepancies in the PAB minutes.

* Figures are for the combined numbers of elementary, secondary and senior secondary teachers

** Data not available

Table 5 reveals:

- In 2018-19, there were 11.70 percent vacancies against the sanctioned posts of teachers. Of the 17,64,956 posts of teachers under SS, 19.10 percent posts were lying vacant²¹ and 8.80 percent of teacher posts under the state/UT were lying vacant. It is important to note that there is no distinction between the type of posts. The difference is only in the funding source that could be either from the state budget or from SS. The fiscal situation of the state could determine the posts actually filled. Equally, availability of funds through SSA/RMSA and now SS, influences the decision of state governments.
- Of the total sanctioned posts of teachers, 37 percent were supported by SS in 2018-19²². While SS is under implementation, 40 percent of the salary of the approved number of teachers is borne by the state/UT while 60 percent of the salary is borne by SS. In the eventuality of SS winding up, the state/UT will have to bear the total salary of the number of teachers approved under SS.
- Goa, Meghalaya, Odisha and Sikkim are the four states/UTs that have no teacher vacancies.
- All teacher posts supported by SS are filled up in Andhra Pradesh, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu, Goa, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Lakshadweep, Meghalaya, Odisha, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu and Telangana.
- Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Gujarat, Kerala, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Odisha, Sikkim and West Bengal all have state/UT supported teachers in position; there are no vacancies.
- There are four states, viz., Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh with large numbers of teacher vacancies that constitute a significant percentage of the total sanctioned positions of teachers (Bihar 2,12,806 & 35.70%; Jharkhand 70,296 & 37.60%; Madhya Pradesh 74,355 & 20.50% and Uttar Pradesh 1,80,998 & 31.20%)
- States, such as Bihar (1,26,740 & 31.50%), Chhattisgarh (38,039 & 71.80%), Jharkhand (56,299 & 45.90%), Madhya Pradesh (34,556 & 19.30%), Punjab (1,049 & 9.80%), Rajasthan (13,334 & 10.90%), Uttar Pradesh (1,33,911 & 53.50%) and West Bengal (32,861 & 16.40%), have not been able to fill up the posts of teachers sanctioned under SS. It may be difficult, at this stage, to list the reasons for this. The 2015 study done in NIEPA (Ramachandran et al 2018) revealed a number of state-specific reasons, from recruitment processes being held up in court, lack of proactive effort by state governments to fast track recruitment processes, to just apathy.

Certain concerns have been highlighted by the PAB Minutes of 2019-20 for SS for primary/upper primary/elementary teachers and these are given in Table 6.

Table 6: Concerns related to elementary teachers highlighted in the PAB Minutes

Concerns Highlighted	States	Number/Percentage
Vacancies of teachers' posts at Elementary	Assam Haryana Kerala Uttarakhand	22,852 2,203 1,371 7,005
High PTR at Primary	Gujarat Kerala Uttar Pradesh	8% schools 111 Primary Schools (4.23%) 41%
High PTR at Upper Primary	Gujarat Kerala Uttar Pradesh	11% schools 90 UP schools (4.52%) 42% schools
Non-availability of 3 subject teachers in Upper Primary Schools	Assam Bihar Gujarat Jammu & Kashmir Jharkhand Karnataka Madhya Pradesh Maharashtra Manipur Odisha Punjab Rajasthan Tamil Nadu Telangana Uttar Pradesh West Bengal	22% 37.50% 26% 70% 57% 15% 69% 80% 35% 17% 18% 53% 33% 32% 90% 42%
Rationalisation of surplus teachers in primary and upper primary schools to ensure availability of required number of teachers in all schools	Assam Goa Gujarat Haryana Himachal Maharashtra Meghalaya Mizoram Nagaland Tripura West Bengal	29,000 teachers 400 teachers at elementary 608 at primary & 4,478 at UPS 886 at primary & 1,414 at UPS 3,278 primary & 1,407 at UPS 3,354 primary & 19,896 at UPS 1,300 primary & 1,921 at UPS 2,098 primary & 3,147 at UPS 4,028 primary & 3,875 at UPS 3,817 primary & 8,548 at UPS 59,989 at primary
Surplus Teachers at Elementary	Madhya Pradesh Odisha Punjab Rajasthan Uttar Pradesh	23,000 11,000 8,364 12,000 78,372

Source: PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20

- Most of the states/UTs listed have not been able to provide the required three subject teachers in more than one-fifth of their upper primary schools. The worst scenario in this respect is seen in Uttar Pradesh where 90 percent upper primary schools are without all three subject teachers. Then comes Maharashtra (80%), Jammu & Kashmir (70%), Madhya Pradesh (69%), Jharkhand (57%), Rajasthan (53%) and Uttarakhand (42%).
- It is noteworthy that there are 11 states/UTs with surplus teachers at the primary and upper primary levels – more in the latter²³. The reasons for this are not available in any secondary sources.
- If the case of Assam is examined closely, it is seen that it has 22,852 vacancies of teacher posts at the elementary level, but has not been able to provide three subject teachers as mandated in 22 percent of its upper primary schools and yet has 29,000 surplus teachers at the elementary level who have to be rationally deployed²⁴ to ensure availability of the required number of teachers in all schools. Such instances of surplus teachers with gaps in the required numbers of subject teachers will have to be studied separately as state-specific approaches may have been adopted leading to this situation.
- Uttar Pradesh is another case in point where 41 percent primary schools and 42 percent upper primary schools have high PTR; there are 90 percent upper primary schools without three subject teachers and yet there are 78,372 surplus teachers at the elementary level.

Do these cases point towards not recruiting teachers as per requirement? Or, as the 2015 Teacher Workforce Study argued, there is not enough effort to match teacher recruitment with the specific requirement of the schools, and that Head Master (HM) or even Block level officials are not consulted when teacher deployment is done (Ramachandran et al 2018).

Table 7: Status of secondary/senior secondary teachers

State/UT	Sanctioned Post			Working			Vacancies		
	By State	Under SS	Total	By State	Under SS	Total	By State	Under SS	Total
Andaman & Nicobar	NA	NA	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-
Andhra Pradesh**	-	-	83,907	-	-	4,843	-	-	789
Arunachal Pradesh*	-	-	497	-	-	433	-	-	63
Assam	48,415	60	48,475	42,482	30	42,512	5,573	30	5,603
Bihar	69,888	6,552	76,440	37,789	3,385	41,174	32,099	3,167	35,266
Chandigarh#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chhattisgarh	3,279	7,963	11,242	3,279	3,514	6,793	0	4,449	4,449
Daman & Diu**	-	-	220	-	-	116	-	-	104
Delhi	NA	NA	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dadra & Nagar Haveli#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goa	-	-	525	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gujarat	1,187	1,681	2,868	1,187	1,066	2,253	0	615	615
Haryana	7,965	7,503	15,468	7,471	7,303	15,121	347	0	347
Himachal Pradesh**	-	-	9,923	-	-	9,265	-	-	658
Jammu & Kashmir	15,645	3,682	19,327	15,645	784	16,429	0	2,898	2,898
Jharkhand#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karnataka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kerala	-	-	18,855	-	-	17,305	-	-	1,550
Lakshadweep	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Madhya Pradesh	9,761	18,955	28,716	9,761	6,942	16,703	0	12,013	12,013
Maharashtra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manipur	2,725	1,044	3,769	1,631	1,044	2,675	1,094	0	1,094
Meghalaya**	-	-	853	-	-	790	-	-	63
Mizoram	-	598	1,664	-	-	1,664	-	-	0
Nagaland	-	966	2,104	-	-	1,840	-	-	264
Odisha	27,028	5,720	32,748	26,580	1,630	28,210	448	4,090	4,538
Puducherry	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Punjab	27,299	1,888	29,187	27,299	1,587	28,886	0	301	301
Rajasthan	-	-	73,049	-	-	59,791	-	-	13,258
Sikkim	-	-	318	-	-	293	-	-	25
Tamil Nadu	45,696	13,415	59,111	45,696	12,984	58,680	0	431	431
Telangana	16,666	4,167	20,833	16,666	2,899	19,565	0	1,268	1,268
Tripura	-	-	5,099	-	-	4,721	-	-	378
Uttar Pradesh	7,460	8,574	16,034	1,335	3,870	5,205	6,125	4,704	10,829
Uttarakhand	17,236	1,562	18,798	14,844	0	14,844	2,392	1,562	3,954
West Bengal#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	3,00,250	84,330	5,80,030	2,51,665	47,038	4,00,111	48,078	35,528	1,00,758

Source: PAB Minutes for SS, 2019-20, MHRD, GOI

* Only secondary – classes 9 & 10 | ** Only totals | # State/UT has not sought support for secondary school teachers

Note: The totals of the data for number of teachers under state/UT and SS does not add up because the data provided is not complete; some states/UTs have not given these numbers.

The following can be inferred from Table 7:

- A larger proportion of teachers' posts sanctioned are under states/UTs compared to SS.
- 17.40 percent of the sanctioned teachers' posts (5,80,030) are lying vacant.
- Going by the numbers provided, a larger number of the vacancies are posts under states/UTs. However, it appears that a larger proportion of posts under SS are also lying vacant in comparison to the proportion of posts lying vacant under states/UTs.
- States such as Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Telangana have all teachers under the state/UT in position but have not been able to fill up all posts approved under SS.
- Almost 46 percent of the posts under the state have not been filled up in Bihar. Likewise, 48.30 percent of the posts under SS are lying vacant. A similar pattern is seen in Uttar Pradesh where 82.10 percent of teacher positions under the state are vacant as against 54.90 percent posts lying unfilled under SS.

- The state/UT-wise Performance Grading Index (PGI) developed by MHRD, GOI in 2018 has pointed to the following issues (PGI 2018-19, MHRD, GOI):
 - Large numbers of single-teacher schools in Andhra Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka, Telangana and Uttarakhand.
 - Non-availability of teachers/head teachers/principals in the schools (Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Andhra Pradesh are excluded)
 - Elementary schools in some states/UTs not having PTR as per RTE norms, and; secondary schools not having principals/HTs in position.

The state/UT wise appraisal issues in the PAB Minutes of SS for 2019-20 pertaining to secondary and senior secondary teachers have been identified in Table 8.

Table 8: Concerns related to secondary and senior secondary teachers in the PAB Minutes

Appraisal Issue	Concerned States	Details
Vacancies of head masters/ principals' posts at Secondary	Andhra Pradesh	789
	Gujarat	921 (51.85%) against 1,776
	Haryana	805
	Jammu & Kashmir	418
Vacancies of head masters/ principals' posts at Senior Secondary	Andhra Pradesh	11
	Gujarat	108 against 327 posts
	Haryana	507
	Jammu & Kashmir	103
	Jharkhand	1,657
	Odisha	2,940
Vacancies of teachers' posts at Secondary	Assam	5,603
	Haryana	347
	Himachal Pradesh	658
	Jammu & Kashmir	3,952
	Jharkhand	6,733
	Kerala	1,550 Subject Teachers
	Odisha	5,724
Non-availability of 4 subject teachers in Secondary Schools	Andhra Pradesh	29% schools
	Assam	60% schools
	Bihar	33% schools
	Jammu & Kashmir	90% schools
	Jharkhand	98% (only 2% have) schools
	Madhya Pradesh	88% schools
	Maharashtra	675 schools
	Manipur	66% schools
	Odisha	5% schools
	Punjab	94% schools
	Rajasthan	87% schools
	Telangana	8% schools
	Uttar Pradesh	95% schools
	West Bengal	72% schools

Source: PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20

- The vacant positions of HTs/principals in secondary and senior secondary schools of the states listed above are a concern. Likewise, teacher vacancies are also a concern.
- Of the 14 states that do not have four subject teachers in secondary schools, Assam, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal

have more than half their schools without the four subject teachers. Jharkhand has only 2 percent, Jammu & Kashmir 10 percent, Madhya Pradesh 12 percent, Punjab 6 percent, Rajasthan 13 percent, Uttar Pradesh 5 percent and West Bengal 28 percent schools with all four subject teachers. This reflects poorly on the quality of education being provided by secondary schools in these states.

3.3 State-wise trends

State-wise trends with respect to contract teachers are worrisome and reveal the situation in different states. In many states, there has been a gradual increase in the number of contract teachers (see Table 9). In absolute numbers, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Odisha, Jharkhand, Bihar and Assam come out on top. Officially, states like Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan (since 2014) claim that they do not have contract teachers, but UDISE data reveals that there are close to 10,000 teachers on contract in Tamil Nadu and 2,824 in Rajasthan. Similarly, there are some contract teachers in Karnataka and Kerala even as both states claim they do not hire contract teachers. While UDISE data cannot tell us who

these teachers are (if they are for specific subjects like Physical Education, Art and Craft, Music or Vocational Education for secondary classes), a more detailed perusal of state-specific information may throw some light on this. A recent field-based study in Rajasthan (2019, ongoing Vimala Ramachandran and Nagendra Nagpal) revealed the huge shortage of Maths and Science teachers in secondary schools – leading to the hiring of retired teachers and local teachers on contract to teach the subject in several schools. We also came across teachers who were being paid on a lecture basis (often referred to as ‘guest teachers’) to teach maths/science/commerce.



Table 9: Number of contract teachers in government-managed schools, 2011-12 to 2017-18

State/UT	Total number of contract teachers						
	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
Chhattisgarh	1,712	846	513	387	-	76	111
Puducherry	315	286	89	102	139	176	137
Lakshadweep	90	126	107	112	193	271	263
Andaman & Nicobar	293	339	337	298	265	315	279
Goa	8	139	154	167	250	220	332
Daman & Diu	5	69	100	283	330	333	364
Madhya Pradesh	43,097	56,286	51,628	4,853	561	1,106	488
Manipur	91	653	708	936	1,207	1,075	554
Karnataka	2,458	2,628	607	1,782	791	787	784
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	303	609	445	698	1,011	1,192	1,185
Gujarat	1,329	5,153	2,526	3,188	1,531	1,249	1,254
Chandigarh	-	1,056	1,768	1,768	1,753	1,787	1,468
Nagaland	-	904	1,022	1,040	1,029	1,397	1,834
Maharashtra	-	8,937	8,206	3,842	2,718	2,301	2,325
Uttarakhand	326	1,140	1,408	1,403	3,599	3,029	2,337
Rajasthan	-	4,531	7,330	3,801	2,512	2,807	2,824
Sikkim	94	918	1,334	2,553	3,361	3,361	3,763
Mizoram	-	8,624	4,097	5,261	5,151	5,099	3,843
Kerala	106	829	2,439	2,279	2,020	2,545	3,916
Tripura	-	5,968	6,028	5,981	5,894	5,931	5,969
Andhra Pradesh	52,316	13,073	11,576	6,068	5,354	3,816	6,056
Jammu & Kashmir	9,019	13,513	14,959	17,104	14,230	10,400	6,216
Arunachal Pradesh	3,180	7,167	7,387	7,606	7,930	7,975	8,639
Tamil Nadu	2,077	1,874	1,403	10,599	14,927	24,554	9,170
Haryana	4,681	10,344	14,681	15,462	11,710	13,861	14,014
Meghalaya	8,809	12,683	12,984	13,102	13,377	13,551	15,332
Delhi	5,981	11,714	19,481	17,450	20,071	20,332	18,848
Himachal Pradesh	-	14,837	17,344	19,625	19,917	20,511	19,124
Punjab	-	16,044	29,864	28,792	36,159	35,342	21,784
Telangana	-	-	-	6,819	7,052	9,509	22,592
Assam	2,893	39,777	33,269	43,423	40,412	36,220	39,322
Bihar	26,044	42,493	66,014	1,05,063	76,418	68,909	50,926
Jharkhand	61,033	72,529	77,007	80,316	72,461	69,454	68,446
Odisha	37,955	67,283	37,444	61,655	90,568	91,181	86,590
West Bengal	4,127	32,586	43,695	52,260	1,05,714	1,01,879	1,02,854
Uttar Pradesh	47,749	1,06,546	1,18,051	1,36,996	71,012	53,598	1,08,373
Total	3,16,091	5,62,504	5,96,005	6,63,074	6,41,627	6,16,149	6,32,316

Source: UDISE, various years

Numbers tell only a part of the story. In four states/UTs, over 50 percent of teachers are on contract. Among the states, Meghalaya (65.30%), Jharkhand (57.10%) and Arunachal Pradesh (50.50%) merit special attention (ref Table 13). Odisha and Sikkim come next with over 35 percent of teachers on contract, followed closely by Mizoram, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and West Bengal – all having more than 20 percent of teachers on contract. In the 1990s and 2000s, Madhya Pradesh was among the states that consciously adopted the contract model and at one point of time, even declared regular teachers as a dying cadre but today, officially, only 0.10 percent of teachers are on contract. As Beteille and Ramachandran point out, the contract teachers' structure is complicated in Madhya Pradesh. *'This perhaps reflects the outcomes of repeated negotiations between contract teachers and the government. Teachers are recruited as Samvida Shala Shikshak (SSS) on a fixed-term contract and are paid Rs 5,000 if they are a primary school teacher and Rs 7,000 if they are a middle or high school teacher. After a three-year period, if a teacher continues to be employed, then he/she gets an increment of 15 percent on the fixed amount. Pay scales of Adhyapak Samvarg (permanent teachers recruited since 2007) but not on the same pay scale as regular teachers (recruited before 1998), although revised substantially in February 2013, are lower than the pay scale of regular teachers who have been drawing salaries consistent with the 6th Pay Commission's recommendations (see Table 7). However, the latest order by Madhya Pradesh's Urban Administration and Development Department announced that the salary of Adhyapak Samvarg would be at par with that of regular teachers by September 2017.'* (Beteille and Ramachandran, 2016, pp 44-45) Notwithstanding the changes made in Madhya Pradesh, recent government gazette notification reveals that there are still many teachers hired by the Panchayat (Panchayat Teacher) whose presence is not revealed in the official UDISE data (Madhya Pradesh Gazette Notification dated 30 July 2018). This notification provides for regularisation of Panchayat Teachers. Equally, the notification also mentions 'guest teachers'.

Table 10: State/UT-wise contract teachers mentioned in the PAB minutes 2019-20

State/UT	Primary		Upper Primary			
	Teacher	Head Teacher	Teacher	Head Teacher	Science & Maths	
Andaman & Nicobar	89	-	-	-	-	
Andhra Pradesh	-	-	-	-	-	
Arunachal Pradesh	4,602	-	5,557	34	474	
Assam	14,411	-	-	-	-	
Chandigarh	728	-	-	-	246	
Daman & Diu	118	-	-	-	-	
Delhi	2,775	-	-	-	565	
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	372	54	-	-	97	
Goa	-	-	-	-	-	
Gujarat	-	-	-	180	-	
Haryana	-	-	-	-	-	
Jammu & Kashmir	930	-	-	-	287	
Jharkhand	41,655	-	13698	-	-	
Kerala	-	-	-	-	-	
Lakshadweep	12	-	-	-	-	
Madhya Pradesh	17,918	-	-	-	7,364	
Maharashtra	-	-	-	-	-	
Manipur	-	-	-	-	-	
Meghalaya	5,814	-	-	-	-	
Mizoram	550	-	1454	-	63	
Nagaland	-	-	1,485	-	-	
Odisha	51,576	-	-	-	-	
Puducherry	-	--	-	-	-	
Punjab	3,312	-	-	-	1,851	
Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	-	
Sikkim	-	-	-	-	52	
Tamil Nadu	-	-	-	-	-	
Telangana	-	-	-	-	-	
Tripura	2,716	-	2,762	-	-	
Uttar Pradesh	141,927	-	-	-	-	
Uttarakhand	187	-	-	-	-	
West Bengal	56,192	3,228	33,398	1,866	-	
Total	345,884	3,282	58,354	2,080	10,999	

Upper Primary					Total
Health & Physical Education (H & PE), Art work	Social Studies	Languages	Part- time	Any Other	
126	-	-	-	-	215
5,749	-	-	-	-	5,749
430	1,218	522	-	-	12,837
-	-	-	-	-	14,411
-	152	249	-	-	1,375
-	-	-	60	-	178
-	266	813	-	-	4,419
-	169	185	-	-	877
75	-	-	-	-	75
-	-	-	-	-	180
447	-	-	-	-	447
-	130	114	-	-	1,461
-	-	-	-	-	55,353
2,685	-	-	-	-	2,685
43	-	-	-	-	55
-	-	12,415	-	-	37,697
-	-	-	6,180	-	6,180
318	-	-	-	-	318
-	-	-	-	-	5,814
814	63	63	-	-	3,007
633	-	-	-	-	2,118
8,866	-	-	-	40,761	101,203
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	2,273	2,176	-	-	9,612
-	-	-	-	-	-
324	52	52	-	-	480
-	-	-	15,169	-	15,169
6,546	-	-	-	-	6,546
-	-	-	-	-	5,478
-	-	-	-	-	141,927
-	-	-	-	-	187
-	-	-	-	-	94,684
27,056	4,323	16,589	21409	40,761	530,737

Source: PAB Minutes for SS, 2019-20, MHRD, GOI

Though Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Puducherry and Rajasthan have got approvals for teacher salary under SS 2019-20, there is no specific mention of contract teachers by these states/UTs in the PAB Minutes.

The following can be inferred from Table 10:

- The different types of contract teachers in the states/UTs are:

- Teachers and Head Teachers (HTs) at primary and upper primary
- Science and Maths teachers
- Health & Physical Education teachers
- Art and Work Education teachers
- Social Studies and Languages teachers

Other than these, states/UTs have also used broad heads such as Part-time Teachers (Daman & Diu, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu) or Any Other (Odisha).

- Support for the highest number of contract teachers including HTs is at the primary level (3,45,884) comprising 65.20 percent of the total contract teachers approved by GOI (530,737).
- The largest number of contract teachers have been approved in Uttar Pradesh (141,927 accounting for 26.70% of the total contract teachers approved), Odisha (101,203 accounting for 19.10% of the total contract teachers approved), West Bengal (94,648 accounting for 17.80% of the total contract teachers approved), Jharkhand (41,655 accounting for 7.80% of the total contract teachers approved) and Madhya Pradesh (37,697 accounting for 7.10% of the total contract teachers approved). Together, these five states have received support for 78.60 percent of the total contract teachers approved by the PAB of 2019-20 for SS.

3.4 Sanctioning norms for teachers under different programmes

There are set norms for sanctioning teachers under SS and the earlier SSA and RMSA. Teachers' salaries are supported by SSA/RMSA/SS when any of the following conditions are met by the state:

1. When new primary schools are sanctioned, 2 teachers are approved for each new school.
2. When new upper primary schools are sanctioned, 3 teachers are approved for each new school (applicable in the case of primary schools that are upgraded to upper primary schools).
3. To meet the shortfall of teachers in achieving the PTR norms as per the RTE Act.

Even upon meeting any of the above three conditions, the teacher posts are sanctioned subject to endorsement by the State Finance Department that the posts will be taken over by the State should the Centrally Sponsored Scheme come to an end following the closure of SS or any relevant scheme or programme sponsored and funded by the Government of India at a given point in time. During the tenure of support by the Central Government, all teacher positions are on contract, subject to approvals by the PAB on a year-on-year basis.

Even in the above instances, the GOI provides 60 percent of the salary and State Finance Department bears 40 percent of it. However, in the case of the North-Eastern states, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir, the GOI supports 90 percent of the salary while the state governments' share is 10 percent of the salary.

Given the above, the total teachers financed by SS are on contract insofar as they are not a part of the regular teacher cadre of the state/UT and do not enjoy the benefits of teachers in the regular cadre. Besides being on tenured positions, they are recipients of just a consolidated salary that is usually lower than what a regular cadre teacher earns, without any other benefits or opportunities of professional growth/development.

The number of contract teachers would, therefore, be much higher as those reflected as regular teachers in the elementary and secondary levels would also get included. Table 11 provides the state/UT-wise details of the number of teachers approved at the elementary and secondary stages along with the budget for supporting the specified number of teachers.



Table 11: State/UT-wise approved number of teachers and budget under SS

State/UT	Approved Number of Teachers & Budget Elementary		Approved Number of Teachers & Budget Secondary	
	Number	Budget (INR in lakh)	Number	Budget (INR in lakh)
Andaman & Nicobar	327	1,343.44	-	-
Andhra Pradesh	18,820	35,919.96	4,737	14,211.00
Arunachal Pradesh	7,280	14,060.40	433	1,347.60
Assam	32,469	55,916.76	30	90.00
Bihar	1,89,238	3,63,528.00	7,705	To be considered*
Chandigarh	1,390	6600.60	-	-
Chhattisgarh	14,356	29,574.60	2,882	8,646.00
Daman & Diu	178	386.07	11	33.99
Delhi	4,419	8,940.60	-	-
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	877	3,361.78	-	-
Goa	254	385.20	-	-
Gujarat	49,649	1,11,071.40	1,066	3,198.00
Haryana	9,858	19,381.08	6,956	20,868.00
Himachal Pradesh	5,556	12,758.40	525	1,575.00
Jammu & Kashmir	40,170	81,883.52	4,318	8,236.19
Jharkhand	55,353	94,636.80	-	-
Karnataka	17,283	32,806.20	-	-
Kerala	4,239	6,917.40	111	399.60
Lakshadweep	55	105.82	-	-
Madhya Pradesh	1,12,405	1,60,896.00	6,942	20,826
Maharashtra	14,546	19,384.80	-	-
Manipur	3,207	6,030.20	1,226	3,347.23
Meghalaya	12,541	26,610	438	1,357.80
Mizoram	3,007	4,626.96	598	1,849.20
Nagaland	3,780	7,193.52	966	2,985.60
Odisha	1,01,203	1,98,110.64	1,917	1,941.54
Puducherry	-	-	-	-
Punjab	9,612	21,081.60	1,838	5,664.60
Rajasthan	91,086	2,01,543.00	5,273	7,991.4
Sikkim	887	1,366.86	139	375.88
Tamil Nadu	48,151	88,742.16	12,984	38,952.00
Telangana	18,188	30,776.64	2,899	8,697.00
Tripura	5,478	7,924.21	256	768.00
Uttar Pradesh	2,87,905	4,01,231.60	-	-
Uttarakhand	8,459	15,917.99	1,842	2,487.00
West Bengal	1,37,569	2,06,876.07	-	-
Total	13,09,780	6,34,633.57	66,092	1,55,848.63

Source: PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20, MHRD, GOI

*Financial support to the state to be considered once the state confirms about the filling up of the vacant posts.

From the first glance, it is obvious that a much larger number of teachers have been approved for the elementary (13,09,780) stage vis-à-vis the secondary stage (66,092). In fact, there are more states/UTs that have not sought support for teachers at the secondary level (12)²⁵. Puducherry stands out as the only one not to have sought support for teachers both at the elementary and secondary levels.

It is seen that Uttar Pradesh has the highest number of teachers approved (2,87,905), followed by Bihar (1,89,238), West Bengal (1,37,569), Madhya Pradesh

(1,12,405), Odisha (1,01,203) and Rajasthan (91,086). As in the case of the contract teachers, these six states have got approvals for 70.20 percent of the total number of teachers approved for elementary education by the PAB 2019-20 for SS (refer Table 11). At the secondary level, Tamil Nadu is the only state to have obtained approval for 12,984 teachers. The others have got approvals for a few thousands or even hundreds (Table 12).

Table 12: Proportion of contract teachers in six states to total number of teachers approved by the PAB

State	Total Teachers	Total Contract Teachers	% Contract Teachers
Uttar Pradesh	2,87,905	1,41,927	49.3
Bihar	1,89,238	No data	-
West Bengal	1,37,569	94,684	68.8
Madhya Pradesh	1,12,405	37,697	33.5
Odisha	1,01,203	101,203	100
Rajasthan	91,086	NIL	-
Jharkhand	55,353	55,353	100

Source : PAB for SS, MHRD, GOI, 2019-20

It may be mentioned that KGBVs (Type 1, 2 and 3) are provided with full-time and part-time teachers who could be regular teachers, teachers on deputation or teachers on contract depending on the state/UT policy²⁶. The former could be Teacher Eligibility Test (TET) qualified or otherwise, again depending on the policy in place in the concerned State/UT. In the 4,881 functional KGBVs in 29 states/UTs, all the part-time teachers are engaged on contract. However, in Bihar 174 part-time teachers are on deputation – meaning they are regular teachers who work part-time in KGBVs. The full-time teachers in KGBVs of Chhattisgarh are regular

teachers. In six states/UTs, viz., Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu and Telangana, full-time teachers in KGBVs are either regular or on deputation. Full-time teachers in Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Uttar Pradesh are engaged on contract (source: MHRD, GOI, 2019-20). Even the regular teachers in KGBVs usually constitute a separate teacher cadre and are not treated on par with teachers in elementary, secondary and senior secondary schools.

Table 13: Percentage of contract teachers to total teachers, government-managed schools only

State/UT	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
Meghalaya	38.70	45.50	57.10	57.30	57.90	58.70	65.30
Jharkhand	47.80	55.20	63.30	65.70	56.40	56.30	57.10
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	26.80	36.70	34.50	40.50	50.50	55.00	55.00
Arunachal Pradesh	21.30	42.20	47.10	47.90	49.40	49.00	50.50
Odisha	18.50	32.60	17.40	27.90	39.60	39.30	38.60
Daman & Diu	1.10	9.40	15.20	31.90	34.80	35.50	35.90
Sikkim	1.80	10.40	14.10	26.10	30.80	30.80	35.20
Mizoram	0.00	41.10	32.00	36.30	35.80	35.10	29.30
Himachal Pradesh	0.00	23.20	27.00	29.90	30.00	30.40	28.20
Chandigarh	0.00	25.50	36.50	37.00	32.20	32.30	27.90
Delhi	13.40	17.10	25.9	24.20	26.30	26.70	25.30
Lakshadweep	10.00	14.20	11.10	11.00	18.20	24.20	23.40
West Bengal	0.90	7.30	10.00	11.30	23.30	22.70	21.50
Uttar Pradesh	9.40	18.50	22.00	25.30	13.30	9.10	18.70
Punjab	0.00	13.40	22.10	22.70	28.10	26.20	18.50
Assam	2.00	20.00	16.00	18.100	17.10	15.60	16.40
Telangana	-	-	-	5.20	5.30	7.10	15.60
Tripura	0.00	15.90	16.10	14.40	14.60	14.80	14.60
Haryana	5.60	11.20	15.80	15.50	12.50	15.00	14.40
Bihar	7.50	11.40	18.10	24.40	17.70	15.80	11.80
Goa	0.20	3.50	4.40	5.40	7.40	6.90	10.20
Nagaland	0.00	5.80	5.50	5.50	5.30	6.90	9.10
Andaman & Nicobar	6.50	7.50	7.60	6.60	5.90	6.90	6.40
Jammu & Kashmir	10.30	13.30	15.60	15.90	13.00	9.30	5.70
Kerala	0.20	1.30	3.40	3.20	3.00	3.70	5.50
Tamil Nadu	1.40	0.90	0.60	4.10	5.50	9.00	3.80
Uttarakhand	0.70	2.00	2.30	2.20	5.40	4.60	3.70
Andhra Pradesh	15.00	4.20	3.60	3.20	2.90	2.00	3.20
Manipur	0.60	3.20	3.60	4.50	5.80	5.20	2.90
Puducherry	5.90	5.10	1.80	2.00	2.80	3.30	2.70
Maharashtra	0.00	2.90	3.00	1.40	1.00	0.90	0.90
Rajasthan	0.00	1.40	2.20	1.20	0.80	0.80	0.80
Gujarat	0.60	2.20	1.20	1.50	0.70	0.60	0.60
Karnataka	1.10	1.10	0.30	0.80	0.40	0.40	0.40
Chhattisgarh	1.10	0.50	0.30	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.10
Madhya Pradesh	16.10	18.30	17.70	1.40	0.20	0.30	0.10
Total	7.30	11.80	12.90	13.40	13.00	12.30	12.70

Source: UDISE, various years

Some states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab and Assam reveal year-on-year fluctuation in the percentage of teachers on contract. The fluctuation in Andhra Pradesh is perhaps explained by the bifurcation of the state. In states like West Bengal, Odisha, Himachal Pradesh, to name a few, there has been a steady increase in the proportion of contract teachers over the last seven years. It would be worthwhile to go deeper into the factors that have led to this trend.

3.5 Summing up the main takeaway from this chapter

1. The number of contract teachers in India has steadily increased from 2010-11 onwards. In 2010-11 there were 3,16,091 elementary teachers on contract, and this went up to 6,32,316 elementary and secondary teachers by 2017-18 (UDISE, various years).
2. There has been a growth in the number of teachers in most states and UTs between 2011 and 2019-20, with exceptions.
3. In 2018-19, there were 11.70 percent vacancies against the sanctioned posts of teachers. Of the 17,64,956 posts of teachers under SS, 19.10 percent posts were lying vacant and 8.80 percent of teacher posts under the state/UT were lying vacant.
4. Of the total sanctioned posts of teachers, 37 percent were supported by SS in 2018-19.

4. Part-Time Teachers

4.1 An overview

Part-time teachers come within the purview of contract teachers. The UDISE data reveals the presence of part-time teachers. In the study on teacher workforce (Ramachandran et al 2018), many of the nine states studied in depth revealed that part-time teachers were appointed for specific subjects like Physical Education, Art and Craft, Music and Vocational Education. In states/districts where there was a shortage of subject-specific teachers – especially maths, science and commerce, retired teachers and other qualified people were appointed on a part-time basis to teach in secondary and higher secondary schools. In some states like Tamil Nadu, the School Development and Monitoring Committee (SDMC) appoints the part-time teachers, while in some other states, like Madhya Pradesh, the Panchayat appoints part-time teachers. Under SSA, there was a provision to hire part-time teachers for specific subjects and this is still the provision under SS. However, there is little information in secondary literature on part-time teachers and how they are appointed and the circumstances under which such teacher appointments are permitted.

Table 14 provides the gender break-up of part-time teachers. Evidently, there are more male part-time teachers at the national level and at the state levels, with the exception of Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Delhi, Jharkhand and Kerala.

The number of part-time teachers, by and large, are small. However, there are some states, like Uttar Pradesh, where there are close to 20,000 part-time teachers. In Tamil Nadu, almost all part-time teachers are appointed for Special Education, Art and Craft, Music and Physical Education (Ramachandran et al 2018).

According to recent press reports (The Hindu, 28

Table 14: Part-time teachers, disaggregated by gender, 2017-18

State/UT	Male	Female	Total
Andaman & Nicobar	13	57	70
Andhra Pradesh	493	597	1,090
Arunachal Pradesh	193	225	418
Assam	25	33	58
Bihar	226	141	367
Chandigarh	14	52	66
Chhattisgarh	416	355	771
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	71	9	80
Delhi	57	291	348
Goa	31	32	63
Gujarat	5	16	21
Haryana	136	132	268
Himachal Pradesh	130	118	248
Jammu & Kashmir	0	0	0
Jharkhand	207	347	554
Karnataka	38	26	64
Kerala	104	287	391
Lakshadweep	8	12	20
Madhya Pradesh	25	8	33
Maharashtra	1,953	765	2,718
Manipur	35	46	81
Meghalaya	3	28	31
Mizoram	429	357	786
Nagaland	196	100	296
Odisha	836	397	1,233
Puducherry	2	0	2
Punjab	0	0	0
Rajasthan	272	137	409
Sikkim	22	30	52
Tamil Nadu	3,350	3,647	6,997
Telangana	1,271	1,268	2,539
Tripura	3	0	3
Uttar Pradesh	10,328	9,618	19,946
Uttarakhand	257	208	465
West Bengal	23	11	34
Total	21,172	19,350	40,522

Source: UDISE, 2017-18

August 2019), 2,449 part-time teachers were being recruited for classes 11 and 12 in government schools of Tamil Nadu through the Parent-Teacher Associations on a consolidated salary of Rs 10,000 per month. They would be hired for five months, as a stop-gap measure before formal recruitment of regular teachers is completed. These teachers were being appointed to teach English, Maths, Physics, Chemistry and Tamil. In the NCT of Delhi, part-time teachers have been hired for Vocational Education on a consolidated salary of Rs 11,140 per month. In 2002, the West Bengal government issued an order to hire part-time teachers on a monthly salary of Rs 2,000, which was challenged in the courts in 2013. The High Court of Calcutta, then, directed the government to pay part-time teachers the same salary as full-time teachers, if they were asked to do the same quantum of work as full-time teachers (India Today, 5 July 2019). Apparently, some teachers were hired as part-time even though they were doing the same work as full-time teachers. Later, the nomenclature of part-time teachers was changed to 'guest teachers'. Similarly, in Uttar Pradesh, some Shiksha Mitras were designated as part-time teachers – especially those working in KGBVs. This came to light when the government issued an order extending maternity leave to part-time teachers in Uttar Pradesh. In Rajasthan, a recent study reported the presence of part-time Maths and Science teachers in secondary schools. They were appointed by the HTs, to tide over teacher shortages in these subjects (Ramachandran and Saxena, 2018). Most of the information on part-time and guest teachers is available through the media and newspapers or field-based qualitative studies. There is no 'official' report or information that is available for all the states of India.

Review of the PAB Minutes of the financial year 2019-20 has afforded further insights about contract teachers, including part-time teachers. The Cost Tables have a separate section on 'Support to Teacher Salary' wherein details of teachers and budget approved get reflected. This section of the

Cost Table reflects the number by type of teachers on contract and otherwise. In addition, the Cost Tables also have sections on residential schools/ hostels, KGBVs, CWSN and Vocational Education. Provisions for teachers are made under each of these sections and these details by type and number have been captured in Table 15. It appears that these categories/types of teachers are also engaged on contract, sometimes as part-time teachers, even though not specifically mentioned by all the states/UTs.

An analysis of the number of such teachers would further increase the number of contract teachers. Table 15 tries to summarise the state/UT-wise full and part-time teachers in KGBVs, residential schools/hostels, for CWSN and Vocational Education, who are possibly engaged on contract. It may be noted that Wardens in KGBVs and residential schools/hostels are full-time and so is the HT. The Urdu teacher in KGBVs is full-time. The teacher and resource person for Vocational Education are part-time. The terms of recruitment, engagement for all these teachers and Special Educators would be a matter of further study.

There are some interesting facts that emerge from the Table 15:

Table 15: Full-time and part-time teachers in KGBVs, residential schools/hostels, Special Education and Vocational Education

State/UT	KGBV Teachers					Residential School/ Hostel Teachers/Warden			
	Full-time	Part-time	Urdu	Head Teacher	Warden	Full-time	Part-time	Warden	
Andaman & Nicobar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Andhra Pradesh	1,200	2,273	18v	352	505	2	22	-	
Arunachal Pradesh	232	147	-	22	69	50	624	208	
Assam	740	243	-	-	116	15	12	-	
Bihar	-	1,731	-	-	629	-	13	5	
Chandigarh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Chhattisgarh	470	282	-	-	226	67	104	80	
Daman & Diu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Delhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	3	
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	7	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	
Goa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Gujarat	268	267	4	57	139	-	-	-	
Haryana	152	88	6	-	32	-	9	3	
Himachal Pradesh	-	30	-	-	13	-	-	-	
Jammu & Kashmir	495	-	-	-	144	-	-	-	
Jharkhand	609	1,015	-	-	203	80	60	20	
Karnataka	284	213	4	24	145	20	15	5	
Kerala	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	6	
Lakshadweep	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Madhya Pradesh	-	621	-	207	408	-	390	390	
Maharashtra	168	129	2	-	86	-	21	11	
Manipur	62	33	-	6	16	64	27	26	
Meghalaya	40	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Mizoram	-	3	-	-	2	-	33	11	
Nagaland	-	33	-	-	14	-	66	11	
Odisha	-	910	2	-	265	-	63	21	
Puducherry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Punjab	-	90	-	-	35	-	15	5	
Rajasthan	712	734	28	62	277	28	60	20	
Sikkim	5	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	
Tamil Nadu	260	183	-	-	102	61	39	-	
Telangana	2,599	1,779	7	475	721	124	93	62	
Tripura	-	27	-	-	27	-	40	-	
Uttar Pradesh	3,719	2,238	353	-	793	-	-	-	
Uttarakhand	-	119	-	-	49	-	18	12	
West Bengal	-	669	-	75	129	-	90	30	
Total	12,022	13,887	424	1,281	5,148	511	1,853	929	

CWSN	KGBV Teachers		Total
Special Education ²⁷	Full-time	Part-time	
10	68	37	115
942	843	437	6,594
912	202	101	2,567
451	680	340	2,597
615	76	38	3,107
25	44	-	69
-	1,092	546	2,867
5	10	5	20
1,029	94	65	1,200
5	8	4	26
10	250	132	392
1,981	185	122	3,023
233	2,232	1,065	3,820
18	1,826	953	2,840
58	1,229	657	2,583
-	776	388	3,151
408	300	150	1,568
2,550	-	93	2,676
15	5	5	25
9	2,400	1,200	5,625
3,304	1,255	644	5,620
77	123	78	512
15	45	23	153
71	58	29	207
68	41	26	259
68	1,122	576	3,027
33	14	9	56
200	1,910	955	3,210
33	1,810	905	4,669
33	398	194	635
1,598	239	120	2,602
-	584	292	6,736
9	80	80	263
1,382	400	200	9,085
84	255	200	737
971	1,452	726	4,142
17,222	22,106	11,395	86,778

Source: PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20, MRHD, GOI

1. An additional number of 86,778 teachers on contract are approved by the PAB for SS 2019-20 and when this number is added to the mentioned number of contract teachers (5,30,737), the total number of contract teachers increases to 6,17,515 (See Table 10 on page 34).

2. When the sum of full-time teachers, HTs and Wardens and Urdu teachers are deducted from the total of 86,778, as they are not engaged on a part-time basis, the effective number of part-time teachers is 66,463.

3. Teachers and resource persons for Vocational Education, when put together, add up to 33,501. This is the single activity for which the largest number of part-time teachers have been approved by the PAB for SS 2019-20. Besides this, part-time teachers have also been approved for KGBVs and residential schools/hostels. The status of Special Educators under CWSN will have to be confirmed with states.

It may be noted that in Table 11 on **State/UT-wise contract teachers mentioned in the PAB Minutes 2019-20 in Chapter 3**, there are references to part-time teachers by one UT and two states (UT of Daman and Diu: 60; Maharashtra: 6,180 and Tamil Nadu: 15,169).

Besides the part-time teachers mentioned in Table 15, based on the PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20, there are possibilities of some other teachers who may also fall into the category of part-time teachers/instructors. Activities such as ICT Digital Initiatives, Sports and Physical Education, training in martial arts and self-defence and Special Training require teachers or instructors for successful implementation of the activities. A part of the lump-sum budget (usually allocated per school) may be utilised to obtain the services of teachers/instructors on a part-time basis – Rs 9,000 per school for self-defence/training in martial arts for three months; self-defence in KGBVs at Rs 10,000 per year; specific

skill training at Rs 300 per girl student in the KGBV, etc. The lump-sum amounts allocated differ by activity and states/UTs.

4.2 Summing up the main takeaway from this chapter

1. Part-time teachers are small in number and proportion.
2. The tenure of engagement of part-time teachers is varied and ranges from a few months to 12 months.
3. Besides the approved contract teachers, there are provisions for teachers (both full and part-time) in residential schools/hostels, KGBVs, as well as for CWSN and Vocational Education. These teachers are engaged on contract.
4. An additional number of 86,778 teachers on contract are approved by the PAB for SS 2019-20 and when this number is added to the mentioned number of contract teachers (5,30,737), the total number of contract teachers increases to 6,17,515.
5. A part of the lump-sum budget (usually allocated per school) for activities such as ICT Digital Initiatives, Sports and Physical Education, training in martial arts and self-defence and Special Training may be utilised to obtain the services of teachers/instructors on a part-time basis.

5. Schools in which Contract Teachers are Appointed

Thus far, the report has delved into the numbers, proportions and typology of contract teachers, including part-time teachers. In this chapter, we will attempt to understand the number and percentage of contract teachers in specific categories of government schools where these teachers are functioning by type of schools, their geographic location in rural-urban areas, the size of schools they work in (as per enrolment range), and the gender break-up of teachers on contract. The number of schools with only contract teachers and schools having at least one contract teacher are also being examined for enrolment of students. Such analysis will provide an idea about the responsibilities borne by them both in terms of teaching and running schools.

5.1 Number and percentage of contract teachers in specific categories of government schools

At the outset, it is very clear that contract teachers are found in all kinds/types of government-managed schools across the country. They are not specific to any particular type or to any state. The worrisome part is that schools meant for the most deprived – for example, child labour – run by the Ministry of Labour has 41.60 percent of teachers on contract (Table 16). Similarly, schools managed by the Social Welfare Department (presumably for specific deprived sections of the population) have 22.50 percent teachers on contract (Table 16).

Table 16: Number and percentage of teachers on contract in specific types of government schools, by management

Type of schools	Total Number of teachers			Total Number of teachers on contract			Percentage of teachers on contract to total teachers		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Dept. of Education	22,44,970	15,98,717	38,43,687	2,85,660	3,00,760	5,86,420	12.70	18.80	15.30
Tribal Department	88,536	45,061	1,33,597	5,951	4,876	10,827	6.70	10.80	8.10
Local body	5,06,195	4,18,043	9,24,238	7,869	9,599	17,468	1.60	2.30	1.90
Other	7,389	15,608	22,997	2,909	8,987	11,896	39.40	57.60	51.70
Social Welfare	5,411	4,076	9,487	885	1,250	2,135	16.40	30.70	22.50
Ministry of Labour	103	356	459	35	156	191	34.00	43.80	41.60
Kendriya Vidyalaya	18,124	16,642	34,766	927	1,165	2,092	5.10	7.00	6.00
Navodaya Vidyalaya	6,180	2,463	8,643	393	219	612	6.40	8.90	7.10
Sainik School	845	1,188	2,033	122	537	659	14.40	45.20	32.40
Railway School	810	516	1,326	1	1	2	0.10	0.20	0.20
Central Tibetan School	115	62	177	6	8	14	5.20	12.90	7.90
Total	28,78,678	21,02,732	49,81,410	3,04,758	3,27,558	6,32,316	10.60	15.60	12.70

Source: UDISE, 2017-18 | Notes : Dept. = Department

It is seen from Table 17 that there is near parity in the number of male and female teachers on contract across the types of government schools. An exception in this respect is seen in the KGBVs where female teachers on contract are nearly 10 times that of male teachers on contract. This trend of a significantly higher percentage of female teachers (to total teachers) on contract as compared to male teachers will be discussed in the next chapter. However, at this stage, it is important to take note that MHRD, GOI guidelines for KGBV specify that female teachers would be deployed.

The KGBVs started under SSA in 2004, primarily rely on contract teachers (Table 17). This was also

highlighted in the two national evaluations done in 2007 and 2013. It was further pointed out that not only were teachers hired on contract in a majority of the KGBVs, but most of them also did not have the requisite professional qualifications. Some states, like Rajasthan, moved to appointing regular teachers on deputation to KGBV while many other states continued the practice of contract teachers. There are also differences in teacher status depending on who manages the KGBV. Most NGO or Mahila Samakhya Project (which was discontinued as a centrally sponsored scheme by GOI in 2014 and is currently managed as a state programme in several states) managed the KGBV-hired teachers on yearly contracts.

Table 17: Number and percentage of teachers on contract in specific types of residential government schools

Type of schools	Total number of teachers			Total number of teachers on contract			Percentage of teachers on contract to total teachers		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Ashram	29,062	16,676	45,738	5,042	4,256	9,298	17.30	25.50	20.30
Non-Ashram (Government)	3,23,509	2,22,230	5,45,739	32,134	37,635	69,769	9.90	16.90	12.80
Private	1,733	1,638	3,371	186	233	419	10.70	14.20	12.40
Others	21,240	12,456	33,696	2,708	2,382	5,090	12.70	19.10	15.10
KGBV	4,173	18,869	23,042	1,269	12,011	13,280	30.40	63.70	57.60
Model School	4,777	3,525	8,302	510	415	925	10.70	11.80	11.10
Eklavya Model School	489	216	705	138	112	250	28.20	51.90	35.50

Source: UDISE, 2017-18

In some states, the percentage of female teachers on contract is higher – like West Bengal. And in some kinds of schools, like Ashram Shala, Non-Ashram (government) schools, Eklavya Model School and KGBV too, the percentage of female contract teachers is higher than male contract teachers. For example, in West Bengal females over the age of 40 years were hired to manage Shishu Shiksha Kendra (known as Shishu Shiksha Karmasuchi, SSK) since 1999. The Madhyamik Shiksha Karmasuchi (MSK) was launched in 2003. These schools are managed

by the Panchayat. Since 2019, the SSK and MSK teachers get a consolidated salary of Rs 10,000 per month. The HT, known as Pradhan, gets a salary of Rs 10,340. Apparently, in July 2019 a decision was taken to bring the SSK and MSK directly under the supervision of the Department of Education²⁸. In SSKs, almost all the teachers are females, which is not the case with MSKs, to which male teachers were also appointed. This was done after a government notification dated 15 February 2009 allowed both male and female above the age of 30 to apply.

5.2 Rural-urban distribution

The UDISE data reveals some very interesting rural-urban differences. It is well-known that there is a hierarchy of schools – single-teacher schools, two-teacher schools and those with more than two teachers. According to the norms laid down by the RTE Act, a primary school must have at least two teachers irrespective of the enrolment. But

this is not the case. While accepting that there are more schools in rural areas of India and that many peri-urban areas are effectively categorised as rural areas – the data on rural-urban distribution is noteworthy. There are clearly more teachers on contract in rural areas (Table 18).



Table 18: State/UT-wise number of contract teachers by location and level of education

State/UT	Rural					
	Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Total	
Andaman & Nicobar	7	43	62	139	251	
Andhra Pradesh	103	68	3,085	1,579	4,835	
Arunachal Pradesh	2,523	3,625	1,074	409	7,631	
Assam	26,000	3,939	5,229	1,555	36,723	
Bihar	16,747	23,606	2,838	5,083	48,274	
Chandigarh	0	16	66	169	251	
Chhattisgarh	1	5	1	62	69	
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	182	595	62	170	1,009	
Daman & Diu	80	76	32	68	256	
Goa	95	6	73	22	196	
Gujarat	11	516	233	352	1,112	
Haryana	3,980	1,674	2,249	4,107	12,010	
Himachal Pradesh	4,335	2,706	2,328	9,249	18,618	
Jammu & Kashmir	2,426	2,793	328	378	5,925	
Jharkhand	33,422	27,717	3,526	1,346	66,011	
Karnataka	98	151	303	32	584	
Kerala	653	556	350	1,768	3,327	
Lakshadweep	30	42	2	141	215	
Madhya Pradesh	246	92	27	4	369	
Maharashtra	186	445	449	270	1,350	
Manipur	152	127	63	160	502	
Meghalaya	6,493	7,684	412	79	14,668	
Mizoram	771	1,385	558	10	2,724	
Nagaland	390	401	685	85	1,561	
NCT of Delhi	84	5	71	692	852	
Odisha	28,710	36,250	17,924	449	83,333	
Puducherry	0	0	6	44	50	
Punjab	5,934	3,171	3,522	5,282	17,909	
Rajasthan	2,025	601	27	80	2,733	
Sikkim	516	918	1,008	1,096	3,538	
Tamil Nadu	28	1,323	1,947	2,945	6,243	
Telangana	4,237	2,293	8,749	3,443	18,722	
Tripura	2,386	2,428	765	75	5,654	
Uttar Pradesh	96,199	8,850	41	324	1,05,414	
Uttarakhand	615	13	258	1,206	2,092	
West Bengal	65,337	9,329	3,685	18,001	96,352	
Total	3,05,002	1,43,449	62,038	60,874	5,71,363	

	Urban				
	Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Total
	0	1	4	23	28
	33	17	523	648	1,221
	142	438	230	198	1,008
	831	316	797	655	2,599
	621	997	98	936	2,652
	16	99	557	545	1,217
	0	0	16	26	42
	4	63	22	87	176
	28	29	24	27	108
	21	3	9	103	136
	14	72	4	52	142
	769	94	84	1,057	2,004
	62	25	30	389	506
	92	124	14	61	291
	1,039	1,154	104	138	2,435
	4	24	149	23	200
	106	94	11	378	589
	7	24	0	17	48
	13	4	19	83	119
	91	326	357	201	975
	3	39	0	10	52
	181	446	17	20	664
	339	492	165	123	1,119
	35	67	102	69	273
	2,669	94	1,069	14,164	17,996
	676	1,103	1,389	89	3,257
	13	0	22	52	87
	1,260	225	295	2,095	3,875
	16	35	2	38	91
	8	7	40	170	225
	16	522	496	1,893	2,927
	629	245	2,157	839	3,870
	115	110	26	64	315
	2,376	512	2	69	2,959
	7	9	6	223	245
	2,177	94	560	3,671	6,502
	14,413	7,904	9,400	29,236	60,953

Source: UDISE, 2017-18

5.3 Schools with all teachers on contract

The situation with respect to schools having all teachers on contract is the most worrisome at the primary level as evident in the all-India picture available in Tables 19 and 20.



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उच्च प्राथमिक शाला कामानार
संकुल - जोगानार वि.खं. - दरभा जिला - बस्तर (छ.ग.)
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Table 19: Number and percentage of different levels of schools with all teachers on contract 2017-2018

UDISE, 2017-18	Primary			Upper Primary			
	Total Schools	Number	Percentage	Total Schools	Number	Percentage	
Andaman & Nicobar	182	-	-	59	-	-	
Andhra Pradesh	33,695	90	0.27	4,287	14	0.33	
Arunachal Pradesh	2,108	1,078	51.14	1,024	251	24.51	
Assam	39,789	3,127	7.86	6,513	66	1.01	
Bihar	40,652	3,990	9.82	26,437	649	2.45	
Chandigarh	8	-	-	13	-	-	
Chhattisgarh	30,936	-	-	13,291	1	0.01	
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	155	30	19.35	116	6	5.17	
Daman & Diu	50	1	2.00	38	-	-	
Goa	710	4	0.56	43	-	-	
Gujarat	10,472	4	0.04	23,042	55	0.24	
Haryana	8,713	139	1.60	2,399	55	2.29	
Himachal Pradesh	10,665	833	7.81	2,001	379	18.94	
Jammu & Kashmir	13,213	791	5.99	8,177	34	0.42	
Jharkhand	24,340	17,896	73.53	12,478	1,651	13.23	
Karnataka	21,615	25	0.12	22,167	6	0.03	
Kerala	2,623	-	-	867	-	-	
Lakshadweep	15	-	-	16	-	-	
Madhya Pradesh	83,442	51	0.06	30,445	29	0.10	
Maharashtra	44,205	15	0.03	20,679	10	0.05	
Manipur	2,032	79	3.89	579	21	3.63	
Meghalaya	5,453	2,697	49.46	2,235	1,836	82.15	
Mizoram	1,297	191	14.73	960	130	13.54	
Nagaland	1,134	9	0.79	635	-	-	
NCT of Delhi	1,678	-	-	22	-	-	
Odisha	33,450	4,332	12.95	17,196	771	4.48	
Puducherry	234	-	-	49	-	-	
Punjab	13,059	357	2.73	2,678	460	17.18	
Rajasthan	32,597	669	2.05	20,139	11	0.05	
Sikkim	478	5	1.05	173	2	1.16	
Tamil Nadu	24,270	6	0.02	7,138	43	0.60	
Telangana	19,769	1,714	8.67	3,318	202	6.09	
Tripura	2,207	190	8.61	1,127	21	1.86	
Uttar Pradesh	1,14,000	3,147	2.76	46,655	321	0.69	
Uttarakhand	12,432	64	0.51	2,781	1	0.04	
West Bengal	67,179	15,827	23.56	7,182	1,996	27.79	
Total	6,98,857	57,361	8.21	2,86,959	9,021	3.14	

Source: UDISE, 2017-18

	Secondary			Higher Secondary		
	Total Schools	Number	Percentage	Total Schools	Number	Percentage
	45	-	-	53	-	-
	6,114	289	4.73	800	19	2.38
	193	13	6.74	122	3	2.46
	3,498	10	0.29	1,165	3	0.26
	2,480	40	1.61	3,959	97	2.45
	55	-	-	45	-	-
	1,956	1	0.05	2,665	3	0.11
	14	1	7.14	15	-	-
	13	-	-	14	-	-
	76	-	-	17	-	-
	1,058	33	3.12	580	22	3.79
	1,280	24	1.88	2,058	28	1.36
	935	41	4.39	1,864	14	0.75
	1,848	-	-	666	1	0.15
	1,899	28	1.47	986	188	19.07
	4,950	17	0.34	1,334	3	0.22
	290	-	-	1,003	-	-
	1	-	-	13	-	-
	4,776	2	0.04	3,990	3	0.08
	1,390	39	2.81	476	2	0.42
	353	-	-	73	1	1.37
	75	25	33.33	42	-	-
	300	92	30.67	25	1	4.00
	258	1	0.39	53	-	-
	111	-	-	976	-	-
	5,268	75	1.42	399	10	2.51
	74	-	-	67	-	-
	1,710	55	3.22	2,068	43	2.08
	4,040	-	-	10,167	-	-
	121	-	-	81	-	-
	3,164	20	0.63	3,062	29	0.95
	5,853	647	11.05	905	112	12.38
	592	-	-	388	1	0.26
	1,493	5	0.33	966	13	1.35
	950	-	-	1,466	1	0.07
	2,630	2	0.08	6,301	6	0.10
	59,863	1,460	2.44	48,864	603	1.23

Table 20: Number and percentage of schools with all or any teachers on contract, 2017-18

State/UT	Total schools	Number of schools having any teacher on contract	Percentage of schools having any teacher on contract	Number of schools in which all teachers are on contract	Percentage of schools in which all teachers are on contract
Andaman & Nicobar	339	101	29.79	-	-
Andhra Pradesh	44,896	1,008	2.25	412	0.92
Arunachal Pradesh	3,447	2,931	85.03	1,345	39.02
Assam	50,965	22,316	43.79	3,206	6.29
Bihar	73,528	13,052	17.75	4,776	6.50
Chandigarh	121	116	95.87	-	-
Chhattisgarh	48,848	30	0.06	5	0.01
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	300	271	90.33	37	12.33
Daman & Diu	115	94	81.74	1	0.87
Goa	846	169	19.98	4	0.47
Gujarat	35,152	295	0.84	114	0.32
Haryana	14,450	6,350	43.94	246	1.70
Himachal Pradesh	15,465	7,504	48.52	1,267	8.19
Jammu & Kashmir	23,904	4,192	17.54	826	3.46
Jharkhand	39,703	32,717	82.40	19,763	49.78
Karnataka	50,066	263	0.53	51	0.10
Kerala	4,783	1,027	21.47	-	-
Lakshadweep	45	34	75.56	-	-
Madhya Pradesh	1,22,653	296	0.24	85	0.07
Maharashtra	66,750	848	1.27	66	0.10
Manipur	3,037	189	6.22	101	3.33
Meghalaya	7,805	5,894	75.52	4,558	58.40
Mizoram	2,582	1,615	62.55	414	16.03
Nagaland	2,080	738	35.48	10	0.48
NCT of Delhi	2,787	1,840	66.02	-	-
Odisha	56,313	41,859	74.33	5,188	9.21
Puducherry	424	45	10.61	-	-
Punjab	19,515	10,053	51.51	915	4.69
Rajasthan	66,943	2,215	3.31	680	1.02
Sikkim	853	650	76.20	7	0.82
Tamil Nadu	37,634	2,861	7.60	98	0.26
Telangana	29,845	7,762	26.01	2,675	8.96
Tripura	4,314	2,526	58.55	212	4.91
Uttar Pradesh	1,63,114	64,995	39.85	3,486	2.14
Uttarakhand	17,629	1,250	7.09	66	0.37
West Bengal	83,292	42,304	50.79	17,831	21.41
Total	10,94,543	2,80,410	25.62	68,445	6.25

Source: UDISE 2017-18

Going by the literature reviewed, there is a belief that contract teachers are mostly posted in small schools with low enrolments. This has been explored using UDISE data for 2017-18 and it is found that there is some truth to this. Schools having an enrolment of up to 90 students account for the majority of schools with contract teachers, as is evident in Table 21. In the country, as a whole, 'small schools' (79.25%) have all teachers on contract and the percentage of schools with higher enrolments having all teachers on contract is lesser. The last category, enrolment of more than 120, perhaps accounts for a very large number of schools but there is a smaller increase in the number of states in this category.

The small primary schools in India are perhaps the most disadvantaged as 83.80 percent of such schools have all teachers on contract. This is indeed a very serious finding from the analysis of the UDISE data of 2017-18. Any effort to reform the contract teacher regime would have to start with primary schools – which is where foundational learning takes place. Equally disturbing, even among primary schools, are those with enrolment of 60 and less, which merit urgent attention of administrators and policymakers. Going by the literature survey, most of the small schools with low enrolment are in rural areas.

Table 21: Number of schools having all teachers on contract, by range of enrolment and level of education

All India	30 or Less than 30	31-60	61-90	91-120	More than 120	Total
Primary with class 1-5	18,002	21,427	9,250	4,323	4,359	57,361
Upper Primary with class 1-8 or 6-8	1,845	1,960	1,397	1,274	2,545	9,021
Secondary with class 1-10, 6-10 and 9-10	93	111	107	92	1,057	1,460
Higher Secondary with class 1-12, 6-12, 9-12 and 11-12	9	23	23	27	521	603
All Schools	19,949	23,521	10,777	5,716	8,482	68,445

Source: UDISE 2017-18

State-wise trends in this regard are given in Table 22. The variations among states/UTs are seen in the table. It is a matter of concern that Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh,

Jharkhand, Meghalaya, Odisha, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have a fairly large number of teachers on contract spread across all enrolment ranges.

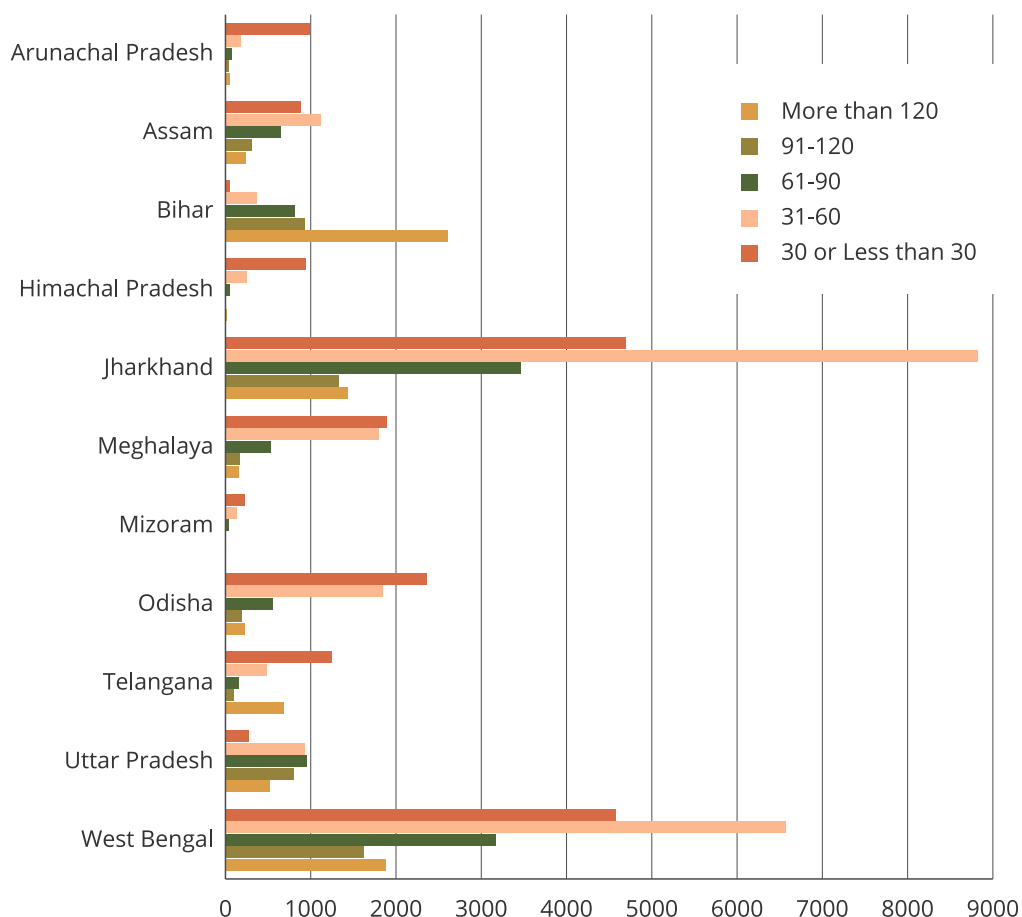
Table 22: State/UT-wise number of schools having all teachers on contract, by range of enrolment, government-managed schools only

UDISE, 2017-18	All schools (Primary, Upper Primary, Secondary and Higher Secondary)					
	30 or Less than 30	31-60	61-90	91-120	More than 120	Total
Andaman & Nicobar	0	0	0	0	0	0
Andhra Pradesh	83	15	6	6	302	412
Arunachal Pradesh	992	183	73	41	56	1,345
Assam	880	1,122	646	316	242	3,206
Bihar	57	373	810	929	2,607	4,776
Chandigarh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chhattisgarh	0	0	0	1	4	5
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	10	14	8	1	4	37
Daman & Diu	0	0	1	0	0	1
Goa	4	0	0	0	0	4
Gujarat	5	29	10	26	44	114
Haryana	35	84	50	19	58	246
Himachal Pradesh	947	248	48	8	16	1,267
Jammu & Kashmir	630	171	16	7	2	826
Jharkhand	4,700	8,825	3,468	1,331	1,439	19,763
Karnataka	21	8	1	2	19	51
Kerala	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0
Madhya Pradesh	21	43	13	4	4	85
Maharashtra	8	5	12	6	35	66
Manipur	66	18	6	9	2	101
Meghalaya	1,894	1,796	535	171	162	4,558
Mizoram	229	136	38	7	4	414
Nagaland	7	2	0	1	0	10
NCT of Delhi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Odisha	2,366	1,842	558	192	230	5,188
Puducherry	0	0	0	0	0	0
Punjab	213	369	147	75	111	915
Rajasthan	480	161	30	7	2	680
Sikkim	4	3	0	0	0	7
Tamil Nadu	3	18	4	28	45	98
Telangana	1,252	487	158	96	682	2,675
Tripura	134	60	9	5	4	212
Uttar Pradesh	277	932	957	799	521	3,486
Uttarakhand	57	7	1	1	0	66
West Bengal	4,574	6,570	3,172	1,628	1,887	17,831
Total	19,949	23,521	10,777	5,716	8,482	68,445

Source: UDISE 2017-18

Figure 5:
States with
contract
teachers in
schools across
enrolment
ranges

Source: UDISE
2017-18



Enrolment of children in schools having only contract teachers is skewed heavily towards rural areas. As evident in Table 23, 95.83 percent of children studying in schools having only contract teachers are located in rural areas.

The rural/urban divide is not only worrisome, but it clearly shows that regular teachers leverage their power to remain in better-connected schools.

Table 23: Enrolment in schools having all teachers on contract, by rural/urban

	Boys	Girls	Total	Percent
Rural India	21,18,709	23,30,937	44,49,646	95.83
Urban India	84,026	1,09,456	1,93,482	4.17
Total	22,02,735	24,40,393	46,43,128	

Source: UDISE 2017-18

As reflected in Table 24, it is no less a matter of concern that 5,33,882 children are enrolled in primary, upper primary and secondary schools with

a single contract teacher only and another 17,11,455 children are enrolled in primary, upper primary and secondary schools with two contract teachers only.

Table 24: Enrolment by level of education, gender and location of schools having only contract teachers

Schools with		Primary (Class 1-5)			Upper Primary (Class 6-8)			Secondary (Class 9-10)		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Single teacher	R	2,39,853	2,44,215	4,84,068	9,016	10,469	19,485	686	1,176	1,862
	U	12,881	12,712	25,593	1,095	1,160	2,255	230	389	619
	T	2,52,734	2,56,927	5,09,661	10,111	11,629	21,740	916	1,565	2,481
Two teachers	R	7,32,235	7,36,592	14,68,827	25,454	28,571	54,025	925	2,130	3,055
	U	18,126	18,800	36,926	432	970	1,402	69	240	309
	T	7,50,361	7,55,392	15,05,753	25,886	29,541	55,427	994	2,370	3,364
More than two teachers	R	7,72,230	7,78,583	15,50,813	2,69,956	3,99,567	6,69,523	48,340	1,01,935	1,50,275
	U	23,089	22,846	45,935	16,126	30,546	46,672	4,732	10,550	15,282
	T	7,95,319	8,01,429	15,96,748	2,86,082	4,30,113	7,16,195	53,072	1,12,485	1,65,557
All Schools	R	17,44,318	17,59,390	35,03,708	3,04,426	4,38,607	7,43,033	49,951	1,05,241	1,55,192
	U	54,096	54,358	1,08,454	17,653	32,676	50,329	5,031	11,179	16,210
	T	17,98,414	18,13,748	36,12,162	3,22,079	4,71,283	7,93,362	54,982	1,16,420	1,71,402

Note: R Rural, U Urban, T Total

Source: UDISE 2017-18

When the data is categorized by location of contract teachers (Table 18) and by enrollment in schools having contract teachers (Tables 23 and 24), the rural disadvantage in terms of proportion of teachers and student enrolment is obvious.

Enrolment of students in schools with all teachers on contract is another dimension that needs deeper study. As discussed above, 46.43 lakh children are enrolled in schools where all teachers are on contract. However, it is important to take note of the fact that in percentage terms, they are small (Table 25).

Table 25: Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment in government schools where all teachers are on contract

Level of school	Boys		Girls		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Primary class 1-5	17,98,414	5.30	18,13,748	5.20	36,12,162	5.20
Upper Primary class 6-8	3,22,079	1.80	4,71,283	2.50	7,93,362	2.20
Secondary class 9-10	54,982	0.70	1,16,420	1.30	1,71,402	1.00
Higher Secondary class 11-12	27,260	0.60	38,942	0.90	66,202	0.70
	22,02,735	3.40	24,40,393	3.60	46,43,128	3.50

Source: UDISE 2017-18

Again, there are state-specific and level-specific differences. For example, in Arunachal Pradesh, 25.70 percent of students are enrolled in primary schools that have only contract teachers, the percentage is higher at 37 percent in Jharkhand, 45 percent in Meghalaya, 14.10 in Mizoram and 14.50 percent in West Bengal. As evident in Table 26, the situation improves as we move from primary to higher secondary. This clearly shows that urgent attention is required at the primary and upper primary levels. Given that the Report

of the Kasturirangan Committee for the Draft National Education Policy 2019 seeks to introduce the concept of foundational learning, and ensure all children are able to grasp and master the basic language and maths concepts, improve their vocabulary, and are able to understand and articulate basic concepts in science and environmental studies -- ensuring that primary schools, and children enrolled in primary schools, get teachers who are qualified and motivated has to be an urgent priority of the government.

Table 26: States with significant percentage of students enrolled in government schools with all contract teachers

UDISE, 2017-18	Primary (Class 1-5)			Upper Primary (Class 6-8)			Secondary (Class 9-10)			Higher Secondary (Class 11-12)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Meghalaya	45.10	45.00	45.00	68.40	68.50	68.40	7.70	7.50	7.60	0.00	0.00	0.00
Jharkhand	37.20	36.80	37.00	6.40	8.70	7.60	0.60	4.80	2.80	4.00	8.60	6.40
Arunachal Pradesh	26.80	24.60	25.70	5.80	19.00	13.00	0.90	2.50	1.70	1.10	1.00	1.00
West Bengal	14.50	14.50	14.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mizoram	14.10	13.80	13.90	7.10	5.80	6.50	16.30	14.80	15.50	0.40	0.50	0.40
Odisha	6.60	6.40	6.50	2.00	1.90	1.90	0.60	0.80	0.70	1.20	1.20	1.20
Telangana	6.00	7.00	6.50	4.90	13.70	9.40	0.60	9.40	5.30	6.60	7.20	6.90
All India	5.30	5.20	5.20	1.80	2.50	2.20	0.70	1.30	1.00	0.60	0.90	0.70

Source: UDISE 2017-18

The case of single-teacher schools is another dimension that is worth discussing with respect to contract teachers. According to MHRD, GOI, as of 2014-15, there were 81,459 (11.50% of total schools) single-teacher primary schools and 14,786 (4% of all schools) single-teacher upper primary schools (MHRD, 2017 Guidelines for Rationalisation). In 2017-18, the number of single-teacher schools was 85,566; accounting for 10 percent of primary schools and 7.80 percent for all levels together. The number of single contract teacher schools and two contract teacher schools in 2017-18 stand at 12,847 and 66,955 respectively.

From the above analysis, it becomes quite evident that the schools that require immediate attention are small schools and those that are staffed only with contract teachers, particularly the single contract teacher schools. In 2017-18, the percentage of single-teacher schools was high (that is, more than 20%) in Andhra Pradesh (22.70%), Arunachal Pradesh (38.90%), Goa (32.30%), Jharkhand (30%), Rajasthan (28.80%), Telangana (22%) and Uttarakhand (21.60%) (UDISE, 2017-18).

These emerging patterns may have serious implications for the long-term planning of development of schools. Most teachers on contract are appointed for one year or less at a time (in Jharkhand, we came across teachers appointed for 59 days, Ramachandran and Saxena, 2018), and there is no guarantee that they will be asked to continue the next year. As powerfully illustrated in a recent book by S Giridhar (2019), exceptional and motivated teachers and HM who have been able to turn a school around and make a difference are those who have remained in a school for at least five to ten years. A feeling of insecurity coupled with a sense of being discriminated against for doing the same kind of work regular teachers do is a huge demotivating factor. State-wise prevalence of schools with all teachers on contract reveals that the situation is grim in Jharkhand (19,763 schools) and West Bengal (17,831 schools). In the NCT of Delhi, there are no 'small' schools where all teachers are on contract (Table 20).

In 2017, MHRD brought out Guidelines for Rationalisation of Small Schools Across States for Better Efficiency (MHRD, DSE, EE Section, 7 July 2017). This government guideline (or suggestions) essentially asks state governments to rationalise (meaning, merge small schools with other schools), provided it does not impede the access to school for children. The aim of this order is to ensure well-functioning schools with adequate teachers, and also to gradually phase out multi-grade small schools. Another stated aim of these guidelines is to ensure that all schools adhere to the RTE norm. The SSA framework that was modified to synchronise with reference to the RTE Act also provides for transportation. Several states have tried to merge or even open new composite schools. This process has not been free of controversy and the jury is still out on whether the rationalisation process improves the quality of education. However, the guidelines are silent about contract teachers.

5.4 Schools with one or more teachers on contract

Having examined the enrolment patterns in schools with only contract teachers, Table 27 captures the percentage enrolment in schools where one or more teachers are on contract. If we look at the data on schools having teachers on contract, it is interesting that across India, 27 percent of primary schools, 19.10 percent of upper primary schools and 32.40 percent of secondary schools have contract teachers. In Table 27, the states (in yellow) have more than 50 percent of schools with teachers on contract (meaning that they have some contract teachers). If the small UTs are ignored, and we further categorise by levels of education, the picture that emerges is quite revealing. There are states that have contract teachers at all levels, there are those that have a significant presence at one or two levels – as evident in Table 27. The presence of contract teachers at the secondary and higher secondary level merit serious in-depth analysis.

Table 27: Number of government schools having any teacher on contract by level of education, 2017-18

Year 2017-2018	Primary (Class 1-5)			Upper Primary (Class 1-8 or 6-8)			Secondary (Class 1-10, 6-10 & 9-10)		
	Total Schools	Any Contract Teacher	%	Total Schools	Any Contract Teacher	%	Total Schools	Any Contract Teacher	%
Andaman & Nicobar	182	7	3.80	59	25	42.40	45	27	60.00
Andhra Pradesh	33,695	106	0.30	4,287	26	0.60	6,114	557	9.10
Arunachal Pradesh	2,108	1,649	78.20	1,024	985	96.20	193	188	97.40
Assam	39,789	16,887	42.40	6,513	2,583	39.70	3,498	2,166	61.90
Bihar	40,652	6,488	16.00	26,437	5,278	20.00	2,480	437	17.60
Chandigarh	8	8	100.00	13	13	100.00	55	53	96.40
Chhattisgarh	30,936	1	0.00	13,291	1	0.00	1,956	4	0.20
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	155	126	81.30	116	116	100.00	14	14	100.00
Daman & Diu	50	38	76.00	38	32	84.20	13	12	92.30
Goa	710	115	16.20	43	6	14.00	76	34	44.70
Gujarat	10,472	10	0.10	23,042	171	0.70	1,058	55	5.20
Haryana	8,713	2,575	29.60	2,399	1,221	50.90	1,280	957	74.80
Himachal Pradesh	10,665	3,632	34.10	2,001	1,345	67.20	935	802	85.80
Jammu & Kashmir	13,213	1,907	14.40	8,177	1,925	23.50	1,848	234	12.70
Jharkhand	24,340	20,449	84.00	12,478	10,745	86.10	1,899	1,107	58.30
Karnataka	21,615	70	0.30	22,167	77	0.30	4,950	99	2.00
Kerala	2,623	402	15.30	867	195	22.50	290	80	27.60
Lakshadweep	15	9	60.00	16	13	81.30	1	1	100.00
Madhya Pradesh	83,442	200	0.20	30,445	74	0.20	4,776	15	0.30
Maharashtra	44,205	201	0.50	20,679	324	1.60	1,390	211	15.20
Manipur	2,032	109	5.40	579	48	8.30	353	9	2.50
Meghalaya	5,453	3,582	65.70	2,235	2,227	99.60	75	68	90.70
Mizoram	1,297	609	47.00	960	817	85.10	300	166	55.30
Nagaland	1,134	295	26.00	635	238	37.50	258	176	68.20
NCT Of Delhi	1,678	787	46.90	22	18	81.80	111	103	92.80
Odisha	33,450	21,687	64.80	17,196	15,305	89.00	5,268	4,735	89.90
Puducherry	234	3	1.30	49	0	0.00	74	6	8.10
Punjab	13,059	5,227	40.00	2,678	1,677	62.60	1,710	1,348	78.80
Rajasthan	32,597	1,647	5.10	20,139	456	2.30	4,040	22	0.50
Sikkim	478	289	60.50	173	167	96.50	121	118	97.50
Tamil Nadu	24,270	13	0.10	7,138	713	10.00	3,164	793	25.10
Telangana	19,769	3,380	17.10	3,318	1,119	33.70	5,853	2,804	47.90
Tripura	2,207	1,344	60.90	1,127	918	81.50	592	231	39.00
Uttar Pradesh	1,14,000	61,335	53.80	46,655	3,587	7.70	1,493	20	1.30
Uttarakhand	12,432	605	4.90	2,781	8	0.30	950	176	18.50
West Bengal	67,179	32,993	49.10	7,182	2,214	30.80	2,630	1,573	59.80
All Schools	6,98,857	1,88,785	27.00	2,86,959	54,667	19.10	59,863	19,401	32.40

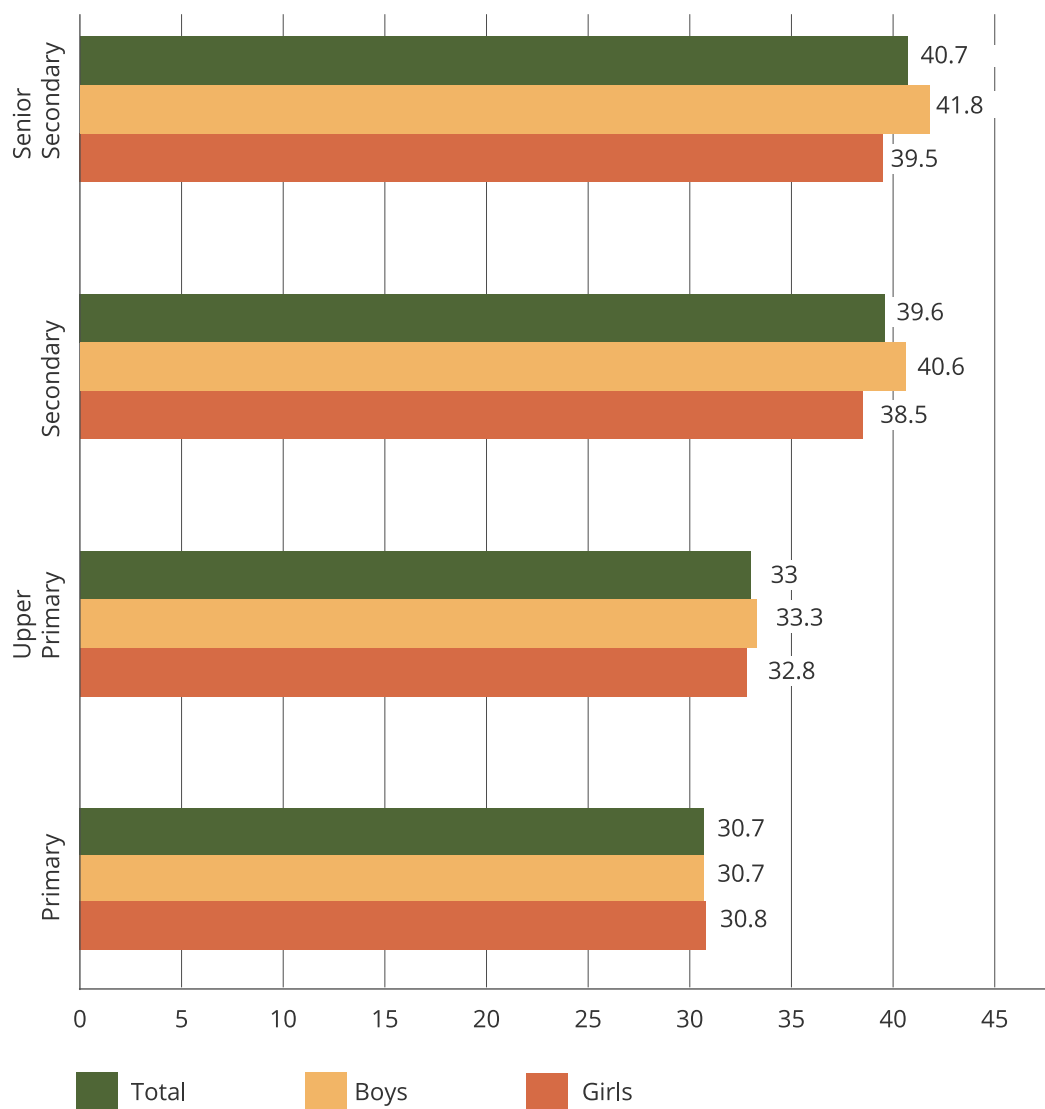
Source: UDISE 2017-18

Table 28: Proportion of girls and boys enrolled in schools by level of education, with any teacher on contract, to total enrolment in all government schools

2017-2018	Primary (Class 1-5)			Upper Primary (Class 6-8)			Secondary (Class 9-10)			Higher Secondary (Class 11-12)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Andaman & Nicobar	43.40	43.00	43.20	65.20	67.60	66.40	71.20	74.20	72.70	79.90	81.40	80.70
Andhra Pradesh	1.10	1.40	1.20	4.30	11.90	8.30	4.10	11.70	8.00	48.60	47.90	48.20
Arunachal Pradesh	91.60	91.90	91.80	95.50	96.70	96.20	95.30	95.20	95.30	93.60	93.30	93.50
Assam	54.10	54.30	54.20	65.10	64.30	64.60	70.80	70.10	70.40	51.80	52.40	52.10
Bihar	17.70	17.70	17.70	19.30	19.40	19.40	23.90	24.20	24.10	12.70	13.60	13.10
Chandigarh	95.20	96.30	95.70	96.20	96.80	96.50	96.10	96.80	96.40	97.20	97.20	97.20
Chhattisgarh	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	1.00	0.90	0.90	1.20	1.10	1.20
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	94.20	93.70	93.90	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Daman & Diu	90.50	90.10	90.30	95.10	95.40	95.30	94.80	94.60	94.70	90.10	90.90	90.50
Goa	23.50	23.60	23.60	50.40	48.30	49.40	51.90	54.00	52.90	79.70	82.20	80.90
Gujarat	0.50	0.40	0.40	0.90	1.400	1.10	5.70	7.60	6.60	7.50	9.50	8.50
Haryana	41.20	44.10	42.70	71.80	71.70	71.70	79.70	81.00	80.40	80.10	82.20	81.10
Himachal Pradesh	36.60	36.40	36.50	84.90	85.50	85.20	91.20	91.30	91.30	93.30	92.90	93.10
Jammu & Kashmir	20.30	20.00	20.10	21.60	21.90	21.70	15.70	15.40	15.50	15.50	16.90	16.20
Jharkhand	85.70	85.70	85.70	83.40	83.60	83.50	32.50	37.20	34.90	10.30	20.70	15.70
Karnataka	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.90	1.10	1.00	1.70	1.80	1.80	0.90	1.40	1.20
Kerala	25.80	25.80	25.80	32.10	31.60	31.90	32.40	32.00	32.20	34.10	30.20	32.10
Lakshadweep	70.60	70.20	70.40	75.60	79.80	77.80	73.10	88.60	81.00	78.10	86.90	82.60
Madhya Pradesh	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Maharashtra	2.50	2.50	2.50	6.40	6.40	6.40	18.90	20.00	19.40	24.60	26.10	25.30
Manipur	6.00	5.80	5.90	16.60	15.80	16.20	16.50	14.10	15.20	28.80	26.20	27.50
Meghalaya	65.40	65.80	65.60	93.20	94.80	94.00	50.40	60.90	55.70	30.70	33.50	32.10
Mizoram	55.70	56.40	56.10	84.90	84.40	84.70	45.70	44.60	45.20	96.10	96.90	96.50
Nagaland	37.80	37.80	37.80	55.50	56.40	56.00	62.50	64.00	63.30	62.80	58.60	60.70
NCT of Delhi	60.50	62.20	61.30	94.90	97.00	96.00	95.70	97.30	96.50	94.60	96.60	95.70
Odisha	79.10	78.80	79.00	90.10	90.20	90.10	88.20	87.60	87.90	19.40	17.90	18.60
Puducherry	8.20	6.90	7.60	29.00	32.80	31.00	33.60	40.40	37.10	61.90	72.60	68.00
Punjab	50.80	50.60	50.70	80.40	81.40	80.90	85.60	87.60	86.60	88.40	91.80	90.10
Rajasthan	2.90	2.70	2.80	1.40	2.10	1.80	0.90	1.00	1.00	1.30	1.30	1.30
Sikkim	81.70	87.30	84.40	96.00	96.00	96.00	96.90	97.10	97.00	96.10	96.70	96.40
Tamil Nadu	6.90	6.40	6.60	35.80	37.00	36.40	43.80	45.30	44.60	44.80	49.00	47.10
Telangana	25.10	26.40	25.80	47.00	53.00	50.10	44.80	50.70	48.00	50.30	49.80	50.00
Tripura	49.00	49.20	49.10	36.80	37.70	37.30	16.00	17.60	16.80	6.00	6.20	6.10
Uttar Pradesh	54.60	54.70	54.70	11.60	12.50	12.10	3.30	1.60	2.30	3.80	1.70	2.50
Uttarakhand	4.80	4.80	4.80	17.00	17.70	17.40	28.00	30.20	29.20	33.30	35.00	34.20
West Bengal	53.90	53.80	53.90	81.70	80.90	81.30	89.50	90.60	90.10	89.30	91.40	90.40
Total	30.80	30.70	30.70	32.80	33.30	33.00	38.50	40.60	39.60	39.50	41.80	40.70

Source: UDISE 2017-18

Figure 6:
Percentage
of enrolment
by gender
across levels
in schools
with at least
one contract
teacher



Two things are very clear from Figure 6, one, that the percentage enrolment increases in the higher classes and the other, that at three of the four levels of education (excluding primary) the enrolment of girls is more than that of boys. The enrolment load in schools with contract teachers across education levels is also clear from Table 28/ Figure 6.

While the status of contract teacher driven schools has been extrapolated from the data available and the implications on quality education have been analysed, there are examples of the way in which some big states were able to do away with contract teachers and move on to a regular teacher regime (albeit with some 'hidden' contract teachers called 'community teacher', 'guest teacher' or 'Panchayat teacher'). Both Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh,

which till recently had a large number of contract teachers, tried to reform their system. In the case of Rajasthan, the High Court directed the government in 2013-14 to do away with contract teachers. As a result, the contract teacher regime was officially dismantled. On the other hand, Madhya Pradesh modified their teacher cadre by introducing a contract period of three years – before they are confirmed. Jharkhand took a de-facto policy decision to have at least 50 percent teachers on contract and continue to have huge teacher vacancies (in 2018 a study found that the teacher vacancy was close to 79% in secondary schools – Ramachandran and Saxena, 2018). There are significant differences across states, but the two routes to introducing reform seem to be (a) order by court and/or (b) pressure exerted by teacher unions.

Box 3 : Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh – two different trajectories

Tilok Singh & Ors. Vs. State of Rajasthan & Ors. (S.B. Civil writ petition no.10339/12)

& 89 Connected matters.

---- This Court is firmly of the opinion that the Scheme introduced by the State Government providing for the engagement of even unqualified/untrained persons as Vidhyarthi Mitra for their posting against the posts of Teacher Gr. III, Senior Teacher and School Lecturer dehors the relevant recruitment Rules and the eligibility criteria laid down by the NCTE exercising the power under the relevant statute, the provisions of the Act of 2009, and against the constitutional scheme of public employment, cannot but deemed to be illegal, arbitrary and falls foul of Article 14, 21 & 21A of the Constitution of India.

41. Since the Scheme providing for the engagement of Vidhyarthi Mitra against the vacant posts of Teachers is found to be unconstitutional, no directions can be issued

by this court to permit the continuance in employment of the petitioners and their likes under the said Scheme, which will obviously amount to perpetuating an illegality....

42. In the result, the writ petition No.8154/10 is allowed. The writ petitions preferred by the petitioners assailing their termination from service, claiming continuance/re-employment as Vidhyarthi Mitra and against the insistence of the Government for execution of the fresh contract, are dismissed. The Vidhyarthi Mitra Scheme introduced by the State Government for engagement of 'Vidhyarthi Mitra' on contractual basis on fixed honorarium against the posts of Teachers Gr.III, Senior Teachers and School Lecturers is declared illegal and unconstitutional

Source: Ramachandran et al 2018

The Madhya Pradesh Model

- In Madhya Pradesh all new teachers are hired on contract for three years before becoming eligible for regularization, no transfers are possible when they are on contract.
- Teachers are recruited as Samvida Shala Shikshak on a fixed-term contract and are paid Rs 5,000 if they are primary school teachers and Rs 7,000 if they are middle or high school teachers. After the 3-year period, if a teacher continues to be a part of the system, then they get an increment of 15 percent on the fixed amount. Pay scales of Adhyapak samvarg, though revised substantially in February 2013, are lower than the pay scale of regular teachers who are drawing salaries according to the 6th pay commission.
- There is a complex system of 4 types of teachers each with 3 levels and a different body manages each type of teacher - two of them are managed by not one but various different bodies; for e.g., The Samvida Shala Shikshak and the Adhyapak Samvarg are managed by either the Zillah or Janpad Panchayat or the Nagariya Nikaya (municipal corporation) and the School education or the Tribal Welfare department – depending on who manages the schools that they are posted in. The Shikshaks, the older cadre, is managed by the School Education or the Tribal Welfare Department as the case may be. The Atithi Shikshak is managed by the school management committee. Transfers are not a norm in Madhya Pradesh – only regular teachers (Adhyapak Samvarg and Shikshak Samvarg) can be transferred.

Source: Ramachandran et al 2018

5.5 Summing up the main takeaway from this chapter:

1. There are contract teachers across the states/UTs in varying numbers and percentages across all levels of schooling.
2. The highest proportion of contract teachers are in primary schools and in rural schools.
3. Smaller schools have a higher representation of contract teachers.
4. While there are schools with only contract teachers, a larger number of schools have at least one contract teacher.
5. In most instances, enrolment is seen to be lower in schools being run only by contract teachers, making them small schools or to put this plainly, small schools with low enrolment are the selected ones for appointment of contract teachers.
6. There are more female teachers on contract as compared to male teachers on contract in some states/UTs as well as in certain types of schools.
7. Schools other than the regular day schools of the government, also rely on contract teachers in running these schools – like residential schools (KGBV, Navodaya Vidyalaya).
8. Some states have been able to gradually reduce the number of contract teachers. A range of factors may have contributed – like the High Court ruling in Rajasthan and the State Government decision to roll back the system in Madhya Pradesh and introduce a new regime based on probation period (when teachers are on contract) to regularisation. It would be important to understand how these states have done this so that other states/UTs can emulate their strategies.

6. Gender Distribution of Contract Teachers

6.1 Trends and status

State Governments have put in place policies for the recruitment of teachers which includes reservation benchmarks for female teachers up to 50 percent. This applies to the recruitment of regular teachers and not necessarily in the engagement of teachers on contract. Except in some of the southern states, the proportion of female teachers remains below the reservation mark in most states. With this backdrop, it is pertinent to examine the male to female ratio in the cadre of contract teachers.

While there are some states and specific types of schools (for example, KGBV) that have predominantly female teachers as contract teachers,

a look at the contract teacher community as a whole, reveals that there are no significant gender differences at the aggregated level. According to the most recent UDISE data (2017-18), there are 3,04,758 male and 3,27,558 female contract teachers in India (see table 29) and the male to female ratio stands at 48:52. However, this is not true for the states where the ratio is skewed towards female contract teachers. Also, data from the states/UTs suggest that in the case of contract teachers, the lower mark of 33 percent for reservation of females has been achieved by all states/UTs except Tripura and Jharkhand.

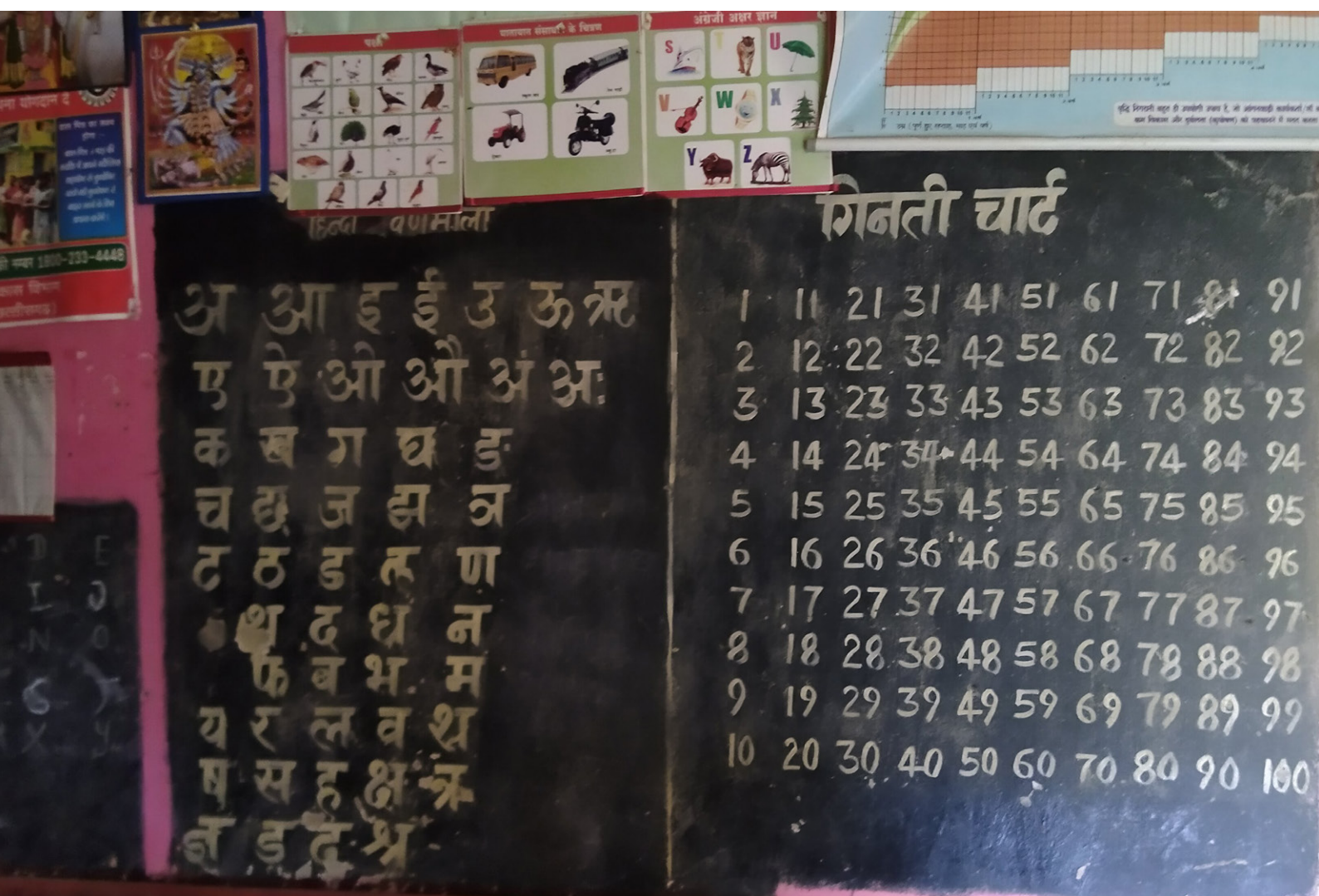


Table 29: Number of contract teachers, disaggregated by gender, in government-managed schools

State/UT	Total number of teachers on contract			% of female teachers to total teachers	
	Male	Female	Total	On contract	Regular
Kerala	687	3,229	3,916	82.46	69.60
Goa	59	273	332	82.23	77.30
Puducherry	31	106	137	77.37	61.30
Chandigarh	348	1,120	1,468	76.29	71.00
Andaman & Nicobar	71	208	279	74.55	57.30
Punjab	5,755	16,029	21,784	73.58	58.60
Andhra Pradesh	1,745	4,311	6,056	71.19	42.50
NCT of Delhi	5,976	12,872	18,848	68.29	58.30
West Bengal	33,969	68,885	1,02,854	66.97	32.70
Daman & Diu	125	239	364	65.66	50.80
Gujarat	485	769	1,254	61.32	47.00
Tamil Nadu	3,583	5,587	9,170	60.93	65.50
Sikkim	1,484	2,279	3,763	60.56	47.90
Telangana	9,060	13,532	22,592	59.90	40.50
Uttar Pradesh	43,677	64,696	1,08,373	59.70	44.90
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	479	706	1,185	59.58	48.50
Lakshadweep	109	154	263	58.56	44.70
Nagaland	865	969	1,834	52.84	46.40
Meghalaya	7,407	7,925	15,332	51.69	50.60
Haryana	7,232	6,782	14,014	48.39	40.90
Manipur	288	266	554	48.01	50.80
Karnataka	410	374	784	47.70	47.80
Uttarakhand	1,245	1,092	2,337	46.73	39.70
Odisha	47,129	39,461	86,590	45.57	39.70
Arunachal Pradesh	4,719	3,920	8,639	45.38	34.60
Assam	21,513	17,809	39,322	45.29	33.20
Maharashtra	1,299	1,026	2,325	44.13	36.30
Bihar	29,717	21,209	50,926	41.65	38.30
Jammu & Kashmir	3,693	2,523	6,216	40.59	37.20
Mizoram	2,314	1,529	3,843	39.79	39.00
Chhattisgarh	67	44	111	39.64	35.50
Himachal Pradesh	11,557	7,567	19,124	39.57	37.30
Madhya Pradesh	311	177	488	36.27	32.10
Rajasthan	1,842	982	2,824	34.77	29.90
Tripura	4,363	1,606	5,969	26.91	27.80
Jharkhand	51,144	17,302	68,446	25.28	30.70
Total	3,04,758	3,27,558	6,32,316	51.80	40.80

Source: UDISE 2017-18

The gender distribution in different states is interesting. At the outset, it is important to take on board the fact that in states like Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, the percentage of female teachers, especially at the elementary level is high among all categories of school teachers. There has been a gradual and visible feminization of the teaching profession in these states – many more females join the teaching profession not only in government schools but in all types of schools.

There are interesting patterns with respect to the representation of female teachers, either as regular or on contract, that emerge from Table 29.

These are as stated below:

- All the columns in Table 29 marked in yellow represent states/UTs having <50 percent female teachers, both regular and on contract.
- Boxes marked in grey comprise those 10 states, which have =>50 percent regular and contract female teachers.
- There are 32 states/UTs where the proportion of regular female teachers is lower than the proportion of female teachers on contract.
- There are a few exceptions with respect to states/UTs where the proportion of regular female teachers is higher than the proportion of contract teachers, viz., Jharkhand, Karnataka (marginally higher) Manipur, Tamil Nadu, Tripura.

However, in some states like West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, the percentage of female teachers is significantly higher among contract teachers than regular teachers, as evident in Table 30. In West Bengal, there is a 34.30 percentage point difference between female regular teachers and female contract teachers – clearly showing that more females were hired on contract. This may have something to do with the decision to hire females above the age of 40 years, with requisite qualifications as contract teachers in

the SSK. As there is no explanation for this available from secondary sources, it would be worthwhile to explore why this significant difference is seen in so many states. A lesser gap of 28.70 percent in Andhra Pradesh also merits closer examination. This is also the case with part-time teachers. The UDISE data does not reveal any information on where part-time teachers are deployed and the subjects for which such teachers are considered. From the PAB minutes, part-time teachers are mainly placed in KGBVs (for specific subjects including self-defence), residential schools, hostels, and they also work as special educators, teachers/instructors and resource persons for Vocational Education. (refer Table 15 in Chapter 4 on Part-time Teachers)

Table 30: Percentage of female teachers to total teachers, by type of employment

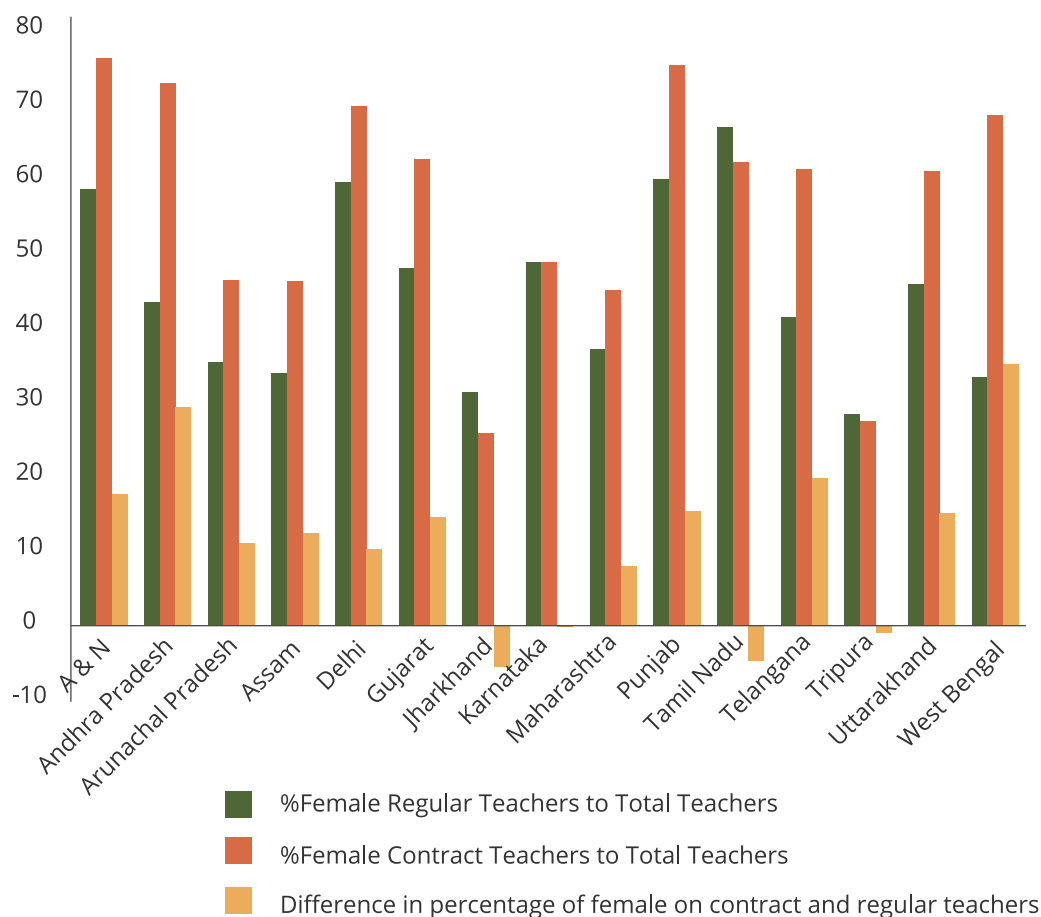
State/UT	Percentage of female teachers to total teachers				
	Regular	Contract	Part-time	Total	Difference in percentage of female on contract and regular teachers
Andaman & Nicobar	57.30	74.60	18.60	58.80	17.30
Andhra Pradesh	42.50	71.20	45.20	43.50	28.70
Arunachal Pradesh	34.60	45.40	46.20	40.50	10.80
Assam	33.20	45.30	43.10	35.20	12.10
Bihar	38.30	41.60	61.60	38.70	3.30
Chandigarh	71.00	76.30	21.20	72.60	5.30
Chhattisgarh	35.50	39.60	54.00	35.60	4.10
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	48.50	59.60	-	54.60	11.10
Daman & Diu	50.80	65.70	88.80	53.00	14.90
Delhi	58.30	68.30	16.40	60.90	10.00
Goa	77.30	82.20	49.20	77.30	4.90
Gujarat	47.00	61.30	23.80	47.10	14.30
Haryana	40.90	48.40	50.70	42.00	7.50
Himachal Pradesh	37.30	39.60	52.40	38.00	2.30
Jammu & Kashmir	37.20	40.60	-	37.40	3.40
Jharkhand	30.70	25.30	37.40	27.70	-5.40
Karnataka	47.80	47.70	59.40	47.80	-0.10
Kerala	69.60	82.50	26.60	70.30	12.80
Lakshadweep	44.70	58.60	40.00	48.20	13.90
Madhya Pradesh	32.10	36.30	75.80	32.10	4.10
Maharashtra	36.30	44.10	71.90	36.30	7.8
Manipur	50.80	48.00	43.20	50.70	-2.80
Meghalaya	50.60	51.70	9.70	51.40	1.10
Mizoram	39.00	39.80	54.60	39.60	0.80
Nagaland	46.40	52.80	66.20	46.80	6.40
Odisha	39.70	45.60	67.80	42.00	5.80
Puducherry	61.30	77.40	100.00	61.70	16.10
Punjab	58.60	73.60	-	61.30	15.00
Rajasthan	29.90	34.80	66.50	30.00	4.80
Sikkim	47.90	60.60	42.30	52.40	12.60
Tamil Nadu	65.50	60.90	47.90	64.90	-4.60
Telangana	40.50	59.90	50.10	43.70	19.40
Tripura	27.80	26.90	100.00	27.70	-0.90
Uttar Pradesh	44.90	59.70	51.80	47.70	14.80
Uttarakhand	39.70	46.70	55.30	40.00	7.00
West Bengal	32.70	67.00	67.60	40.10	34.30
Total	40.80	51.80	52.20	42.20	11.10

Source: UDISE 2017-18

From Figure 7, the percentage of female contract teachers is seen to be higher in all states except in Jharkhand, Tamil Nadu and Tripura, where the

proportion of regular female teachers is higher. The proportion of female teachers who are regular and on contract are comparable in Karnataka.

Figure 7:
Percentage of female regular and contract teachers to total teachers and difference in percentage of female regular and contract teachers



It would be worthwhile to explore why this significant difference is seen in so many states and the higher proportion of female teachers is seen across types of teachers.

While exploring the large presence of female teachers in the teaching workforce, it must be borne in mind that selection as a teacher would depend on the number of males and females who applied and their performance through the selection process. Unlike earlier, more females have started stepping out of their homes for employment and a teacher's job is socially considered to be the most appropriate for females. Several factors as these may have influenced females to seek employment as contract teachers. On the contrary, this is the last option or

a lower-order job for males and those males who have not found better employment options take up jobs as contract teachers. Also, the recruitment procedures are more stringent in present times (after the introduction of NCTE norms and the state-level and national teacher eligibility tests) as compared to earlier. Because the recruitment process is more stringent now, many are unable to make it and opt for contractual positions. This point stands substantiated by the results of the CTET examination vis-à-vis the number of candidates in contention in Table 31. Either the competition has increased, or the quality of candidates has dipped; this is evident from the CTET results over June 2011 to December 2019.

Table 31: Percentage candidate who passed CTET examination, 2011 to 2016

Year of CTET Exams	No. of Candidates who Appeared for the Exam	No. of Candidates who Appeared for the Exam	Pass Percentage
CTET September 2016	6,53,156	69,566	13.80% (Paper 1); 11.12% (Paper 2)
CTET February 2015	6,77,554	80,187	11.95% (Paper 1); 9.16% (Paper 2)
CTET February 2014	7,50,000	13,425	1.70%
CTET July 2013	7,76,000	77,000	9.96%
CTET November 2012	7,95,000	4,850	0.61%
CTET January 2012	9,00,000	55,422	6.10%
CTET June 2011	7,60,000	97,919	14%

Source: <https://www.shiksha.com/exams/ctet-exam-results>

6.2 Summing up the main takeaway from this chapter

1. The gender difference between male and female contract teachers at the aggregated level is not significant at 48:52. The scenario changes at the state/UTs-level with the exception of a small number of states, where the ratio is skewed towards female contract teachers.
2. There are female contract teachers by preference in KGBVs that are exclusive schools/hostels for adolescent girls.
3. There are varying proportions of regular female teachers and contract female teachers in the states/UTs, and sometimes the latter outnumber the former and tend to create significantly high gaps in their proportions.
4. There is a strong push to have states/UTs operationalise an online system of teacher recruitment and transfer. Whether this will also be or is being used for contract teachers could be studied.
5. The prevalence of such a high number of female contract teachers is likely to be the outcome of some triggers and would be among the issues that can be further probed.

7. Are Contract Teachers as Qualified as Regular Teachers?

Guided by the NCTE norms and standards, teacher recruitment policies have been framed in the states/UTs. Spelling out the eligibility criteria of prospective candidates, educational and professional qualifications have been laid down. A few decades ago, these eligibility criteria were relatively relaxed, and states had not always strictly laid down professional qualifications as a prerequisite. The system, as a result, had several professionally untrained teachers. With the advent of the largescale universalisation programmes, such as DPEP and SSA for primary and elementary education by the Central Government, the gaping deficiencies in teachers' qualification came to the fore. This was taken up with rigour and intent during the tenure of the SSA and the untrained teachers were given a time-bound opportunity to obtain the required professional qualifications through programmes that were specially designed and run by the SCERTs

and IGNOU. The state-specific interventions to address the issue of untrained teachers in keeping with the RTE norms and the NCTE guidelines would require an in-depth study.

7.1 Contract teachers with professional qualifications

As evident in Table 32, the status of professional qualifications of teachers on contract seems to be improving gradually. There were 41.80 percent professionally untrained teachers on contract in 2011-12 which has declined to 29.50 percent in 2017-18.

Table 32: Overview of professional qualifications of contract teachers

Academic Year	Number of contract teachers	Number of contract teachers not having professional qualification	% of contract teachers not having professional qualification
2011-12	3,16,091	1,32,037	41.80
2012-13	5,62,504	2,53,022	45.00
2013-14	5,96,005	2,46,427	41.30
2014-15	6,63,074	2,76,075	41.60
2015-16	6,41,627	2,55,409	39.80
2016-17	6,16,149	2,09,529	34.00
2017-18	6,32,316	1,86,777	29.50

Source: UDISE, various years

The state-wise picture in this regard is given in Table 33. The proportion of contract teachers in the states/UTs without professional qualifications can be classified into four groups – the best, that are in the range of 0.00 to 2.40 percent; the next are those between 2.50 to 7.80 percent; followed by those between 10.50 and 28.80 percent, and the worst are the states in the range between 34.60 to 81.20 percent. The last group of states are of serious concern as the quality of teachers

may be hampering the quality of education. Going by numbers, West Bengal has the largest number of teachers on contract without professional qualifications (83,551) followed by Uttar Pradesh (31,264), Bihar (17,765), Meghalaya (11,434) and Odisha (10,204). As the placement of states by proportion of untrained contract teachers depends on the total number of teachers, the actual numbers are a better indicator for action.



Table 33: Contract teachers with or without professional qualification in government-managed schools

State/UT	All schools			Percentage of Teachers not Having Professional Qualification
	Having Professional Qualification	Not Having Professional Qualification	Total	
Gujarat	1,254	0	1,254	0.00
NCT of Delhi	18,848	0	18,848	0.00
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1,177	8	1,185	0.70
Puducherry	136	1	137	0.70
Chandigarh	1,454	14	1,468	1.00
Haryana	13,793	221	14,014	1.60
Telangana	22,226	366	22,592	1.60
Kerala	3,852	64	3,916	1.60
Maharashtra	2,278	47	2,325	2.00
Andaman & Nicobar	273	6	279	2.20
Karnataka	765	19	784	2.40
Tamil Nadu	8,945	225	9,170	2.50
Daman & Diu	354	10	364	2.70
Punjab	21,106	678	21,784	3.10
Mizoram	3,704	139	3,843	3.60
Himachal Pradesh	18,388	736	19,124	3.80
Lakshadweep	252	11	263	4.20
Madhya Pradesh	450	38	488	7.80
Andhra Pradesh	5,418	638	6,056	10.50
Jharkhand	60,393	8,053	68,446	11.80
Odisha	76,386	10,204	86,590	11.80
Uttarakhand	2,050	287	2,337	12.30
Arunachal Pradesh	7,063	1,576	8,639	18.20
Assam	31,636	7,686	39,322	19.50
Rajasthan	2,046	778	2,824	27.50
Uttar Pradesh	77,109	31,264	108,373	28.80
Goa	217	115	332	34.60
Bihar	33,161	17,765	50,926	34.90
Chhattisgarh	72	39	111	35.10
Jammu & Kashmir	3,350	2,866	6,216	46.10
Sikkim	1,732	2,031	3,763	54.00
Manipur	253	301	554	54.30
Nagaland	815	1,019	1,834	55.60
Meghalaya	3,898	11,434	15,332	74.60
Tripura	1,382	4,587	5,969	76.80
West Bengal	19,303	83,551	102,854	81.20
Total	445,539	186,777	632,316	29.50

Effectively, dual interventional strands were in progress – providing in-service training and distance education opportunities. The government, on one hand, tried to address the problem of untrained teachers through distance education and on the other, strategies were planned and designed to get better teachers into the education system. This was done through the introduction of teacher eligibility tests in 2010 in compliance with NCTE guidelines. What is seen today, with regard to the educational and professional attainments of teachers, including contract teachers, is the outcome of both the interventions working in tandem over a period of time. Notwithstanding this positive trend, the hard reality is that there are 10 states/UTs where more than 30 percent of the contract teachers do not have the requisite professional qualifications as evident in Table 33. And in many states, they are not included in on-going in-service teacher training programmes (Ramachandran et al 2018). If contract teachers are on 10-11 months contracts, they do not qualify for the in-service training conducted during the summer vacations.

7.2 Academic and professional qualifications of contract teachers

The academic and professional qualifications of contract teachers are given in Tables 34 and 35. Evidently, the highest number and proportion of the contract teachers are graduates (2,97,721 or 47.08%) and those with higher secondary and post graduate levels of education comprise 22 percent each of the total number of contract teachers. The other levels of educational attainment are applicable for smaller numbers and proportion of contract teachers.

Table 34: Number and percentage of contract teachers by academic qualifications in government-managed schools

Academic Qualification	Number	%
Below Secondary	1,620	0.26
Secondary	41,012	6.49
Higher Secondary	1,42,453	22.53
Graduate	2,97,721	47.08
Post Graduate	1,44,033	22.78
M.Phil	3,833	0.61
PhD	1,313	0.21
Post-Doctoral	186	0.03
Not Mentioned	145	0.02
Total	6,32,316	100.00

Source: UDISE 2017-18

Table 35: State-wise number of contract teachers by academic qualifications in government-managed schools

State/UT	Below Secondary	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Graduation	Post Graduation
Andaman & Nicobar	0	1	22	76	173
Andhra Pradesh	48	117	149	2,113	3,552
Arunachal Pradesh	69	95	2,322	4,865	1,272
Assam	35	468	4,561	26,957	7,157
Bihar	0	1,804	18,790	19,420	10,321
Chandigarh	0	0	6	283	1,092
Chhattisgarh	0	0	1	25	85
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	27	188	535	425
Daman & Diu	0	11	34	131	181
Goa	0	4	26	175	122
Gujarat	3	15	78	507	619
Haryana	0	50	385	5,374	7,580
Himachal Pradesh	4	710	1,826	5,686	10,251
Jammu & Kashmir	0	67	1,430	2,112	2,520
Jharkhand	57	952	22,219	38,822	6,238
Karnataka	4	46	180	321	218
Kerala	3	133	650	1,294	1,777
Lakshadweep	3	10	33	76	137
Madhya Pradesh	1	5	92	171	216
Maharashtra	4	98	606	1,050	553
Manipur	6	14	69	250	210
Meghalaya	82	619	8,189	5,793	636
Mizoram	20	150	539	2,173	946
Nagaland	40	131	305	877	476
NCT of Delhi	0	165	1,640	7,113	9,640
Odisha	67	3,282	33,602	42,607	6,853
Puducherry	1	0	5	38	75
Punjab	6	100	589	5,754	14,408
Rajasthan	93	380	1,148	832	366
Sikkim	17	84	570	1,805	1,270
Tamil Nadu	0	240	1,264	4,763	2,457
Telangana	0	5	2,035	10,634	9,821
Tripura	219	1,867	468	2,687	720
Uttar Pradesh	410	1,596	12,006	63,090	30,653
Uttarakhand	5	14	44	439	1,820
West Bengal	423	27,752	26,382	38,873	9,193
Total	1,620	41,012	1,42,453	2,97,721	1,44,033

Source: UDISE 2017-18

M.Phil	Ph.D.,	Post Doc	No info	Total
6	0	1	0	279
58	19	0	0	6,056
10	5	0	1	8,639
124	20	0	0	39,322
145	410	36	0	50,926
78	9	0	0	1,468
0	0	0	0	111
6	4	0	0	1,185
1	3	0	3	364
2	3	0	0	332
29	3	0	0	1,254
498	118	9	0	14,014
586	57	3	1	19,124
87	0	0	0	6,216
79	61	3	15	68,446
7	6	2	0	784
46	9	3	1	3,916
4	0	0	0	263
1	1	1	0	488
7	5	2	0	2,325
3	1	1	0	554
6	7	0	0	15,332
13	2	0	0	3,843
0	3	0	2	1,834
219	64	7	0	18,848
148	25	6	0	86,590
16	2	0	0	137
874	0	0	53	21,784
3	2	0	0	2,824
11	5	0	1	3,763
403	39	4	0	9,170
57	27	13	0	22,592
6	1	1	0	5,969
168	296	86	68	1,08,373
3	8	4	0	2,337
129	98	4	0	1,02,854
3,833	1,313	186	145	6,32,316

If we look at the country as a whole, 68.90 percent rural and 85.50 percent urban contract teachers have the requisite professional qualifications. Unlike in the late 1990s and 2000s, since 2010 (post the RTE Act and NCTE guidelines), it looks like only qualified teachers have been recruited as contract teachers. Equally, the government (MHRD, GOI) has created opportunities for teachers to upgrade their qualifications through IGNOU, SCERTs and special courses through institutions like the Institute of Advanced Studies in Education (IASE). There are state-wise variations as is expected in a diverse country like India. However, across the country, the percentage of contract teachers having requisite qualifications is higher in urban areas, as compared

to rural areas, as evident in Tables 36 and 37. Across almost all indicators related to regular and contract teachers, the rural-urban differences are discernible.

This trend points to an urban bias. A detailed, in-depth exploration through interviews and FGDs of administrators and teacher training institutions could perhaps help explain this bias. The sheer number of contract teachers without professional qualifications is huge – it was 1,86,777 in 2017-18. That is indeed a very large number of teachers who require urgent attention by way of in-service teacher training and where necessary, upgrading the professional qualifications of teachers through distance-learning or other part-time educational opportunities.

Table 36: Number of contract teachers by professional qualification, all-India

Location		Rural	Urban	Total
Primary (Class 1-5)	Having Professional Qualification	1,88,610	11,091	1,99,701
	Not Having Professional Qualification	1,16,392	3,322	1,19,714
	Total	3,05,002	14,413	3,19,415
Upper Primary (Class 1-8 or 6-8)	Having Professional Qualification	1,08,823	6,650	1,15,473
	Not Having Professional Qualification	34,626	1,254	35,880
	Total	1,43,449	7,904	1,51,353
Secondary (Class 1-10 or 6-10 or 9-10)	Having Professional Qualification	52,288	8,498	60,786
	Not Having Professional Qualification	9,750	902	10,652
	Total	62,038	9,400	71,438
Higher Secondary (Class 1-12 or 6-12 or 9-12 or 11-12)	Having Professional Qualification	43,712	25,867	69,579
	Not Having Professional Qualification	17,162	3,369	20,531
	Total	60,874	29,236	90,110

Source: UDISE 2017-18

Table 37 sheds light on the proportion of contract teachers having professional qualifications who are placed in rural and urban schools across all levels of education.

Table 37: Percentage of contract teachers in schools by levels and location, having professional qualification in government-managed schools

Location	Primary (Class 1-5)	Upper Primary (Class 1-8 or 6-8)	Secondary (Class 1-10 or 6-10 or 9-10)	Higher Secondary (Class 1-12 or 6-12 or 9-12 or 11-12)	All Schools
Rural	61.80	75.90	84.30	71.80	68.90
Urban	77.00	84.10	90.40	88.50	85.50
Total	62.50	76.30	85.10	77.20	70.50

Source: UDISE 2017-18

The proportion of professionally qualified teachers in schools with different levels of education in the rural areas of the states and UTs is provided in Table 38. The smaller states and UTs, such as Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Lakshadweep, NCT of Delhi and Daman & Diu are the ones with the highest proportion of professionally trained contract teachers at different levels in rural schools. Some bigger states, like Arunachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mizoram, Odisha, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Telangana, have also achieved this feat of putting in place a very high percentage of professionally qualified contract teachers. As opposed to this, the North-Eastern states, except Mizoram, Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand, do not fare well in this regard. Worst off are Tripura and West Bengal. The reasons for the low representation of professionally qualified contract teachers will need to be explored for enabling the concerned states/UTs to work out their strategy for teacher regularisation.

Table 38: State/UT-wise percentage of contract teachers having requisite professional qualifications in rural schools by level of education

State/UT	Primary (Class 1-5)	Upper Primary (Class 1-8 or 6-8)	Secondary (Class 1-10 or 6-10 or 9-10)	Higher Secondary (Class 1-12 or 6-12 or 9-12 or 11-12)	All Schools
Andaman & Nicobar	100.00	100.0	95.20	98.60	98.00
Andhra Pradesh	91.30	100.00	99.00	77.00	91.70
Arunachal Pradesh	78.80	82.50	83.30	82.60	81.40
Assam	87.50	88.00	53.70	45.10	81.00
Bihar	57.70	65.80	75.30	79.80	65.00
Chandigarh	-	100.00	100.00	98.80	99.20
Chhattisgarh	100.00	100.00	100.00	66.10	69.60
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	100.00	100.00	96.80	98.80	99.60
Daman & Diu	97.50	98.70	100.00	100.00	98.80
Goa	23.20	66.70	98.60	100.00	61.20
Gujarat	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Haryana	100.00	99.90	98.80	96.70	98.60
Himachal Pradesh	87.80	99.30	99.30	98.30	96.10
Jammu & Kashmir	47.20	52.30	63.10	79.40	52.50
Jharkhand	86.60	89.60	89.40	92.90	88.10
Karnataka	94.90	99.30	99.30	87.50	97.90
Kerala	99.40	99.60	98.00	97.60	98.30
Lakshadweep	100.00	100.00	100.00	92.90	95.30
Madhya Pradesh	89.40	94.60	92.60	100.00	91.10
Maharashtra	95.70	96.20	99.30	97.40	97.40
Manipur	14.50	66.90	54.00	48.10	43.40
Meghalaya	24.30	22.80	72.80	53.20	25.00
Mizoram	96.90	99.60	94.60	90.00	97.80
Nagaland	43.30	27.70	48.50	74.10	43.20
NCT of Delhi	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Odisha	85.10	88.50	92.10	70.80	88.00
Puducherry	-	-	100.00	100.00	100.00
Punjab	92.10	99.70	99.80	98.50	96.90
Rajasthan	66.80	84.00	85.20	97.50	71.60
Sikkim	44.80	48.90	45.50	45.90	46.40
Tamil Nadu	78.60	99.80	97.00	98.60	98.30
Telangana	98.90	99.20	99.70	93.70	98.40
Tripura	14.90	27.30	29.00	61.30	22.80
Uttar Pradesh	69.40	87.30	82.90	97.50	71.00
Uttarakhand	56.40	92.30	99.60	98.80	86.40
West Bengal	13.70	22.10	25.80	27.60	17.60
Total	61.80	75.90	84.30	71.80	68.90

Table 39: State/UT-wise percentage of contract teachers having requisite professional qualifications in urban schools by level of education

Urban	Primary (Class 1-5)	Upper Primary (Class 1-8 or 6-8)	Secondary (Class 1-10 or 6-10 or 9-10)	Higher Secondary (Class 1-12 or 6-12 or 9-12 or 11-12)	All Schools
Andaman & Nicobar	-	100.00	100.00	95.70	96.40
Andhra Pradesh	75.80	100.00	99.80	65.00	80.70
Arunachal Pradesh	85.20	84.90	83.90	82.30	84.20
Assam	93.00	84.50	68.00	48.10	73.00
Bihar	49.60	62.50	86.70	81.70	67.20
Chandigarh	100.00	99.00	99.10	98.90	99.00
Chhattisgarh	-	-	56.30	57.70	57.10
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	100.00	100.00	100.00	95.40	97.70
Daman & Diu	89.30	89.70	100.00	96.30	93.50
Goa	28.60	66.70	100.00	77.70	71.30
Gujarat	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Haryana	100.00	98.90	95.20	95.20	97.20
Himachal Pradesh	95.20	100.00	93.30	97.20	96.80
Jammu & Kashmir	79.30	84.70	78.60	78.70	81.40
Jharkhand	91.00	92.00	98.10	84.80	91.40
Karnataka	100.00	100.00	98.00	82.60	96.50
Kerala	99.10	97.90	100.00	98.40	98.50
Lakshadweep	100.00	100.00	-	94.10	97.90
Madhya Pradesh	100.00	100.00	100.00	94.00	95.80
Maharashtra	100.00	98.20	99.40	98.00	98.80
Manipur	33.30	66.70	-	80.00	67.30
Meghalaya	38.10	29.60	94.10	75.00	34.90
Mizoram	97.30	99.40	80.60	72.40	93.00
Nagaland	60.00	52.20	50.00	47.80	51.30
NCT of Delhi	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Odisha	89.60	92.70	95.50	85.40	93.00
Puducherry	100.00	-	100.00	98.10	98.90
Punjab	92.90	99.60	100.00	98.80	97.00
Rajasthan	100.00	97.10	100.00	94.70	96.70
Sikkim	37.50	28.60	40.00	40.60	40.00
Tamil Nadu	62.50	96.40	95.20	96.40	96.00
Telangana	99.50	100.00	99.60	94.50	98.50
Tripura	27.00	21.80	38.50	46.90	30.20
Uttar Pradesh	70.40	95.10	100.00	98.60	75.30
Uttarakhand	100.00	100.00	100.00	98.70	98.80
West Bengal	22.50	36.20	37.90	43.80	36.00
Total	77.00	84.10	90.40	88.50	85.50

Source: UDISE 2017-18

The scenario in urban schools in the states/UTs with regard to professionally qualified teachers, across levels of education, can be seen in Table 39. The most worrisome situation is in West Bengal with only 17.60 percent rural and 35 percent urban contract teachers having requisite professional qualifications, followed by Tripura (22.80%) and other North-Eastern states. The situation in Jammu & Kashmir, Goa, Bihar and Chhattisgarh is such that almost 30 percent of contract teachers do not have the requisite professional qualifications. There are also differences across different levels of education. The very fact that there are teachers who do not have the required qualifications in secondary and higher secondary levels is extremely worrisome. The shortage of subject-specific teachers in many states has been flagged since the 1968 policy, which also called for a time-bound intensive programme to prepare teachers, especially female teachers.

7.3 In-service training received by regular and contract teachers

Another important dimension of teacher professional capability is the availability of in-service teacher training and their ability to attend such training. If we look at the national picture, only 22.90 percent of contract teachers have received any training from CRC, BRC, DIET or any other support institutions. As in all other cases, there are significant state-wise differences as evident in Table 40. As discussed in the introductory sections of this report, when the first Shiksha Karmis were hired in Rajasthan in 1987, they were supported through an intensive regime of on-site academic support and regular training and capacity-building. This is not the case with contract teachers. In fact, part-time teachers receive no training at all (with the exception of Special Education teachers in some states).

Table 40: Percentage of contract teachers who received any in-service training

State/UT	Percentage of contract teachers received in-service teacher training at BRC, CRC, DIET or any other.		
	Male	Female	Total
Telangana	99.80	99.90	99.90
Punjab	59.10	56.50	57.20
Tamil Nadu	64.40	50.40	55.90
Jharkhand	49.80	52.80	50.50
Jammu & Kashmir	32.10	29.30	31.00
Mizoram	32.30	25.60	29.60
Rajasthan	30.90	27.00	29.50
Odisha	29.30	27.80	28.60
Gujarat	18.80	34.10	28.10
Tripura	25.70	23.20	25.10
Daman & Diu	23.20	24.30	23.90
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	20.30	20.80	20.60
Bihar	18.90	20.50	19.50
Assam	14.60	17.10	15.80
Uttarakhand	14.50	17.00	15.70
NCT of Delhi	14.00	15.30	14.90
Madhya Pradesh	13.20	17.50	14.80
Chandigarh	15.20	13.70	14.00
Himachal Pradesh	13.70	12.70	13.30
Andaman & Nicobar	9.90	10.60	10.40
Karnataka	10.00	10.70	10.30
Andhra Pradesh	3.80	10.80	8.80
West Bengal	4.70	8.80	7.40
Meghalaya	7.20	6.10	6.60
Uttar Pradesh	5.70	5.90	5.80
Kerala	4.80	5.90	5.70
Arunachal Pradesh	4.20	5.70	4.90
Nagaland	3.80	5.10	4.50
Maharashtra	2.40	5.20	3.60
Goa	1.70	3.30	3.00
Haryana	2.40	3.10	2.70
Sikkim	2.80	2.20	2.40
Puducherry	0.00	2.80	2.20
Manipur	0.30	2.60	1.40
Chhattisgarh	0.00	0.00	0.00
Lakshadweep	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	24.50	21.40	22.90

Source: UDISE 2017-18

The overall scenario in this respect is rather bleak with only four states, viz., Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Punjab and Jharkhand, where at least 50 percent of the contract teachers have received in-service training. Telangana is the only state where almost all teachers on contract have received some in-service teacher training. It is also a state where almost all teachers on contract have the requisite professional qualifications. Interestingly, this is not

the case in Andhra Pradesh (the two states were bifurcated recently). Apparently, the SCERT has paid special attention to ensure all teachers, regular and contract, receive in-service teacher training in Telangana.

Table 41, provides the state/UT-wise status of both regular and contract teachers who have received any in-service training.



Table 41: Percentage of regular and contract teachers who received any in service training

State/UT	Teachers Received In-service Training			Difference in the % of Regular & Contract Teachers received in-service training in % points
	Regular	Contract	Total	
Andaman & Nicobar	17.20	10.40	16.50	6.80
Andhra Pradesh	21.80	8.80	21.30	13.00
Arunachal Pradesh	5.10	4.90	5.00	0.20
Assam	15.50	15.80	15.20	-0.30
Bihar	20.40	19.50	20.30	0.90
Chandigarh	9.30	14.00	10.60	-4.70
Chhattisgarh	0.00	0.00	0.00	-
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	17.90	20.60	19.40	-2.70
Daman & Diu	21.50	23.90	21.90	-2.40
Delhi	40.20	14.90	33.70	25.30
Goa	51.30	3.00	45.60	48.30
Gujarat	82.40	28.10	82.10	54.30
Haryana	13.70	2.70	12.10	11.00
Himachal Pradesh	19.70	13.30	17.80	6.40
Jammu and Kashmir	22.20	31.00	22.70	-8.80
Jharkhand	42.80	50.50	47.00	-7.70
Karnataka	41.30	10.30	41.20	31.00
Kerala	17.80	5.70	17.20	12.10
Lakshadweep	2.30	0.00	1.70	2.30
Madhya Pradesh	11.90	14.80	11.90	-2.90
Maharashtra	13.90	3.60	13.60	10.30
Manipur	5.50	1.40	5.30	4.10
Meghalaya	7.50	6.60	6.70	0.90
Mizoram	34.20	29.60	32.40	4.60
Nagaland	4.80	4.50	4.70	0.30
Odisha	27.20	28.60	27.60	-1.40
Puducherry	19.30	2.20	18.80	17.10
Punjab	59.60	57.20	59.10	2.50
Rajasthan	15.50	29.50	15.60	-140
Sikkim	6.70	2.40	5.10	4.30
Tamil Nadu	70.10	55.90	69.10	14.20
Telangana	99.10	99.90	99.20	-0.80
Tripura	16.30	25.10	17.60	-8.80
Uttar Pradesh	10.60	5.80	9.50	4.80
Uttarakhand	33.70	15.70	32.90	180
West Bengal	5.90	7.40	6.30	-1.50
Total	26.00	22.90	25.50	3.10

Source: UDISE 2017-18

The following are observed in Table 41:

1. The overall coverage of teachers, both regular and contract, has been low across states/UTs; the exceptions being Gujarat, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Telangana. Even among these four states, the outreach to regular and contract teachers has been proportionately the same in Telangana and Punjab, but proportionately more regular teachers have been covered in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu.
2. Though the coverage is low, there is parity in the proportion of both categories of teachers provided with in-service training in states such as Bihar, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Odisha.
3. In Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Lakshadweep, Maharashtra, Manipur, Puducherry, Sikkim, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand, a higher proportion of regular teachers have been provided in-service training.
4. The difference in the proportion of regular and contract teachers reached with in-service training when skewed in favour of the former ranges between 2.30 percentage points in Lakshadweep and 48.30 percentage points in Goa.
5. The difference in the proportion of regular and contract teachers reached with in-service training when skewed in favour of the latter, ranges between -0.30 percentage points in Assam and -14.00 percentage points in Rajasthan.
6. Chhattisgarh has not provided any in-service training either to regular or contract teachers.
7. Lakshadweep has not provided in-service training to any contract teachers.

7.4 Summing up the main takeaway from this chapter

1. If we look at the country as a whole, 68.90 percent rural and 85.50 percent urban contract teachers have the requisite professional qualifications. As of 2017-18, close to 30 percent of the contract teachers do not have the requisite professional qualifications across India. The situation has been improving very gradually. However, the sheer number of contract teachers without professional qualifications is huge – it was 1,86,777 in 2017-18. That is indeed a very large number of teachers who require urgent attention by way of in-service teacher training.
2. MHRD, GOI proposed a two-pronged strategy to address this problem. One, make distance education available to contract teachers to enable them to upgrade their professional qualifications with back-up support from institutions like IGNOU, SCERT or IASE. Two, introduce teacher eligibility test and made it mandatory for all teachers (contract or regular) to qualify this test.
3. The most worrisome situation is in rural West Bengal with only 17.60 percent rural and 35 percent urban contract teachers having requisite professional qualifications, followed by Tripura (22.80) and the other North-Eastern states. The situation in Jammu & Kashmir, Goa, Bihar and Chhattisgarh is such that almost 30 percent of contract teachers do not have the requisite professional qualifications.
4. In-service teacher training is not always within the reach of most regular and contract teachers. If we look at the national picture, only 26 percent of regular teachers and 22.90 percent of contract teachers have received any in-service training. Though in terms of numbers reached, the difference between both types of teachers provided with in-service training may be significant, the fact remains that proportionately similar patterns of coverage are seen.

8. Insights from Parliament Questions and Media Reports

Accessing authentic information on contract teachers was not easy. While it has been possible to get a fairly good idea from official data (UDISE) and the PAB Minutes for SS regarding the extent to which contractual appointment of teachers has been practised by the states/UTs, it is not clear whether this has been a well thought out strategy or if it is being followed as an ad-hoc arrangement in the school education system. Equally, it is also not clear if all kind/form of contract teachers are reported in the official data, for example, guest teachers, Panchayat teachers, part-time (unofficial) teachers and so on. Every now and then, newspapers and electronic media reports protests by certain groups of contract teachers. Similarly, field-level qualitative studies have also revealed the presence of guest/contract teachers in states which report that they have discontinued the practice of appointing contract teachers.

In this chapter, three sources of information have been scanned to get a wider perspective of how contract teachers are positioned in the larger government system of education and also the political and social response to the prevalence of this practice. The three sources of information used are (i) Rajya Sabha Questions (ii) Lok Sabha Questions and (iii) newspapers, popular magazines and online channels. The Question Hour in the two Houses of Parliament – Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha – provides an opportunity for lawmakers to ask questions. Any issue that is considered important or serious, gets reflected in the questions asked during the Question Hour in either House of Parliament. The media also picks up contentious issues from various sources. With respect to education, when the issue of teacher vacancies was raised repeatedly in Parliament, the same was reported in the newspapers. Similarly, when recurring teacher strikes took place, the media highlighted it.

Scanning Parliament questions on school education raised from 2015 to 2019 (December) 33 questions and answers, from the Rajya Sabha website and 52 questions from the Lok Sabha website, specific to teachers, were retrieved and reviewed. While the total number of questions asked on education in general, and teachers in particular, are not very high, a standard template was found to be used by MHRD, GOI, while answering questions related to teacher vacancies, teacher recruitment and the status of teachers (regular, contract, part-time, guest). It usually reads like the example cited below (with minor variations in response to each question): *'The recruitment, service conditions and deployment of teachers are primarily in the domain of the State Governments and UT Administrations. Section 24 of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009 mandates that a teacher appointed under sub-section (1) of the Section 23 shall perform the following duties, namely (a) maintain regularity and punctuality in attending school and (b) complete entire curriculum within specified time. The steps taken to improve teachers' attendance include, inter alia, encouraging States/UTs to monitor teachers' attendance through School Management Committees/School Management Development Committees/Block Resource Centres/Clusters Resource Centres and to use digital technology like installation of Bio-metric attendance system in schools...'* (MHRD, GOI, Answer to Un-starred Question No 1034, Answered on 26 July 2018)

The MHRD maintains that issues related to teachers come under the purview of the state government. The MHRD designs schemes such as SSA, RMSA, SS, through which financial resources are allocated to the states based on norms and guidelines for states/UTs to follow. While regular monitoring reports and data are received from the states, GOI is not in a position to ensure compliance as all administrative

matters pertaining to teachers are under the concerned state governments/UT administration because Education is a concurrent subject as per the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India and the appointment and management of teachers is within the purview of the state governments/UT administration.

On 31 May 2015, there was one question raised on contract teachers (un-starred question number 2130) pertaining to the number of contract teachers who were working under SSA. The MHRD, GOI used data from PAB Minutes to provide the number of teachers supported by SSA (as evident in Table 42). Interestingly, the data provided by the government (not for all states of India) does not match the UDISE data of that time.

8.1 The size of contract teacher workforce

Interestingly, out of the 33 questions (from 2015-19) related to school teachers, there was only one question in the Rajya Sabha in five years specifically on contract teachers – about their numbers. The other issues covered repeatedly during the Question Hour of the Rajya Sabha include the following:

1. Teacher vacancies, specifically in schools funded directly by GOI (Kendriya Vidyalaya)
2. Shortage of teachers – in general, in Divyang schools (schools for children with disabilities)
3. Teacher vacancies – in general (all-India) and NCT of Delhi
4. Pupil-Teacher Ratio and school-classroom ratio
5. Single-teacher schools in the country
6. Teacher absenteeism
7. Non-availability of good quality teachers for primary schools
8. Decline in the number of female teachers
9. Quality of education
10. Per child cost of Right to Education (government and government-aided schools)

Table 42: Salary approved for contract teachers in 2015-16 & 2019-20

S.No	State/UT	2015-2016			2019-2020	
		Number of contract teachers	Salary approved under SSA (in lakhs)	Salary per teacher / per annum (in lakhs)	Number of contract teachers	Salary approved under SS (in lakhs)
1	Andaman & Nicobar	157	310.86	1.98	215	1,343.44
2	Andhra Pradesh	-	-	-	5,749	4,829.16
3	Arunachal Pradesh	6,527	17,903.12	2.74	12,837	14,060.4
4	Assam	34,510	85,442.70	2.48	14,411	20,976.36
5	Bihar	2,67,434	3,85,104.96	1.44	-	-
6	Chandigarh	1,151	4,941.38	4.29	1,375	6,600.6
7	Chhattisgarh	22,197	40,464.64	1.82	-	-
8	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	692	1,826.88	2.64	877	3,361.78
9	Daman & Diu	-	-	-	178	351.63
10	Delhi	3,059	8,718.80	2.85	4,419	8,940.60
11	Goa	-	-	-	75	63.00
12	Gujarat	-	-	-	180	540.00
13	Haryana	-	-	-	447	375.48
14	Himachal Pradesh	1,695	3,440.85	2.03	-	-
15	Jammu & Kashmir	8,567	3,084.12	0.36	1,461	2,217.66
16	Jharkhand	78,554	70,930.37	0.90	55,353	94,636.8
17	Karnataka	-	-	-	-	-
18	Kerala	-	-	-	2,685	2,255.40
19	Lakshadweep	32	64.00	2.00	55	105.82
20	Madhya Pradesh	49,627	35,854.44	0.72	37,697	27,365.16
21	Maharashtra	-	-	-	6,180	4,326.00
22	Manipur	-	-	-	318	267.12
23	Meghalaya	12,481	14,343.08	1.15	5,814	10,465.20
24	Mizoram	2,193	6,249.00	2.85	3,007	5,652.96
25	Nagaland	-	-	-	2,118	531.72
26	Odisha	92,337	98,527.27	1.07	101,203	1,98,110.64
27	Puducherry	-	-	-	-	-
28	Punjab	-	-	-	9,612	2,1081.60
29	Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	-
30	Sikkim	156	224.64	1.44	480	646.56
31	Tamil Nadu	-	-	-	15,169	7,8001.56
32	Telangana	-	-	-	6,546	5,498.64
33	Tripura	5,808	14,931.96	2.57	5,478	7,924.21
34	Uttar Pradesh	15,242	5,868.17	0.39	141,927	1,56,119.7
35	Uttarakhand	265	413.40	1.56	187	336.60
36	West Bengal	98,899	84,345.34	0.85	94,684	66,340.67
	Total	7,01,583	8,82,989.98	-	5,30,737	7,02,117.11

Source: MHRD, GOI, PAB Minutes 2015-16 given response to un-starred question No 2130, 31 March 2015 and PAB Minutes for SS, MHRD, GOI 2019-20

It is important to recapture the fact that as of September 2018, there were 6,32,316 contract teachers (3,04,758 male and 3,27,558 female) working in government-managed schools of all levels while the PAB approved only 5,30,737 contract teachers. This shows a decline in the numbers of contract teachers between 2018-19 and 2019-20. It is also important to take note that the numbers of contract teachers appointed is dynamic and changes from year to year – depending on the specific requirements as well as budget availability through state government resources or through centrally sponsored schemes.

The dependence on contract teachers has been integral to the elementary education system with the extent of reliance varying across states/UTs. While their numbers have either increased or decreased between 20015-16 and 2019-20, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka and Rajasthan have not sought any contract teachers in 2019-20. It is also observed from Table 42 that the states of Gujarat, Goa, Kerala, Maharashtra, Manipur and Nagaland, which had no contract teachers in 2015-16, had approvals for them in 2019-20. The reasons for this shift would be interesting to unravel.

There are wide variations across states on the amount that is budgeted for the salary of contract teachers. As clarified in Chapter 4, the approved funds pertain to the contribution of MHRD, GOI. Some states are expected to pay up to 40 percent out of their own funds while the share of the eight North-Eastern and the Himalayan states of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Uttarakhand is 10 percent and MHRD provides 90 percent of the resources. While the above calculations may not be an accurate indicator of how much contract teachers are paid, it reveals the huge variations that exist. The 2015 study on working conditions of teachers done in NUEPA found that the salaries of contract teachers not only vary across states, but they also vary across different budget heads within

a state. The salaries depend on whether the contract teacher is paid through the funds of the state government (including Zila Parishad) or through project funds (Ramachandran et al 2018 pp 41²⁹).

From an analysis of the salaries budgeted in the PAB Minutes for SS in 2019-20, intra and inter-state/UT differences are seen for the typologies of contract teachers. An effort has been made to capture the differences in Table 43.

Table 43: Unit cost of annual salary of different types of contract teachers (INR in lakhs)

State/UT	Primary		Upper Primary							
	Teacher	Head Teacher	Teacher	Head Teacher	Science & Maths	H & PE, Art work	Social Studies	Languages	Part time	Any Other
Andaman & Nicobar	4.93	-	-	-	-	2.60	-	-	-	-
Andhra Pradesh	-	-	-	-	-	0.84	-	-	-	-
Arunachal Pradesh	1.80	-	-	3.00	2.40	0.84	2.40	2.40	-	-
Assam	1.46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bihar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chandigarh	4.41	-	-	4.50	5.16	-	5.111	5.114	-	-
Daman & Diu	2.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.40	-
Delhi	1.80	-	-	-	2.40	-	2.40	2.40	-	-
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3.83	3.83	-	-	3.83	-	3.83	3.83	-	-
Goa	-	-	-	-	-	0.80	-	-	-	-
Gujarat	-	-	-	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Haryana	-	-	-	-	-	0.84	-	-	-	-
Jammu & Kashmir	1.67	-	-	-	1.26	-	1.14	1.40	-	-
Jharkhand	1.68	-	1.80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kerala	-	-	-	-	-	0.84	-	-	-	-
Lakshadweep	2.20	-	-	-	-	1.54	-	-	-	2.20
Madhya Pradesh	0.60	-	-	-	0.84	-	-	0.84	-	-
Maharashtra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.70	-
Manipur	-	-	-	-	-	0.84	-	-	-	-
Meghalaya	1.80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mizoram	1.80	-	-	2.40	2.40	0.84	-	-	-	-
Nagaland	-	-	-	-	-	0.84	-	-	-	0.84
Odisha	1.80	-	-	-	-	0.84	-	-	-	2.4
Puducherry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Punjab	1.80	-	-	-	2.40	-	2.40	2.40	--	-
Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sikkim	-	-	-	-	2.40	0.84	2.40	2.40	-	-
Tamil Nadu	-	-	2.40	3.00	2.40	-	2.40	2.40	0.84	-
Telangana	-	-	-	-	-	0.84	-	-	-	-
Tripura	1.697	-	1.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttar Pradesh	1.10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttarakhand	1.80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
West Bengal	0.99	0.76	1.65	1.31	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20, MHRD, GOI

8.2 What Rajya Sabha questions reveal

Response to questions raised in the Rajya Sabha provide some interesting insights, namely:

1. The deployment of guest teachers, a category not always captured under UDISE, is significant. For example, in the NCT of Delhi 17,673 guest teachers were working in government schools in 2019 (Answer dated 21 Nov 2019).
2. Kendriya Vidyalaya and Navodaya Vidyalaya also hire contract teachers. According to a reply given in the Rajya Sabha in 2018-19, these institutions hired 1,785 and 609 Post Graduate Teachers; 3,436 and 710 Trained Graduate Teachers; 2,496 and 0 Primary teachers; and 248 miscellaneous (not specified) teachers, respectively (answer dated 15 July 2019).
3. All questions on recruitment and service conditions (including contractual appointment) are answered as follows: *'Recruitment, service conditions and redeployment of teachers are primarily in the domain of respective State Governments and Union Territories (UT) Administrations. The Central Government has been consistently pursuing the matter of recruitment and redeployment of teachers with the States and UTs at various fora. Advisories on this issue have also been issued to States and UTs from time to time. The steps taken by the Central Government to improve teachers' performance include, inter alia, regular in-service teachers' training, induction training for newly recruited teachers, academic support for teachers and monitoring teachers' attendance through School Management Committees/School Management Development Committees/Block Resource Centres/Cluster Resource Centres. States and UTs are also encouraged to use digital technology like installation of Bio-metric attendance system in schools...'* (answer dated 7 February 2019).
4. A similar response is given on teacher vacancies, single-teacher schools, PTR, teacher absenteeism and quality of teachers recruited.
5. For questions that are data-related, like single-teacher schools, PTR, SCR, percentage of female teachers, percentage of schools (government and government-aided) not complying with RTE Act norms, teacher vacancies or contract teachers, sometimes MHRD, GOI used UDISE data and sometimes data from PAB Minutes.
6. When state-specific questions are asked, PAB Minutes are the main source of information.
7. Reading between the lines, the answer to per child cost in government schools reveal that states that have a high percentage or high numbers of contract teachers have a lower per child per annum cost – Bihar Rs 6,569/-; Jharkhand Rs 5,100/-; Madhya Pradesh (on first three years of probation teachers are paid like contract teachers) 4,640/- and Uttar Pradesh Rs 5,400/. States that have lower percentage or numbers of contract teachers report higher per child, per annum cost – Assam Rs 16,396; Gujarat Rs 13,000/-; Maharashtra Rs 17,670/-; Rajasthan Rs 13,662/- and Tamil Nadu Rs 21,138/-. This data compiled from the Annual Work Plan and Budget (AWP&B) 2019-20 was reported in the Rajya Sabha on 23 November 2019.
8. The most informative response in the Rajya Sabha is related to elementary schools without teachers. The data provided by MHRD, GOI on 28 Nov 2016 was quite revealing and shocking (see table 44). How are such schools managing? Do they hire Panchayat teachers (like Madhya Pradesh), guest teachers or contract teachers appointed by the School Development and Monitoring Committee (SDMC)?

Table 44: Government schools without teachers, elementary, various years

State/UT	Government Schools without Teachers (Elementary Section)			
	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	2015-2016
Andaman & Nicobar	-	-	-	-
Andhra Pradesh	3,090	1,647	1,123	1,339
Arunachal Pradesh	4	-	-	108
Assam	29	109	2	228
Bihar	289	180	65	41
Chandigarh	-	-	-	-
Chhattisgarh	499	310	302	385
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	-	-	-	-
Daman & Diu	-	-	-	-
Delhi	-	-	-	-
Goa	4	-	-	-
Gujarat	48	33	43	50
Haryana	141	2	116	182
Himachal Pradesh	-	2	2	4
Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	-	29
Jharkhand	1	4	10	99
Karnataka	451	439	702	1,148
Kerala	1	-	-	3
Lakshadweep	-	-	-	-
Madhya Pradesh	3,788	4,072	4,232	4,837
Maharashtra	64	51	136	126
Manipur	6	5	-	1
Meghalaya	-	-	-	1
Mizoram	1	-	-	-
Nagaland	89	16	11	9
Odisha	50	21	2	2
Puducherry	-	-	-	-
Punjab	5	16	4	39
Rajasthan	18	16	28	63
Sikkim	-	-	-	-
Tamil Nadu	6	3	-	-
Telangana	-	-	620	1,944
Tripura	-	12	4	-
Uttar Pradesh	1,708	1,407	496	393
Uttarakhand	47	25	17	192
West Bengal	6	55	51	155
Total	10,345	8,425	7,966	11,378

Source: Rajya Sabha, 28 November 2016

8.3 What Lok Sabha questions reveal

Out of the 55 questions scanned, only 5 were directly related to contract teachers. The other teacher-related questions were on the following issues:

1. The numbers of and the qualifications and training of contract teachers / para teachers hired in Kendriya Vidyalaya and Navodaya Vidyalaya.
2. Teacher absence – most referring to the World Bank study on teacher absenteeism and SSA study on teacher and student absence (2016 study).
3. Volunteer teachers (referring to the pilot programme in 21 states to appoint experienced volunteers as teachers to enhance ‘scholastic activities’).
4. Schools without teachers.
5. Shortage of primary/secondary school teachers in government schools.
6. Teacher vacancies in government schools – some specific to schools managed directly by MHRD, GOI (Kendriya Vidyalaya, Navodaya Vidyalaya) and some specific to SSA or RMSA.
7. Teachers without minimum professional qualifications after the RTE Act and NCTE norms.
8. Code of conduct for teachers, teacher appraisal.
9. Shortage of female teachers.
10. Appointment of teachers under SSA/RMSA.
11. Teacher benefits in Kendriya Vidyalaya and Navodaya Vidyalaya.
12. Non-availability of quality teachers in primary schools; shortage of trained teachers.
13. Non-educational duties of teachers after the RTE Act 2009.

14. Strategies to attract meritorious candidates into the teaching profession.

15. Eligibility test to recruit teachers after NCTE norms were notified.

Most of the answers given by MHRD are brief and often repeat that teacher recruitment, service conditions, contractual appointment and teacher training come under the administrative domain of the state government and UT administration. Where data is used, MHRD referred to UDISE data or the data from PAB Minutes or the AWP&B prepared by the state governments to seek grants under SSA and RMSA and now SS. Interestingly, there is no reference to the Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan in any of the questions up to December 2019.

One of the most interesting, yet worrisome answers refers to the existence of schools without teachers (same as the Rajya Sabha question). In 2015-16 there were some states where the number of schools without any teacher was high – Andhra Pradesh 1,339, Karnataka 1,148, Madhya Pradesh 4,837, and Telangana 1,944. The answers just give the data and there is no analysis or explanation for the existence of such government schools or even the number of children enrolled in these schools and whether any steps have been taken to ensure their education. Whether this is linked to the Government of India driven effort to merge smaller schools with larger ones, together with how this has worked for teachers, particularly contract teachers, would be the other points that merit further inquiry.

It seems that the phenomenon of contract teachers/ para teachers has not attracted the attention of legislators. And when standard answers are given, at least as per the questions and answers listed, there do not seem to be any follow-up questions.

8.4 What do newspaper and other media reports reveal?

There has been a concern in the media regarding the quality of teaching and how it could be related to the low academic level of contractual teachers and their insufficient training as discussed in Chapter 7. Contract teachers could be unemployed graduates, graduates from teacher colleges, or they can be hired just as they graduate from secondary school. They teach on a contract basis at a lower salary and without formal teacher training. Furthermore, considering the fact that they are often hired to teach disadvantaged students in hard-to-reach areas, concerns have been raised in the media about the inequity that might be exacerbated if contract teachers are found to be less effective than regular teachers in imparting learning. In recent news, the Delhi Subordinate Services Selection Board test, 77 percent of teachers had 'substandard performance'. Out of 21,135, applicants 16,383 'failed to get the minimum passing marks'.³⁰

However, the media has, from time to time, highlighted the plight of contract or para teachers. Contractual teachers tend to be in a precarious situation – there is no job security, the contract has to be renewed every year (in some states like Jharkhand there have been instances where teachers are given a 59-day contract), salaries are low, they receive very little training, if any, and their working conditions are usually not conducive to providing good quality teaching. In fact, even if there are many types of contractual teachers, everywhere, their salaries and conditions are far inferior to those of the regular teachers. In Chandigarh, 300 odd contractual computer teachers, counsellors and other employees of 114 government schools in the city may lose their jobs as the education department of the UT plans to set up a new recruitment agency. They are typically hired for one year at a salary of one-half to one-quarter of that of a regular teacher and only a few belong to a teachers' union. For

example, in Tripura 10,323 teachers were dismissed after several extensions. This was done because of an order of the Hon'ble Supreme Court which found discrepancies in their appointment. This led to an extended protest in 2017 that has continued till present times.

According to the provisions of the Payment of Wages Act, 1936, salaries need to be paid before the seventh day of the month, after the last day of the wage period. In case, the number is less than 1,000 employed workers, the salary is to be paid by the tenth day of every month. Many states do not adhere to this Act and there have been instances where salaries are not paid for several months. In addition to the fear of losing their jobs, a delay in the crediting of their salaries has added to the woes of the 300 odd contractual employees in Chandigarh. For the academic year 2018-19, there was a delay in the salary of September also and the amount was credited on October 25. Contract teachers are devoid of any group insurance policy schemes or medical benefits. In Madhya Pradesh, on asking about the promises they made regarding the teachers' pay, Minister Govind Singh said, *'We don't have a money tree,'* and asked the guest faculties to understand the problems of the state government. *'If the government wants us to understand then, we should be relieved from other activities, such as booth-level officer duty, government surveys, duty on pulse polio immunisation etc,'* said Jaswal, a primary teacher in Madhya Pradesh³¹. According to reports, contractual teachers working in KV schools across the country have not been paid their salaries for several months. Additional Commissioner (academics), KV Sangathan, U N Khaware said, *'The KV Sangathan has received reports against some schools for not paying their teachers timely. It is totally unfair. We are investigating the matter and will instruct*

regional officers to inquire.’ A contractual teacher at a Delhi-based KV said that the school has told them that non-payment of their salaries is the result of the acute cash crunch. ‘Our principal informed us that he has only Rs 77,000 in the school fund. As he would prioritize the basic functioning of the school first, our salaries are being held back,’ said the teacher on condition of anonymity.³²

A contractual teacher at KV Kolkata region said, *‘My salary was due since May. The school even refused to pay the allowance of special exam duties. This is inhumane, we reserve the right to get respect as a teacher.’* She said such circumstances forced her to quit. An official from the HRD department said, *‘KVs require nearly Rs 5 to Rs 7 lakh to pay its contractual teachers every month. Though the central government pays the salaries of the permanent staff, the contract staff are paid from the Vidyalaya Vikas Nidhi (VVN) collected through the fees paid by the students’³³*

Moreover, the media reports that the government does not trust teachers – while this may be true for all teachers, the trust quotient is far less for contract teachers. The current Uttar Pradesh government’s move to enforce the National Pension System (NPS) and monitoring of teachers through the Prerna App, which entails clicking three selfies a day and uploading these through the mobile phone has been criticised on several grounds. The teachers in rural areas do not have good network connectivity and speed. Commenting on the Prerna App, a primary school teacher said, *‘The app-based attendance system is a clear violation of the right to privacy. Female teachers and students’ photograph can be leaked and misused. Teachers have been directed to take selfies thrice a day, which is not possible in remote areas due to technical snags.’*

The media reports of several protests and strikes in different parts of the country. Contractual teachers from several states, including Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar, have been forced to protest in the past few years, demanding that they be treated

fairly. They constitute a large number of teachers in the state and central government-run schools. On 13 December 2019, the Minister of State for Human Resource Development responsible for higher education, said in the Rajya Sabha that the number of vacant posts in elementary and secondary schools was 9,00,316 and 1,07,689 respectively. The number of sanctioned posts of teachers in elementary and secondary schools is 51,03,539 and 6,85,895 respectively. According to the data given by him, more than 10 lakh posts are vacant in government schools all over India. Within Delhi, DSSSB said more than 7.5 lakh candidates appeared in the examination for 9,556 vacant posts of teachers in Delhi government schools conducted during July to November 2018, while 1.15 lakh candidates had taken the test conducted for 5,906 vacancies of teachers in municipal schools.³⁴

The JMM contestant from Ranchi Mahua Maji, who is also a Hindi writer, said she was sceptical about the government’s numbers, *‘Be it primary or higher education, everything here lacks monitoring. There’s a lot of talk about numbers, not much about quality...’³⁵*

There is a clear distinction between the concept of assistant teachers abroad and the system prevalent in India. While para-teachers/assistant teachers are meant to assist regular teachers in developed nations, they are often used as ‘proxies’ to replace regular teachers in Indian schools. This fundamental difference in the scope and role of para-teachers in our schooling system has led to the inefficacy of what was originally a sound approach to education policy. Over the years, para-teachers have become an indispensable part of the state schooling machinery in India, especially in states like Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. According to recent government reports, 44 percent of Jharkhand’s school teachers are working on a contractual basis. Levels of training and appointment duration vary across states. Existing research suggests that while some para-teachers/contract teachers have qualifications

comparable to those of regular teachers and may also eventually get their tenure extended, they are almost always paid only a fraction of what their regular counterparts receive (Kingdon 2010³⁶). While the protests have made these voices come out in different parts of the country, the politics between the state and centre also hinders the growth and betterment of the contract teachers. For contract teachers in Delhi, Manish Sisodia, Education Minister of Delhi, said, *'They (guest teachers) have given a representation where they have demanded a policy, we have already passed a Bill to make them permanent. But, because of the Centre's order on services, the lieutenant governor has to take a call on it. Files related to services are not even shown to us. It is the Centre who has to decide now.'*³⁷ A guest teacher, who has been teaching for eight years, said they were confident of a contract renewal as schools will not be able to manage without their services. *'We do not want these small top-up recharges,'* Shoaib Rana, member of All India Guest Teachers' Association, said while referring to extensions. *'They will renew our contracts for maybe a couple of months and then, we will be in the same spot again,'* he said.³⁸

8.5 Summing up the main takeaway from this chapter:

1. The issue of contract teachers and part-time teachers has been raised in the Parliament very few times, but the media has reported this far more regularly. Strikes, non-payment of salaries, short-contracts and repeated assurances by state governments form the main body of media reporting. The extremely infrequent instances of discussion in Parliament on contract teachers, a subject mired in complexities that may be impacting the quality of education, clearly reflects a lack of concern on the part of the lawmakers on the status of education in the country.
2. The Government of India, despite providing fiscal support to the states/UTs through schemes such as SSA, RMSA and SS to maintain a balance in the required number of teachers, is not in a position to intervene to affect change where it matters. Therefore, it rarely gives a straight answer on the question of contract teachers, teacher vacancies, service conditions and even non-payment of salaries on time. The common reason for this is that anything to do with service conditions of teachers is the domain of the states/UTs and the MHRD, GOI does not have jurisdictional authority on the matter.
3. An important insight from the media has been that while para teachers, as a concept, exists in other countries, they are used as assistants to regular teachers. However, in India, functions of para teachers extend beyond this and there is often no difference in the workload/responsibilities of regular teachers and para teachers. As a result, MHRD has stopped using the term 'para teachers' and now refers to this cadre as 'contract teachers'.
4. As a community, contract teachers are not only highly demotivated, they are constantly struggling to get their voices heard. Assurances have not translated into action.
5. Delays in payment of salaries of contract teachers remain a worrisome trend across the country – as reported in the media.

9. Key Insights and Concluding Observations

This study reveals that several inter-related factors have, over a period of time, led to the practice of appointing contract teachers across states/UTs of India. It provides insights into the numbers and location of contract teachers by geography, type, level, and size of schools. Their gender distribution and trends in their engagement across states and UTs, either as full-time or part-time teachers, have also been revealed by the study. Disparities in their salaries are seen among states/UTs and even within states/UTs despite the fact that they often bear similar responsibilities as regular teachers. Their academic and professional qualifications raise a few concerns, particularly the latter, more in certain states. The lack of attention by lawmakers on the issue of contract teachers is not an encouraging sign. However, the media gaze on the subject has kept the debate alive.

The number of teacher vacancies has reduced from 9,00,316 in 2017 to 5,06,740 in 2019-20. But states such as Bihar (2,12,806), Jharkhand (70,296), Madhya Pradesh (74,355) and Uttar Pradesh (1,80,998) still have significantly large numbers of vacant positions. In 2018-19, there were 11.70 percent vacancies against the sanctioned posts of teachers. From the PAB Minutes of SS 2019-20, it is seen that 37 percent of the total sanctioned posts of teachers were supported by SS in 2018-19. Also, of the 17,64,956 posts of teachers approved under SS, 19.10 percent were lying vacant and 8.80 percent of teacher posts under states/UTs were lying vacant. As per UDISE 2017-18, Goa, Meghalaya, Odisha and Sikkim are the four states/UTs to have no teacher vacancies. Vacancy of 22,852 teacher posts at the elementary level in Assam against the sanctioned posts is notably the highest and has been highlighted as a concern in the PAB Minutes of SS 2019-20.

Many states have not been able to provide the required three subject teachers in more than one-fifth of their upper primary schools. The worst scenario in this respect is seen in Uttar Pradesh where 90 percent upper primary schools are without all three subject teachers followed by Maharashtra (80%), Jammu & Kashmir (70%), Madhya Pradesh (69%), Jharkhand (57%), Rajasthan (53%) and Uttarakhand (42%). Even at the secondary stage, a majority of states have not been able to provide four subject teachers as required.

9.1 Emergence and continued engagement of teachers on contract

The system of contract teachers quietly crept in, even though until the NPE 1986, there was no policy on appointing contract teachers. The significant growth in the number of teachers on contract is not based on any formal policy statement. The first major reference to the issue can be found in the recommendations of the National Committee of State Education Ministers (1999) which was set up to recommend the approach to be adopted for achieving UEE.

Various factors underlie the engagement of teachers on contract in the school education system. State/project-specific, relatively small-scale experiments in this regard offered useful learnings that were adopted in different forms in specific contexts to serve required purposes. The key factors leading to the practice of engaging contract teachers are explained in the following points.

1. Teacher vacancies, restricted resources and cumbersome systems that seriously constrained the Indian education system have been the root cause for adopting alternative modalities of engaging teachers to tide over the problem of vacant positions. Alarming teacher vacancies and a dire shortage of teachers in schools (often arising from unplanned and inefficient systems of teacher recruitment, transfers and failure to adopt relevant teacher deployment strategies in the states/UTs) encouraged administrators to adopt the contract model, initially as a stop-gap arrangement. However, as time went by, both the weight of litigations and increasing legal wrangles, the relative administrative ease with which teachers could be hired on contract and the lowered cost of engagement, contributed to the continued dependence on the model.
2. The Indian system of school education has relied on contract teachers mainly on two counts – one, to meet shortage of teachers, particularly when there is a dire shortage in the availability of some subject teachers; and two, to draw in specialist teachers for specific areas/subjects. This proved to be a simpler way of improving teacher availability without having to create regular posts and making financial commitments that are mandated for regular teachers. In a situation where educated youth were available for taking on these ad hoc positions – who were often willing to do so in the hope that they would in some time become regular teachers – made it easy for administrators to engage teachers on contract.
3. Rising enrolment and expansion of the schooling system in the decade of the 1990s led to surging demand for more teachers. This was also the period when the country became party to a global movement to work towards universal primary education. A movement of this scale envisaged, with the deadlines set for change, required fiscal support of much higher levels than what India was able to mobilise indigenously. For the first time, the Government of India accepted foreign aid for primary education in the 1990s for the Central Sector Scheme, DPEP. Prior to this, special state-specific projects in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Pradesh Education Project), Bihar (Bihar Education Project), and Uttar Pradesh (Uttar Pradesh Basic Education Project) were implemented with international funding support. These ‘projects’ provided the space to experiment with new approaches and models. Para teachers and contract teachers made an appearance during this phase to be able to meet the project goals and targets. Later on, as the fiscal situation of many states continued to be precarious, many of them saw merit in hiring teachers on low salaries. This became much more attractive when the fifth and later, the sixth pay commission increased teacher salaries exponentially.
4. During DPEP, unlike before, there was a lot of focus on ensuring the education of marginalised and disadvantaged children. This included (i) out-of-school children (ii) children of small and scattered habitations who could not access formal schools (iii) the linguistically disadvantaged groups of children whose home language was at variance with school language and (iv) children with disabilities. For all these groups of children, para teachers had been deployed under DPEP to ensure their inclusion in education. This was the time when large-scale engagement of para teachers by Village Education Committees or community became the practice that has continued up to the present times. While there is still no formal policy sanction to the practice of contract teachers, MHRD, GOI schemes, like DPEP, SSA and now SS, refer to teachers hired on contract when annual workplans and budgets are approved. Equally, newer schemes like KGBV budgeted for contract teachers to be paid far below regular teachers.

5. Most states/UTs (with the exception of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu) did not have formal teacher recruitment policies (Ramachandran et al 2018). Hiring regular teachers took a lot of time and in many states, this became a ground for legal tussles between aspirants, teacher unions and the government. Hiring contract teachers was seen as less cumbersome and one that could be done at the district, block or even school level, which also emerged as an important trigger to adopt this practice.

With the expansion of SSA, and later RMSA, the states/UTs were dependent on the Central Government for funds to a large extent (in the beginning, the state share was 25% that has risen to 40% of the total budget in the case of all states except in the eight North-Eastern states, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Jammu & Kashmir). Many states did not want to create a long-term fiscal liability by hiring regular teachers to be able to bridge the gaps in teacher availability/fill teacher vacancies and achieve the normative PTRs as per the RTE Act. The stringent accountability standards established post the RTE Act resulted in states/UTs adopting the model of hiring teachers on contract with support from centrally sponsored schemes and defer states' financial liabilities on this score until such time that the schemes are discontinued. This led to several anomalies in the teacher cadre – there were regular teachers and different kinds of contract teachers (project-specific and those appointed by Panchayat or Zila Parishad or SDMC using either funds from the state government or from specific projects like SSA).

6. Growing spotlight by international and domestic researchers on issues like teacher absenteeism and poor learning outcomes, attributed to teachers not doing their 'job' and some multilateral agencies supporting this 'model' as being more amenable to monitoring teachers, led to a greater political and administrative acceptance of the contract teacher model. Equally,

the growing distrust of regular teachers and vilifying of teachers for poor learning outcomes among children contributed in equal measure to the widespread acceptance of the contract model in the administration. Even the teachers' unions, which represented regular teachers, remained silent for a long time.

7. The numbers of contract teachers grew with time in most states/UTs as the norms for teachers in schools began to be rigorously monitored for compliance with the RTE Act and contractual engagement was the easiest way of maintaining the desired PTRs.

The sad reality in India is that the status of teachers as a community of professionals steadily slid to an all-time low and sections of the media, the educational research community, proponents of privatisation of the school system supported the hiring of teachers on contract in violation of the constitutional principles of equal pay for equal work, and equal working conditions for people doing the same work. This is the larger backdrop under which the contract teacher regime was accepted and legitimised in the school education system.

9.2 Number and percentage of contract teachers

The current situation of contract teachers remains uneven across the country in terms of their numbers and percentage. The number of contract teachers in India has steadily increased from 2010-11 onwards. In 2010-11 there were 3,16,091 elementary teachers on contract and by 2017-18 this figure rose to 6,32,316 elementary and secondary teachers on contract. The number of contract teachers had peaked in 2014-15 at 6,63,074 and despite a slightly declining trend, the number has remained above the 6,00,000 mark in subsequent years until 2017-18. In percentage terms too, there has been a steady

increase till up to 2014-15 and a marginal drop in 2016-17 and then again, a marginal increase in 2017-18. While the number of teachers on contract is significant, in percentage terms, as of 2017-18 it is 12.70 percent.

The UDISE data of 2017-18 reveals that there are a larger number of contract teachers at the elementary stage (563,856) as compared to the secondary stage (82,922). This could be on account of the larger number of elementary schools in the states/UTs.

Numbers tell only part of the story. In four states/UTs over 50 percent of teachers are on contract. Among these states, Meghalaya (65.29%), Jharkhand (57.05%) and Arunachal Pradesh (50.46%) merit special attention. Odisha and Sikkim come next with over 35 percent of teachers being on contract, followed closely by Mizoram, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and West Bengal – all having more than 20 percent of teachers on contract. Schools other than the regular day-schools of the government, also rely on contract teachers in running these schools – like residential schools (KGBV, Navodaya Vidyalaya).

9.2.1 PAB approval of teachers

Across states/UTs some differences in the numbers and proportions of regular and contract teachers approved by the PAB for SS in 2019-20 are seen. For example, 1,41,927 contract teachers have been approved for UP, comprising 49.30 percent of teachers approved for the state and in the case of West Bengal, 68.80 percent teachers approved are contract teachers and they number 94,684 of the 1,37,569. In the case of Jharkhand (55,353) and Odisha (1,01,203), all teachers approved by the PAB are contract teachers.

Head Teachers at primary and upper primary, teachers for science, maths, health and physical education, art and work education, social studies and languages are the different types of contract teachers approved in the states/UTs. Other than these, states/UTs have also used broad heads, such as 'part-time' teachers (Daman & Diu, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu) or 'any other' (Odisha).

Support for the highest number of contract teachers including HTs is at the primary level (3,45,884) comprising 65.20 percent of the total contract teachers approved by GOI (530,737) for the year 2019-20.

If the total number of contract teachers approved by PAB 2019-20 is considered, the largest number of contract teachers have been approved in Uttar Pradesh (1,41,927 accounting for 26.70% of the total contract teachers approved), Odisha (1,01,203 accounting for 19.10% of the total contract teachers approved), West Bengal (94,648 accounting for 17.80% of the total contract teachers approved), Jharkhand (41,655 accounting for 7.80% of the total contract teachers approved) and Madhya Pradesh (37,697 accounting for 7.10% of the total contract teachers approved). Together, these five states have received support for 78.60 percent of the total contract teachers approved by the PAB of 2019-20 for SS. The large numbers of contract teachers that these states have infused in their education system, their recruitment criteria, process, tenure, roles and responsibilities, service rules, capacity building plan, career growth opportunities/plans, etc. merit exploration.

Contract teachers receive just a consolidated salary (usually lower than what a regular teacher earns) and no other benefits or opportunities of professional growth/development. Their salary is made up of 60 percent by GOI and 40 percent by the State Finance Department, which in the case of the North-Eastern states, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Uttarakhand, is 90 percent by GOI and 10 percent by the state government. Given these, the total teachers financed by SS are virtually on contract insofar as they are not a part of the regular teacher cadre of the state/UT and do not enjoy the benefits that regular teachers do.

Some states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab and Assam reveal year-on-year fluctuation in the percentage of teachers on contract. The fluctuation in Andhra Pradesh is perhaps explained by the bifurcation of the state. In states like West Bengal, Odisha, Himachal Pradesh (to name a few) there has been a steady increase in the proportion of contract teachers over the last seven years. It would be worthwhile to go deeper into the factors that have led to this trend.

9.2.2 Part-time teachers on contract

In addition to full-time contract teachers, there are part-time teachers as well. Across India, there are 40,522 part-time teachers. The UDISE data and other secondary data sources do not reveal who these part-time teachers are, what they do and how they are positioned in the system. It is believed that activities such as ICT Digital Initiatives, sports and physical education, training in martial arts and self-defence and Special Training are carried out by part-time teachers or instructors. Qualitative studies also reveal that when there are severe shortages of maths, science or English teachers, part-time teachers are hired in secondary and higher secondary schools. They are often hired by the school on a lump-sum basis or on lecture basis.

The number of part-time teachers, by and large, is small. However, there are some states, like Uttar Pradesh where there are close to 20,000 part-time teachers. An additional number of 86,778 teachers on contract is approved by the PAB for SS 2019-20 on a part-time basis and when this number is added to the mentioned number of contract teachers (5,30,737), the total number of contract teachers increases to 6,17,515. A part of the lump-sum budget (usually allocated per school) for activities such as ICT Digital Initiatives, sports and physical education, training in martial arts and self-defence and Special Training may be utilised to obtain the services of teachers/instructors on a part-time basis.

Some states have been able to gradually reduce the number of contract teachers. A range of factors may have contributed – like the High Court ruling in Rajasthan. The Madhya Pradesh Government's decision to roll back the system in the state (albeit with the probationary period being on the contract) has not stabilised. In the 2015 Teacher Working Conditions study (Ramachandran et al 2018), the government reported that they had introduced a new regime based on a probation period (when teachers are on contract) leading up to eventual regularisation as regular teachers. It would be important to understand how they were able to do this. Or whether they continue to hire contract teachers directly or through the Panchayat.

9.3 Location, type of schools in which contract teachers are placed

The highest proportion of contract teachers are in primary and in rural schools. Smaller schools have a higher representation of contract teachers. While there are 68,445 schools with only contract teachers (some of them being single-teacher schools), a

larger number of schools have at least one contract teacher (1,88,785 primary, 54,667 upper primary and 19,401 secondary schools). In most instances, enrolment is seen to be lower in schools that are being run only by contract teachers, making them small schools or to put this plainly, small schools with low enrolment are found to have more contract teachers.

Enrolment of children in schools having only contract teachers is skewed heavily towards rural areas. There are 5,33,882 children enrolled in single contract teacher primary, upper primary and secondary schools and another 17,11,455 children are enrolled in two contract teacher primary, upper primary and secondary schools. 95.83 percent of children studying in schools having only contract teachers, are in rural areas. In Arunachal Pradesh, 25.70 percent of students are enrolled in primary schools that have only contract teachers, the percentage is higher at 37 percent in Jharkhand, 45 percent in Meghalaya, 14.10 in Mizoram and 14.50 percent in West Bengal. At the upper primary level, Meghalaya has 68.30 percent students enrolled in schools having only contract teachers. The number of single contract teacher schools and two contract teacher schools in 2017-18 stands at 12,847 and 66,955 respectively. Though the number is not large in the context of a country having more than a million schools, the impact of learning in these schools could be assessed separately to provide necessary inputs for improving the quality of education in these schools.

In the country as a whole, 79.25 percent of teachers on contract are working in 'small schools' having an enrolment of up to 90 students and as the enrolment goes up, the presence of contract teachers decreases. It is a matter of concern that Arunachal Pradesh (1,345), Assam (3,206), Bihar (4,776 – mostly at the secondary level), Himachal Pradesh (1,267), Jharkhand (19,763), Meghalaya (4,558), Odisha (5,118), Telangana (2,675), Uttar Pradesh (3,486) and West Bengal (17,831) have a

fairly large number of teachers on contract across all enrolment ranges (up to 30, 31-60, 61-90, 90-120 and >120). An assessment of student learning in these schools would help understand the impact of contract teachers on their learning levels.

9.4 Gender distribution of contract teachers

The difference in the number and proportion of male and female contract teachers at the aggregated level is not significant at 48:52. The scenario changes at the state/UT level with the exception of a small number of states, where the ratio is skewed towards female contract teachers. In the case of contract teachers, the lower mark of 33 percent for reservation of females in the teaching community has been achieved by all states/UTs except Tripura and Jharkhand. In states like Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, the percentage of female contract teachers, especially at the elementary level, is high. There are 32 states/UTs where the proportion of regular female teachers is lower than that of female teachers on contract. The states/UTs where the proportion of regular female teachers is higher than the proportion of contract teachers are Jharkhand, Karnataka (marginally higher) Manipur, Tamil Nadu, Tripura. In Kerala, Goa, Puducherry, Chandigarh, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, NCT of Delhi, West Bengal, Daman & Diu, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Sikkim, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Lakshadweep, Nagaland and Meghalaya there are more than 50 percent female teachers on contract out of the total number of contract teachers. It is interesting that a little over half of these states and UTs are the smaller ones and the larger ones include Kerala (82.50%), Punjab (73.60%), Andhra Pradesh

(71.20%), NCT of Delhi (68.30%), West Bengal (67%), Gujarat (61.30%), Tamil Nadu (61%), Telangana (60%) and Uttar Pradesh (59.70%). Though the percentage is low in the case of Odisha, the number of female teachers on contract is 39,461.

The picture is quite similar in the case of part-time teachers engaged by the states.

It would be worthwhile to explore why this significant gender difference is seen in so many states and why a higher proportion of female teachers are seen across types of teachers.

There are female contract teachers, by preference in KGBVs that are exclusive schools/hostels for adolescent girls. In the beginning, most teachers in KGBVs were on contract. But in subsequent years, regular teachers and teachers on deputation also joined KGBVs and depending on the policy of the state, some are TET qualified as well. Of the total of 23,042 teachers in KGBVs, 13,280 (comprising almost 58% of the teachers) are on contract. In the 4,881 functional KGBVs in 29 states/UTs, all the part-time teachers are engaged on contract except the 174 part-time teachers in Bihar who are on deputation (in all probability these could be regular teachers deputed to work part-time in KGBV).³⁹ The full-time teachers in the KGBVs of Chhattisgarh are regular teachers. In six states/UTs, viz., Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu and Telangana, full-time teachers in the KGBVs are either regular or on deputation. Full-time teachers in Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Uttar Pradesh are engaged on contract (source: MHRD, GOI). Even the regular teachers in KGBVs usually constitute a separate teacher cadre and are not treated on par with teachers in elementary, secondary and senior secondary schools.

There are varying proportions of regular and contract teachers in the states/UTs and sometimes the latter outnumber the former which tends to create significantly high gaps in their proportions.

9.5 Academic and professional qualifications of contract teachers

Academic qualifications of contract teachers vary between below secondary to post-doctoral degree. Of the 6,32,316 contract teachers, 2,97,721 are graduates, 1,44,033 are post graduate degree holders and 1,42,453 have passed higher secondary. These together comprise 92.40 percent of the contract teachers. Academically, the contract teachers seem to be having the required qualifications. States with the highest number of contract teachers who are academically below secondary level are in West Bengal (423), Uttar Pradesh (410), Tripura (219) and Rajasthan (93). West Bengal with 27,752 of its contract teachers having secondary level of education, is the state with the highest number of contract teachers with this level of education.

In the country as a whole, 68.90 percent rural and 85.50 percent urban contract teachers have the requisite professional qualifications. As of 2017-18, close to 30 percent of contract teachers do not have the requisite professional qualifications across India. There were 41.80 percent professionally untrained teachers on contract in 2011-12 which has declined to 29.50 percent in 2017-18. The situation has been improving gradually. However, the sheer number of contract teachers without professional qualifications at 1,86,777 in 2017-18 is huge and 1,19,714 of them are deployed in primary schools. This is indeed a

serious situation involving a fairly large number of teachers vested with the responsibility of handling foundational learning, who require urgent attention at least by way of in-service teacher training.

Being specific, the most worrisome situation is in West Bengal with only 17.60 percent rural and 35 percent urban contract teachers having requisite professional qualifications, followed by Tripura (22.80%) and other North-Eastern states. The situation in Jammu & Kashmir, Goa, Bihar and Chhattisgarh is such that almost 30 percent of contract teachers do not have the requisite professional qualifications.

The MHRD, GOI proposed a two-pronged strategy to address this problem. One, make distance education available to contract teachers to enable them to upgrade their professional qualifications with back-up support from institutions like IGNOU, IASE or the SCERT. And two, introduce teacher eligibility test and make it mandatory for all teachers (contract or regular) to qualify this test.

Opportunities for in-service training to contract teachers vis-à-vis regular teachers are not much different at the national level, though there are variations within states/UTs. At the national level, only 22.90 percent of contract teachers receive any training – at the CRC, BRC, DIET or any other – as against 26 percent of regular teachers who have been provided in-service training. The overall coverage of teachers, both regular and contract, has been low across states/UTs; the exceptions being Gujarat, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Telangana. Even among these four states, the outreach to regular and contract teachers has been proportionately the same in Telangana and Punjab but proportionately more regular teachers have been covered in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu. Though the coverage is low, there is parity in the proportion of both categories of teachers provided with in-service training in states such as Bihar, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Odisha.

In 11 states/UTs, more contract teachers have received in-service training and those with the highest coverage are Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Tripura.

Telangana is the only state where almost all teachers on contract have received some in-service teacher training. It is also a state where almost all teachers on contract have the requisite professional qualifications.

9.6 Salaries of full-time and part-time contract teachers

From an analysis of the salaries budgeted in the PAB Minutes for SS in 2019-20, intra and inter-state/UT differences are seen for the typologies of contract teachers. There are wide variations across states on the amount that is budgeted for the salary of contract teachers. The salaries of contract teachers not only vary across states, but they also vary across different budget heads within a state.

9.7 Insights from both Houses of Parliament and media

It is not often that the issue of contract teachers and part-time teachers has been raised in the Parliament; the media has reported on it far more regularly. Strikes, non-payment of salaries, short-contracts and repeated assurances by state governments form the main body of media reporting. The Government of India rarely gives a straight answer on the question of contract teachers, teacher vacancies, service conditions and even non-payment of salaries on time. The common refrain is that anything to do with service conditions is in the domain of the state government and that MHRD, GOI does not have jurisdiction. However, PAB Minutes reveal that MHRD makes allocations under SSA, RMSA and SS.

An important insight from the media has been that while para teachers/contract teachers exist in other countries, they are used as assistants to regular teachers. However, in India, there is no difference in the workload of regular teachers and para teachers. As a result, MHRD has stopped using the term 'para teachers' and now refers to this cadre as 'contract teachers'. As a community, contract teachers are not only highly demotivated, they are constantly struggling to get their voices heard. Assurances have not translated into action. Delays in payment of salaries of contract teachers remains a worrisome trend across the country – as reported in the media.

Endnotes

1. UDISE, various years.
2. UDISE, 2017-2018.
3. UDISE, 2017-2018.
4. UDISE, 2017-2018.
5. PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20, MRHD, GOI.
6. PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20, MRHD, GOI.
7. PAB Minutes for SS 2019-20, MRHD, GOI.
8. The Principal Investigator of the current project was also the PI of the 2015 Teacher Study undertaken by NUEPA (now NIEPA) and the report was published by the World Bank in 2018.
9. Learning from the Shiksha Karmi project of Rajasthan, the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) introduced the practice of contract/para teachers to be able to bridge the gap in teacher vacancies and to engage teachers for specific tasks, such as running alternative schools for out-of-school children, the education guarantee scheme to cater to children in smaller habitations where schools could not be provided in accordance with the population and distance norms. This model was then adopted by the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and in some form by Samagra Shiksha, since it came into being in 2018-19, to be able to satisfy the varied teacher requirements in changing times.
10. Atherton and Kingdon, 2010, Goyal and Pandey, 2009, Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2010, suggest that contract teacher perform no worse than regular teachers (as measured by their students' outcomes) and in fact may well outperform regular teachers.
11. Azim Premji University. 2017. Teacher Absenteeism Study. Bangalore.
12. UDISE data does not provide social-group break-up of contract teachers. Therefore, we had to modify the original objective of trying to understand social break-up but could not do so.
13. UDISE: In India, the Education Management Information System (EMIS) is known as the District Information System for Education (DISE) which was established in 1994. Subsequently, DISE was expanded to cover the entire school education sector in 2011 and was renamed as the Unified District Information System for Education (UDISE). The UDISE is an annual census of schools in the country with September 30 as the reference date. The UDISE collects data on more than 4,000 variables covering key aspects of school education.
14. Government of India, Report of the National Committee of State Education Ministers under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Human Resource Development to Develop the Structure and Outlines of Implementing Universal Elementary Education in a Mission Mode, MHRD, New Delhi, July 1999, (pp. 22-23)
15. Govinda, R and Y Josephine. 2004. Para Teachers in India: A Review. NIEPA. New Delhi. And Vimala Ramachandran. 2016. Exploring the legacy of three innovative programmes: Lessons learnt from Lok Jumbish, Shiksha Karmi and Mahila Samakhya, in Avinash Kumar Singh (Ed) Education and Empowerment in India: Policies and Practices. Routledge, New Delhi.
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19. Jayakumar, Nandini. 2011. Contractual Engagement of School Teachers – A Critique. Centre for Civil Society. New Delhi.

20. Bennell, Paul and Akyeampong, Kwame. 2007. Teacher Motivation in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. DFID Education Papers. UK; Ramachandran, Vimala. 2005. Why School Teachers are demotivated and disheartened, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21 May 2005 pp 2141-2146. Ramachandran, Vimala, Suman Bhattacharjea and K M Sheshagiti 2009. Primary School Teachers: Twists and Turns of Everyday Practice. Azim Premji Foundation. Bangalore; Stronquist, Nelly P. 2018. The Global Status of teachers and the Teaching Profession. Education International. Brussels, Belgium
21. The type of posts under the states/UTs and SS are the same. Only the sources of funding – either by the state government or SS -- are different.
22. We have not tracked the percentage of posts funded through central sector schemes over the years. Therefore, a trend analysis is not possible.
23. Some ideas for states with teacher vacancies and surplus teachers would be to (i) urgently rationalise teacher deployment (ii) undertake judicious planning for any additional posts in case of persistent lack of subject teachers (iii) review possibility of rationalising cost towards teachers' salary.
24. This has remained a huge challenge – rational deployment of teachers would be possible only if subject-specific vacancies are addressed school-wise and deployment is done on the basis of the requirement of schools. As of now, the system of deployment of both regular and contract teachers seems to be ad hoc.
25. The fact that lesser states/UTs have asked for teachers at the secondary/senior secondary levels is primarily because there are smaller numbers of such schools as compared to elementary schools. But the fact remains that all the states/UTs did not seek support for teachers at the secondary/senior secondary levels. The exact reason for this could be a subject for exploration in Phase II.
26. In the beginning, there were only contractual teachers. However, the fact that KGBVs were subsequently seen as regular schools, some states began changing their policy. That is how there is a mix of regular and contractual teachers in KGBVs.
27. Further details on whether Special Education teachers are hired on a full-time or part-time basis is not available in the UDISE data or any other data sources (like PAB Minutes). There would perhaps be state-wise variations in the practices adopted.
28. Source: The Telegraph, Kolkata. <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/salary-hike-for-bengal-rural-teachers/cid/1695467>
29. Quote from Ramachandran et al 2018, pp 41: '... some states not only have two types of teachers – regular and contract, but also different types of contract teachers – those who are hired by the zilla parishad, those who are hired through SSA / RMSA budgets and those who are hired by the school (through the school development and management committee / parent-teacher associations). Different names and terms notwithstanding, these teachers are all expected to do work similar to other teachers, that is, regular teachers, but are retained on contracts that are for limited duration, or can be easily terminated (at least in theory), and generally receive far less pay and other benefits.'
30. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/77-of-guest-teachers-fail-to-secure-minimum-marks/articleshow/68277321.cms?utm_source=Google_Newsstand&utm_campaign=RSS_Feed&utm_medium=Referral
31. <https://www.news18.com/news/india/we-dont-grow-money-on-trees-congress-minister-tells-guest-teachers-agitating-against-unfulfilled-promise-2300651.html>
32. <https://www.brainbuxa.com/education-news/contractual-teachers-working-in-kv-have-not-been-paid-in-months-9749>
33. <https://indianexpress.com/article/education/contractual-teachers-at-kvs-kendriya-vidyalayas-not-paid-for-months-report-5920045/>
34. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/77-of-guest-teachers-fail-to-secure-minimum-marks/articleshow/68277321.cms?utm_source=Google_Newsstand&utm_campaign=RSS_Feed&utm_medium=Referral
35. <https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/jharkhand/class-act-claim-vs-cry-of-disaster-in-jharkhand/cid/1723076>

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37. Kingdon, Geeta Gandhi. 2010. Para Teachers in India: Status and Impact. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol 45, No 2, 20 March 2010, pp (
38. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi-news/delhi-government-school-guest-teachers-intensify-protest-for-better-pay-full-time-jobs/story-B1SOt-moLna2idAj2wfn8OP.html>
39. This information was provided to us by EdCil, TSG of SS.

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Glossary

Adyapak Samvarg: Teacher cadre

Adyapak: Teacher

APF: Azim Premji Foundation

APU: Azim Premji University

Ashram Shala: Residential schools for Tribal children funded and managed by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs of the Government of India

AWP&B: Annual Work Plan and Budget

B.Ed.: Bachelor of Education

B.El.Ed: Bachelor of Elementary Education

BRC: Block Resource Centre

BRCC: Block Resource Centre Coordinator

BRP: Block Resource Person

CAGR: Compounded Annual Growth Rate

CWSN: Children with Special Needs

DEO: District Education Officer

DIET: District Institute of Education and Training

DISE: District Information System for Education

DPEP: District Primary Education Programme, MHRD, GOI

FGD: Focused Group Discussion

GOI: Government of India

HM: Head Master

KGBV: Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhyalaya (residential girls schools named after Kasturba Gandhi, the wife of Mahatma Gandhi)

MHRD: Ministry of Human Resource Development of the Government of India

Navodaya Vidhyalaya: Residential schools opened by the Government of India in 1990 to cater to rural children. These are schools of excellence located in every district of India

NCT of Delhi: National Capital Territory of Delhi

NCTE: National Council for Teacher Education – a regulatory body of the Government of India to manage all teacher related issues

NIEPA: National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration; earlier known as NUEPA (National University for Educational Planning and Administration)

NPE: National Policy on Education

PAB: Project Approval Board of SSA, RMSA and SS

PTR: Pupil Teacher Ratio

RMSA: Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan, national programme for secondary education (later merged in SS)

RTE: RTE is the abridged form of The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act that was approved in 2009 and notified in 2010

SEMIS: Secondary Education Management Information System

Shiksha Karmi: Educational Worker – a term used for locally recruited para-teachers in Rajasthan

SKP: Shiksha Karmi Project, Government of Rajasthan

SS: Samagra Shiksha - A scheme that merged all ongoing / existing school education programme.

SSA: Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Campaign for Education for All)

TET: Teacher Eligibility Test

UDISE: Unified District Information System for Education – which merged DISE and SEMIS

UEE: Universal Elementary Education

UT: Union Territories of India (those that are directly governed by the Government of India)

Azim Premji University

Pixel Park, PES Campus, Electronic City, Hosur Road
Bangalore 560100

080-6614 5136

www.azimpremjiuniversity.edu.in

Facebook: /azimpremjiuniversity

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