The International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives Vol 14, No 3, 2015, pp. 106-121
http://openjournals.library.usyd.edu.au/index.php/IEJ/index

Teacher retention in refugee and emergency settings: The state of the literature

Hannah Reeves Ring
American Institutes for Research: *hring@air.org*

Amy R. West
American Institutes for Research: *awest@air.org*

Teacher quality is recognised as a primary driver of variation in student learning outcomes, particularly in refugee and emergency settings, but few studies have examined the factors that motivate or demotivate teachers in these contexts. In this article we use secondary source materials from academic experts and grey literature from United Nations agencies and nongovernmental organisations to identify seven key areas that affect teacher retention in such contexts: teacher recruitment, selection, and deployment; the teaching environment; certification; professional development; incentives; management structures; and status and social recognition. Further, we identify critical gaps in the literature surrounding refugee teachers and their retention and suggest specific areas for further research.

Keywords: literature review; teacher retention; teacher quality; teacher motivation; refugee settings

INTRODUCTION

Few studies have examined the factors that motivate or demotivate teachers in refugee and emergency settings. Even in the world's best school systems, the quality of the teacher is a primary driver of variation in student learning outcomes (Mourshed, Chijioke, & Barber, 2007). How much more important, then, are teachers in under resourced school systems?

Our approach to this study is grounded in Amartya Sen's notion of human development as the expansion of freedoms that strive to remove barriers to access and equity. Within the education sector, teachers are critical to removing challenges of inequitable access and protecting education for all. With this belief, we examined secondary source materials and solicited feedback from established international education experts as to what may influence the retention or attrition of good teachers in refugee settings. Seven key themes emerged as influential in teacher retention and attrition and formed the basis of our conceptual framework: (1) teacher recruitment, selection, and deployment; (2) the teaching environment; (3) certification; (4) professional development; (5) incentives; (6) management structures; and (7) status and social recognition. In this article we discuss these seven components and the ways in which they motivate or demotivate teachers in refugee and emergency contexts.

According to the 1951 *Convention on the status of refugees* and its 1967 *Protocol*, a "refugee" is a person who, "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons

of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." Over time, this definition has come to include persons fleeing the general effects of armed conflict and/or natural disaster. It is critical to note that internally displaced persons (IDPs) are not considered refugees and do not have special status under international law, as they have not crossed an international border and thus remain the responsibility of their country. The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR) defines IDPs as “persons forcibly displaced from their homes who cannot or choose not to cross a border, are not considered refugees, even if they share many of the same circumstances and challenges as those who do.”

As a result of man-made crises, conflicts or natural disasters (e.g., often termed “emergencies” within international humanitarian and development sectors), UNHCR´s mandate may extend beyond the protection and management of assistance to refugee and stateless populations to include IDPs as part of humanitarian relief and response efforts. In recent years, for example, UNHCR’s experience in protecting refugees and managing large-scale assistance efforts has been leveraged to oversee the protection and shelter needs of IDPs. For the purposes of this paper, however, the authors focus mainly on refugees and not IDPs.

METHODOLOGY

This report is based on a review of more than 175 secondary source materials and grey literature from leading United Nations (UN) agencies and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). We interviewed 13 international education experts, all of whom provided additional articles, publications, and documents to strengthen our review of the key research. The documents identified through this process include the work of government donors; UN agencies; international, regional, and local NGOs; and academics. We also conducted literature searches using *Google/Google Scholar* and *Expanded Academic Search Complete*.

LIMITATIONS

Although it is widely understood that teachers are fundamental to the delivery of high-quality education, few studies to date have examined their role in refugee and emergency contexts (Penson, Yonemura, Sesnan, Ochs, & Chanda, 2011). In particular, there is a dearth of peer-reviewed, evidence-based literature on teacher retention in refugee contexts—a fact that is well documented (Bennell, 2004; Mulkeen, 2010; Penson et al., 2011). Much of the work that does exist on refugee teachers is anecdotal in nature.

Sesnan, Allemano, Ndugga, and Said (2013) note that “there are few studies on refugee teachers” and that the majority of “published studies and reports on education in emergencies deal with children. This lack is important for all stakeholders involved in education in emergencies and refugee education” (p. 4). The literature that does concentrate on teachers focuses almost exclusively on those who teach in refugee camps or settlements, and “very little is known about those refugees who are living in urban

areas or displaced internally" (Rose, 2011, p. 186). As Mulkeen notes, this general lack of information and substantive research on teacher retention globally has resulted in data that are "limited in scope and reliability" (2010, p. 2). Given the relative scarcity of research on this topic, we adopted a broad approach when reviewing the literature on teacher retention challenges. We did not distinguish between primary and secondary school teacher retention, and (although we recognise the distinction) we did not examine teacher migration and teacher attrition separately but instead addressed them collectively as teacher turnover (or, the opposite of retention).

TEACHING IN REFUGEE AND EMERGENCY CONTEXTS

Although teacher retention is a challenge in developed, developing, and refugee and emergency contexts, it is especially complex in the latter circumstances. In traditional settings, teachers do not face the political, economic and logistical constraints of a humanitarian crisis. UNHCR funding for education in emergencies is limited; mobilizing teachers and teaching and learning materials must compete with food, shelter, water and sanitation in any relief and response effort. In protracted emergency settings, low quality education standards are often accepted as donor governments prioritise funding responses to newer emergencies over existing ones. In addition, teachers recruited or deployed to teach refugee children may be the only literate adults in a community ravaged by the effects of war; certification and professional development are challenging; curriculum and management structures within an education setting vary and are driven by an NGO, the UN or the local government (sometimes simultaneously). Finally, the value of education (and teachers, specifically) may not be fully understood within a community and incentives for teachers are often non-existent and compete with other livelihood opportunities.

During periods of instability, education is frequently manipulated by those seeking power or legitimacy because of the wider role it plays in nation-building and identity formation (Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies [INEE], 2011; Novelli, 2011; Smith, 2010). In Sierra Leone, for example, elitist, geographically unequal public education systems with weak infrastructure and service delivery became a catalyst for the eruption of conflict, while in Lebanon a highly segregated education system based on sectarian divides exacerbated communal tensions, exclusion, and discrimination (Novelli & Smith, 2011). In Nepal, education has been used as a tool to nationalize inequality where only those loyal to the monarchy were insiders (Shields & Rappleye, 2008). In numerous emergency and conflict settings around the world, the bias, hatred, and militarization found within education systems, as well as the content and curriculum delivered in these environments, have driven teachers away from schools.

Refugee and emergency settings present a particular challenge to recruiting and retaining a teaching force. As the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) reported in 2006:

> Teachers are frequent targets in fragile states and countries affected by conflict, where repressive regimes often regard education as a threat to their power or as a tool for indoctrination . . . It is not surprising, therefore, that in these instances teachers are in short supply. (p. 20)

Female teachers, in particular, are underrepresented in many conflict and emergency settings (especially in rural areas), largely because of safety considerations and cultural

practices (Bennell, 2004; GCE, 2006). The World Bank (2010) also found that acute teacher shortages continue to persist in *post* crisis environments.

In refugee and emergency contexts, where teaching materials, classroom space, and furniture are all in short supply, and curriculum quality is inconsistent, the World Bank (2010) notes "teachers are sometimes the only resource available to students" (p. 3). Indeed, a frequently referenced report argues that even in the world's best performing school systems, the quality of the teacher is the main driver of variation in student learning outcomes (Mourshed et al., 2007). Despite this, however, investments in teachers—other than professional development and training interventions—receive less focus and support than achieving universal primary education, early childhood education, life skills for youth, and adult literacy (i.e., the MDGs and EFA priorities) (GCE, 2006). Furthermore, efforts to improve education policy often do not delineate practical methods and steps for changing the status quo for teachers (Bennell, Buckland & Mulkeen, 2009; World Bank, 2010).

Last, it is important to note the distinction between, and relative importance of, intrinsic and extrinsic motivators for teachers, which vary significantly across developed, developing, and refugee and emergency contexts. To be sure, motivation levels vary in all settings; however, a number of authors point to the importance of extrinsic factors in maintaining teacher motivation in the long term (Cooper & Alvarado, 2006; Guajardo, 2011; Voluntary Service Overseas [VSO], 2002). To this end, VSO (2002) reports the following:

> In all countries, there are teachers for whom teaching is a vocation, who have intrinsic high levels of commitment to the teaching profession. There are also those who have never wanted to be teachers and have no commitment to the job. The majority, though, lies somewhere in between. They wish to remain in teaching and want to do a good job, but their motivation and thus their performance is critically influenced by the extent to which their situation supports and enables them. (p. 18)

1. Teacher recruitment, selection, and deployment

The data on teacher attrition are weak and often anecdotal, as evidenced by a review of the literature by the International Task Force on Teachers for EFA (Teachers for EFA, 2010). Without data that track categories of teachers, subject specialization, ethnic/linguistic/religious backgrounds, and reasons for leaving the profession, we know very little about how to effectively recruit, select, and deploy teachers in any setting, and in emergency settings in particular (Cooper & Alvarado, 2006). While teacher recruitment, selection, and deployment have been studied rigorously in developed nations—and to a slightly lesser extent in developing nations—there is a paucity of literature on this subject in refugee or emergency contexts.

It is well documented that a lack of transparency in teacher recruitment and selection processes demotivates potential teachers (Bennell, 2004; INEE, 2011). As the INEE (2011) notes: "Teacher recruitment and placement can create or exacerbate tensions if not performed in a non-discriminatory, participatory, and transparent manner" (p. 5). In the worst scenarios, individuals pay bribes to school officials to secure teaching posts, resulting in a pool of teachers who "do not feel accountable to school management, parents, or the wider community" (Bennell, 2004, p.11).

Shepler (2010), the World Bank (2010), and Moulton and Dall (2006) all note that we know very little about how to effectively (re)build a teaching corps in emergency settings and that we have limited understanding of the factors that influence the participation (or not) of would-be teachers within any given context. With regard to recruiting and selecting teachers, there is consensus in the existing literature that most host countries do not have a systematic process for identifying refugee teachers or those refugees who have become teachers in the host country (Penson & Sesnan, n.d.; Sesnan et al., 2013).

Another recruiting challenge in the refugee and emergency context is the frequent reality of scarce resources, violence, and insecurity (INEE, 2011; Novelli, 2011; Smith, 2010) as well as the need to deploy teachers to remote areas (Bennell, 2004). In addition, high attrition rates often increase pressure on recruitment efforts. Chapman (1994) argues that there is a critical relationship between preparation and retention and that recruiting unqualified teachers (and not preparing them adequately) ultimately leads to higher levels of teacher turnover: "Many countries [have] accepted unqualified teachers into the teaching force just to put an adult in each classroom . . . These teachers are likely to have higher turnover due to their poor preparation" (p. 12).

2. Teaching environment

Despite widespread agreement that working conditions are a critical factor in retaining teachers (Bennell, 2004; Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007), Cooper and Alvarado (2006) maintain that working conditions are rarely examined systematically and that efforts to improve teaching environments are minimal. Similarly, Bennell (2004) notes that "time series data is urgently needed that can track changes in working and living conditions [for teachers]" (p. 13).

Ensuring safe, comfortable schools with sound infrastructure is difficult in a refugee camp, and this can influence teacher motivation. Safety is a persistent challenge in many refugee settings, and high levels of public or interpersonal threats—due to the involvement of non-state-armed actors, military, or police—can drive both teachers and students away from schools (INEE, 2011; Novelli, 2011; Smith, 2010). The challenges that hinder the creation of effective teaching environments (specifically related to school infrastructure) are widespread in refugee and emergency settings. Following the war in Sierra Leone, for example, the destruction of 1,854 primary schools and damage to an additional 815 schools, has led to a serious overcrowding problem that impacts both students and teachers (Harding & Mansaray, 2006). The resulting high pupil-teacher ratio has led not only to a cramped physical environment but also to a heavier workload for teachers (Harding & Mansaray, 2006).

In addition to infrastructure and physical environment concerns, excessive workload also reduces teacher satisfaction and increases the risk of teachers leaving the profession (Klassen & Chiu, 2010). Bennell and Akyeampong's (2007) study in 12 countries revealed that workload (measured in terms of number of pupils and working hours) was a critical motivating or demotivating factor, and in China, Sargent and Hannum (2005) found that "heavy workloads diminish teachers' job satisfaction" (p. 181). Other obstacles include excessively high student-teacher ratios and the impact of HIV and AIDS and other infectious diseases (Stewart, 2008; Østby, 2008). As the World Bank (2010) notes: "Teacher motivation is strongly related to working and living conditions. If teachers work and live in an environment where they consistently have insufficient resources to accomplish what is expected of them, they can grow increasingly de-motivated" (p. 22).

This is certainly the case for teachers in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya, where overcrowded classrooms and a high number of over-age pupils add to teachers' stress levels and these factors, according to Gomez (2013b), "will continue to push teachers out of the profession and drive down conditions for quality teaching and learning if not addressed" (p. 29).

Finally, the psychological trauma that may accompany violent conflict can negatively impact teachers and, in turn, their ability to fulfil their teaching responsibilities (Penson & Sesnan, n.d.). As Penson and Sesnan (n.d.) have noted, "Refugee teachers may face sudden, major, unpredictable, and uncontrollable changes in their circumstances. Such experiences are likely to erode refugees' resilience, as they undermine coping strategies" (p. 3). Crisp, Talbot, and Cipollone (2001) report that "teachers are also affected by the chaos and turmoil of refugee life, and may need psycho-social work in addition to more conventional pedagogical training" (p. 100). In addition to suffering psychological disruption or trauma themselves, many refugee teachers face the added challenge of teaching students in serious emotional distress:

> Teachers felt that they lacked the competence and resources to meet the psychosocial needs of the recently traumatised students. They were uncertain how to cope with incidents of violence in the classroom linked to the newly arrived students, and noted that the admission of these students could revive feelings of trauma among fellow students. (Crisp et al., 2001, p. 64)

Feeling ill equipped in this regard (and thus less effective) potentially demotivates teachers.

3. Certification

The literature on certification in developing, refugee, and emergency contexts underscores its importance as a tool with which to motivate teachers. As Brown (2001) explains,

> A certificate is just a piece of paper and is very cheap to produce. Yet, because of what it represents, it can have an enormous effect on the recipient, in terms of self-esteem, motivation and hope for the future regarding job prospects. (p. 153)

Kirk and Winthrop (2007) echo this sentiment, adding that a pathway to certification is the primary means by which teachers are connected to the broader institutional environment. The INEE (2003) argues that certification is just as important as teacher training and that it plays a critical role in the education system: "It can represent an important investment of the teacher's time and limited family resources. If accreditation does not occur the investment is lost—both for the teacher and for the educational system" (p. 1). It is important to note that while the portability of *student* credentials in refugee and emergency settings has been studied fairly extensively, very little research has been done on the cross-border portability of teacher credentials (Penson et al., 2011). Kirk (2009) notes that many of the same issues apply to both students and teachers, although her work focuses almost exclusively on cross-border recognition of student qualifications.

The certification process and associated challenges for teachers in refugee and emergency settings are quite different from those in developed countries. Refugee teachers' credentials are often not recognised by the host country, which means these individuals cannot be employed formally as teachers or receive the corresponding compensation.

Additionally, some countries only recognise another country's qualifications if physical evidence of the qualifications can be produced. This presents an obvious problem for teachers in emergency settings who have valid qualifications but did not bring physical copies with them when fleeing their country of origin (Penson & Sesnan, n.d.).

Compounding this issue is the lack of access to certification for interested refugee teachers. For example, Brown (2001) writes that although Bhutanese refugee teachers in Nepal "work hard, gain valuable experience, and receive a lot of non-formal training in the camps, they end up with no official qualification" (p. 144). Similarly, Gomez (2013) writes that in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya, "Portable certification is a top priority for refugee teachers; however, the majority of refugee teachers are ineligible for admission to higher education institutions and require alternative qualification options" (p. 3). Even if a refugee teacher is able to obtain qualifications while living in the host country, there is no guarantee that these will be recognised in his or her country of origin upon return. Penson and Sesnan (n.d.) note: "there is no comprehensive system of certifying teacher qualifications outside of refugees' home countries" (p. 9).

4. Professional development

Extensive research has been undertaken in developed countries on how the various components of professional development influence education quality and teacher retention, yet little has been written on how the effects of professional development are influenced by context. Johnson (2006) argues that professional development should be based on the context in which teachers work and that it should account for factors such as the availability of equipment and support mechanisms for teachers. This seems reasonable given that 10 percent of the working day is devoted to professional development in high-performing systems (Mourshed et al., 2007) while in developing countries it is rare or ad hoc and often not included in budgets or planning (Mpokosa, Ndaruhutse, McBride, Nock, & Penson, 2008).

The existing research underscores the importance of a teacher's first years of teaching. It highlights providing support for the initial transition from a teacher's education to induction and to ongoing professional development as a way to promote the retention and development of effective teachers (GCE, 2006; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2005). Providing support for new teachers, and ongoing support for veteran teachers, is often a challenge in refugee and emergency settings. There is limited available literature on professional development in refugee and emergency settings, although the challenges in these contexts are similar to those in developing countries (Sullivan, 2013). As such, many teacher-training programmes in these contexts are based on anecdotal evidence of poor teaching practices and rote methodology (Spink, 2004).

In refugee and emergency settings, professional development that helps new teachers with contingency planning, awareness of violence/attack, and psychosocial emotional learning challenges is paramount but is often missing from in-service training and support (Auduc, 1998). According to the INEE (2011), in-service professional development is especially important in emergency settings in which education systems, curricular content, and education policy are rapidly evolving to meet changing needs and where a lack of teaching capacity can amplify inequitable access, corruption, and fragmented community structure. Sesnan et al.'s (2013) research found that providing in-service

training and support to refugee teachers helped to expand their professional options and increased the quality of education service delivery in general.

5. Incentives

At present, literature on the links among incentives and motivation, teacher effectiveness, and retention in refugee and emergency settings is scarce (Bennell, 2004; GCE, 2006; INEE, 2009). The GCE (2006) discusses the challenge of setting compensation scales for teachers that differ within and between countries, especially when these are established without analysis of the labour market and specific competing occupations available in that market. Bennell (2004) asserts that it is only possible to realise "higher-order" needs (which are the basis of true job satisfaction) when basic needs have been met. Research undertaken by VSO in eight low-income and conflict-affected countries shows that teacher salaries and other incentives are either "woefully inadequate" or are paid late, paid partially, or not paid at all because of malfunctioning payment systems, while other non-salary benefits—such as subsidised accommodation, travel, and health insurance—are inadequate or poorly administered (GCE, 2006).

In refugee settings specifically, the institutional environment and incentive structures (working for little or no pay or for in-kind benefits rather than cash) often work against the retention of refugee teachers, who, instead, seek better paid work outside of the profession (Sesnan et al., 2013). The INEE (2009) found that teachers who work in emergency settings often receive very little or no compensation for extended periods. At the individual level, teachers must satisfy their basic needs and will move to wherever they can find employment and earn a salary, and the promise of higher or more stable salaries can override a teacher's vocational motivations. At the societal level, refugees may find themselves in situations where there are already many unemployed teachers or insufficient resources to hire teachers despite high pupil-teacher ratios (Sesnan et al., 2013). Sesnan (2012) argues that humanitarian and development workers do not recognise that refugee teachers have the same motivations as other teachers: "Refugees, like anyone else, are rationally motivated by the availability of income" (p. 88). In many cases, communities must supplement with incentives (monetary and nonmonetary) in order to keep teachers teaching (Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007). Although the evidence is mixed, some researchers have found that nonmonetary compensation helps reduce teacher turnover. For example, Ariko and Othuon (2012) found that, in Suba District, Kenya, improved transportation and communication links, improved housing facilities, and the provision of electricity in schools successfully minimized teacher transfer requests.

6. Management structures

Supporting teachers through effective management is critical for retention. Dysfunctional systems and structures can decrease teachers' sense of professional responsibility and commitment (Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007; VSO, 2002). In refugee and emergency contexts, the challenge is to identify "who is in charge" of managing teachers and how to create a management structure that clarifies expectations and applies consistent standards (Davies & Gunawardena, 1992; Göttelmann-Duret, 2000; Sommers, 2004). This structure must also address grievances among teachers or risk demotivation among the teaching staff (Bennell, 2004).

There are few examples of effective alignment between refugee and emergency education systems and national education systems (Williams, 2006). Indeed, the lack of an "education centre" and effective coordination among multiple agencies engaged in education is mired in funding constraints, donor-driven agendas, and the need for short-term, swift responses (Sommers, 2004). Establishing management structures that would positively impact teacher retention in refugee and emergency settings is a particular challenge because the refugee schools operate outside of a pre-existing education system in the host country. Indeed, the focal point for education leadership in an emergency context may not even be the existing ministry of education (Sommers, 2004). Refugee schools (and teachers) are often managed by multiple agencies with different donor-driven mandates (Sommers, 2004). Sesnan et al. (2013) maintain that the "lack of coordination between ministries that register and manage refugees and ministries and related bodies that manage teachers" is partly responsible for the problems refugee teachers face when searching for jobs in host countries and that this same lack of coordination also makes it more difficult for refugee teachers to understand their rights (p. 6). In addition, the lack of effective collaboration among the relevant ministries (education, foreign affairs, etc.) and inconsistent application of rules and requirements for refugee teachers within receiving countries results in a haphazard approach to providing structural alignment of processes and systems, and to building permanent support (Sinclair, 2001; Sommers, 2004).

Another unique management challenge in refugee settings is determining who will teach and what exams must be taken in order to teach. In Chad, for example,

> The refugees tend to declare that host country teachers, however qualified they may be, do not know how to teach them. The host country in return refuses access to their exams unless trained teachers have taught the children. The NGOs stick to a policy of "letting the refugees choose their teachers," even when they are patently not qualified to do so. (Penson et al., 2011, p. 21)

7. Status and social recognition

Status and social recognition are critical factors that can either promote or compromise teacher retention in all settings. The professional status of teachers and the recognition and support they receive from the local community are critical motivating factors for teachers; therefore, these factors have the potential to greatly influence teacher retention. The World Bank found this to be especially true in emergency settings: "Teachers will be interested in the profession and will develop greater resilience in difficult contexts if their role is recognised and valued" (2010, p. 23).

There are two key issues regarding the status and social recognition of teachers: the policies that affect the teachers, and the attitudes and behaviours exhibited toward those teachers. Policies that make it difficult for teachers to understand the terms of their employment—or the outright absence of specific terms of employment—can be frustrating (Duthilleul, 2004). Sesnan et al. (2013) emphasise that a teacher's refugee status "works against economic security, tenure, contractual protections, promotion prospects, and professional development" (p. 3).

The second issue—attitudes and behaviours toward teachers—correlates directly with teacher motivation and satisfaction. As Nieto (2003) points out, negative attitudes toward teachers and a lack of respect for the profession compromise retention: "It is only when

teachers are treated as professionals and intellectuals . . . that they will be enticed to remain in the profession, and that new teachers will be attracted to join" (p. 396). This is true globally, but the need for positive attitudes and behaviours toward teachers is all the more pronounced in refugee settings, where traditional support structures are lacking. Moreover, social recognition and community support for teachers can prove especially challenging for teachers in rural areas. Sargent and Hannum (2005) found that teachers in rural areas frequently feel isolated from the local community, particularly if they come from outside the village or if their level of education differentiates them from the rest of the community.

Finally, the employment of contract teachers is also an important issue, particularly as contract teachers can be seen as a "threat" to national teachers when there is a teacher shortage. The literature is somewhat divided on the effectiveness of hiring contract teachers, with some arguing that it creates arbitrary divisions, which in turn leads to teacher dissatisfaction (Govinda & Josephine, 2004), while others contend that contract teachers are a valuable resource for education systems suffering from teacher shortages, such as in Cambodia (Geeves & Bredenberg, 2005). On a related note, Bennell (2004) maintains that the practice of "emergency credentialing" teachers compounds this lack of trust, respect, and accountability and, ultimately, negatively impacts the status of teachers. This notion is reinforced in a World Bank (2010) report, which found that strategies used to address teacher shortages in fragile settings (such as the introduction of contract teachers or the acceleration of pre-service or preparatory training) often threaten the occupational status of teachers in these settings. GCE (2006), for example, recognises that *short-term measures* may be needed as a stopgap in emergency settings but advocates that these should not become *long-term solutions*. Further, teachers still should be required to meet the established criteria for quality.

CONCLUSION

Teachers are vitally important to educational quality. In refugee and emergency settings, it is critical that more research focuses on teacher retention, as it is a key component of achieving equitable access to a quality education. The seven components explored in this literature review are certainly not the only determinants of teacher retention, but they do provide a helpful framework in which to examine the extremely complex challenges associated with the motivation, satisfaction, and retention of teachers. The compounding factors present in refugee and emergency settings create a unique lens through which to view the issue of teacher retention.

The research on teacher retention is fragmented and diverse, as the INEE has emphasised:

> Issues related to teachers [are] under-researched. Specifically, informants called for more studies into teacher development and training, teacher competencies, teacher retention, teaching for psychosocial wellbeing, the benefits of teacher training/capacity building, the morale and compensation of teachers, teacher certification in difficult environments, teacher management in emergencies, and the identity of teachers. (as cited in Penson, et al., 2011, p. 2)

As donors focus on equitable access for students, research on the factors affecting teachers (how quality teachers are attracted, how they are prepared and supported to

teach, and how quality teachers are retained) needs to be prioritised in education strategies.

The collection and analysis of data on teacher retention (especially in refugee and emergency settings) is essential to an enhanced understanding of the issue. To this end, Ochs and Jackson maintain: “Emphasis should be placed on strengthening existing data management systems and monitoring data and information at national, regional and international levels to address issues relating to tracking teacher turnover, recruitment, deployment, and relevant information about each foreign recruited teacher” (as cited in Penson, et al., 2011, p. 24).

Many of the retention-related issues touched upon in this literature review have significantly different implications for refugee teachers teaching in a host country than they do for national teachers teaching refugee populations. Both groups are, indeed, “refugee teachers”— in that they are teaching refugee populations—but the two have vastly different experiences with critical issues such as certification and incentives. This important distinction is overlooked in most of the existing literature, which means that we have a limited understanding of the motivational consequences of incentives, certification, access to professional development, and status on either national or refugee teachers. In addition, national policy, the right to work, and access issues will inevitably be different for each group.

Furthermore, there is a notable absence of literature on female refugee teachers specifically. The literature that does exist tends to focus on the low number of female teachers in refugee and emergency settings, with some limited suggestions as to why this may be the case. For example, in the Dadaab refugee camp—a predominantly Muslim community—teaching is not typically viewed as an appropriate profession for females (Gomez, 2013). In addition, Stacki (2012) emphasises the need for a gender-sensitive approach to professional development because, at present, such inequalities are not acknowledged in pre-service and in-service training programmes that may increase female teacher retention. While Bennell and Akyeampong’s (2007) study of teacher motivation in Africa and Asia included quantitative and qualitative research on the differences between male and female teachers, why women choose to become (or not to become) teachers, differences in intrinsic and extrinsic motivations for male and female teachers, and differing trends in teacher retention across the two genders have not been examined with any rigor in refugee or emergency contexts.

AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In this literature review we identified a number of critical issues that merit further research, including

- How refugee and emergency settings uniquely influence women and their decisions to teach (or not to teach) and to remain in the profession
- Working conditions in urban, rural, refugee settlement, and camp contexts and their impact on teacher retention
- The potential benefits or consequences (in terms of retention) of recruiting and deploying volunteer, contract, and/or professionally certified teachers in refugee-populated areas

- Differences in motivating factors for primary and secondary school teachers
- Differences in motivating factors for refugee and national teachers
- Models for effective and coordinated community leadership, security, and management structures (in refugee camps and urban settings) to strengthen and support teachers

In terms of future research, the seven areas explored in this literature review provide a useful starting point from which to approach the issues that influence teacher retention. In addition, quantitative data collection on teacher turnover in refugee and emergency contexts would shed important light on the motivational factors that cause teachers to remain in teaching or to leave the profession. Only with a solid evidence base can important changes be made to policy or practice that will enable education systems to retain quality teachers.

REFERENCES

Ariko, C. O., & Othuon, L. O. A. (2012). Minimizing teacher transfer requests: A study of Suba District secondary schools, Kenya. *International Journal of Education Administration and Policy Studies, 4*(2), 61–69.

Auduc, J.-L. (1998). *Training teachers to work in schools considered difficult*. Paris, France: International Institute for Education Planning, UNESCO.

Bennell, P. (2004). *Teacher motivation and incentives in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia*. Brighton, UK: Knowledge for Skills and Development. Retrieved from http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/dfidtea.pdf

Bennell, P., & Akyeampong, K. (2007). *Teacher motivation in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia* (DFID Educational Papers, No. 71). London, UK: Department for International Development.

Bennell, P., Buckland, P., & Mulkeen, A. (2009). *Teacher management and utilization in Papua New Guinea: A review of policy and practice*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Brown, T. (2001). Improving quality and attainment in refugee schools: The case of the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. In J. Crisp, C. Talbot, & D. Cipollone (Eds.), *Learning for a future: Refugee education in developing countries* (pp. 109–161). Geneva, Switzerland: UNHCR. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/3b8a1b484.pdf

Chapman, D. (1994). *Reducing teacher absenteeism and attrition: Causes, consequences and responses.* Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO.

Cooper, J., & Alvarado, A. (2006). Preparation, recruitment, and retention of teachers [Monograph]. *Education Policy Series, 5.* Brussels, Belgium: International Academy of Education, and Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/iiep/PDF/Edpol5.pdf

Crisp, J., Talbot, C., & Cipollone, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Learning for a future: Refugee education in developing countries*. Geneva, Switzerland: UNHCR. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/4a1d5ba36.html

Davies, L., & Gunawardena, C. (1992). *Women and men in educational management: An international inquiry* (IEP Research Report No. 95). Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO.

Duthilleul, Y. (2004). *International perspectives on contract teachers and their impact on meeting Education for All: The cases of Cambodia, India and Nicaragua* (Synthesis Report). Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/iiep/eng/research/basic/PDF/teachers3.pdf

Geeves, R., & Bredenberg, K. (2005). *Contract teachers in Cambodia*. Unpublished manuscript.

Global Campaign for Education (GCE). (2006). *Teachers for all: What governments and donors should do* (Policy Briefing). Retrieved from VSO International website: http://www.vsointernational.org/Images/GCE_Teachers_For_All_tcm76-22710.pdf

Gomez, S. (2013). *Dadaab teacher development & management strategy 2013–2015*. Unpublished summary.

Göttelmann-Duret, G. (2000). *The management of primary teachers in South Asia: A synthesis report*. Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO.

Govinda, R., & Josephine, Y. (2004). *Para teachers in India: A review*. Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO.

Guajardo, J. (2011). *Teacher motivation: Theoretical framework, situation analysis of Save the Children country offices, and recommended strategies*. Retrieved from OxfamNovib website: http://www.oxfamnovib.nl/Redactie/Downloads/English/SPEF/281-24%20Teacher%20Motivation%20Report.pdf

Harding, J. B., & Mansaray, A. T. (2006). *Teacher motivation and incentives in Sierra Leone*. DFID.

Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). (2003). *INEE good practice guide: Training and capacity building–certification and accreditation*. New York, NY: INEE.

Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). (2009). *INEE guidance notes on teacher compensation in fragile states, situations of displacement and post-crisis recovery*. New York, NY: INEE. Retrieved from http://toolkit.ineesite.org/toolkit/INEEcms/uploads/1023/INEE_Guidance_Notes_Teacher_Compensation.pdf

Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). (2011). *Third international policy dialogue forum of the Task Force on Teachers for EFA: Understanding the role of teacher policy and programing in fragility*.

Johnson, S. M. (2006). *The workplace matters: Teacher quality, retention, and effectiveness* (National Education Association Working Paper). Washington, DC: National Education Association.

Kirk, J. (2009). *Certification counts: Recognizing the learning attainments of displaced and refugee students*. Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001809/180906e.pdf

Kirk, J., & Winthrop, R. (2007). Supporting teacher development in Northern Ethiopia. *International Review of Education, 53*(5/6), 715–723.

Klassen, R., & Chiu, M. (2010). Effects on teachers' self-efficacy and job satisfaction: Teacher gender, years of experience, and job stress. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 102*(3), 741–756.

Moulton, J., & Dall, F. (2006*). Delivering education services in fragile states: Lessons from four case studies*. Washington, DC: United States Agency for International Development.

Mourshed, M., Chijioke, C., & Barber, M. (2007). *How the world's most improved school systems keep getting better*. Retrieved from McKinsey & Company website: http://mckinseyonsociety.com/downloads/reports/Education/How-the-Worlds-Most-Improved-School-Systems-Keep-Getting-Better_Download-version_Final.pdf

Mpokosa, C., Ndaruhutse, S., McBride, C., Nock, S., & Penson, J. (2008). *Managing teachers: The centrality of teacher management to quality education. Lessons from developing countries*. Retrieved from VSO International website: http://www.vsointernational.org/Images/Managing_Teachers_tcm76-20998.pdf

Mulkeen, Aidan. (2010). "Teacher Attrition in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Neglected Dimension of the Teacher Supply Challenge" UNESCO February 2010. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001881/188197e.pdf

Nieto, S. (2003). Challenging current notions of "highly qualified teachers" through work in a teachers' inquiry group. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *54*(5).

Novelli, M. (2011). *The role of education in peacebuilding. Case study: Sierra Leone*. New York, NY: UNICEF. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/files/EEPCT_Peacebuilding_CaseStudy_SierraLeone.pdf

Novelli, M., & Smith, A. (2011). *The role of education in peacebuilding: A synthesis report of findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone*. New York, NY: UNICEF. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/spanish/evaldatabase/index_61271.html

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2005). *Teachers matter: Attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers*. OECD. Retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/education/school/attractingdevelopingandretainingeffectiveteachers-finalreportteachersmatter.htm

Østby, G. (2008). Inequalities, political environment and civil conflict: Evidence from 55 developing countries. In F. Steward (Ed.), *Horizontal inequalities and conflict: Understanding group violence in multiethnic societies* (pp. 136–157). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Penson, J., & Sesnan, B. (n.d.). *Educators in exile*. Unpublished manuscript.

Penson, J., Yonemura, A., Sesnan, B., Ochs, K., & Chanda, C. (2011). *Beyond the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol: Next steps in managing teacher migration in emergencies*. Retrieved from UNESCO–International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa website: http://www.eng.unesco-iicba.org/sites/default/files/PensonYonemuraSesnanOchsChandaBeyondTheCommonwealthTeacherRecruitmentProtocol.pdf

Rose, P. (2011). Introduction—Education's hidden crisis: An overview of the 2011 Education for All Global Monitoring Report. *Prospects, 41*(2), 185–190.

Sargent, T., & Hannum, E. (2005). Keeping teachers happy: Job satisfaction among primary school teachers in rural northwest China. *Comparative Education Review*, *49*(2).

Sesnan, B. (2012). Where have all the teachers gone? Why there are never any teachers in Africa's refugee camps and what we can do about it. In J. Penson & A. Yonemura (Eds.), *Next steps in managing teacher migration: Papers of the Sixth Commonwealth Research Symposium on Teacher Mobility, Recruitment and Migration* (pp. 88-93). Paris, France: UNESCO, and London, UK: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Sesnan, B., Allemano, E., Ndugga, H., & Said, S. (2013). *Educators in exile: The role and status of refugee teachers*. Commonwealth Secretariat. Retrieved from https://books.thecommonwealth.org/educators-exile-paperback

Shepler, S. (2010). *Does teacher training for refugees contribute to post-conflict reconstruction of educational systems?* International Rescue Committee, the Legacy Initiative.

Shields, R., & Rappleye, J. (2008). Differentiation, development, (dis)integration: Education in Nepal's "People's War." *Research in Comparative and International Education*, *3*(1), 91–102.

Sinclair, M. (2001). Education in emergencies. In J. Crisp, C. Talbot, & D. Cipollone (Eds.). *Learning for a future: Refugee education in developing countries* (pp. 1–83). Geneva, Switzerland: UNHCR.

Smith, A. (2010). Schools as zones of peace: Nepal case study in access to education during armed conflict and civil unrest (pp. 261–278). In UNESCO, *Protecting education from attack: A state-of-the-art review*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

Sommers, M. (2004). *Coordinating education during emergencies and reconstruction: Challenges and possibilities*. Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO.

Spink, J. (2004). *Situational analysis: Teacher education and professional development in Afghanistan*. Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, Kabul, Afghanistan. Retrieved from http://www.unevoc.unesco.org/go.php?q=UNEVOC+Publications&lang=en&akt=id&st=&qs=1211&unevoc=0

Stacki, S. (2012). *Women teachers empowered in India: Teacher training through a gender len*s. New York, NY: UNICEF.

Stewart, F. (Ed.). (2008). *Horizontal inequalities and conflict: Understanding group violence in multiethnic societies.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sullivan, T. (2013). *Teacher professional development in crisis edited series: Annotated bibliography*. Unpublished manuscript prepared for Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies.

Teachers for EFA, International Task Force on Teachers for EFA. *Teacher attrition in sub-Saharan Africa: The neglected dimension of the teacher supply challenge. A review of literature*. Paris, France: UNESCO. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001881/188197e.pdf

Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO). (2002). *What makes teachers tick? A policy research report on teachers' motivation in developing countries*. Retrieved from VSO International website: http://www.vsointernational.org/Images/What_Makes_Teachers_Tick_tcm76-21000.pdf

Williams, P. (2006). *Good practice in crisis and post-conflict reconstruction: A handbook for education policy makers and practitioners in Commonwealth countries*. London, UK: Commonwealth Secretariat.

The World Bank Group. (2010). *Teacher policy and management in fragile and conflict-affected situations: A review of issues, policies and experiences*. Prepared for the Ninth High-Level Meeting on EFA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.