

Lessons for Latin America from Comparative Education:

South Korea's Teacher Policy

Soohyung Lee
Anna Koh

Department of Research and
Chief Economist

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Soohyung Lee*
Anna Koh**

* Sogang University

** Inter-American Development Bank

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Abstract¹

In many Asian countries, such as South Korea, teaching is considered a very high-status profession. A teacher in South Korea must meet a minimum qualification, either by graduating from education university, or by completing teacher-training courses in college. Graduates who are awarded a teaching certificate must then pass a very competitive national exam before being allowed to teach in public educational institutions. Clear evidence from South Korea demonstrates that teacher quality impacts the quality of student education. This paper aims to draw lessons from South Korea's experiences, with a focus on the teacher policy context, that can be applied to the educational environment in Latin America.

JEL classifications: I21, I24, I28, H55, J24

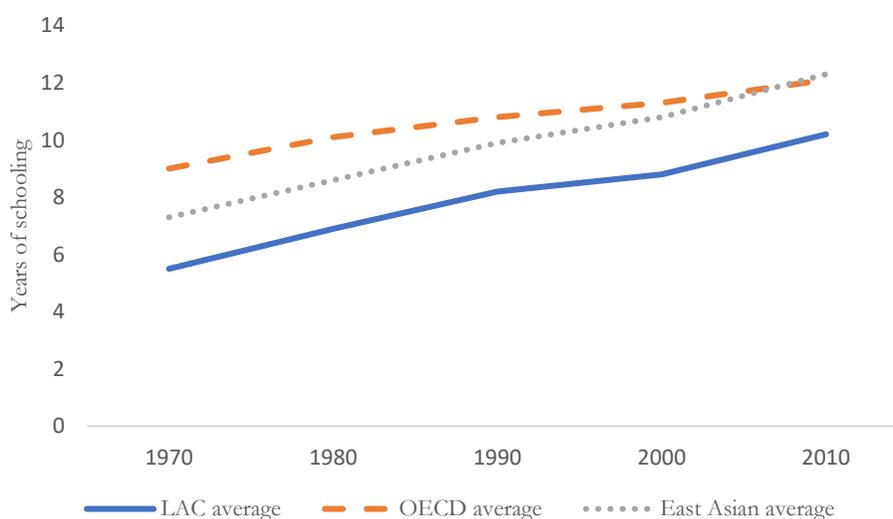
Keywords: Education quality, Teachers, Teacher quality, Retirement pension, Human development, Education reform

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1. Introduction

Latin America has increasingly expanded its school attainment over the past 50 years, achieving universal primary education and high rates of secondary school education. The average worker in 1970 had completed 5.5 years of schooling; today, the average worker has completed 10.2 years of schooling, and progress is continuing toward the OECD average of 12.1 years of schooling (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Average Years of Schooling Completed, 1970-2010



Source: Barro and Lee (2013).

Despite this rapid expansion of education, the region still suffers from issues of quality, such as low educational outcomes and high numbers of students repeating grades. 2015 PISA results show that all 10 participating countries of the region remain at the bottom of international standings. Individual-level student performance is also poor by international standards. In Latin American countries, with the exception of Chile, half of students have not reached Level 2, which PISA classifies as the minimum level of proficiency of expected attainment for all three subjects measured by the exam (OECD, 2016b). By contrast, fewer than 10 percent of students in South Korea, China and Singapore scored below Level 2 on the PISA scale. Moreover, the average level of student learning in Latin America is lower than expected, lagging more than one year behind what would be expected based on levels of economic development (Busso et al., 2017). In short,

this suggests that the region needs to increase student learning within its education systems to improve student achievement, and to further the productivity of its human capital.

Against this backdrop, the critical question is: What drives a high quality of education? While there are multiple explanations regarding this matter, a growing number of studies show that teacher quality is one of the main features that affect student outcomes (Hanushek et al., 2012; Chetty et al., 2014a). By tracing the performance of students in thousands of classes in which teachers were replaced from one year to the next, Chetty et al. (2014a) find clear evidence that average student learning declines when a class loses a top 5 percent teacher and, conversely, learning increases when good teacher replaces a poor-quality teacher (bottom 5 percent). Highly effective teachers not only increase the student outcomes but also develop students' human capability over the long term, as evidenced by a greater likelihood to continue schooling (Chetty et al., 2011; Jackson, 2013). The findings from the recent literature are very clear. A high-quality teacher is a crucial component of a high-quality education.

At the same time, studies document various issues that contribute to the lack of teacher quality in Latin American countries. For example, Bruns et al. (2015) show that teachers in the region use class time ineffectively by dedicating much more time to classroom management than to teaching. Furthermore, requirements for becoming a teacher in the region are much less demanding than those in other countries, and official regulation and oversight are lacking for the wide variety of pedagogical institutes and universities that provide teacher-training programs. Hence, teacher quality is not guaranteed, and it can differ across teachers from different academic backgrounds (Elacqua et al., 2018).

Meanwhile, in Asian countries, such as South Korea, teaching is considered a very high-status profession. A teacher in South Korea must meet a minimum qualification, either by graduating from education university or by completing teacher-training courses in college. Graduates who are awarded a teaching certificate must then pass a very competitive national exam before being allowed to teach in public educational institutions. Clear evidence from South Korea demonstrates that teacher quality impacts the quality of student education: South Korean students' performance on international tests, such as PISA, routinely puts them in the top of rankings worldwide and well above the OECD average. Thus, this paper aims to draw lessons from South

Korea's experiences, with a focus on the teacher policy context, that can be applied to the educational environment in Latin America.²

2. Teacher Supply

The quality of training institutions and teaching career benefits plays an important role in encouraging excellent students to undertake teacher training and to pursue a teaching career. In South Korea, the intense competition for admission to teacher education programs guarantees that candidates are selected from a distinctive group of students with high scholastic achievement. Other elements contributing to the high caliber of the teaching force in South Korea are the highly respected status of teachers, job stability, high pay, and good, non-monetary benefits such as paid vacations, maternity leave and shorter working hours. Thus, the policies that serve to attract people to the profession, to prepare them to do the job, and to retain them in educational careers play a key role in supplying the highly qualified teaching force that South Korea enjoys. Against this backdrop, Section 2.1 compares and contrasts the teacher qualification systems in South Korea and Latin America. Section 2.2 examines processes involved with teacher hiring and employment in South Korea and Latin America.

2.1. Teacher Qualification System

2.1.1 Elementary School Teacher Education in South Korea

To be qualified as an elementary school teacher in South Korea, a person must have a bachelor's degree from one of 13 higher educational institutions. Ten of these institutions are known as universities of education. In 1961, these national institutions were initially established as two-year technical colleges, and in 1981 they became four-year universities (see the list in Table 1). The other three higher educational institutions that offer bachelor's degrees for elementary school teachers are general universities: Ewha Women's University, Jeju University and Korea National University of Education. The Ministry of Education (MOE) allowed these three general universities to offer an "elementary education" major.

The MOE regulates the number of students who can enroll in any of these 13 universities. Note that in South Korea, the MOE provides the primary source of financial resources to both

² For a related examination of how the educational culture and funding by government and families affect education in South Korea, and the possible lessons for Latin America, see our companion discussion paper, Lee and Koh (2020).

public and private universities. It also regulates the college admission system including the freshmen quota of each university in each year. It even effectively regulates the allocation of freshmen quota across college majors within a university.³ The MOE's policies have great impact on public and private universities in South Korea because they heavily depend on the national subsidies regulated by the MOE.

As of the 2017 admission cycle, the total freshmen quota of these 13 universities was 3,848 students (KOSIS, 2019). Admission to these universities is highly selective and competitive. To be eligible for admission, applicants generally must reach a certain minimum College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) score.⁴ Table 1 shows the ratio of the quota to the number of candidates, which underscores the high intensity of the competition to pursue education and training to become a teacher in South Korea. The student selection process of these universities involves a two-phase application and admission process through two different programs: general admission and special admission. Though qualification criteria differ from university to university, both general and special admission processes first consider intellectual ability by using CSAT results and high school academic records. Candidates then take other practical tests and/or undergo interviews.⁵ In some universities, the ratios are set to balance admissions by gender so that the number of female or male students does not exceed 75 percent of those admitted.

The universities' primary teacher education programs are four-year courses that require completing more than 140 credit hours to acquire a teaching certificate. The curriculum of these institutions mainly consists of three different parts: liberal arts courses, major courses, and advanced courses. Liberal arts courses prepare the students with necessary skills to be a teacher.

³ For example, the MOE launched the PRIME Project (Program for Industrial Needs-Matched Education) in 2015 that provides significant financial incentives to the universities that increase engineering enrollments by reducing slots for arts/humanities. This subsidy program was originally introduced to address employment concerns based on the government report, which predicted a shortage of engineering majors and a large surplus of liberal arts and social sciences in future.

⁴ CSAT is an eight-hour set of university entrance tests, which is used to determine university admission along with student records and other data. In general, the top 5 percent of high school students based on CSAT scores are admitted to universities of education.

⁵ CSAT scores and academic records account for 80 percent of the admission criteria, and the interview and/or practical scores account for remaining 20 percent.

Table 1. University of Education with Freshmen Quotas

University of Education	Freshmen quota (number of students)	Ratio of applicants over freshman quota
Seoul	356	8.01
Busan	356	13.26
Daegu	383	9.87
Kyungin	598	5.71
Gwangju	326	11.13
Chuncheon	321	11.43
Chungju	286	8.3
Gongju	354	6.01
Cheonju	285	7.74
Jinju	319	12.58
Ehwa	39	51.44
Jeju	111	9.94
Korea	114	18.55
Total	3848	

Source: KOSIS (2019).

Major courses include classes that cover 10 subjects (such as Math, Science and Korean Language Arts) that are part of the primary education curriculum, other integrated courses, and extracurricular subjects (to prepare students for their roles serving as homeroom teachers of elementary school classes). Advanced courses offer 12 different subjects in depth to allow students to study specific subjects according to their preferences. Upon graduation, student teachers obtain a lifetime teaching certificate. Nonetheless, these certified teachers must take the National Teacher Employment Test (NTET), a national test administered by each metropolitan or provincial office of education, to become a public teacher. More details about this test will be discussed in the next section.

2.1.2 Secondary School Teacher Education in South Korea

In contrast to the elementary school education program, secondary school teacher training in South Korea has no designated educational institution. Instead, interested individuals who are enrolled in tertiary education—colleges of education, general four-year universities, and graduate schools of education—can take teacher-track courses to be certified. Every secondary education teacher candidate is required to have a major subject such as Math or Science, which will be listed on his or her teaching certificate. As of 2016, there were 321 institutions with a total freshman quota of

32,878 students. Table 2 shows the number and types of institutions offering secondary school teacher training, and the freshman quota for each. The table shows an oversupply of future teachers for the likely number of available positions.

The curricula and quality among these three types of institutions vary. This has led to suggestions that qualitative equalization of different institutions is needed to maintain a minimum level of uniformity (KEDI, 2012). For example, colleges of education offer their own four-year programs and require earning a total of 140 credit hours, including over 40 credit hours for major subjects and over 20 credit hours of pedagogy courses to acquire a teacher certificate. On the other hand, programs offered by general universities and graduate schools of education require students to take over 42 credit hours in major subjects and 20 hours of pedagogy courses, with little difference in curriculum between them, as both are equally guided by the National Act on Training for Teachers, which regulates teacher training institutes including their curricula, training hours and methods of lecture.

2.1.3 Teacher Education in Latin America

Recent studies show that students in the region have little interest in becoming teachers. Figure 2 shows the percentage of 15-year-old students who indicate that they are interested in pursuing a teaching career in comparison to the percentage who say they are interested in pursuing a career in engineering. In some developed countries (South Korea, Hong Kong, Finland, and Spain), the percentage of students who want to become teachers is equal to or exceeds the percentage of those who want to become engineers. By contrast, throughout Latin America (and in some developed countries, such as Canada, Germany and the United States), far more students are interested in engineering than in teaching careers (OECD, 2016a). This is a key concern, as recent research on high-performing education systems consistently points to the ability to attract top talent into teaching as a critical underlying factor that takes education systems from “good to great” (Barber et al., 2007).

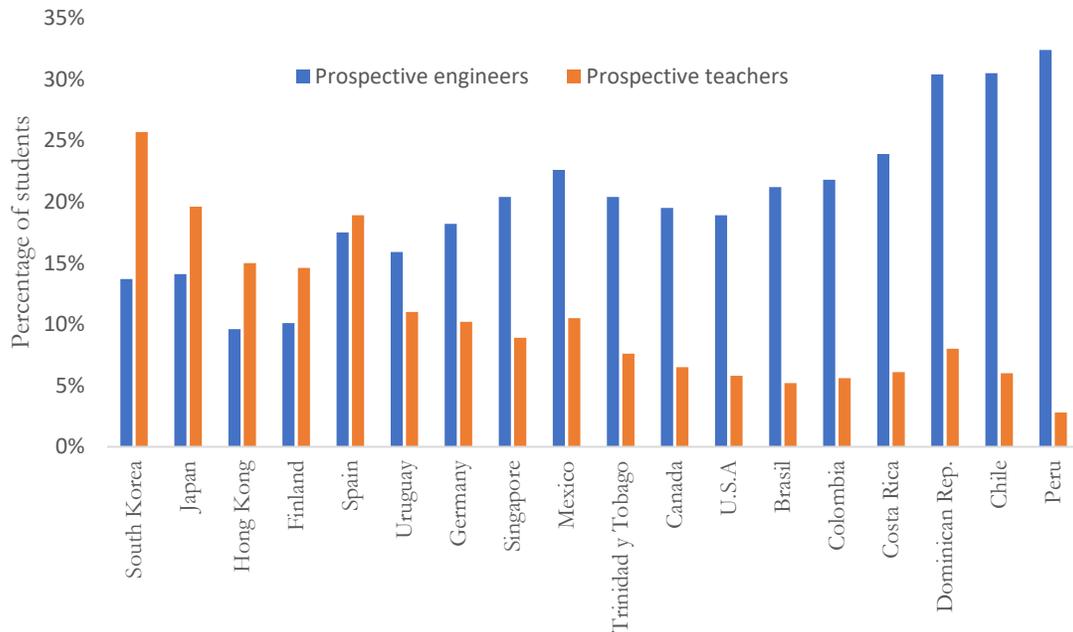
Table 2. Secondary Teacher Training Institutions with Freshmen Quota

Types of Training Institutions	Number of Institutions			Freshmen Quota		
	National/ Public	Private	Total	National/ Public	Private	Total
Teacher College	16	30	46	3,824	5,676	9,500
Department of Education	1	14	15	15	769	784
Teacher Training Program	30	122	152	2,200	6,507	8,707
Graduate School of Education	25	83	108	4,800	9,087	13,887
Total	72	249	321	10,839	22,039	32,878

Source: KOSIS (2019).

Attracting high-talent individuals into teaching requires aligning the salary structure, the social prestige of the profession, the selectivity of entry into teacher education, and the quality of that education. If teacher standards at the point of recruitment are not selective, investments in higher salaries are wasted, and prestige will not rise. In this context, the Latin American system is characterized by a lack of selectivity at the entry point to teacher training schools.

Figure 2. Percentage of 15-Year-Old Students Interested in Engineering and Teaching Careers



Source: Elacqua et al. (2018) based on PISA 2015.

The pool of individuals that enters teaching in Latin America is academically weaker than the overall pool of students in higher education. For example, the average score on the Chilean university entrance exam (Prueba de Selección Universitaria) for education students was 505, while the average was 660 for law, 700 for engineering, and 745 for medicine. In Colombia, average university entrance exam scores for teacher candidates were 14.5 percent below those of students in other disciplines, with an even larger gap for females (Bruns et al., 2015).

To address this matter, several countries in the region have set minimum entrance scores for students pursuing education degrees. In Chile, for example, the minimum score for education students has been gradually increasing in order to set 550 points as the minimum score by 2023 (Mineduc, 2015). Mexico has likewise set several criteria to be admitted to basic education institutions by establishing a minimum score of 950 on EXANI-II, national higher education entrance exam, which ranges from 700 to 1,300 points (Elacqua et al., 2018). Nonetheless, many other LAC countries are still characterized by a lack of selectivity in the teacher education institutes.

The level and content of teacher education in Latin America vary across countries. However, it is possible to identify general characteristics that apply to education programs throughout the region (Franco, 2012). As shown in Table 3, most countries in the region provide teacher training at the tertiary level, though these programs vary widely in terms of length and the level of education provided. Few countries prepare teacher candidates at the university level. (Exceptions include the University of Costa Rica, Catholic University of Peru, Mexico's National Pedagogical University, and the Catholic University of Ecuador.) In most of the region, either superior institutes (Instituciones Superiores) or teacher-training institutes for basic education (Escuelas Normales Superiores) provide pre-service teacher education.

Table 3. Level and Length of Teacher Initial Education

Country	Institutes for basic education	Superior Institutes or Universities
Argentina		4~5 years
Brazil		4 years
Chile		4~5 years
Colombia	2.5 years	5 years
Costa Rica		4 years
Guatemala		3 years
Mexico		4 years
Peru		5 years
Paraguay	3~4 years	4 years
Uruguay		4~5 years

Source: Franco (2012) and Elacqua et al. (2018).

Moreover, these programs tend to be, at most, lightly regulated. Most of region’s countries lack a national minimum threshold of practice teaching hours and instead leave such determinations to institutions to set and define basic standards. In Peru, for example, only non-university teaching programs can be directly regulated by the Ministry of Education (OREALC-UNESCO, 2013).

2.2. Employment and Assignment to Schools

2.2.1 South Korea

In South Korea, successfully graduating from a teacher training course is a necessary condition but does not complete the necessary requirements for becoming a teacher in national and public schools. Once students earn a teaching certificate, they must take NTET, an open and competitive employment exam, which is offered nationwide once a year.

The NTET is a nationwide exam designed by the Korean Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE), a Korean government-funded research institute. The test is administered by each metropolitan or provincial office of education.⁶ The examination, which is separately

⁶ Beginning in 1953, when the Educational Public Servant Act (285th Act) was established, graduates of the national and public universities of education, teacher colleges, and other teacher training institutes were appointed as teachers preferentially. This led schools to select more graduates of national and public institutions rather than those from private institutions, even when candidates had the same qualifications. This “discrimination” in terms of teacher

administered for elementary and secondary school teacher candidates, is required for those seeking work in public schools. The test is comprised of three primary phases. The first phase contains multiple-choice and short-answer questions that assess applicants' knowledge on subject matter education (70-80 points) and on education (20-30 points). The second phase is an essay writing exercise intended to evaluate the candidate's comprehensive understanding of major subject of study such as Math and Science. The third part involves an in-depth interview and teaching demonstration. (Jeong et al., 2011).

Applicants who pass the exam seek teaching assignments to schools within metropolitan or provincial areas that they select themselves. Each metropolitan or provincial office of education sets the quota of teachers that will be hired for each field of study and location. The education authorities select candidates with the highest NTET scores until they exhaust the quota. The popularity of the teaching profession in Korea makes this process very competitive. For example, in 2016, only one of 27 applicants seeking work as a mathematics teacher in Seoul was hired (KOSIS, 2019).

Applicants who are selected for teaching positions receive pre-employment, post-employment, and follow-up training. The Ministry of Education announced a plan in 2016 to reduce new teachers' teaching hours to provide more time for induction support. Pre-employment training typically lasts for two weeks and focuses on practical elements, such as classroom management. Six months of post-employment training follows. Principals, vice principals, and mentors at school typically provide this training, which involves instructional guidance and evaluation, classroom supervision, and instruction on clerical work and student guidance. Finally, during two weeks of follow-up training, after the six-month period, new teachers share what they have learned through presentations, reports, and discussion with peers.

Teachers in South Korea are required to move to a different school within the province every five years. After each five-year term, all teachers undergo a lottery system and are assigned

employment worsened in 1973 when the government decided to conduct an official examination for graduates of private teacher training institutions as a precursor to hiring them for teaching positions, while allowing graduates of public colleges to enter the education field without taking an examination. Therefore, a very limited number of graduates of private teacher institutes were appointed as teachers of public secondary schools. Eventually, in 1990, a group of private school graduates opposed to the practice filed a legal appeal, contending that certain provisions in the Educational Public Servant Act violated the constitutional principle of equality. The Constitutional Court upheld their challenge. Since then, Korea has used an open competition method for teacher appointments.

to a different school. Thus, each year, a school may get new staff. This policy is in place to give each teacher an equal opportunity to work at good schools and bad schools.

Though the government urges private schools to hire teachers based on NTET performance, private schools may use an independent selection process to hire teachers from the pool of candidates who have completed teacher training. It is important to note that the situation in Korea regarding private schools is different from the context in many other countries such as the United States. Private schools in South Korea are almost identical to public schools because they are subject to the same regulations, and they depend heavily on public subsidies. For example, private schools do not charge tuition (except at the high school level) and cannot select students; instead, the local school authority assigns students into both public and private schools. In other words, in Korea public and private schools are run effectively the same except for teacher hiring. See detailed explanation in Lee et al. (2014).

2.2.2 Latin America

Latin American countries have traditionally not used a compulsory national certification process for the teaching profession. In the region, individual hiring authorities more commonly use various tests to rank or otherwise assess applicants' relative quality. However, an increasing number of LAC countries, such as Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Peru, as well as several states in Brazil, are moving in the direction of national teacher competency tests, either as exit exams upon completion of teacher training or as screening exams prior to hiring. Peru, for example, made important changes in this context in 2012 when its Magisterial Reform Law (Ley de Reforma Magisterial) introduced the use of a set of examinations in the process of entering the public teaching career (Minedu, 2016). Within this framework, the teacher selection process consists of two major stages: i) the national stage, based on the national single test administered by the Ministry of Education; and ii) the decentralized stage, which evaluates graduates' teaching ability. Only those candidates who manage to exceed the minimum scores in the National Single Test are allowed to apply for teaching positions, to move on to the decentralized stage (Elacqua et al., 2018).

After teacher candidates pass the national test in those countries mentioned above, the candidates with the highest test scores can choose the schools they prefer, usually in urban areas

and having students with high academic achievement. This allocation mechanism may cause new and potentially less effective teachers to be placed in the most vulnerable schools.

3. Teacher Benefits

When students decide whether to pursue an educational career, they consider the relative rewards of teaching as compared to other careers. Salaries, potential earnings growth and benefits are part of the picture. In South Korea, where number of people who want to become a teacher substantially exceeds the quota for teacher training, the intense competition itself suggests a prevailing belief that the benefits of being a teacher exceed those from other careers. In Latin America, by contrast, the perception is the opposite. In this section, we examine how the monetary and non-monetary benefits associated with being a teacher in South Korea differ from those in Latin America.

3.1. Monetary Benefits

3.1.1 Salary

The salary consists of a basic salary based on the years of experience (40 grades), and allowances associated with extra hours of work or additional tasks.⁷ Since 2001, a merit-based bonus has also been awarded to teachers, linking salary to the teachers' work performance. However, when the system was first adopted, 90 percent of a teacher's remuneration was still evenly distributed and only 10 percent was performance-based, due to extreme backlash from teachers; however, the salary ratio based on performance subsequently increased to 50 percent by 2009 (Choi et al., 2016).

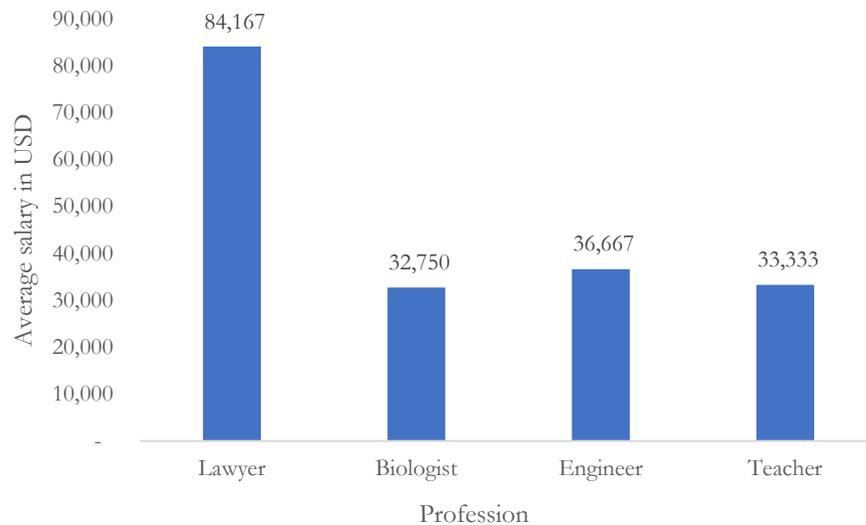
Average annual salaries for newly hired teachers in South Korea are lower than the average of OECD countries, but salaries of teachers with 15 years of experience are higher relative to other OECD countries. For instance, middle school teachers' starting salaries are USD 29,252, compared to the OECD average of USD 31,013. However, teachers' salaries after 15 years of experience are USD 51,489, while the average across OECD countries is USD 42,825 (OECD, 2016c). Compensation levels are also attractive when compared to the average South Korean average worker's annual income of USD 33,333 (KESS, 2016). A comparison of salaries of four selected professions with the salaries of secondary teachers in South Korea shows that teacher salaries are roughly 40 percent that of lawyers, but about the same as those of biologists and engineers (see Figure 3).

⁷ By additional tasks, we mean being task managers, vice principals, or principals.

3.1.2 Pension

Teachers are considered national public employees, and pension plans used throughout the schools are roughly the same. All public school teachers are required to join the Government Employees Pension Plan, while private school teachers join the Private School Teachers Pension Plan, which is also administered by the central government. The pension amount is based on the employee's total income (basic salary, stipend, and other allowances). The contribution rate is 8 percent of annual income for each employee and the employer, in this case the government. As of 2016, average monthly pension for retired public teacher over 65 was USD 2,686. The average government pension, meanwhile, was USD 2,200, according to the Korea Taxpayers' Association. This is because the teachers work longer than other public officers, more than 30 years.

Figure 3. Average Salary for Teachers Relative to Other Professional Workers in South Korea



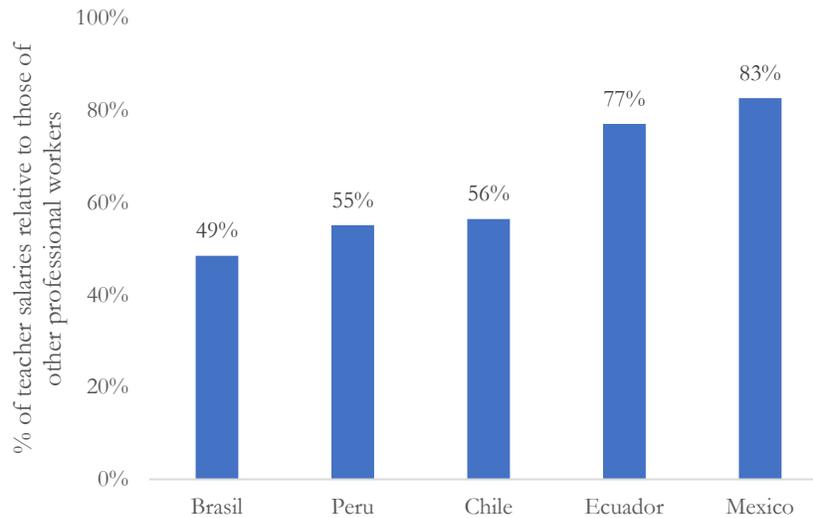
Source: KEIS (2016).

3.1.3 Latin America

In Chile, where teacher remuneration is higher than in other Latin American countries, the starting salary is US\$18,034, and after 15 years, teachers' earnings increase to US\$25,027. In Peru, even after 20 years of teaching, a secondary teacher can earn a maximum of US\$20,732 (OECD, 2016c). The salaries of teachers in the region is even worse when compared to those of other professions. For example, salaries of teachers in Ecuador and Mexico are 77 percent and 83 percent,

respectively, of the salaries of other professional workers. Salaries of teachers in Brazil, Chile and Peru about half of those paid to other professional workers (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Average Salary for Teachers Relative to Those of Other Professional Workers



Source: Elacqua et al. (2018).

3.2. Non-Monetary Benefits

In South Korea, being a teacher is attractive in ways that extend beyond salary. It is also an appealing job in terms of the hours worked, maternity leave offered, and vacation time allowed. Like many other developed countries, South Korea introduced labor regulations limiting the maximum number of hours that can be worked, requiring additional compensation for extra hours worked or for overnight work, and instituting paid vacation for workers. However, these regulations are not well implemented. Many salaried workers still work more than 60 hours per week, and they often do not take their paid vacations. By contrast, teachers have a comparatively smaller workload. They report for a 37-hour work week that consists of 18.8 working hours spent teaching, and other 18.2 hours working outside of the classroom, either to prepare lessons or to manage administrative work. Moreover, they have up to 100 days of paid vacation per year, and they use all of them (OECD, 2015).

This situation regarding maternity leave is similar. Under Korean labor law, female employees receive 90 calendar days of paid maternity leave (about 80 percent of their salary); in practice, though, only 41.1 percent of female pregnant workers use maternity leave (KIHASA, 2019). However, the uptake of maternity leave benefits among public officials and national and

public teachers is 75 percent, the highest rate in South Korea. By contrast, 34.5 percent of workers in private companies use maternity leave. Many women in the private sector cite pressure from their employers and fears of being disadvantaged in their workplaces as reasons for not taking advantage of the maternity leave policy. Moreover, because Korea remains a patriarchal society, many married women are expected to take sole responsibility for childcare; the combination of long working hours and a lack of daycare centers leads many women to quit their jobs after becoming mothers.

Hence, the high social status for women in teaching positions, attractive levels of pay, the promise of long-term growth in salaries, plus other valued benefits, such as favorable maternity leave and longer vacation, are considered key reasons why well-educated women choose teaching as a career in South Korea. As of 2016, women accounted for 78.1 percent of the nation's primary school teachers, 69.9 percent of middle school teachers, and 51.2 percent of high school teachers (UNESCO-UIS, 2017). These figures are the result of a rapid increase of female teachers in Korea over the last two decades.

As the proportion of female teachers increases, new provisions have been made including a child-rearing vacation devised to protect maternity. When a female teacher files for child-rearing vacation, she can be granted up to one-year paid vacation, and this period is recognized as a part of the professional career without any disadvantages in terms of salary and promotion. During this vacation time, she is paid about 50 percent of her salary.

4. Quality Control of Teachers

The high education level of the general population, the value placed on education in South Korean culture, and the intense competition to become teachers suggest that highly capable people will select teaching as a profession. However, these factors do not guarantee that teachers who are hired will stay up to date with the profession. The on-the-job training program, evaluation scheme and promotion systems may ease this concern.

4.1 On-the-Job Training

Teachers receive school-based training that extends throughout their careers. Training provisions begin in the weeks prior to their initial work in the classroom, and first-year teachers receive particularly close attention. The provincial or metropolitan educational authorities provide newly

hired teachers with a specific pre-employment course, and school superintendents organize a two-week course aimed at helping new teachers to adapt to the school setting. Once the school year begins, school administrators are encouraged to sustain support for and supervision of new teachers over a six-month period. Administrators give first-year teachers advice and guidance, and they provide assistance in sorting out any difficulties encountered. During two weeks of follow-up training, new teachers share what they have learned through joint work with peers.

Established teachers receive two types of in-service education: general training and qualification training. General training aims at developing teachers' professional knowledge and skills. Examples include subjects such as information technology, curriculum content updates, and liberal arts and general educational studies. General training is open to any teacher who wishes to participate. However, teachers must pay for this training themselves. Policies nonetheless incentivize them to undertake this training, and the results are utilized as a factor in promotion.

By contrast, the government pays for qualification training, which is required for educators to acquire a higher level of qualification, or a higher teacher status. For instance, a new teacher, who obtained a Grade II teaching certificate upon graduation from a teacher education institute, must take a qualification-training course to advance to a Grade I certificate. Normally this occurs approximately five years after obtaining an initial teacher certificate. Qualification training is also required for promotion to educational administrative positions such as vice-principal and principal.

4.2 Teacher Evaluation

Korea has implemented three different types of teacher evaluations: one for personnel decisions (e.g., promotion and school assignment), one for salary determinations, and one for professional development. First adopted in 1964, teacher performance ratings evaluate teachers' past, current, and potential performance, and they aid decision-making regarding promotion and school transfers. This evaluation system will not be described here, as it is discussed in the next section.

The teacher performance-based pay system, as mentioned in the previous section, further aims to generate constructive competition between teachers and offers monetary rewards for their efforts. The evaluation standards for this pay system is set by each school, however, and the Ministry of Education provides guidelines and examples for each district. The evaluation consists of four main areas: instruction, student guidance, administrative service and professional development. Under this system, the top 30 percent of teachers receive a ranking of S, the next 40

percent an A, and the remaining 30 percent a B. The salaries vary from one group to another based on the evaluation results (Choi et al., 2016).

Finally, the teacher evaluation for professional development system, established nationwide in 2010, provides teachers with feedback intended to improve their teaching and, in turn, assists in the development of their professional competence. Three groups of stakeholders participate in this evaluation system: peer teachers, students and parents. The first group, comprised of more than 5 peer teachers, evaluate the teacher’s teaching performance based on multiple criteria. Table 4 presents overviews of these criteria for the evaluation of regular teachers. The group of students and parents evaluate their teachers by rating their level of satisfaction with the class.

Table 4. Teacher Evaluation Criteria for Regular Teachers

Areas	Elements	Criteria
Instruction	Preparation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding the curriculum and making an effort to improve teaching & learning methods - Conducting learner analysis & instructional analysis - Establishing teaching & learning strategies
	Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introduction - Teacher attitude - Instructional materials - Summary & synthesis - Teacher questioning - Interaction between teacher and students - Teaching activities
	Assessment and utilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessment of student learning (Criteria & methods) - Utilization of assessment results
Student guidance	Personal maturity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding students’ personal problems & developing a strong character and creativity - Student guidance in collaboration with their parents - Career guidance considering students’ aptitudes and strengths
	Social maturity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cultivating good habits, Enhancing adaptability at school - Developing democratic citizenship

Source: Ministry of Education (2015).

The results are open for all stakeholders, and all teachers must develop an individual professional development plan based on their assessment results.

4.3 Promotion

Schools have three types of educators: teachers, vice-principals, and principals. Teachers are directly involved in educational activities, while vice-principals do not teach except in special cases. Vice-principals participate in school administration, support teachers' work, and supervise the school. The principal, who is the manager of the school, establishes the educational plan, maintains school facilities, and supervises teachers. Principals and vice-principals receive allowances for their managerial tasks in addition to base salary. Many teachers seek promotions to become school administrators, and the competition for promotion is severe, fueled by both the opportunity to increase earnings and traditional values emphasizing increased social status for these administrative positions.

Currently, there are two ways for teachers to become a principal of primary or secondary schools (KEDI, 2012). One is the "promotion-based appointment system" under which a regular teacher is promoted to vice principal and then principal. Another is the "open principal employment system" under which the principal is appointed within the school through an open competition or invited from external institutes. National and public schools rely on these two systems. (By contrast, principals of private schools are appointed by the founder or executive officer of the school according to the Article 53 of the Private School Act.)

The promotion-based appointment system relies on a tally of points based on one's career, work performance, education and research performance, and other factors. The total evaluation score for vice-principal and principal candidates is 212 points, comprised of the following four components:

- length of service (90 points),
- performance (80 points),
- in-service training and research achievement (30 points), and
- various other educational activities, such as teaching in remote areas, in special schools, or in research schools (12 bonus points).

Teacher candidates who meet the qualification criteria earn vice-principal certificates. Principal certificate is awarded to those vice-principals who have served in the position for at least three years, and who also meet the qualification criteria for principal.

Competition for vice-principal and principal positions is very strong. Generally, fewer than 1 percent of teachers are promoted to vice-principal positions each year. Most teachers who are promoted to vice-principal and then principal positions have 25 years to 30 years of teaching experience and therefore are between 50 years and 55 years of age.

4.4 Latin America

Few countries in Latin America have formal induction programs for entry-level teachers. However, in recent years, Chile, Mexico, Colombia and Peru have established mandatory induction programs with mentors or tutors, with a duration ranging from six months to two years (Elacqua et al., 2018). Distinct from other countries in the region, Chile grants a monthly monetary incentive to teachers participating in the induction program. In Mexico, the induction program for new teachers began in 2015 but was not implemented in all states. On the other hand, in Brazil, various states and municipalities have established courses and activities for young teachers as a complement to their probationary period. The city of Rio de Janeiro in 2012 launched an innovative induction program for new teachers (Bruns et al., 2015).

The use of teacher performance evaluation systems in Latin America also varies. Some countries (Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile) have made performance reviews mandatory. Chile is the lone country in the region in which teacher performance evaluations (covering municipal schoolteachers) were adopted without major conflict. Chile's performance evaluation process was initially introduced on a voluntary basis, and only later made mandatory. However, most of Chile's teachers are not subject to such evaluations because fewer than half of teachers work in municipal schools, the settings in which these evaluations are used. By contrast, the introduction of performance reviews in Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador and Peru generated conflict. In Mexico, for example, an agreement was reached with the Mexican teachers' union on mandatory teacher evaluations in 2011, but the Ministry of Education subsequently found itself without an effective enforcement mechanism when only 35 percent of teachers presented themselves for the tests implemented in July 2012 (Chambers-Ju et al., 2016). Though specific provisions of evaluation systems differ, most Latin American countries that use such systems rely

on an exam, including components that gather written or oral evidence on teaching practices; teacher self-evaluations; and an evaluation by the principal or direct supervisor.

In most evaluation systems, teachers who perform well in assessments receive monetary incentives, access to greater opportunities (for example, promotions and/or more desirable positions) or public recognition. Teachers who perform poorly must undergo training to improve their performance, and they may eventually be dismissed if they register several consecutive evaluations with poor results. However, many Latin American countries still do not have teacher assessment systems that help improve teacher quality over time.

5. Conclusions

In South Korea, the teaching profession is considered an attractive career. The highly respected status of teachers, job stability, high pay, and good, non-monetary benefits such as paid vacations, maternity leave and shorter working hours contribute to the high caliber of the teaching force. Thus, the policies that serve to attract people to the profession, to prepare them to do the job, and to retain them in educational careers play a key role in supplying the highly qualified teaching force that South Korea enjoys.

For the more than 70 years since South Korea's independence in 1948, its central government has played a key role in preparing qualified teachers nationwide. During the 1960s, the government spent a substantial share of its budget on preparing teachers and increasing their numbers to meet growing demand. From the 1980s onward, the government has focused largely on investing in teacher quality, rather than on the quantity teachers. Indeed, it now effectively limits the numbers of teachers via quotas for admission to teaching programs. Thus, the central government remains directly involved in processes that underlie the supply of teachers. Such processes include educating adults as teachers in college, offering additional training to both beginning and established career teachers, and allocating teachers where needed.

To attract qualified teachers to schools, the Korean government has made use of other incentives, including generous salaries and benefits. As of now, teacher compensation in South Korea is generous, among the highest of the OECD member countries. In addition, non-monetary benefits such as reduced teaching time and maternity leave policies make teaching jobs attractive options, particularly for educated women. For accountability, South Korea has introduced various evaluation systems, and teacher promotions and compensation reflect the results of these

evaluations. Heavy government involvement, generous compensation levels and benefits, and a reverence for education and teaching in the South Korean culture attract a quality work force into the education sector. This provides a solid foundation for the education of students.

It has been well-documented that in Latin America teaching is not considered an attractive career choice. Teaching is neither considered prestigious nor a profession that demands excellent qualifications. Therefore, steps should be taken to design and implement educational reforms that attract, prepare, and retain talented people who have the potential to become excellent teachers. In recent periods, countries including Colombia, Chile, Peru and Mexico have introduced initiatives to increase teacher quality and accountability of the system.

South Korea's experiences suggest that it may be worth considering employing policy measures that address the earliest-possible stages of the teacher-supply trajectory, such as, for example, recruiting and educating teacher candidates in ways that aim to produce higher-quality teachers. Then, too, reasonable compensation is needed to attract and retain talent in the teaching profession. To address teaching quality, both teacher training and assessments should steadily improve to develop greater professionalism throughout educational careers.

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