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INTRODUCTION

Rethinking Education: Challenges and Possibilities in the Post-Pandemic context of South Asia

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Introduction

On March 11, 2020, when the World Health Organisation declared the COVID-19 outbreak a pandemic, most countries in South Asia had already seen their first cases of the newly identified severe acute respiratory syndrome caused by the coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) and were in various speeds on their way towards the first wave, starting early April and peaking late September 2020 (Basu and Srivastava 2022). The second and even more devastating wave swept across the South Asian region a few months later, owing to the Delta variant, leading to a massive surge of COVID-19 cases and fatalities, reportedly more than 50% of the world's total cases (ibid.). The third wave caused by the generally less deadly, but much more contagious Omicron variant again raged in South Asia from late 2021 and faded out during the first half of 2022. Across South Asia, as around the world, education systems were affected by the COVID-19 pandemic especially due to comprehensive school closures. UNICEF notes that school closures in South Asia were longer than in other parts of the world, with schools fully closed for an average of 35 weeks in the region (UNICEF 2022). According to the UNICEF report (2022:1), "the total duration of school closures (fully closed and partially closed) ranges from 22 weeks in the Maldives to 95 weeks in Nepal". These school closures led to the disruption of formal education for 400 million children in South Asia in the year 2020 (UNICEF 2021) and 27 million were still waiting to return to school till Oct 2021 (UNESCO and UNICEF 2021).

The implications of the pandemic have been far-reaching and affected people and countries differently. The patterns and scale of the pandemic varied from country to country depending

on, among others, testing and quarantine facilities, access to vaccines, the robustness of already existing health care and education infrastructures and the implementation of policies regarding social distancing, lockdown, travel restrictions etc. For some it has become a 'post' and life has returned to its normal. However, given that South Asia is experiencing a rise in cases of the virus even until October 2022. For others, the immediate threat of the disease itself has waned, but the long-term effects are grave and likely to reinforce already existing inequalities in the future. And yet, for some others, greater crises have compounded the effect of the pandemic. In 2022, Sri Lanka experienced one of its worst economic and political crises since independence, with an acute shortage of food, fuel, medicine and electricity. School exams were cancelled because the government could no longer afford the paper for them to be printed (Ellis-Petersen 2022). It is important to contextualise debates around rethinking education 'post' the pandemic in the face of these glaring inequalities in the region.

Not surprisingly, school closures raised huge concerns over the loss of school-related learning, as well as concerns over social isolation, domestic violence, extra work burdens, the likelihood of early marriages, and increased dropout rates (UNICEF and UNESCO 2021). This has also affected the most marginalised children and youth – including girls, the disabled, ethnic minorities and the urban poor disproportionately. Already on the fringe of society before the outbreak of the pandemic, the marginalised children and youth had limited access to health services even especially during the pandemic. This intensified ongoing experiences of educational inequalities across the region. Moreover, while the rapid spread of online platforms facilitated homeschooling for millions of children and youth, only those whose families could afford the technology and who lived in areas with internet access benefitted from this. At the same time, the prolonged periods of school closures forced educational institutions to readjust to new and unknown situations; teachers had to adopt new pedagogies and methods of learning and to familiarise themselves with technologies that were completely new to most, and pupils had to learn to navigate between school and home environments in new ways. Much of this has evidently come at high costs, but it has also accelerated development in the direction of a perhaps needed change of educational systems across the region.

Against this complex backdrop of the spread of COVID-19 in the region, the aim of this edited volume is threefold. First, this volume explores new areas of educational research and rethinking of educational practices that the pandemic has opened up in the context of South

Asia. It specifically focuses on the ways in which the sudden school disruption may have opened up new pedagogical possibilities, as well as the social implications of such shifts in teaching-learning practices. Second, and in light of this, it offers new analytical and methodological approaches to the study of education. The pandemic invites re-thinking current ways of approaching educational research in hybrid forms, and also opens up new areas of research ranging from pedagogical innovations to the well-being of teachers and students. Third, this volume presents interdisciplinary perspectives on education in the unique context of COVID-19 from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. What are the specific challenges faced in specific country contexts and how have governments and civil societies come together to find unique solutions to these issues? How similar or how different has the journey to educational recovery been across the South Asian region? Paying close attention to the diverse ways in which education systems in South Asia experienced the pandemic, this book aims to generate interdisciplinary insights from across the region, and utilise the pandemic as a potent moment for collectively reflecting on new forms of action in the field of education.

Rethinking Education during Crisis

This volume takes the post-pandemic context of South Asia both as a lens to understand this crisis as well as a site to understand the ongoing challenges in education in the region. Crisis is understood as a specific temporal space which is often characterised by the core conceptual elements of adversity, threat, and uncertainty (Rosenthal et al. 2001) that may escalate quickly in unforeseen directions (Topper and Lagadec 2013). This deep sense of disruption tends to impose a sense of urgency in decisions to restore a feeling of normality. After all, the word crisis comes from the Greek word *Krisis*, meaning a moment of decision (Koselleck & Richter 2006). They are seen as ‘historical turning points where human choice could make a fundamental difference to the future’ (Shrivastava 1993: 25). Most scholarly writing on crisis, therefore, notes how crisis initiates an opportunity to reflect on the present conditions and the potential futures (Knight and Stewart 2016). We draw inspiration from the crisis studies literature which highlights that a crisis can act as a ‘critical juncture’ (Pelling and Dill 2010) and provide a ‘window of opportunity’ (Birkmann et al. 2010) for exploring new ideas, policies and programmes. The urgency of the crisis can be an opportunity where a new kind of a future can be imagined and created (Simpson 2013) and function as an agent of change in its broadest perspective (Bankoff et al 2015). Thus, the crisis-induced uncertainty could be

generative, rather than unproductive, to introspect the existing systems and to rethink the possibilities for the future.

This volume, therefore, explores the multiple temporalities opened up by the COVID-19 crisis. Firstly, a crisis can manifest new and unprecedented challenges. Due to the pandemic-related lockdown, educational institutions around the world faced abrupt school closures which caused the sudden breakdown of educational institutions, systems and practices, at least temporarily. While the suddenness of the pandemic can act as a shock, it primarily reveals the extent to which the existing systems are resilient and agile in the delivery of ongoing services (Spielman & Sunavala-Dossabhoy, 2021). The ability to navigate these uncertainties determines the ways in which different countries face new challenges. During the COVID-19 pandemic, school closures have played out differently in different contexts. It confronted the education system with a new challenge of providing remote learning and ensuring the continuous education of millions of students who could not continue their regular schooling. Governments and societies were expected to find a response to the crises while it was still ongoing, thereby intensifying the uncertainty of this crisis experience. Though many governments promptly introduced digital learning, this new arrangement was not able to meet the socio-economic circumstances and learning needs of students from diverse social groups.

Secondly, even while crisis may appear as a temporal abnormality, for many people who are socially marginalised and poor, crisis may be a constant in their lives (Vigh 2008). As Benjamin's (1999: 248) conceptualisation of 'state of emergency' shows, crisis is not an exception but the rule for many. The sudden emergence of triggering events can draw attention to how crisis is an ongoing, constant context in many people's lives and makes 'visible aspects of practices which might normally be naturalised and therefore difficult to notice' (Fairclough 1992: 230). In South Asia, as in many parts of the world, the pandemic revealed the shaky foundations of existing education systems. It uncovered vast educational disparities that already keep many young people away from schools, thereby, revealing the endemic nature of the existing inequalities. Crisis, thus, opens up the possibility to radically rethink the inequalities and violence that are already entrenched in the existing system, including education systems.

Thirdly, the urgency and immediacy of the crisis also potentially reveal new and more future-oriented ways of teaching-learning and open up new possibilities within the education system. The scholarship on crisis-induced learning draws attention to new ways of looking at both problems and potential solutions facilitated by the collective experiences of the crisis (Deverell 2022; Kenley 2021). This body of literature argues that crises could be understood beyond their catastrophic and destructive dimensions (Bollnow, 1987). If thoughtfully engaged, crisis could provide a productive space and formative power to reveal unique possibilities for the future. Here, crises may act as ‘focusing events’ that can bring new issues to the political agenda (Birkland 2006) as well as demand ‘deep thinking’ (Dror 1986) in order to move forward in the future. More often than not, meaningful insights and learnings from crises emerge from collaborative knowledge sharing and from a more diffused network of individuals and institutions (‘t Hart et al., 1993). As lessons from previous pandemics show, these events could generate spaces for exploring innovations in education (Adam 2020). Although these learnings may take place under compressed temporal conditions, it could lead to long-term lessons in approaching uncertainties in a new way.

Paying close attention to the emergent and ongoing manifestations of a crisis, this volume explores its potential for ‘rethinking education’, in terms of educational contents, methods, and governance, to be responsive to uncertain futures. It is clear then that in rethinking education after the pandemic, the transformation needs to include not only curricular and pedagogical changes, but also the reassessment of education systems and practices. Bringing together diverse insights from across South Asia, this volume utilises the crisis posed by the pandemic as an opportunity to stop and think about the persistent education problems in the region.

Education Transformations in South Asia

The South Asian region is not new to crises. Nepal was hit by a massive earthquake in 2015, which destroyed more than 16,000 schools, about half of the country's total number. Sri Lanka faces an economic and political crisis, as we work on this volume, which has severely affected school education and examinations. In Bangladesh, the education system continues to be impacted by floods and natural disasters. In many regions of India, education is affected due to ongoing conflict. The people of Kashmir, for instance, faced a ‘double lockdown’ as there had been a communication blockade and an intensification of harsh restrictions on

physical movement during the pandemic (Connah 2021). This combination of the virus with existing social inequalities reveals multi-layered challenges in education during and after the pandemic.

The effects of the pandemic combined with ongoing, multiple crises have, thus, had a devastating impact on education systems in many parts of South Asia. According to the World Bank, eight South Asian nations have over 42 million students enrolled across 50,000 higher educational institutions, who were directly affected by the school closures in the region (World Bank 2020). According to the data by the All India Survey of Higher Education (2019), it is calculated that only within the first 40 days of lockdown, 10 million academic hours were compromised across higher education institutes in India (Dutta 2020). As of February 2022, school children in the region are estimated to have lost nearly 700 billion hours of in-person learning (UNICEF 2022). Taking the specific context of the South Asian region, this volume provides an analytic lens to understand the significance of the social and political moment as a context to understand the existing and new challenges to educational practices and systems.

Moreover, the pandemic heightened social, political and economic inequalities already prevalent in the region. For instance, the vocabulary of ‘social distancing’ and ‘contamination’ gave rise to new forms of physical discrimination in the South Asian region. In this context, the measure of social distancing encouraged people to reinforce the ongoing prejudices of caste (Gupta et al., 2020) in relation to access to healthcare, water and sanitation facilities (Mondal and Karmakar 2021). Similarly, the pandemic also showed a gendered impact with women and girls facing a disproportionate disadvantage. According to a GSMA study, more than 200 million women in South Asia do not own mobile phones (Shanahan 2022). Even in households that have access to mobile devices or the internet, male students are given easier access to education because of their potential to earn for the family, and because women and girls in a household bear the major responsibility of household chores and caretaking roles for the family, especially in the middle of a health crisis. It is, therefore, important to understand the effects of the pandemic given this social framework of the region.

Although many students' participation in formal schooling was severely disrupted, there is also evidence of alternate models of education that operated during this time. In an attempt to

transform conventional education systems and adapt to the virtual learning model, various state initiatives were developed in India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka keeping these inequalities in mind. While India added new study materials and courses to existing online education initiatives such as SWAYAM (Study Webs of Active Learning for Young Aspiring Minds), the Pakistan Education and Research Network (PERN), Bangladesh Research and Education Network (BdREN), Afghan Research and Education and Education Network (AfgREN) as well as the Sri Lankan operation—Accelerating Higher Education Expansion and Development—developed e-learning platforms to facilitate online learning (Babbar and Gupta 2022; Dutta 2020; World Bank 2020). Most of these countries share materials through MOOCs, but given the digital divide across nations, they also had to resort to methods of communication through television and radio to reach remote locations without internet connectivity. This volume explores these innovations in education and the new challenges they pose for South Asian education systems. Overall, the pandemic constituted an acute crisis in South Asia with pervading effects on education systems across the region. In certain respects, it became a turning point for pedagogical practice and at the same time, it exposed a more permanent state of crisis which surrounds education systems in South Asia.

Possibilities and Challenges in Post-Pandemic South Asia

This volume presents 14 chapters that draw on case studies from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka, and together it examines the way the COVID-19 crisis has manifested in education across the region. The contributions in this volume add to the ongoing debates on the impact of the pandemic on education, by foregrounding different educational experiences in South Asia, both similarities and differences. There are obviously many similarities, especially when we focus on the marginalised segments of society in the region. Yet, there are huge regional and national differences based on different colonial legacies, religious orientations and positions in the global economy, which are filtered into complex regional geopolitical interests. This will inevitably be rendered visible through education systems and practices around the region. Examined through the lens of the pandemic, the chapters bring together insights into challenges and opportunities for education in South Asia. This volume explores these varied experiences of education challenges and is organised in three distinct sections about rethinking learning, inequalities, and digital education.

Section I - Rethinking Learning

Longstanding debates on formal and informal education have pointed to the need to acknowledge the multiple ways in which individuals learn skills, knowledge, and insights from exposure and experiences outside the formal settings (Folkestad 2006). The education crisis during the pandemic revealed the need to appreciate the different modes of learning rather than limit our understanding of education merely to formal education. Across South Asia, as around the world, while pandemic-related school closures undoubtedly disrupted the regular attendance of school, in a region that was already struggling with the issues of uneven access to quality education. This interruption in formal schooling, however, also revealed the disproportionate emphasis placed on formal education and shed light on the longstanding debates on schooling vs. learning in education studies. This sudden shift also emphasised the importance of considering the conceptual frameworks that take into account the out-of-school processes of learning.

The first section of this volume, therefore, presents a critical take on the crisis framing of ‘learning loss’. While there was a definite loss of schooling for many children, the narrative of learning loss that dominated much policy discourse calls for a rethinking of conceptualisations of learning. The five chapters in this section analyse the idea of ‘learning’ as it is constructed through statistics (Ghosh), in policy discourse (Podsakoff and Valentin), and in learning sites beyond the school (Singh and Palanchoke, Thomas), and in teacher pedagogy (Vithanapathirana and Ekanayake). Ghosh’s chapter questions the construction of ‘learning loss’ as a concept. By exploring the politics of statistics, and how these apparently neutral numbers are used to construct the discourse around the loss of academic abilities, this chapter points towards the dangers of such a discourse in disadvantaging marginalised children further by undermining the diverse experiences of children during school closures. Drawing on policy documents and letters written by children to the authors during the pandemic, the chapter by Podsakoff and Valentin explores the notion of learning loss through a discussion of the conceptual conflation between ‘education’ and ‘schooling’. These two chapters provide a critical analysis of hegemonic ideas of learning underpinning much of contemporary education policy.

Singh and Palanchoke’s chapter continue this theme by rethinking ideas of what it means to be ‘literate’ and ‘educated’. Through a case study of traditional music apprenticeship known as Tahṇani Dāphā Khalah, this chapter explores how the learning practices are “contextually

situated” and learnt through embodied practices in the context of Nepal. This chapter juxtaposes Western forms of schooling with indigenous knowledge systems and investigates how pandemic-related school closures contributed to carving out new learning spaces, in this case in relation to traditional music. Similarly, Thomas’s chapter on the students’ experiences in spaces of home and the hostel, nuances the idea of differential learning spaces and emphasises the need for a ‘pedagogy of care’ in classrooms. Through an autoethnography of his own experience as a teacher in higher education, he argues that residential spaces are an important component of the learning experience of students. Especially given the impact of the pandemic on students’ mental health, this chapter also emphasises the need to provide students with a more supportive infrastructure. The fifth chapter in this section is by Vithanapathirana and Ekanayake’s who explore the issue of teacher preparedness as a critical pedagogy. It discusses the significance of teacher preparedness not only for school curriculum but also for the ways in which teachers are able to face uncertainties in the context of crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

Together, the discussions presented in these five chapters aim to shift the way the education crisis, brought out by the pandemic, enables us to rethink learning in different ways. The pandemic has provided a moment to question dominant approaches to formal education and thus to reimagine ideas of schools and schooling, educational processes, and conceptualisations of learning. This first section seeks to re-evaluate existing ideas of teaching and learning, and how crisis may have offered opportunities to rethink the hegemony of formal schooling systems and allowed spaces for alternative modes of teaching-learning.

Section II - Rethinking Education Inequalities

The second section of this volume presents five chapters that pay close attention to the ways in which the pandemic exacerbated existing inequalities in education. Existing literature on education inequalities shows that despite the rhetoric of the right to education for all, access to education is deeply entangled with existing social inequalities in complicated ways. The effects of the pandemic were felt across the world, but certain groups and regions were affected disproportionately due to prevalent social and political conditions. The four chapters in this section focus on the ways in which the pandemic manifested amongst people from different socio-economic backgrounds and in different socio-political contexts. Through rich

contextualisation, these chapters urge the readers to appreciate the differential impact of the pandemic, by looking at the specific politically-marginalised context of Kashmir (Khan) and Manipur (Gangmei), underprivileged students in private schools (Gilbertson and Dey), and specific experiences of private teachers (Gourkhede and Walde; Phyak, Khanal and Acharya).

Khan's chapter explores the impact of the pandemic in the context of Kashmir, which has witnessed conflict for more than three decades. The pandemic brought what she terms a 'double lockdown' in Kashmir. She argues that *education within crisis or state of exception* areas shows a 'pernicious' combination of conflict and pandemic in the region. This chapter traces the history of conflict in Kashmir, leading to the recent internet curfews, which made it even tougher to navigate the pandemic since there was no possibility of moving education online. Gangmei's chapter takes this theme forward in the context of the digital divide in Manipur, the North-Eastern region of India. Given the ongoing political challenges in Manipur, this chapter argues that the impact of the pandemic exposed the fact that *where* one goes to school matters as much as, if not more than, *if* one goes to school. By utilising the concept of 'digital refugees', Gangmei shows that the current digital divide discourse that merely exposes the divide between digital haves and have-nots obfuscates and reinforces existing inequalities.

The next two chapters in this section look at the ways in which inequalities manifest differently for people belonging to different social groups. Gilbertson and Dey's chapter pays close attention to the learning experiences of underprivileged students in private schools that have been mandated to include children from marginalised backgrounds under Section 12(1)(c) of India's Right to Education Act. They explore the tensions between access and integration in the context of the pandemic, when virtual learning was not equally available to all students within a school. This lack of access made integration between diverse social classes even more difficult in the school system, and brought out the importance of a shared time and space for educational equality. Similarly, Gourkhede and Walde's chapter extends this point by exploring how the pandemic deepened the inequalities in low-cost private schools, especially for female teachers. The general precarity of female teachers reflected in, among others, the lack of safety nets, was exacerbated by the pandemic resulting in the loss of jobs. The chapter draws attention to the increasingly market-based education system, where poorly paid, precarious, and insecure teaching jobs in low-cost private schools fall

disproportionately on women. Phyak, Khanal and Acharya's chapter explores a similar issue in the context of Nepal's private schools and discusses its implications for teacher wellbeing. Rather than seeing well-being merely as a psychological phenomenon, this chapter takes it as a political-economic process that affects teachers' personal, social and mental life.

The five chapters in this section show how the pandemic revealed already existing systemic inequalities. This section, thus, delves deeper into the glaring inequalities in the region, be they political, social or economic, by looking at diverse cultural contexts and the way they have navigated the interruption of 'normal' life since the pandemic. The pandemic has not been experienced similarly by different social groups and this is evidenced through case studies from different parts of the sub-continent, and how it has interacted with other ongoing crises and thereby intensifying their precarious conditions. Together, the chapters in this section show that the lives marred by crises are a constant for many people who are already socially marginalised.

Section III - Rethinking Technologies of Education

The third, and final, section of this volume explores the new educational challenges that became visible due to a shift to remote education. Though the pandemic opened up new possibilities for digital and online education, all South Asian classrooms were not as well-equipped to adopt this sudden change immediately. While the calls to 'build back better' (UNESCO and UNICEF 2021) included reducing barriers to digital and technological access, there still exists a vast digital divide in South Asia. More than 2 billion people across Asia do not have access to the internet (with the majority living in South Asian nations). According to UNICEF (2020), 88% of South Asia's school-age children do not have access to the internet connection in their homes. Given this gaping inequality, virtual education was not accessed equally by students and teachers alike. The four chapters in this section explore the challenges of digital education by paying attention to the experiences of learners in Emergency Remote Learning programme in India (Chattaraj and Vijayaraghavan), Telelearning programme in Pakistan (Niaz, Chaudhary and Anand), online education in higher education in Sri Lanka (Adikaram and Nanayakkara), and school practicum experience in teacher education in Bhutan, India and Sri Lanka.

Chattaraj and Vijayaraghavan's chapter looks into the learner experiences of the Emergency Remote Learning (ERL) programme that was introduced as a response to the school closure in India. Through a phenomenological analysis, this chapter shows the experiences of consonance and dissonance among the learners. First, they find systemic apathy and institutional disengagement in recognising the pandemic as a time of crisis. Second, it also shows that, despite the complexities associated with the ERL, learner-initiated endeavours of coming together to build learning communities emerged from the shared experience of learning in crisis time. The chapter by Niaz, Chaudhary and Anand explores two educational programmes in Pakistan - *TeleSchool* (an educational programme on national television) and *Taleem Ghar* (a digital programme). They argue that while these programmes succeeded in creating and delivering content for self-learning, they did not adequately engage with the school administrations, teachers and parents and, thereby, limiting the effectiveness of the programme.

The chapter by Adikaram and Nanayakkara shows that online education in higher education was implemented within the broader frame of emergency temporal measures in Sri Lanka. This resulted in haphazard implementations. The chapter finds that more than two years into the shift to online education, the programme was still implemented as 'crisis' distance education, 'emergency' remote teaching, or 'transitional' emergency model. If the future of education can be imagined in the hybrid modality of online and onsite education model, this will enable higher education institutions to explore alternative modes of teaching that would help school administrators, teachers and pupils navigate numerous crises and disruptions. The final chapter by Ramchan, Chandran, Rai and Vithanapathirana examines the disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic in teacher education across three South Asian countries, viz., Bhutan, India and Sri Lanka. The chapter argues that unexpected changes such as virtual teaching during the pandemic may have forced practitioners to adapt and even innovate new practices, but these practices must be supported and sustained systemically in a manner that helps build resilience among institutions, educators and learners to help transcend rather than reinforce inequities, post after the disruptions

In combination, these final chapters show the new challenges in education posed by the sudden shift to online and digital education during the pandemic. The chapters bring out an extremely novel area of research on digital learning and virtual education platforms, drawing on how South Asia attempted to respond to school closures through the emergency

introduction of remote learning facilities. While this intervention provided an option to access education, in many cases it did not function effectively due to the lack of teacher preparedness, inadequate internet infrastructure, and coordination between different actors. However, the pandemic-related shift to digital education has profoundly reshaped our imagination of future education, where a combination of digital and onsite education is likely to be the mode of education delivery. The lessons from the pandemic could be utilised to ensure the education systems are adequately prepared to navigate future crises.

Conclusion

The crisis in education will certainly not end with the end of the pandemic. As discussed in this introduction, the South Asian region has always been ridden with crises and COVID-19 was only one in a long series. Sri Lanka faced its most severe economic crisis immediately after the pandemic, and the Kashmir region continues to deal with internet shutdowns and curfews. However, given the global impact of the virus, this has become a watershed moment and presents an opportunity to rethink the functioning of education systems in the region. While there is no one way of ‘rethinking education’ across South Asian nations, this volume aims to start a crucial dialogue in this field bridging diverse disciplines, geographies and socio-political contexts.

‘Crisis’ in this collection is analysed as a ‘critical juncture’ (Pelling and Dill 2010), and each chapter engages with crisis as an empirical phenomenon and/or a theoretical concept. The three sections in this volume draw on primary and secondary research to argue for rethinking education in the region as we know it today. There is very little literature on the similarity between challenges faced by South Asian nations during the pandemic, and this collection hopes to fill that void. While the pandemic was a global phenomenon, it affected South Asia in particular ways given the socioeconomic and socio-political conditions of the region. The following chapters will unpack what it came to mean for education, as both a site of conflict and innovation. From reviving indigenous forms of music education to starting television programmes for learning; dealing with learning losses to ‘double lockdown’ and multiple crises; understanding the conditions of female teachers to the idea of consonance and dissonance in digital education; this volume traces a moment in South Asian history where nations confronted severe failures of education systems, but also witnessed massive transformation to ride wave after wave of a devastating disease.

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