TEACHER CAREER STRUCTURE REFORMS IN UZBEKISTAN: THE CURRENT CHALLENGES AND LESSONS LEARNED FROM TOP-PERFORMING EDUCATION SYSTEMS

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The greater need than ever for well-prepared teachers with a strong subject knowledge, instructional and ICT skills has exacerbated during and after COVID-19 pandemic all around the world. Policymakers have understood clearly that the recovery from the learning loss and removing learning inequalities among students cannot be achieved without experienced teachers. In this regard, creating a more attractive career structure can be one of efficient solutions to staff schools with highly motivated teachers and to increase the status of the profession.

This paper analyzes analyze the current state of teacher career pathways in Uzbekistan, identifies issues and challenges and provides policy recommendations on the design of effective career structure of teachers through the analysis of the efficiency of current reforms in Uzbekistan and lessons learned from the experience of other countries performing well in education rankings.

Key words: teacher, career structure, teaching profession, salary progression model, career ladder model, teacher appraisal, certification, internal evaluation, external evaluation, category levels, teacher professional standards

Introduction. Making a teaching profession an attractive career choice is the key to improve the quality of education. The quality of education cannot exceed the quality of teachers. Empirical evidence shows that teachers are the most important variable explaining the variation in student learning (Rivkin, Hanushek, and Kain, 2005; Blazar and Kraft, 2017), as the loss of motivated teachers in teaching profession is a disruptive process leading to decrease in school performance with a negative effect on quality of education. However, the status of the profession has been declined across the world over the last few decades (World Bank, 2018). Staffing classrooms of schools with highly motivated and qualified teachers has become the greatest challenge for Uzbek Government too. There have been several reforms in teacher career structures over the last five years in Uzbekistan to increase the status and motivation of teachers.

Creating a more attractive career structure can be one of efficient solutions to increase the status of the profession (UNESCO, 2019). There is a consensus in the literature that career structures that provide wider career opportunities vertically and horizontally to teachers is the most promising for teacher motivation (Kraft and Papay, 2014; UNESCO, 2019).

The paper aims to provide policy recommendations to policymakers on the design of teacher careers highlighting necessary conditions to be in place to yield positive effects through the analysis of the efficiency of current reforms and lessons learned from the experience of other countries.

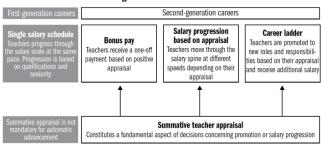
The study is organized in the following way. First, we review the existing literature on teacher career structure and discuss the experience of a number of countries that have reformed their teacher career structures to benefit for their experience. Second, we analyze the current state of teacher career pathways in Uzbekistan and efficiency of recent career structure reforms on the attractiveness of the profession. Third, we examine the challenges associated with the current reforms. Finally, we produce concluding remarks and make recommendations

Literature review. UNESCO (2019) research finds that teachers appreciate having more opportunities in career progression that allow them to stay in the classroom. The study examines how teacher career reforms have been conducted in a number of countries to provide useful insights into how to make a teaching profession an attractive career. The study finds that more horizontal

career schemes have positive influence on teacher retention, but the efficiency of career reforms depends on the type of reform, the way of implementation and background context of countries. It concludes that reforms in career structure might fail if interventions don't reflect the capacity of education systems to sustain their implementation.

There have been different approaches in the design of teacher career structure across the world. UNESCO (2015) divides them into two types: first-generation and second-generation career models. Teachers are usually promoted in career based on seniority and experience in the first-generation career model, while second-generation career structure offers the progression based on performance-based incentives (see Box 1). These incentives can be provided through bonus pay upon achievement of specific targets and/or salary progression based on appraisal that increases a teacher's base salary after successfully passing appraisals.

Box 1. First- and second-generation teacher career structure models



Source: UNESCO, 2019.

Career structure model characterized with values teacher autonomy and collaboration with peers provides even more motivation to teachers (OECD, 2019). Encouraging teachers to collaborate and introduction of mentoring and couching positions are appreciated in teaching community as affective means of professional development and knowledge sharing.

The experience of high performing countries provides a strong evidence that wide possibilities of career advancement is the key factor to make the teaching profession attractive. For example, the career structure in Estonia provides teachers with multi-stage professional development both within and outside the school and classroom (Box 2.). Finland is the high performing country in education where the profession attracts and

retains the best and brilliant candidates even though the salary of teachers is not the highest compared with other professions. The high status of teachers in a society is explained with their high level of autonomy in schools, attractive career structure and wide career options.

Box 2. Teaching career structure in Estonia

In 2013, Estonia introduced a new vertical career structure alongside a reformed system of teacher professional qualifications. Its main aim is to serve as a reference for teachers' competency development and it comprises four distinct stages, reflecting different levels of professional skills and experience. Unlike many other multi-stage career structures, the stages are not formally linked to salaries and access to higher stages is voluntary. The career stage Levels 6 and 7.1 are awarded indefinitely, while Levels 7.2 and 8 are awarded for a five-year period after which the teacher must reapply.

- Teacher (Level 6): Applies only to pre-primary teachers upon entrance into the teaching profession, following the completion of an initial teacher education programme (at bachelor's degree level) or following the recognition of professional qualifications for this level by the teacher professional body.
- Teacher (Level 7.1): Awarded upon entrance into the teaching profession. following the completion of an initial teacher education programme (at master's degree level) or following the recognition of professional qualifications for this level by the teacher professional body.
- Senior teacher (Level 7.2): Awarded to teachers who, in addition to their regular teaching activities, support the development of the school and of other teachers and are involved in methodological work at the school level.
- Master teacher (Level 8): Awarded to teachers who, in addition to their regular teaching activities, participate in development and creative activities in and outside their school and closely co-operate with a higher education institution.

The Estonian Qualifications Authority has developed professional standards that define the competencies associated with each stage of the career structure. A teacher professional organisation (the Estonian Association of Teachers) is responsible for the certification process that determines teachers' advancement across career stages. Twice a year, teachers can apply for a new certification. A three-member committee oversees the two-stage application process, which involves an evaluation of the candidate's application materials and an interview.

Source: Santiago, P., A. Levitas, P. Radó, C. Shewbridge (2016). OECD Reviews of School Resources: Estonia 2016, OECD Publishing, Paris, http://dx.doi.org/10 1787/9789264251731-en.07:56

The teacher career model of Singapore is cited and recommended in the most literature as promising career structure model that enables teachers to take control over own professional development along different routes of progression matching their interests and strengths without necessarily having to leave the classroom (see Box 3). Teachers can choose career progression route in three tracks: teaching track, leadership track and senior specialist track. The advantage of this model over other models is that it helps teachers develop their full potential and progress along different routes of careers gradually associated with the increase in the level of autonomy and new responsibilities.

The teaching career offers two models of advancement: salary progression model based on appraisal and career ladder model leading to progress to the higher levels of career with an associated increase in base salary.

Salary progression based on appraisal

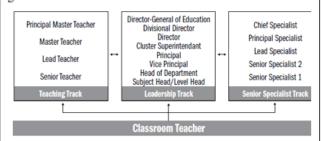
There are three mechanisms of salary progression based on appraisal in teaching profession. First, teachers receive

Teacher career structure in Uzbekistan

Box 3. Teacher career tracks in Singapore

Because different teachers have different aspirations, the Ministry of Education has 3 career tracks to allow them to develop and progress along different fields of excellence.

- The **Teaching Track** provides professional development and advancement opportunities for teachers who are keen to further develop the pedagogical capability of the teaching force.
- The School Leadership Track provides opportunities for teachers who are keen to contribute to the effective management and leadership of schools.
- The Senior Specialist Track provides opportunities for those who are inclined towards more specialised areas in educational development, where deep knowledge and skills are essential for breaking new grounds.



There will be flexibility for lateral movements across the different tracks. Teachers can choose to move across the different career tracks, as long as they meet the requirements of the job they aspire to take on.

Source: Singapore Ministry of Education (2023)

a pay rise based on the evaluation of their performance by school principals. Second, the increased base salary is paid to teachers who demonstrate their knowledge and skills through external certification procedures. Third, teachers progressing along career ladder (Figure 1) receive salary increase based on the external appraisal conducted at national level twice a year.

Salary progression based on internal appraisal

Each school principal is allocated with special funds (principal's fund) to promote teachers with high performance. Teachers are evaluated internally by school pedagogical council once a year and based on the evaluation results teachers get salary increment (bonus) to their monthly base salaries during the year which ranges from 10% to 40% of base salary. Principal's fund provides up to 50% of teachers of each school with maximum 40% of base salary increment.

The teachers' achievements in previous academic year determine the salary bonus for the entire period of new academic year. The evaluation criteria are defined by the Ministry of Public Education and it is executed on an annual basis (Annex 1).

The percentage of bonus varies based on the results of evaluation (max 100 points): 10% for 65-70 points, 15% for 71-75 points, 20% for 76-80 points, 25% for 81-85 points, 30% for 86-90 points, 35% for 91-95 points and 40% for 96-100 points.

Evaluation for salary rise is based on the performance assessment across nine domains with different weights (achievement of students, work experience, methodological work, professional development, extracurricular activities, survey of students and parents). It is important to note that students' average grades, success and achievements dominate in the performance assessment with the weight of 65%.

The internal appraisal system has been modified in line with the changes in the system. The focus has shifted to develop an effective appraisal system that can retain and motivate effective teachers, provide incentives to perform at high levels, can improve learning outcomes and can improve teachers' practices by identifying strengths and weaknesses.

However, there remains much room to enhance the improvement function of appraisal system. First, teacher appraisal results are mostly used for the purpose of identifying performance level rather than providing feedback to teachers, identifying their weaknesses for further professional development and holding them accountable for student learning. For this reason, it is important to build appraisal system fostering professional development, helping teachers improve their practices and holding them accountable for student learning.

Second, evaluation system is merely quantitative and relies on narrow measures of effectiveness. In addition, criteria of evaluating teachers' performance based on the students' average grades might be considered as a direct conflict of interest. Since results of appraisal effect on the salary of teachers, teachers tend to hide their weaknesses and to manipulate performance indicators such as student grades. Evaluation criteria should include qualitative indicators promoting quality culture, self-assessment, collaboration, peer appraisals. Indicators resulting in conflict of interest should be avoided or cross-referenced with the standardized testing results of the students in regional monitoring studies, national and international assessments. Third, teacher appraisal is not linked to schools monitoring and evaluation results. Considering the fact that the greater focus of school evaluations are the performance of principals and teachers in Uzbekistan, the school evaluation should have an effect on teacher appraisal and feedback to achieve the greatest impact from both evaluations. The synergy between school evaluation (internal and external evaluation) and teacher appraisal will eventually contribute to improve school performance.

Salary progression based on external certification

The Government has introduced teacher certification system to motivate effective teachers and to provide financial incentives to perform at high levels. Teacher certification is the credential that confirms the subject matter knowledge and professional skills within a given area and provides salary increase (up to 50% increment to the base salary) to the holder of certificate during the lifetime of certificate but not exceeding 3 years. Certification is not mandatory process and it is used as an additional instrument of financial incentive.

The certification system is on the development path modified year by year. Currently the certification is available for teachers of Foreign language, Mathematics, Physics and the certification on other subjects will be implemented step by step by the State Testing Center, an authorized agency to certify teachers on all subjects. In addition, internationally recognized certificates of foreign languages are accepted as an alternative.

The government has modified certification system in 2022 through introduction of new teacher certification system recognized by the international certification bodies

which coexists with the current national certification system and it will be effective by the first of August 2023. Educators holding internationally recognized certificates (i.e. both international certificates and national certificates recognized at international level) will receive more salary increment (i.e. 50% increment) rather than just nationally recognized certificates (i.e. 20% increment).

Although the recognition and motivation of high performing teachers through certification provides an attractive alternative pathway to salary progression, the certification merely assesses the subject matter knowledge while other important skills of effective teaching such as knowledge of pedagogy, curriculum, student behavior, learning outcomes, classroom management, effective communication and feedback are missing. For this reason, the comprehensive assessment system in line with teacher professional standards needs to be introduced in the future.

Career ladder

Teachers have opportunities to advance in career either through more advanced teacher levels or through senior management positions (Figure 4). The career structure is mandatory for all teachers.

There are four teacher categories (or advancement levels): teacher specialist, teacher with category level II, teacher with category level I and teacher with advanced category. As teachers enter into the profession, they start their career as a teacher-specialist. Teacher-specialist can advance to higher teacher qualification levels through category levels. Teachers without bachelor's degree are not eligible for qualification categories.

Only teachers with advanced category and with rich experience are eligible to become teacher-methodologist.

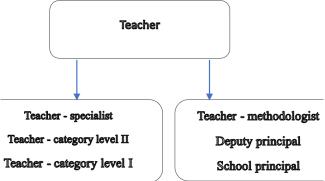


Figure 4. Teacher career ladder model in Uzbekistan

As teachers enter the teaching professions, they are awarded with category levels based on their qualification level:

- teacher-specialist level is awarded to teachers with bachelor's degree;
- category level II is awarded to teachers with bachelor's degree and having teaching certificate of assessment center or to teachers with Master's degree;
- advanced category is awarded to teachers with doctoral degree.

Categories other than teacher-specialist are awarded for a five-year period. Teachers need to demonstrate their performance periodically passing through teacher appraisal (attestation) in order to keep their current category or to be promoted to higher category levels. There is an exception for teachers with teaching work experience not less than 15 years can retain their current category level for the entire period of employment. In addition, teachers with doctoral degrees are also entitled to have

advanced category for the entire period of employment.

From 2020 teachers may participate in upcoming scheduled teacher attestation processes (twice a year) not waiting five years if they wish to do so. So, a teacher can progress to the next category level at least after six months of the last attestation and it is even possible for teachers to advance to the highest category within two years.

The State Inspectorate for Supervision of Education Quality is the authorized government body to conduct teacher appraisal on national level and to award qualification categories based on teacher appraisal results.

The SISEQ makes a decision on awarding category level based on the evaluation results. Evaluation domains and criteria are developed by the SISEQ together with the Ministry of Public Education (Table 1).

Teachers' pedagogical skills and psychological state/capabilities (weight – 20%) as well as subject matter knowledge (weight – 80%) are evaluated in teacher appraisal. It is conducted in two stages. In the first stage, school pedagogical council, the collegial governing body at schools, evaluates teachers' pedagogical skills (15 points) and psychological capabilities (5 points) based on the results of lesson study analysis, portfolio of teachers and school observations of teachers' performance (see Annex 2).

In the second stage, SISEQ conducts the assessment of the subject matter knowledge of teachers by using different instruments of assessments (testing, written, oral and practical exam) depending on the subject of teaching.

Table 1. Teacher evaluation domains and criteria

	Domains	Criteria	Weight
1	Pedagogical skills	Conducting open lessons, students' academic performance, effective use of teaching techniques, participation in capacity building activities and development of teaching and learning resources	15%
2	Psychological readiness	Psychological analysis of lessons, feedback from students and parents	5%
3	Subject matter knowledge	Assessment (testing, oral, written and practical exams)	80%
	TOTAL		100%

Teachers may progress to the next category level, remain in the same category level and downgrade to the lower category as a result of teacher appraisal (Table 2). Each qualification category is associated with base salary increase. Employment contract of teacher-specialist might be terminated by employer (school principal) in the case of failing attestation. But teachers who participate in attestation before mandatory five-year period and fail attestation keep their current category irrespective of their performance.

Table 2. Progression by qualification category levels

Category levels	Progression criteria+	Salary increase (comparing to the base salary of a teacher without qualification category)
Teacher – specialist	≥60% - progresses to category level II; 55%-59% - retains the current category; <55% - fail, a teacher is considered as unqualified for teacher-specialist position*.	2 575 372 UZS (+7%)

Teacher-	 ≥70% - progresses to category 	2 883 271 UZS
category level	level I;	(+19.8%)
II	 60%-69% - retains the current 	
	category;	
	 <60% - fail, qualification level is 	
	downgraded to teacher-specialist level.	
Teacher -	 ≥80% - progresses to advanced 	3 212 842 UZS
category level	(highest) category level;	(+33.5%)
I	 70%-79% - retains the current 	
	category;	
	<70% - fail, qualification level is	
	downgraded to category level II.	
Teacher-	 ≥80% - progresses to advanced 	3 550 412 UZS
advanced	(highest) category level;	(47.5%)
(highest)	 <80% - fail, downgrades to 	
category	category level I.	

*Employer (school principal) has a right to terminate an employment contract with a teacher who fails the attestation. However, if an employer doesn't terminate a contract, a teacher is required to undergo evaluation procedures in the next non-mandatory attestation period. If a teacher fails attestation three times consecutively, then an employment contract will be terminated due to the insufficient qualification of a teacher.

+ There is an exception for teachers who participate in attestation before a mandatory five-year period: their category level is not downgraded if they fail the attestation.

Teachers can decide to choose a career structure leading to senior management positions: teacher-methodologist, deputy principal and principal.

Regional management divisions of the Ministry of Public Education has methodological services units supporting and coaching teachers of the region in teaching and professional development. To work as a teachermethodologist in a methodological service unit, teachers should have at least five years of experience and the highest category level .

Deputy principal is responsible for academic affairs and spiritual-enlightenment activities at schools. Usually experienced teachers (at least Bachelor's Degree and a five-year teaching experience, knowledge of foreign language at beginner level and ICT skills) are appointed as a deputy principal .

Becoming principal is relatively stricter. Candidates should satisfy several requirements related to the qualifications (at least Bachelor's Degree, military officer in a reserve, knowledge of foreign language at beginner level and ICT skills), teaching experience (at least a fiveyear experience) and management experience (at least a two-year experience in management positions and a five-year experience in military service). However, there are lots of cases in which good managerial skills even without enough teaching skills are considered as the main criteria to select principals. To establish common standards for principals the Ministry of Public Education developed Professional standards for school principals, but it has not been implemented yet. The selection and appointment of principals have gone through major reforms in the last two years. Recognizing the positive contribution of well-prepared school leaders to education quality, the Government set distinct entry requirements to the occupation. A three-stage selection procedure is established:

1-stage: the announcement of open vacancies on open portal of vacancies for public civil service positions (vacancy.argos.uz), websites of regional units of the ministry and social networks. Vacancies remain open for 10 days after the announcement;

2-stage: screening and initial selection of candidates by regional units of the ministry;

3-stage: the approval of selected candidates by a city council. The candidates prepare a three-year school development plan to present it to a city council and a candidate with good three-year plan will be approved as a principal.

In addition, a principal certification system will be effective from January 1, 2023 and only certified candidates will be eligible to work as a principal . The candidates should undergo specific leadership training preparing them for new responsibilities and rigorous assessment processes to get a certificate.

These possibilities of promotion are limited within a school and/or a region. Although there are more advanced levels of management positions in public education system, they are not attractive due to the low salary and poor working conditions. Moreover, there are no pathways for teachers to advance in academic areas. The vertical progression along the career doesn't always lead to the diversification of teachers' responsibilities and tasks: tasks remain almost the same throughout the whole career. The progression in management positions often requires to leave the classroom. As a result, it makes the profession boring and less attractive, causes deterioration of learning outcomes by posing risks of creating classrooms without effective teachers and/or school leaders without advanced pedagogical skills.

The Government should take measures to build well-designed career structures based on wide vertical career pathways with horizontal diversification opportunities and to link career structure, professional standards and remuneration, thus enhancing the capacities of teachers and providing a long-term motivation.

Monetary incentives not linked to career level of teachers

The Government of Uzbekistan is introducing variety of monetary incentive schemes of teachers to support high performing teachers and teachers working disadvantaged working conditions.

In particular, high performing teachers may receive the following salary increments:

- up to 200% if the student taught by a teacher wins national and international subject Olympiads (100% for bronze medal, 150% for silver medal and 200% for gold medal);
- one-time payment up to 450 times of base payment rate (i.e. 300 000 UZS) if the student taught by a teacher wins national and international subject Olympiads (150 times of BPR for a bronze medal, 250 times of BPR for a silver medal and 450 times for a gold medal in International Olympiads; 30 times of BPR for a bronze medal, 35 times of BPR for a silver medal and 50 times for a gold medal in International Olympiads);
- various incentives linked to National school ranking: 10 times of minimum compensation rate (i.e. 920 000 UZS) for the principal of a school gained top place in district school ranking, two teachers from each of five top schools receive free tour packages to resorts and sanatoriums;
- one-time and monthly salary increments from the Fund of the Minister of Public Education: high-performing pedagogical staff (school management staff, teachers, psychologists, librarians, methodologists, staff working in the system of public education) receive monthly and/or one-time salary increment in the amount of 5.5 times of the minimum compensation rate (equivalent to 5060000 UZS);

30%/60% for teachers engaged in scientific

activities.

Teachers having disadvantaged working conditions are motivated as follows:

- 50%/100% for teachers working at low quality schools in neighboring districts (50% if a teacher comes from a school within a region and 100% if a teacher comes from a school located in different region);
- teachers coming to work at schools located in far regions receive a one-time compensation in the amount of 50 times of base payment rate (or equivalent to 15 000 000 UZS) and monthly compensation for rent expenses in the amount of two times of base payment rate (or equivalent to 600 000 UZS).

Moreover, teachers get paid for performing different tasks related to teaching such as a classroom management, assessment of students' work and etc (Table 3).

Table 3. List of paid activities related to teaching

#	Activity	Amount of
		payment
1	Classroom management:	
	- < 15 students	26.4% of BS
	 16-20 students 	31.6% of BS
	 21-25 students 	36.9% of BS
	 26-30 students 	42.1% of BS
	 >30 students 	52.8% of BS
2	Assessment of students'	
	work (homework, exam):	
	 Classroom with 	8.8% of BS
	small size (less than 15	
	students)	17.6% of BS
	- Regular	
	classrooms	
3	Management of computer	17.6% of BS
	1abs	

Conclusion. Creating a more attractive career structure can be one of efficient solutions to increase the status of the profession because career structures that provide wider career opportunities vertically and horizontally to teachers is the most promising for teacher motivation (Kraft and Papay, 2014; UNESCO, 2019).

The paper aims to provide policy recommendations to policymakers on the design of teacher careers highlighting necessary conditions to be in place to yield positive effects through the analysis of the efficiency of current reforms and lessons learned from the experience of other countries.

We conclude with the following main points:

First, the amount of salary is a key to increase the appeal and status of the teaching profession. The recent teacher career reforms that introduced a differentiated salary scheme for teachers was initially appreciated by teachers, but low level of base salary and higher requirements for salary increments negatively affected teacher attraction, motivation, and retention. The Government should shift its efforts from increasing the salary of teachers comparable to the average salary in the economy towards increasing the relative attractiveness and fairness of pay of the teaching profession compared to other professions requiring a similar level of qualification.

Second, we find that possibilities of promotion in a teaching career structure are limited within a school and/ or a region. Although there are more advanced levels of management positions in public education system, they are not attractive due to the low salary and poor working

conditions. Moreover, there are no pathways for teachers to advance in academic areas. The vertical progression along the career doesn't always lead to the diversification of teachers' responsibilities and tasks: tasks remain almost the same throughout the whole career. The progression in management positions often requires to leave the classroom. As a result, it makes the profession boring and less attractive, causes deterioration of learning outcomes by posing risks of creating classrooms without effective teachers and/or school leaders without advanced pedagogical skills. The Government should take measures to build well-designed career structures based on wide vertical career pathways with horizontal diversification opportunities and to link career structure, professional standards and remuneration, thus enhancing the capacities of teachers and providing a long-term motivation.

Third, although the recognition and motivation of high performing teachers through certification provides an attractive alternative pathway to salary progression, the certification merely assesses the subject matter knowledge while other important skills of effective teaching such as knowledge of pedagogy, curriculum, student behavior, learning outcomes, classroom management, effective communication and feedback are missing. For this reason, the comprehensive assessment system in line with teacher professional standards needs to be introduced in the future.

Fourth, there remains much room to enhance the improvement function of teacher appraisal system:

· teacher appraisal results are mostly used for

the purpose of identifying performance level rather than providing feedback to teachers, identifying their weaknesses for further professional development and holding them accountable for student learning. For this reason, it is important to build appraisal system fostering professional development, helping teachers improve their practices and holding them accountable for student learning.

- evaluation system is merely quantitative and relies on narrow measures of effectiveness. In addition, criteria of evaluating teachers' performance based on the students' average grades might be considered as a direct conflict of interest. For this reason, evaluation criteria such as students' average grades that result in direct conflict of interest should be avoided or cross-referenced with the standardized testing results of the students in regional monitoring studies, national and international assessments, and include qualitative indicators promoting quality culture, self-assessment, collaboration, peer appraisals.
- the provision of synergy between school evaluation (internal and external evaluation) and teacher appraisal will eventually contribute to improve school performance.

Finally, the career ladder system should place a strong emphasis on continuous professional development activities for teachers and the system should support collaboration and professional development at school level.

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