Stephanie Bengtsson, Rachael Fitzpatrick, Katja Hinz, Leonora MacEwen, Ruth Naylor, Anna Riggall and Helen West

Teacher management in refugee settings: **Ethiopia**







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Teacher management in refugee settings: **Ethiopia**



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List of acronyms

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
AfL	Assessment for Learning
ARRA	Agency for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (Ethiopia)
BA	Bachelor of Art
BED	Bachelor of Education
BIMS	Biometric Identity Management System
BoFED	Bureau of Finance and Economic Development
BSC	Bachelor of Sciences
BSRP	Building Self-Reliance Programme
CCA	Continuous Classroom Assessment
CITE	Centre for International Teacher Education
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CPR	Classroom Pupil Ratio
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
cso	Civil Society Organisation
СТЕ	College of Teacher Education
сѵ	Curriculum Vitae
DFID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECCE	Early Childhood Care and Education
ECRRP	Ethiopian Country Refugee Response Plan
ECW	Education Cannot Wait
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme
ETA	Ethiopian Teacher Association
ETB8	Ethiopian Birr (currency)
FVERA	Federal Vital Event's Registration Agency
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
GCTE	Gambella College of Teacher Education
GEQIP	General Education Quality Improvement Program
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio

GoEGovernment of EthiopiaGPIGender Parity IndexIDAInternational Development AssociationIDPInternally Displaced PersonIGADInter-Governmental Authority on DevelopmentIIEP-International Institute for EducationalUNESCOPlanningILOInternational Labour OrganisationINEEInter-agency Network for Education in EmergenciesINGOInternational Rescue CommitteeMAMaster of ArtsMoEMinistry of EducationMoUMemorandum of UnderstandingMPhilMaster of ScienceNCRRSNational Comprehensive Refugee Response StrategyNDRRMCNational Disaster Risk Reduction and Management CouncilNRCNorwegian Agency for Development CooperationNRCNorwegian Refugee CouncilNUENational University of EducationOAUOrganisation of African UnityOECDOrganisation for Economic Co-operation and DevelopmentPMPrime MinisterPTAParent-Teacher AssociationPTRPupil:Teacher RatioREBRegional Education BureauReDSSRegional Education BureauReDSSRegional Education BureauReDSSRegional Durable Solutions SecretariatSDGStandard Operating Procedures		
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SDG Sustainable Development Goals	REB	Regional Education Bureau
	ReDSS	Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat
SOP Standard Operating Procedures	SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
	SOP	Standard Operating Procedures

Teacher Development Programme					
Teacher Information Management System					
Teacher Training Institute					
Technical and Vocational Educational and Training					
UNESCO Institute for Statistics					
United Kingdom					
United Kingdom Forum for International Education and Training					
United Nations					
United Nations Children's Fund					
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization					
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees					
United States Dollar (currency)					
Voluntary Service Overseas					
World Bank					
Woreda Education Office					

Overview

Globally, there are 70.8 million forcibly displaced persons, the highest number since the Second World War. Among these are 25.9 million refugees, over half of whom are children.' This unprecedented displacement poses challenges for the world's education systems.

In fact, Goal 4 of the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which seeks to 'ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all', remains far out of reach for many of the world's refugees. According to a recent report from the International Rescue Committee (IRC) refugees are largely excluded from SDG-related data collection, monitoring frameworks, and national reporting and development plans.² As of 2018, only 63% and 24% of refugees had access to primary and secondary schooling respectively.³ There is therefore an urgent need to improve the equitable provision of quality education that is inclusive of refugees.

Effective teacher management is key to ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education. Research has shown that the quality of the teaching workforce is the most important factor affecting student learning among those that are open to policy influence.⁴ In crisis and displacement situations, the role of teachers is particularly significant; they are the 'key to successful inclusion' and are sometimes the only resource available to students.⁵ Teachers are a source of continuity in students' disrupted lives; they play a key role in developing their social and emotional skills and in protecting and supporting their scholastic success.⁶ However, teachers working in refugee contexts are unable to play this crucial role without appropriate support and training to be able to handle the often overcrowded, mixed-age and multilingual classrooms.⁷ Although teachers and teaching practices have received increasing attention in education in emergencies research in the last few years,⁸ most of the data available about teachers of refugees are limited to numbers of teachers, qualifications and certification, and compensation.⁹ Indeed, it is understandable that these data are the most oft cited in the discourse, considering that mass shortages, particularly of qualified teachers, are a significant problem 'across displacement settings, both at the onset of crisis and in cases of protracted displacement'.¹⁰

More research is needed – particularly from the perspectives of teachers in refugee contexts – to identify the many challenges they face and support the development of strategies to overcome these. Challenges include a lack of appropriate preparation to provide psychosocial support and practise self-care, uncertain career opportunities, financial and social insecurity, language barriers, gender inequality, and a lack of coordination between the many non-governmental and governmental actors involved.¹¹ As more emergencies become protracted crises and refugee populations continue to grow, there is an urgent need for evidence to guide policy development and implementation of these teacher management issues.

Teacher management

The studies conducted as part of this research programme examine teacher management policies in refugee contexts. Broadly speaking, the term 'teacher management' refers to various aspects of coordinating, organising, planning, resourcing, leading, supporting, monitoring and evaluating a teaching workforce.¹² It covers a number of topics ranging from appointment to appraisal, and promotion to payment.¹³ These topics are also inspired by international standards and frameworks and help to frame the data collection.¹⁴

A programme of research in response

In 2018 IIEP-UNESCO and Education Development Trust jointly published a review of the literature relating to teacher management in refugee contexts.^{15, 16}

The review concludes that for displaced populations, realising their legal rights, where afforded, can be challenging when international frameworks have not been ratified or adapted into national legal frameworks. It can be equally difficult when legal frameworks are poorly integrated into social service policies, plans and strategies (e.g. within national education sector plans). Also, research is needed to understand what host governments managing large refugee populations have done to reconcile the tensions between their international obligations and their capacities to fulfil these. Relatedly, research is needed on how the Global Compact on Refugees will affect government capacity to effectively manage teachers of refugees. Overall, we need to learn more about how to provide education to refugee children by better exploring examples of teacher management models.

The review also concludes that much of the literature indicates that teachers from the refugee community are best placed to teach, or should at least be a part of education provision. Host countries are aware of this, and are utilising refugees to support national teachers, as is the case to some extent in Ethiopia, Kenya and Turkey. Nevertheless, in most contexts more and more national teachers are teaching refugees, with very limited support and preparation. Fragmented information on refugee teachers, coupled with a lack of information on host teachers charged with refugee students' education, points to a need for more research. Issues like the portability of certification and adequate pay are important management factors for both refugee and national teachers. Yet, beyond these issues, there are few studies that critically analyse teachers' perceptions.

A wider study of how teachers of refugees perceive their selection and management will go a long way to ensuring policies and programmes are appropriate, effective and sustainable.

Following the review's conclusions, IIEP-UNESCO and Education Development Trust embarked on a series of country studies. At the time of writing there are four completed or underway. These include this report on Ethiopia plus a further three country studies taking place in Kenya, Uganda and Jordan.

Ethiopia country study

Ethiopia was chosen as the first country for this research programme on effective teacher management in refugee contexts because it is home to one of the largest refugee populations in Africa; it has also made significant policy commitments to increasing protection and support for refugees through a range of ambitious policy pledges and legal frameworks. There are two different governmental organisations responsible for primary education: the Ministry of Education (MoE) for host-community (i.e. national) schools and the Agency for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) for refugee camp schools.

The report contributes to a burgeoning body of research focused on teachers in refugee contexts. It aims to provide policy guidance to support ministries of education.

The study identifies promising policies and implementation strategies that exist for the management of primary level teachers in refugee hosting regions and reveals potential areas for further development of policies and successful implementation.

¹² Mpokosa et al. (2008) ¹³ Halliday (1995) defines teacher management as the 'process which encompasses the personnel functions relating to the appointment of teachers, their deployment, confirmation, appraisal and personal development, promotion, discipline and all other matters affecting their teaching service. This will normally include responsibility for the preparation of information relating to the payment of salaries and allowances' (Halliday, 1995:vi). ¹⁴ The 1966 ILO/UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers gives concrete guidance on what should be included in teacher management policies and the INEE Minimum Standards for Education (2010) addresses specific challenges of teachers in crisis settings. ¹⁵ Richardson et al. (2018) ¹⁶ The literature review is available to download, free, at https://www.educationdevelopmenttrust.com/our-research-and-insights/research/teachers-of-refugees-a-review-of-the-literature

The study had three objectives:

1. Identify current international, regional and national policies that guide the selection and management of primary-level teachers in three refugee-hosting regions in Ethiopia; and to explore with participants:

- **a.** perceptions of the enactment of policy
- **b.** awareness of policy at different levels in the systems.

2. Build an understanding of who is teaching refugees at the primary level in refugee-hosting regions – and within this consider three dimensions of teacher management inspired by the INEE Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies:¹⁷

- a. recruitment, deployment and retention
- **b.** teacher training and professional development
- $\ensuremath{\textbf{c}}\xspace$ remuneration, teacher appraisal and motivation.

3. Identify promising areas for further policy development and successful implementation of teacher management in refugee settings.

The presentation of findings is structured through these objectives as outlined below in Figure 1.

The country studies all use a similar approach, methods and tools, adapted for the specific context but similar enough to allow international and regional comparison.

In Ethiopia, the research was conducted in three phases:

 Phase I focused on understanding the policy landscape and included a review of literature specific to policy on teacher management for refugee education in Ethiopia, policy documentation, secondary data analysis and interviews with senior officials in key federal government departments, UNHCR and UNICEF.

- Phase II focused on exploring how policy was enacted and included interviews and focus groups with key informants at regional levels, schools and teachers.
 We also conducted a teacher survey.
- Like Phase II, Phase III focused on exploring policy enactment and provided the research team with an opportunity to return to field to explore emerging findings with federal and regional level stakeholders and conduct 17 case studies in schools.

The entire research data collection process was iterative and engaged key stakeholders in exploring meaning within the data. This included a series of workshops with government bodies and donors, CSOs and INGOs as a key part of the working methodology.

Key findings

Part 1a: Policy landscape affecting teacher management in refugee context in Ethiopia

The existing policy framework in Ethiopia shows considerable promise to support the integration of refugees in the national education system, and to effectively support and manage teachers of refugees.

Although the policy landscape on refugee's rights is comprehensive including international, regional and national policy frameworks, most teacher management policies do not mention refugee situations explicitly. Since 2009 there has emerged a series of documents that do explicitly tackle education in refugee settings and for the most part these focus on federal department cooperation and ways of working, teacher deployment and responses to provide access for refugees (such as double shifts).

Figure 1: Strue	Figure 1: Structure of report findings					
Part 1	 a Policy landscape affecting teacher management in refugee context in Ethiopia b Policy and system interactions c Awareness of policy in the system 					
Part 2	 a Who teaches refugees in Ethiopia? b Teacher recruitment, retention and deployment c Teacher training and professional development d Remuneration, teacher appraisal and motivation 					
Part 3	a Promising policies for the teaching of refugees in Ethiopiab Strengthening teacher management in refugee settings					

Part 1b: Policy and system interactions

Despite the strong policy landscape, challenges remain evident for teacher management where refugees are concerned:

- implementation planning requires greater attention to translate these policies into practice
- there are bureaucratic complexities that hinder implementation
- the coordination of multiple actors in the refugee education space is complex and requires coordination.

Part 1c: Awareness of policy in the system

Communications around policy for teacher management and refugee education could be more effective.

Awareness of policies relevant to teacher management in refugee situations is strong at federal level and among donors but gets progressively weaker towards the regional and woreda levels. At school level there is virtually no awareness at all.

Part 2a: Who teaches refugees in Ethiopia?

The general policy position is that schools in refugee camps should be staffed by qualified Ethiopian teachers. ARRA hires national teachers, typically degree holders with at least two years of teaching experience, to teach at these schools. National teachers make up 27% of the teaching workforce in refugee primary schools.

Refugee schools are primarily staffed by refugee teachers, recruited from the camps, and hired on an incentive payment basis. Refugee teachers are generally less well qualified than their Ethiopia colleagues. Most have only secondary education or less.

The vast majority (over 90%) of teachers of refugees are male; unless barriers for more women to enter the workforce are explicitly targeted this will be hard to change.

Refugee teachers, particularly those with lower level qualifications (e.g. school completion, degree with no teaching qualification) teach lower grades.

Host community teachers are Ministry of Education teachers working in Ethiopian government primary schools. Most (around 90%) are qualified, holding either a diploma (Grade 1–4 teachers) or a degree (Grade 5–8 teacher). There are not enough teachers in some schools; pupil:teacher ratios can be as high as 100:1, double the desired 50:1.

Part 2b: Teacher recruitment, retention and deployment

Ethiopia has clear recruitment criteria for teachers, including teachers of refugees. However, it is hard to find enough national teachers with the desired level of qualifications willing to teach in refugee camps, and very few refugees are qualified.

Retention of teachers in refugee situations is an issue due to a range of factors, including:

- low pay, particularly for refugee teachers who are paid only an incentive payment. This payment is the same for all refugees no matter what work they undertake
- no career structure for teachers
- large class sizes and resource-poor teaching environments
- poor professional development and support
- challenging circumstances of being a refugee and living in or outside a camp setting.

The deployment of teachers to refugee schools is mainly guided by consideration of language and ethnicity.

Part 2c: Teacher training and professional development

There is no pre-service training offered for refugee teachers and pre-service training for national teachers does not consider refugee teaching environments.

Some form of induction is common for new teachers of refugees but practices varied wildly in our study.

In-service training is common but not comprehensively offered to all teachers of refugees. Most often it is shortterm, uncoordinated and does not lead to certification or portable qualifications.

Some examples of training were evident, which involved Colleges of Teacher Education (CTEs) where refugee teachers were able to gain certification and qualification.

Promising activity seen at woreda level included the inclusion of refugee schools in clusters with national schools, mentoring between ARRA national teachers

and refugee teachers and teacher-to-teacher support. This was not common but it was encouraging and reported positively.

Many participants in the research called for widespread reform of teacher education and teacher professional development in the refugee context.

Part 2d: Remuneration, teacher appraisal and motivation

Motivation was high among the participants, despite evident retention issues: poor remuneration, high workloads and difficult working conditions.

Appraisal was almost non-existent for teachers of refugees and there was no system of appraisal linked to career progression. There were almost no opportunities for career progression.

Part 3a: Promising policies for the teaching of refugees in Ethiopia

The study adopts a conceptual framework that recognises policy implementation as a complex, dynamic process and considers socio-political contexts and the complex interactions between various policy actors, particularly at the local level and between levels. It explores international, regional and national policies that frame teacher management in refugee contexts and presents findings on local practice, which reveal both strengths and gaps.

We use a matrix to document and categorise findings related to policy and practice, see Figure 2.

Part 3b: Strengthening teacher management in refugee settings

With a desire to strengthen teacher management policy and practice firmly in mind, the study concludes with a set of recommendations.

To enhance promising policy that is reflected in practice there is a need to:

- continue to strengthen documentation and data about refugees, refugee teachers, schools that cater for refugees and refugee learners; weaknesses in data about refugee education have hindered efforts to support and improve provision
- develop and implement a Teacher Management Information System (TIMS) which covers teachers in refugee settings
- reinforce MoE capacities to analyse and monitor refugee education
- ensure the integration of refugee education throughout the ESDP VI.

To guarantee that promising policies are seen more systemically translated into practice there is a need to:

- ensure the effective communication of policies and plans to regional, woreda and school levels, and consultation with these education actors on how to implement these policies
- coordinate the implementation of the refugee proclamation and the Djibouti Declaration with the development and implementation of relevant teacher policies

	Promising practice	Gaps in practice
Promising policy	 Promising policy reflected in promising practice Documentation and data. 	 Promising policy not reflected in promising practice CRRF education pledges and the Djibouti Declaration. Mother tongue education. Addressing pupil/teacher ratios. Teacher qualifications. Teacher induction. Teacher remuneration schemes.
Gaps in policy	 Promising practice not based on/reflected in policy ARRA national teachers mentoring refugee teachers. Refugee schools included in cluster meetings. Opportunities for refugee teachers to gain qualifications while teaching. Professional development based on identified need for refugee teachers. 	 Gaps in both policy and practice Shortage of female teachers. Inconsistent teacher appraisal and limited career progression.

- consider how unqualified educators could have a role as language assistants to support teachers of multilingual classrooms
- consider developing shared school facilities with double shifting and improve time management
- develop alternative entry routes to the teaching profession
- harmonise teacher qualification requirements across host and refugee settings
- establish a Teacher Service Commission to monitor the quality of teachers
- disseminate information on and provide time for the implementation of the teacher induction policy
- ensure fair salaries, benefits and working conditions for all teachers including teachers in refugee settings
- apply humanitarian funding to teacher salaries.

To build policy around promising practice:

- document and disseminate the good practices of mentoring in case studies as a first step to formalisation in policy
- further support collaboration between Woreda and ARRA through the cluster system
- use humanitarian funding to scale up funding of CTEs across refugee hosting regions on a long-term basis
- ensure that professional development opportunities are coordinated
- ensure that professional development opportunities can contribute to securing requisite qualifications on par with the national standard
- ensure that professional development opportunities are relevant and accessible to refugee teachers.

To address areas where there appear to be gaps in both policy and practice:

- take inspiration from existing programmes that are increasing numbers of women in education delivery roles
- attention should be paid to the potential impact that harmonisation of the recruitment process has on the number of female recruits

- develop a strategy to improve gender parity in teacher recruitment
- find ways to encourage the implementation of appraisal systems in refugee schools
- carefully plan the implementation of the new teacher career structure and consider specific implications for teachers in refugee settings.



Ethiopia country study

Ethiopia was chosen as the first country for this research initiative on effective teacher management in refugee contexts because it is home to one of the largest refugee populations in Africa; it has also made significant policy commitments to increasing protection and support for refugees through a range of ambitious policy pledges and legal frameworks.

Ethiopia: context

Ethiopia is home to one of the largest refugee populations in Africa and has made policy commitments to increasing protection and support for refugees through a range of ambitious policy pledges and legal frameworks. Ethiopia is an interesting research setting because there are two different governmental organisations responsible for primary education: the Ministry of Education (MoE) for hostcommunity (i.e. national) schools and the Agency for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) for refugee camp schools.

Ethiopia's long history of hosting refugees from across the region is due in part to its open-door policy, which includes protection for asylum seekers. This welcoming policy, along with the country's relative stability amid rising conflict and instability in the surrounding region, has led to a surge in the number or refugees over the past decade, from under 100,000 in 2008 to almost one million in 2018.¹⁸ Endemic internal ethnic unrest in some regions of Ethiopia has complicated the refugee situation further and led to a significant number of internally displaced persons (IDPs).¹⁹ In fact, UNHCR estimates there are currently over 2.8 million IDPs in Ethiopia, a number that far exceeds the number of refugees, following the global trend where IDPs also outnumber refugees.²⁰

Key demographic information

- Population of 105 million, making it the second most populous African country.
- Over 60% of the population are under 25 and over 40% of the population are under 14.
- Over 80% of the population live in rural areas, and pastoralism and agro-pastoralism are widely practised.
- Home to over 80 ethnic groups, of which 10 have a population greater than one million.
- Over 80 distinct languages are spoken.
- More than 40% of the population are Orthodox Christian; more than 30% are Muslim; with Protestantism and traditional religions accounting for the remaining population.

According to the results of a recent mass refugee registration drive completed in July 2019, Ethiopia is host to 680,861 refugees from many African countries.^{21, 22} While the current population of refugees represents less than 1% of the total Ethiopian population, the refugee population is concentrated in certain regions: in Gambella, for example, they make up over 50% of the regional population. Around one fourth of the refugee population in Ethiopia are children.

The Government of Ethiopia recognises Eritreans, South Sudanese, Sudanese, Yemenis and Somalis originating from South and Central Somalia as prima facie²⁵ refugees, while people from other countries must undergo individual refugee status determination.²⁶ The majority of Ethiopia's refugees reside within 26 formalised refugee camps across five regions of the country, though there is a small but growing number of urban refugees who live outside of camps, mostly in Addis Ababa.²⁷

The distribution of Ethiopia's refugee groups by country of origin and current location in Ethiopia is provided in Table 2. There are five main refugee-hosting regions in Ethiopia: Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambella, Somali and Tigray. These regions each host a specific group of refugees and have a unique ethnic composition.²⁹ With the exception of Tigray, four of the five regions are so-called 'emerging regions', which means they are the country's poorest, characterised by extreme weather conditions, weak infrastructure and administrative capacity, inaccessible or poor quality roads, high levels of poverty, and poor development indicators.³⁰ The recent spike in the number of IDPs in Ethiopia has put further pressure on Ethiopia's regional and local governments in these regions.

Although the 2018 World Bank report found that refugees in Ethiopia have a lower standard of living than host communities, they do have comparable (and sometimes better) access to services, including education.³¹ However, there are significant variations with respect to standard of living, livelihood and relationship to host communities according to nationality, with Eritreans enjoying more rights and a higher standard of living than other nationalities, particularly the South Sudanese. What is particularly troubling, the report notes, is the near complete dependency on aid for all refugee groups.³²

Table 1: Age and gender of refugees in Ethiopia (%) ²³							
Age	Total %	Female in total %	Male in total %				
Infants (0–4yrs)	21 %	11 %	10 %				
Children (5–11 yrs)	24 %	12 %	12 %				
Adolescents (12–17 yrs)	18 %	8 %	9 %				
Adults over 18 yrs	37 %	22 %	14 %				
Total ²⁴	100 %	53 %	47 %				

Country of origin	Total of refugee population %	Location in Ethiopia	
South Sudan	45.8 %	Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz	
Somalia	26.2 %	Somali (8 refugee camps)	
Eritrea	19.3 %	Tigray Afar	
Sudan	7.6 %	Benishangul-Gumuz (4 of 5 camps)	
Yemen	0.2 %	Addis Ababa	
Others	0.9 %	_	

²¹ Prior to the completion of this registration drive estimates have been unreliable, compounded by a lack of comprehensive data across regions and high rates of secondary and seasonal migration in some parts of Ethiopia. It should be noted, therefore, that some figures cited in this report, particularly those pre-dating the completion of the registration drive, may not accurately reflect the reality on the ground. ²² UNHCR (n.d.) ²³ UNHCR (2019c) ²⁴ In the refugee camps in Tigray the percentage of male refugees is slightly higher. The UNHCR camp profiles from October 2018 show between 57% and 60% of male refugees in the four existing camps (UNHCR, 2018c). ²⁵ Prima facie status refers to a 'group determination' of refugee status, where a population is automatically recognised as refugees if their country of origin is recognised as in an urgent humanitarian situation and individual determination would be impractical. (Prima facie means 'in the absence of evidence to the contrary'). ²⁶ UNHCR (2019a) ²⁷ UNHCR (2018b) ²⁸ UNHCR (2020b) ²⁹ World Bank (2018) ³⁰ UNHCR (2018b)

Primary education in refugee-hosting regions of Ethiopia

The MoE and ARRA currently manage teachers and distribute resources separately. ARRA is responsible for the coordination and implementation of education of refugees while the MoE provides education to the Ethiopian host community. There has been a concerted effort 'to establish strong linkage between national and refugee education systems [which] has been producing positive results [...]^{.33}

The MoE system

Children in Ethiopia begin their primary studies around seven years of age. Primary education in Ethiopia is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education (MoE) through the Regional Education Bureaus (REBs), who are responsible for the overall administration and management of primary schools, and the Woreda Education Offices (WEOs), who are responsible for providing all basic services to primary schools. Primary schooling is compulsory and consists of two cycles: basic primary, covering Grades 1–4 (ages 7 to 10), and general primary, covering Grades 5–8 (ages 11 to 14). It is free at public schools, though there are fee-charging private schools, representing roughly 5% of all primary schools in 2015.³⁴ These private schools tend to be better resourced and staffed by better-educated teachers.³⁵

MoE schools follow a national curriculum, which includes textbooks developed by the federal MoE.³⁶ However, there is considerable variation among regions by language of instruction because of the national policy mandating mother tongue language instruction in the lower grades.³⁷ In some regions, English is introduced as a language of instruction between Grades 5 and 8, as preparation for secondary and tertiary levels.³⁸ Primary education culminates in a national Grade 8 assessment. Upon passing the Grade 8 assessment, students receive a Primary School Leaving Certificate, which is necessary to gain entry to secondary school.

In addition to formal MoE schools, Alternative Basic Education (ABE) centres are located throughout the country, which provide underserved, marginalised children (including some refugees) with access to a basic foundational education outside the formal system. However, ABE centres are outside of the scope of this study.

The ARRA system

In addition to providing education for its own citizens, the Ethiopian government has committed to providing education for the refugee children living within its borders, over half of whom are of primary school-age.³⁹ According to UNHCR,⁴⁰ as of May 2018, there were a total of 401,840 school age refugee children (3–18 years old) in Ethiopia. Primary education for refugees is free and provided through refugee camp schools run by ARRA with the support of UNHCR and other partners. Schools in refugee camps follow the national curriculum, and are also divided into a basic primary cycle and a general primary cycle.

ARRA is mandated to manage the administration of refugee schools, acting as coordinator and main implementing partner for UNHCR in primary schools in camp settings. ARRA 'ensures that the entire refugee education programme follows the Ethiopian Ministry of Education's system. As such, both the Federal Ministry of Education and ARRA are supporting the same educational system for refugee children and nationals – a precursor to inclusion in national systems'.⁴¹ Refugee schools are increasingly receiving support from the MoE at federal, regional and woreda-level when it comes to textbook supply, teacher training, supervision and inspection, and learning assessments. Data on refugee schools are now also included in the Ethiopian Education Management Information System (EMIS).

Research approach and methods

The study had three objectives:

1. Identify current international, regional and national policies that guide the selection and management of primary-level teachers in three refugee-hosting regions in Ethiopia; and to explore with participants:

a. perceptions of the enactment of policyb. awareness of policy at different levels in the systems.

2. Build an understanding of who is teaching refugees at the primary level in refugee-hosting regions – and within this consider three dimensions of teacher management inspired by the INEE Minimum Standards:⁴²

- a. recruitment, deployment and retentionb. teacher training and professional development
- c. remuneration, teacher appraisal and motivation.

3. Identify promising areas for further policy development and successful implementation of teacher management in refugee settings.

The research in Ethiopia followed a collaborative, mixed methods approach. The research was iterative, meaning that findings from each phase were discussed with key stakeholders and used to inform further data collection and analysis.

Throughout the research process, the research team worked closely with key stakeholders from Ethiopia, including the Agency for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), the Ministry of Education (MoE), UNHCR and UNICEF. Further, this study aimed to include voices of both national and refugee teachers throughout.

Data for this study was collected at multiple administrative levels: at the federal level, and at the regional, woreda (district) and school level. At the school level the study involved teachers teaching at the formal primary level in both refugee and host-community schools.

During Phase I, an understanding of the policy landscape was built through a literature review, an analysis of policy documents and EMIS data, and semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders at the federal level.

Phase II and Phase III explored policy enactment of national policies that explicitly address refugee issues. This included unpacking how policies are communicated to and interpreted at the local level by officials, school leaders, teachers, learners and communities, and the extent to which they are translated into action or (at times) contested and resisted. These phases also aimed to identify teacher management practices at the school-, district-, and regional level that may not be reflected in official policies.

Phase II involved interviews with government and international agencies at regional and woreda (district) levels, interviews and focus group discussions with teachers at refugee and host-community schools, and a teacher survey from a mix of schools in refugee-hosting woredas. During Phase III, stakeholder consultations and follow-up interviews with participants from Phases I and II took place to discuss and validate preliminary findings. Interviews with key stakeholders not interviewed in earlier rounds also took place, and case studies at selected schools in each region were developed.

Our preliminary analysis of the qualitative data generated during Phase I informed the development of a quantitative questionnaire on teacher management that was implemented by IPSOS Kenya. This survey was disseminated to 130 schools and interviews were conducted with a total of 351 teachers, including:

- 1. refugee teachers,
- 2. ARRA national teachers in refugee settings and
- **3.** MoE teachers in host communities.

Table 3 (page 24) provides detailed information about the number and types of teachers that were surveyed in both refugee and host community schools.

The survey gathered information about teachers' perceptions of their current position and recruitment, education and training, working conditions and motivation. Further, the questionnaire included aspects related to the integration of refugees in the national education system. Table 4 (page 24) provides an overview of the fieldwork.

Table 3: Number and types of teachers surveyed by region, IIEP-UNESCO and Education Development Trust teacher survey sample

Region	Refugee ARRA refugee schools teachers			ARRA national teachers			Host community teachers				
		Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male		Total	Female	Male
Benishangul-Gumuz	6	12	1	11	8	0	8	24	54	10	44
Gambella	22	59	1	58	5	0	5	21	77	12	65
Tigray	4	7	0	7	6	0	6	53	123	45	78
Total	32	78	2	76	19	0	19	98	254	67	187

Table 4: Field work phases

Phase I: Understanding the Policy Landscape

Dates	Activities
September 2018 — January 2019	 Literature review Policy document collection Secondary data collection (e.g. EMIS)
October 2018 – November 2018	• 5 semi-structured interviews with key informants at federal level (including MoE, ARRA, UNHCR and UNICEF)
Phase II: Exploring Policy Enactr	nent and Teacher Management Practices Part 1
Dates	Activities
October 2018 – November 2018	 17 semi-structured interviews with key informants at the regional, zonal and district levels (including regional education bureaus, district education officers, ARRA, UNHCR, UNICEF and CTEs) 16 semi-structured interviews with headteachers (or deputy headteachers) 16 focus group discussions with teachers at refugee schools and host community schools in refugee-hosting areas
December 2018 — May 2019	Teacher survey of 351 teachers
Phase III: Exploring Policy Enact	ment and Teacher Management Practices Part 2
Dates	Activities
March 2019 — April 2019	 9 semi-structured interviews/stakeholder consultations with federal level stakeholders (including MoE, UNHCR, IRC, NRC, World Bank, Ethiopian Teachers Association, Plan International and VSO). 11 semi-structured interviews with key informants at the regional, zonal and district levels (including regional education bureaus, district education officers, ARRA, UNHCR, UNICEF and CTEs) 17 mini school case-studies including interviews with headteachers, focus groups with teachers and PTAs, and an activity with learners (10 refugee schools; 7 host schools)

Figure 3: Analysi	Figure 3: Analysis framework		
	Promising practice	Gaps in practice	
Promising policy	Promising policy reflected in promising practice	Promising policy not systematically reflected in practice	
Gaps in policy	Promising practice not based on/reflected in policy	Gaps in both policy and practice	

Analysing policy enactment

To understand the interaction between policy and practice, some scholars argue that a nuanced approach to policy analysis is required; one which considers socio-political contexts and the complex interactions between various policy actors, particularly at the local level and between levels.⁴³ Such an approach views policy as a complex, dynamic process, and that explores how 'education policies are "made sense of", mediated and struggled over, and sometimes ignored, or, in another word, enacted'.⁴⁴

This research project builds on the idea that '[p]olicy is done by and done to teachers; they are actors and subjects, subject to and objects of policy'.⁴⁵ Recognising that the management of teachers happens across multiple levels – from the international level, through to the national level, to the regional level, to the district level, to the community level, to the school level – the study identifies other relevant policy actors and policy texts that make up the complex policy network. It explores policy enactment, or how stakeholders at various levels understand and engage with policies relating to refugees and to teacher management. Finally, it explores whether or not there is room for good practice to inform the development or revision of policy.

We developed an analysis framework that allows us to articulate policy enactment and practice and the intersects in Ethiopia. The framework is depicted in Figure 3.

In the first quadrant we describe examples from the data collection that are reflective of policy and where our data suggests there is promising practice evident in the system.

The category of promising policy with gaps in practice indicates more work needs to be done to overcome the barrier preventing the translation of good policy into practice. The bottom left quadrant prompts the research to locate, where evident, practice which shows promise, but which is yet to be captured in policy.

The bottom right quadrant captures findings which indicate gaps in both policy and practice. Anything in this box will require future policy development.

The regions studied

This study focused on three of the five refugee-hosting regions in Ethiopia: Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz (which are emerging regions) and Tigray. A map showing the location of the refugee camps in the three study regions, along with a brief overview of each of the three regions is shown in Figure 4 (page 27).

In all three regions, refugee camps are underfunded, and refugees face significant protection risks.⁴⁶ Children are particularly vulnerable, with reports of poor living conditions in some camps, high numbers of unaccompanied children and disappearances of children.⁴⁷ Further, the prospects for integration and resettlement for all refugees are limited.⁴⁸

Gambella

Gambella is an emerging region located in the south west of Ethiopia that shares a border with South Sudan. The regional capital is also called Gambella. The region is one of the hottest lowlands in Ethiopia, with an average temperature of 37 degrees Celsius.⁴⁹ Gambella was only loosely integrated into the Ethiopian state before 1991, making it one of Ethiopia's least developed regions with respect to infrastructure and social services today.⁵⁰ Major indigenous groups in the region include the Anuak, Nuer, Mejenger, Opo and Komo. Long-standing tensions exist between the Anuak, primarily cultivators with strong ties to the land, and the Nuer, primarily pastoralists without a territorialised identity.⁵¹

The huge influx of refugees fleeing the South Sudanese war, who are mostly Nuer, has exacerbated these tensions. In fact, almost half of all Ethiopia's refugees live in Gambella, and they, in turn, make up over half of Gambella's population. Ongoing violence in South Sudan has increasingly affected areas on the border, and led to a steady flow of new arrivals seeking asylum. One of Gambella's camps was recently expanded to accommodate the influx⁵² and some new arrivals were relocated to Benishangul-Gumuz to ease pressure on Gambella.⁵³

Benishangul-Gumuz

Benishangul-Gumuz is an emerging region located in the west of Ethiopia and shares a border with Sudan and South Sudan. The regional capital is called Asosa, which is also the name of the zone where the refugee camps in Benishangul-Gumuz are located. The region is multiethnic with no one group holding a majority.⁵⁴ The main indigenous groups include the Berta, Gumuz, Sinash, Mao and Komo.⁵⁵

The majority of Ethiopia's Sudanese refugees reside in Benishangul-Gumuz, most of them having arrived in Ethiopia between 1997 and 2011.⁵⁶ There are also refugees from South Sudan in Benishangul-Gumuz, as well as smaller groups of refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, Uganda and other African countries.

Tigray

Tigray is the only area of the refugee-hosting regions in Ethiopia that is not categorised as an emerging region.

Tigray region is located in the far north, bordering Eritrea. The vast majority of the population is Tigrayan, with small minorities of Kunama and Irob. The official language of the region is Tigrigna, which is one of nine languages spoken in Eritrea. Tigray's capital is Mekele.

There are ethnic and linguistic similarities between Tigrayans and Eritreans. Tigray region has a history of both internal and external conflict over the past few decades. Specifically, the region experienced a prolonged civil war and there has been border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea.⁵⁷ These conflicts have resulted in significant numbers of Eritrean refugees in the region.

The majority of Eritrean refugees in Tigray reside in one of the four camps in the north-west zone of the region known as Shire. There are concerns about the high number of unaccompanied and separated children (25% of all children in the camps), and their high rate of onward mobility within and outside of Ethiopia.⁵⁸ A small percentage of self-sufficient Eritrean refugees live in urban areas.⁵⁹ Figure 4: Map of Ethiopia, showing location of the regions included in the study



Part 1 Policy landscape

This section addresses the first of the three objectives: to identify current international, regional and national policies that guide the selection and management of primary-level teachers in three refugee-hosting regions in Ethiopia (Part 1: A); and to explore with participants:

a. perceptions of the enactment of policy (Part 1: B)b. awareness of policy at different levels in the systems (Part 1: C)

This section of the report presents data collected in Phase I from the literature review, the policy documentation analysis, secondary data collection and analysis, as well as interviews in Phase I and Phase II.

During Phases I and II, participants at federal level (including MoE, ARRA, UNHCR and UNICEF) as well as at regional and district level (including Regional Education Bureaus District Education Officers, ARRA, UNHCR, UNICEF and Colleges of Teacher Education) were interviewed. The teacher survey also contained questions about awareness and familiarity with policy.

A summary of the key points is provided at the end of Part 1.

Part 1a The Ethiopian policy landscape concerning teacher management for refugee education

This chapter identifies international, regional and national policies on refugees that the government of Ethiopia committed to and that guide the selection and management of primary-level teachers in three refugee-hosting regions in Ethiopia.

Refugee response frameworks

International and regional response frameworks

Ethiopia is a signatory to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.

More recently, Ethiopia was among the countries driving several international and regional agreements on the protection of refugees and their right to education. The more recent regional commitments aim to solve challenges to enable host countries in East Africa to ensure access to quality education for refugees and host communities alike. These international and regional agreements will be discussed briefly below.

The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF)

In 2016, as a reaction to the global displacement crisis, the international community formulated a holistic, global, more equitable and predictable refugee response. During a Leader Summit, the UN member states including Ethiopia signed the New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants, reminding the international community of its global responsibility to protect the rights of migrants and refugees. This declaration includes the CRRF, which lists concrete actions on how to ensure these rights. It argues for a holistic approach to ensure the access of refugees and host-communities to public services, including education.

Table 5: International and regional policies on refugees		
Agreement	Author	Year
UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees	UN	1951
Protocol of the Refugee Convention	UN	1967
OAU Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa	OAU	1969
New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants	UN	2016
Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF)	UN	2016
Nairobi Declaration on Somali refugees	IGAD	2017
Djibouti Declaration on Refugee Education	IGAD	2017
	IGAD	2017
Addis Ababa Call for Action on the Implementation of the Djibouti Declaration on education for refugees, returnees, IDPs and host communities	IGAD	2018
Global Refugee Compact (the CRRF is an integral part of the compact)	UN	2018

It became apparent to the international community that a sustainable solution to refugee situations requires international cooperation. This led to the Global Compact on Refugees, signed in 2018, in which the UN member states reaffirmed their commitment to a global refugee response. Its four key objectives are to:

- **1.** Ease the pressures on host countries and communities.
- 2. Enhance refugee self-reliance.
- **3.** Expand third-country solutions.

4. Support conditions in countries of origin for return in safety and dignity.

The CRRF was integrated into the global compact and complemented by a Program of Action to guide the implementation of the CRRF. The Program of Action addresses critical challenges related to refugee education. Besides the aspiration to ensure the access of refugee children to education within three months of their arrival, and the need to integrate refugee education into national plans, it highlights the importance of improving teaching capacities to ensure access to education. To achieve this the compact suggests that, depending on national law, countries might consider accepting refugees as teachers.

In light of these international developments, the East African Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)⁶⁰ identified a number of concrete actions that could be implemented by its member states in order to pursue a comprehensive regional approach to delivering durable solutions.⁶¹ For this purpose, IGAD convenes in thematic regional meetings, including meetings on education. The first of these meetings on education took place in 2017. During this meeting, participating member states adopted the Djibouti Declaration and its enclosed Plan of Action which became the cornerstone of regional efforts for the integration of refugee education into national systems.

The Djibouti Declaration picks up the commitments made by the international community in the CRRF and interprets them into concrete steps for its member states. These steps include the integration of refugee education into national sector plans by 2020, minimum standards for refugee education and the development of a regional framework to promote the inclusion of refugee teachers; comprising opportunities for pre- and in-service training, recognition of foreign qualifications of refugees, gender parity and opportunities for career progression. The Djibouti Declaration also discusses how to ensure a sufficient supply of teachers. Article 24 of the Action Plan states the goal to: 'Develop a common regional approach for teacher accreditation, including accelerated programmes for refugee and returnee teachers'.⁶²

National refugee policy framework

Refugee policies pre-CRRF

National policies prior to the CRRF, including the 2004 Refugee Proclamation (Proclamation No. 409/2004) and the 2010 Out-of-Camp scheme for Eritreans, established standards for safe reception, peaceful coexistence, and non-refoulement for refugees,63 but placed some restrictions on refugees' freedoms. Proclamation No. 409/2004 places the same limits on refugees as on other foreigners regarding their right to wage-earning employment and access to publicly funded primary education. Article 21 of that proclamation assigns the Ethiopian government with the responsibility to 'designate places and areas in Ethiopia within which recognized refugees (...) and family members thereof shall live'. This article has formed the legal basis for the Government of Ethiopia's use of designated camps and settlements to restrict refugees' freedom of movement, making it 'one of the most camp-reliant refugee-hosting countries globally'.64 There are no provisions under the 2004 Proclamation for the local integration of refugees, meaning that on paper, refugee camps have remained separate from the socioeconomic life of host communities in most parts of Ethiopia.65

In 2010, prior to the CRRF, Ethiopia had already begun to address this situation and introduced an 'Out-of-Camp' scheme for Eritrean refugees, relaxing restrictions on refugees' freedom of movement and allowing them to live in urban areas. This scheme, however, only applied to self-sufficient Eritrean refugees who, because of their close relationship with the host-community – often having familial bonds – could access support and sponsorship outside of the camps.⁶⁶ The 2010 'Out-of-Camp' scheme was criticised as it differentiates between the nationalities of refugees. Asabu points out the 'presence of discrimination among refugees due to their nationality' in this policy and highlights its 'inconsistency with national, regional and international principles adopted by the country'.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ IGAD includes the governments of eight East-African countries, namely Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, South Sudan, Kenya and Uganda. The overall vision of IGAD is to 'achieving peace, prosperity and regional integration in the IGAD region'. ⁶¹ The first document on the regional implementation of the CRRF was the Nairobi Declaration, which at the beginning focused on Somali refugees. In late 2017 the scope of the declaration was extended to include all refugees in the region. ⁶² IGAD (2017:4) ⁶³ The forcible return of refugees or asylum seekers to a country where they are liable to be subjected to persecution. ⁶⁴ World Bank (2018:14) ⁶⁵ World Bank (2018) ⁶⁶ UN News (2010) ⁶⁷ Asabu (2018:68)

Table 6: Table of relevant refugee policies		
National Policy	Author	Year
Refugee Proclamation No.409/2004	GoE	2004
Out-of-camp scheme (2010)	GoE	2010
Ethiopia's nine pledges	GoE	2016
Roadmap for the Implementation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Government Pledges and for the practical application of the CRRF	ARRA	2017
Vital Events Registration and National Identity Card proclamation no.1049/2017	GoE	2017
Refugee Proclamation 1110/2019	GoE	2019
National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy (NCRRS)	GoE	No finalised version at the time of writing this report
Ethiopia Country Refugee Response Plan	UNHCR	2019
Addis Ababa Call for Action on the Implementation of the Djibouti Declaration on education for refugees, returnees, IDPs and host communities	IGAD	2018
Global Refugee Compact (the CRRF is an integral part of the compact)	UN	2018

Refugee policies post-CRRF: Ethiopia's nine pledges

With the commitment to the New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants, initiatives to adjust national law to global principles gained momentum. In fact, Ethiopia as one of the co-hosting countries of the Leaders' Summit was one of the first signatories to commit to rolling out a national CRRF and formulated nine pledges with an aim to 'further improv[e] the rights and services enjoyed by refugees in the country'.⁶⁸

Three of these pledges are relevant to teacher management in refugee contexts:

- The Education Pledge promises to increase the enrolment of all refugees in primary, secondary and tertiary education, which would require more and better-qualified teachers. At primary level the aim is to increase enrolment from the current 96,700 (54%) to 137,000 (75%).
- The Out-of-Camp Pledge agrees to extend the out-of-camp scheme to all refugee groups and could enable refugees to join teacher training outside camps (and ease pressure on local host communities).
- The Work and Livelihoods Pledge includes a provision of work permits to refugees under certain restrictions, which could allow refugee teachers to earn an actual wage.

Ethiopia also pledged to improve documentation and registration of refugees as better data on refugees is

the first step to guarantee basic rights. In 2017 Ethiopia adopted its legal framework to allow refugees to be included in the Federal Vital Events Registration Agency (FVERA) system and the Ethiopian national census. Proclamation no. 1049/2017 regulates civil documentation of refugees to ensure that important life events are officially recorded. Keeping a record of new-born children, for example, is crucial to prevent statelessness of refugees and plan for future educational needs as well as the necessary supply of teachers.⁶⁹

Roadmap for the implementation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Government pledges and for the practical application of the CRRF

To further support the implementation of the CRRF, ARRA formulated a roadmap that structured governance and a timeline of key activities for the roll-out of the national CRRF.

The governance structure defined in the roadmap puts the roll-out of the national CRRF under the supervision of the Prime Minister (PM).

Three months after the release of the ARRA roadmap, in November 2017, Ethiopia officially launched the CRRF, which is supported in part through 350 million USD in international funds provided through the International Development Association-18 (IDA-18) Regional Sub-Window for Refugees and Host Communities.^{70, 71} According to







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a World Bank representative, part of this funding will go towards education, with the aim 'to support the government's efforts to first harmonise and eventually integrate services, especially refugee education into the national system' (interview, March 2019). More is written about the roadmap later in this chapter.

Refugee Proclamation 1110/2019

In 2019, the Ethiopian government translated its nine pledges into a new comprehensive refugee proclamation. This new law replaces the 2004 Refugee Proclamation, formalising much of what was set out in the policy pledges and the CRRF, and the UN has recognised this Proclamation as being one of the more progressive refugee laws on the African continent.⁷² The old proclamation only granted refugees the same right to education as any other foreigners living within its borders - leading sometimes to the interpretation that refugee children are not allowed to access national schools. Article 24 of the 2019 proclamation clarifies '[e]very recognised refugee or asylum-seeker shall receive the same treatment as accorded to Ethiopian nationals with respect to access to pre-primary and primary education⁷³ It is important to note, however, that 'same treatment' does not necessarily mean having refugee learners attend national schools; it could mean that refugee learners have access to a refugee school nearby.

Aside from ensuring access to primary education for refugees, the proclamation also offers promise for refugees' right to freedom of movement and local integration as well as their right to work. However, more guidance is necessary to understand how these articles should be interpreted for the different refugee contexts and what they mean in practice for refugees working as teachers. In fact, article 46 on the Power to Issue Regulations and Directives assigns the Council of Ministers and ARRA with the task of developing regulations and directives on how to implement the new refugee proclamation. These secondary policies are essential to be able to interpret the consequence of the new refugee proclamation for the management of refugee teachers.

National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy (NCRRS)

In addition to the above-mentioned governance structure and legal proclamation, Ethiopia is working on a National Comprehensive Refugee Response Strategy (NCRRS) but the final version was not available at the time of writing this report. This strategy aims to 'guide the transition towards an increasingly integrated approach to refugee assistance, to ensure the self-reliance and resilience of refugees and host communities; and to prepare refugees for durable solutions by supporting their socio-economic integration and a phased transition out of the current camp-based model of assistance'.⁷⁴ It is expected that the national Strategy will guide the implementation of the Pledges, related initiatives and plans, and will align to the GoE's Growth and Transformation Plan.

Ethiopia Country Refugee Response Plan 2019–2020

The Ethiopian Country Refugee Response Plan (ECRRP) is a two-year plan that is expected to contribute to the above-mentioned NCRRS. It describes the multi-sectoral response of humanitarian and development agencies in refugee settings, including for the education sector. This document is aligned with the IGAD commitment in the Djibouti Declaration to include refugees into the national education system. Priority areas of particular relevance to this study include improving the quality of education through enhanced teacher certification. The ECRRP does not specify what this means in practice.

Policies related to education and teacher management

Ethiopian teacher management policies

The Ethiopian teacher management policies and education policies referring to teacher management in Table 7 (page 34) were developed for the management of Ethiopian national teachers and for the most part do not explicitly refer to refugee situations. Our assumption is that due to a lack of specific guidance on teachers in refugee schools, these documents often shape the way that teachers are managed in camp schools as well. Some of our data suggests this is the case.

Policies and documents that explicitly mention teacher management in refugee contexts

Since 2009, the MOE, ARRA and development partners – especially UNHCR – have developed standards, frameworks and roadmaps to improve education service provision for refugees. The goals for refugee education, just like the more general goals to ensure refugee rights discussed previously, have taken into account Ethiopia's commitment to international and regional agreements. This section demonstrates how Ethiopia has increased its engagement to improve refugee education substantially

National teacher management documents	Author	Year	Available in English
Continuous Professional Development for Primary and Secondary School Teachers, Leaders and Supervisors in Ethiopia: The Framework	MoE	2009	Yes
Teacher Selection Practices in Ethiopia	MoE	2011	No
Teacher Trainees Selection Guidelines	MoE	2011	No
General Education Quality Improvement Program II (GEQIP II)	WB	2013	Yes
Education Sector Development Programme V (ESDP V)	MoE	2015	Yes
Teacher career structure reform	MoE	2016	No
Education Statistics Annual Abstract (2016/17 and 2018/19).	MoE	2017 and 2019	Yes
Ethiopian Teacher Workforce Management Framework: Recruit, Develop, Retain and Retire Education and Training Roadmap (draft form)	MoE	2019	Yes
Education and Training Roadmap (draft form)	MoE	Forthcoming at the time of writing	Yes

National documents on teacher management in refugee contexts	Author	Year
Education Circular, Ref 11/1-3456/1098/35, February 2009	MoE	2009
Ethiopia Circular on General Education for Refugees, Ref 131-1/795/8297/35, June 2013	MoE	2013
Ethiopia Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies	Education Cluster, INEE	2013
Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015–2018	UNHCR	2015
Roadmap of the Implementation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Government Pledges and for the Practical Application of the CRRF	ARRA	2017
Education Statistics Annual Abstracts (2016/17 and 2018/19)	MoE	2017 and 2019

after the 2016 New York Leaders' Summit. It will highlight those policies and documents that explicitly provide a way forward for the management of teachers in refugee settings.

Education circulars

Two official circulars strengthen the collaboration on refugee education between ARRA and the MoE in Ethiopia. In 2009, an MoE circular specified that if refugee children have refugee ID, papers from their country of origin or placement examinations from the nearest REB, they should be allowed to enrol in host community schools.⁷⁵ The following year, ARRA requested the MoE expand its support to refugee education to camp settings according to UNHCR.⁷⁶ In order to be able to comply effectively with this request the MoE issued an additional circular in 2013, defining five areas of collaboration:

- the use of the national curriculum and supply of textbooks in refugee schools
- ensuring teacher training in both in-service and pre-service training
- allowing for supervision and inspection of refugee schools
- including refugees in the education sector development plan
- ensuring that the learning assessments done by the National Education and Learning Agency under the Ministry of Education are carried out in refugee schools.

In addition, ARRA and the MoE have formalised the collaboration on refugee education further through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), clarifying roles
and responsibilities as regards refugee education. This MoU was only finalised after the data collection for this study was completed.

The Ethiopian Refugee Education Strategy 2015–2018

ARRA, UNHCR and other education partners developed an overarching strategy for refugee education. The 2015–2018 Refugee Education Strategy aims at improving 'refugee access to high quality education'.⁷⁷ It says that refugee education should follow the structure of the Ethiopian education system and implement the national curriculum. The strategy also 'promotes the mainstreaming of refugees into the national education system'.⁷⁸

In addition to recommendations to improve coordination, the 2015–2018 Ethiopian Refugee Education Strategy also suggests standardising teacher management and professional development policies across refugee and host community schools.

This document is comprehensive, discussing all levels of education and a multitude of factors that influence quality of refugee education (e.g. double shifting and collaboration between different actors). The 'Strategy to Improve Teacher Quality and Availability' is relevant to this study, and advocates for a sufficient supply of teachers and systematic support and training for them. It recommends the following:

1. Standardise, harmonise and coordinate teacher management policies and procedures.

2. Improve teacher management through predictable recruitment planning and retention programmes.

3. Improve working conditions to optimize teacher motivation and quality teaching and learning.

4. Improve Teacher Development Programmes and Enhance Adoption of Key Strategies.

Roadmap for the Implementation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Government Pledges and for the practical application of the CRRF

The 2017 Roadmap developed by ARRA breaks down the Education pledge of the CRRF into 21 key activities, ranging from establishing new schools to conducting annual assessments. While the focus of the pledge is on increasing enrolment and access, there are three key activities that are of particular relevance to teacher management:

- recruit new qualified refugee and government schoolteachers and facilitators for the existing as well as for the newly constructed schools
- support teacher training programmes
- broaden and increase the supervisory role and extension services of the regional educational bureau in refugee schools.

It is interesting to note that the recruitment of new, qualified refugee and ARRA national teachers was expected to take place in 2017–2018, while the support to teacher training programmes and increasing the supervisory role of the REBs are anticipated to be continuous, throughout the duration of the roadmap's existence.

In an effort to support the Government to monitor progress made towards implementing the pledge on education, Ethiopia's 2016/2017 Annual Abstract was the first to include a chapter on refugee education. As indicated in UNHCR's 2018 study, 'Until very recently, Government officials, professionals in the education sector and UNICEF struggled to understand progress being made in the refugee education front due to a lack of systematic data collection and reporting tools'.⁷⁹ The study reports that, for example, it was not possible to compare enrolment rates year after year or examine the ratio of refugee teachers and ARRA national teachers. In 2015–2016, UNHCR supported ARRA to use a new data collection system in all refugee education schools based on the Ministry of Education's Education Management Information System (EMIS). The data was collected and published in the 2016/17 and 2017/18 Education Statistics Annual Abstracts. Both abstracts include data on pupil:teacher ratios and the gualification of teachers in refugee primary schools. In addition to these statistics the 2017/2018 Abstract reports that 'Colleges of Teacher Education in the country have also included refugee teachers into accelerated training and upgrading programs'.80



Part 1b Perceptions of policy enactment

In interviews, participants were asked to comment on policies, the broad policy context and how policy translates into practice. Our interest in this was initially driven by a desire to understand what policies were translating into practice well. Our expectation was not that we would discover a linear relationship between policy and practice and what we found was more suggestive of complex interactions between policy, action not driven by policy, policy communication and awareness (or lack of) and bureaucratic barriers and hindrances. Analysis of the interview data from Phases I and II shows that political will, evident in the policy landscape, is complicated by implementation planning, the coordination of a plethora of actors active in education for refugees, bureaucratic differences in the way that ARRA and MoE operate, and communication issues. Our data also highlighted some developments which showed immense promise including improvements in data about refugees and refugee education.

Political will at federal level requires implementation planning

All of the key stakeholders interviewed at the federal level during the first phase of the research (including representatives from the MoE, ARRA, UNHCR and UNICEF) talked about the importance of the CRRF and other regional and international agreements, with a representative from the MoE commenting that:

'Collaboration and coordination [on refugee education] were not very strong before, but have improved since the last two years due to both regional and international agreements.'

In fact, 'the creation of strong linkages between humanitarian assistance, development interventions and peace building initiatives' is described as a key component of Ethiopia's ten-year strategy in the Roadmap for Implementation of the CRRF discussed earlier.⁸¹

However, while the CRRF has already had a significant impact at federal and regional levels, there are laws, MoUs (e.g. an MoU between MoE and ARRA), and other procedures and mechanisms that are still to be finalised and formalised before the CRRF and the nine pledges can be fully implemented. In fact, during this first phase of data collection, interviewees all emphasised that they were waiting for the draft revised proclamation on refugees to be finalised and passed into law through the official channels (this happened in early 2019 before the second round of data collection for this study). The MoU between MoE and ARRA was finalised in May 2019 after the data for this study was collected.

Phrases repeated across documents and interviews at the federal level included 'enabling environment', 'peaceful co-existence', 'whole society approach' and "bridging the humanitarian-development divide', suggest a high level of uptake of the CRRF at the level of federal policy discourse. However, how to actually implement the CRRF and related policies present a challenge. As discussed earlier the refugee population makes up less than 1% of the total population of Ethiopia. The majority of these refugees reside in the poorer regions of the country, putting additional strain on already struggling systems in these areas. What is needed - and this was clearly articulated by all interviewees at the federal level – is an approach that targets both refugees and host communities. For some interviewees, integration of refugees is seen as a potential opportunity to bridge the humanitarian-development divide, moving from ad-hoc, short-term planning and financing from humanitarian partners to more long-term and sustained planning and financing that respond to the needs of the whole society. In the words of a UNHCR representative:

'So we need to link now this humanitarian and development nexus and that also maybe gives us the opportunity to strengthen... especially to avoid any possible duplications, and to pool resources together, but also avoid any risk of any conflict, especially with host community and refugee community. Because in the CRRF we talk about one entire approach, the whole society approach, instead of planning parallel for the host community and the refugee community, we plan for the whole society.' (Interview with UNHCR national level representative)

Coordination of multiple actors is critical

The coordination of multiple actors involved in education for refugees and for teachers of refugees is critical. Interviews revealed the use of a range of governance tools including MoUs and accountability matrices.

ARRA works with many state and non-state actors to deliver education to refugee populations and is aware of the need to align all parties with the central agenda. To ensure clarity between the different organisations and agencies, ARRA has created MoUs that provide clarity for how organisations are to work together: 'ARRA has developed a new MoU that clearly indicates the roles, mandates and responsibilities of different actors, MoE, UN agencies, ARRA, CTEs, etc.' (ARRA federal level interview). However, at the time of the interviews, these MoUs had not yet been signed or come into effect.

The Accountability Matrix is a UNHCR document with a comprehensive and agreed-upon list of activities that assigns responsibilities to various partners and mitigates duplication. In the past, UNHCR accountability frameworks 'successfully reduced repetitions in programming and funding'.⁸² In the education sector, there are a number of different partners in each region of Ethiopia. Within each region, sector and sub-sector, the various agencies are categorised either as operational or implementing partners. Historically, UNHCR accountability matrices provided greater clarity on agency roles and responsibilities within the different camps and facilitated the opening up of services to a greater number of international agencies.⁸³

The Ethiopia Accountability Matrix includes information about all the services provided in refugee camps across the refugee-hosting regions, with both operational and implementing partners listed.⁸⁴ According to the refugee focal point from the MoE, in addition to such documentation that helps to clearly define responsibilities, there are also monthly meetings where different actors within the system come together to update one another on what is happening on their specific delivery areas. It was noted by some respondents that these working groups were initially not running to maximum efficiency, so steps have since been taken to improve this by including more actors, such as the MoE, and ensuring meetings take place regularly.

'One of the things we've done also successfully in the past couple of years is advocate for the inclusion of the MoE in the Refugee Education Working Group so you now have a refugee education focal point that has been appointed within the ministry, partly due to our advocacy, and then this individual is now sitting in the Refugee Education Working Group as well. It's been a kind of cross-fertilisation between these two architectures, trying to find those common points.' (UNICEF national level representative)

'Finding ways to make it easier for agencies to work together and in line with country needs is imperative. Effective multi-agency working can bring together a range of technical skills, contextual knowledge and different funding sources but this is not always easy to achieve as humanitarian funding is often restricted by spending deadlines, which can lead to interventions being fundingdriven rather than needs-driven.' (UNICEF official)

The uncertain nature of humanitarian funding means that it is difficult to plan for longer-term support and sustainability of interventions, as with the AfL refresher training that teachers said they needed. A representative from one of the CTEs explained it this way:

'In the current arrangements, it's difficult for the college to access money for the work/trainings completed. There are delays and sometimes non-payments of the services done. These challenges lead to collapse of programmes – we prepare modules and wait for the money to be released by REB. The current system is ineffective and bureaucratic.' (Interview with CTE representative, Gambella)

⁸² Hall (2016: 31) ⁸³ Hall (2016) ⁸⁴ Note that implementing partners are those that receive funds from UNHCR, while operational partners do not. ARRA is the implementing partner for primary education in all the camps in the three regions covered by this study, except one of the camps in Gambella, where Plan International is the implementing partner. The main operational partners providing support to primary education include IRC in Tigray, Plan International in Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambella and Tigray, and the NRC for alternative basic education in all three regions. ⁸⁵ ReDSS (2018) ⁸⁶ UNHCR (2017) ⁸⁷ Ibid. ⁸⁸ UNHCR (2017:32)

Building Self-Reliance Programme: an example of multi-agency collaboration

The Building Self-Reliance Programme (BSRP) for Refugees and Vulnerable Host Communities is a DFID-funded UNICEF programme covering all five of Ethiopia's refugee-hosting regions.⁸⁵ Targeting both refugees and vulnerable host communities, this 10 million USD five-year programme aims to improve sustainable basic social service delivery.⁸⁶ In education, this includes support to both primary and early childhood care and education (ECCE) in the form of school expansions, teacher development, quality improvement and capacity building at both refugee and host community schools.⁸⁷ The BSRP involves a range of geographic and technical partners; for example, the IRC which is the Tigray geographical partner, Plan International and Save the Children.

Education Cannot Wait: promising multi-agency working and overcoming challenges

The Education Cannot Wait (ECW) initiative is a relatively recent programme, which represents possibly the 'first time whereby ARRA, the Ministry of Education, UNHCR and UNICEF develop a project proposal in one voice'.⁸⁸ According to a UNHCR representative, it consists of three main components: construction of four new secondary schools; expansion component for primary schools; and capacity building for refugee teachers. Of greatest interest for this study is the third component, whereby almost 700 refugee teachers have been given scholarships to attend either Gambella CTE or Giligel Beles CTE in Benishangul-Gumuz to obtain their Ethiopian teaching qualification. However, it was reported that, because future funding was uncertain, no more teachers could be recruited into the programme at the time of the fieldwork.

The initial plan was that this course for refugees would last for four years; however, the nature of the ECW funding mechanism meant that the launch of the initiative was delayed leading to further problems, as described by a UNHCR Representative: ⁴UNICEF is the grant agent for ECW, so the money comes to UNICEF and then to the REB. UNICEF cannot pay the college, so it channels the money to the REB. The college receives the money from the REB. This arrangement has created some sort of delay, and refugees were complaining because they didn't have any income to support themselves. So, that was a practical challenge that we faced. We were engaged in continuous discussion with UNICEF, with REB, and the college experts. To train 10+3 [primary teaching diploma], it requires four summers, which means four years. But ECW is ending in 2020, so there is a mismatch to finalise this training that was initiated in 2018.' (Interview with UNHCR national level representative).

The UNHCR representative went on to describe how this challenge was overcome:

"We therefore discussed so that in addition to the summer training, the refugee teachers will go home with modules. And then teachers from the training college will go to the camps, or the teachers can come to the training centre to have catch-up classes. There are tailormade classes for them during the winter. It's a mixed training. Summer training, self-directed learning, refresher courses. [. . .] The REBs and CTEs were flexible so the courses can be completed in two years. The CTE was involved in modifying the design, and the curriculum has been tailored to meet the needs of the refugees.'

Not only does this example illustrate how challenges can be overcome through clear communication and collaboration between the different partners, but it also highlights the importance of CTEs in supporting teachers' personal and professional growth throughout their careers, as summed up by a representative from the CTE in Tigray:

'For refugee education and for other areas, the first message is to work with the colleges. If you have to work with the refugees, with the host communities, colleges should be advised, and everybody should have a relationship with the colleges, as this is the colleges' focus area. It is good for us, for our development, and also to support the schools – it could be the refugee schools, the host community schools. The colleges should be clear about refugee education – they have to know the details.' (Interview with CTE representative).

Differences in the way ARRA and MoE operate creates complexity for teacher management in the case of education for refugees

There is evidence of a tension in the different administrative procedures in place within ARRA and MoE. These were talked about as incompatible.

'They are different in the bureaucratic approach, so we cannot communicate horizontally with ARRA.' (Interview with REB representative, Tigray region)

With the MoE and ARRA, you've got a ministry and an agency. The MoE is very decentralised and ARRA is very centralised so there are bound to be communication difficulties between the two. To tackle these issues we do these very system-centred interventions.' (Interview with World Bank representative)

Examples of administrative problems were raised by UNICEF, UNHCR and IRC. School grants were to be distributed to refugee schools by REBs, but the funds were returned to them due to schools not having bank accounts. This highlights two issues: firstly, refugee schools are not being set up as administrative units with the ability to receive funds; and secondly, the REB was not made aware of this prior to arranging the transfer of funds.

…money was released to the REBs but they could not reach the schools, so that was a problem.' (Interview with Senior Education Adviser, UNHCR)

The lack of coordination and longer-term planning is in part due to the complexity of having a dual education system run by ARRA and the REB (as part of the MoE). For example, as there are different funding streams for government schools (MoE) and refugee primary schools (UNHCR via ARRA), it is often not possible to have both sets of teachers attend the same professional development training sessions. Education officials at woreda and regional level from all three regions studied reported coordination challenges regarding teacher training. One REB official gave the following example:

'There are communication problems between the REB and the ARRA zonal office. This meant that teacher training did not take place until a later date because ARRA did not respond to the invitation.' (Education officer, REB Tigray) A woreda education officer in Gambella reported that the relationship and communication between the ministry of education system and the refugee system are not clear which often leads to less training and supervision from the WEO for refugee schools and suggested:

'In order to improve the resource distribution, there should be discussion between ARRA and UNHCR with the regional REB and MoE to create systematic relationship and communication based on formal agreement.' (Education, Officer, WEO Gambella).

The lack of coordination meant that, for example, woredas did not have sufficient budget to include refugee schools in their trainings. Woreda education officials in Tigray explained they would want host and refugee schools to follow the same CPD:

[...] in reality the training and supervision support is not given equally to government and refugee schools because of budget.' (Education Officer, WEO Tigray).

One exception was the UNICEF Assessment for Learning programme, through which funds have been made available for both contexts.

Communication and capacity challenges

Poor communication and a lack of capacity among officials were noted as two challenges by national and regional interviewees. The lack of capacity often was linked to ARRA not having enough staff to adequately fulfil their responsibilities, which in turn led to poor communication with other agencies.

A UNICEF official expanded on this problem, explaining that even though ARRA is the key implementer, it is difficult for them to be closely connected with the schools because of their structure and limited human resource capacity:

'They have only one education officer. The link between that officer and schools does not promote quality education. They are overwhelmed by the workload.'

The lack of presence of ARRA at woreda level was also noted as problematic by UNHCR. It was suggested that there is a need to work more locally with schools, and find ways to overcome the lack of support through bringing in other actors such as the REB. This suggestion was supported by officials from REB, who also believed ARRA should be operating more at the local level. "We usually work with the REB. That is, I think... a work in progress. We need to bring them on board. Because, I think ARRA, they only have a regional office, they do not have woreda representation. They only have the camps. So the camps are reporting to the sub-office in the region. Maybe, as we are working towards this integration, we also need to work with these woreda people as well." (Interview with UNHCR national level representative)

Improvements are being made in data and knowledge sharing

According to the MoE, one reason for a weak response to meeting the educational needs of children impacted by crisis and displacement has been 'a lack of information collection and sharing from the school to the regional or federal levels'.⁸⁹ To address this, since late 2014, UNHCR and ARRA have been collaborating with the MoE to establish and operationalise the Education Management Information System (EMIS) for refugee education.⁹⁰ Participants commented that considerable progress has been made in this area but others were less positive. In Gambella, one informant indicated that despite many years of investing in EMIS at the regional level, the system is still very much underdeveloped in terms of capturing data from the refugee schools and refugee hosting schools.

For the last few years, the MoE has released an Education Statistics Annual Abstract that provides a comprehensive overview of basic education indicators across Ethiopia and is intended to support effective education management. The 2016/2017 Abstract was the first to include a chapter on refugee education but the indicators included are limited, particularly when it comes to teacher-related indicators. These include:

- pupil:teacher ratios
- numbers/percentages qualified teachers
- numbers/percentages national and refugee teachers.

In contrast, there is much more information available about MoE national teachers teaching in Ethiopian schools in the Abstract. In addition to information about pupil:teacher ratios, the Abstract includes two chapters that pertain directly to the topic of teacher management; namely a chapter on 'Teachers in General Education' and 'Colleges of Teachers' Education'. These chapters provide information on the distribution of teachers, their qualification levels, attrition rates (both from the profession and from teacher education), enrolment rates in colleges of teacher education and the number of teachers with special needs. Elsewhere in the Abstract, there is also information on the number of teachers trained in special needs education.

Broadly speaking, ARRA and UNHCR have made significant improvements in data collection and management of refugees overall, as a direct result of the integration of a Biometric Identity Management System (BIMS) and the countrywide transition to a more sophisticated form of refugee registration known as Level 3 (L3) registration. L3 registration involves recording essential information on the educational and professional skills of refugees against their individual and family profile, along with details of family members residing in other countries. The aim of this improved data collection and management system is to 'facilitate access to a greater range of complimentary services and opportunities for all refugees, while allowing humanitarian actors to increasingly tailor assistance to the specific needs of refugees'.⁹¹ The L3 exercise was completed at the end of July 2019,⁹² at which point all registered refugees would have received a proof of registration document and a refugee identification card.93 This information is being collected and updated on the UNHCR Operational Data Portal, which provides 'a unified platform for visualizing, coordinating and disseminating information on persons of concern in Ethiopia^{',94} Both BIMS and EMIS represent an exciting opportunity to support stronger coordination, more effective refugee teacher management and better service provision for refugees.



Part 1c Awareness of policy

During Phases I, II and III interviewees were asked questions about the extent to which they were aware of policies and familiar with their intended outcomes. The responses showed that, broadly speaking, at national and regional levels there was good degree of familiarity and awareness of relevant policies concerning teacher management in refugee contexts, but at school level there was far less. At national and regional levels, while there was awareness, there was still a sense of confusion about what was expected from REBs, woredas and other actors.

The teacher survey also addressed similar questions. Here we found that teachers held strong views about education for refugees that were not always supported by policy, suggesting poor communication of policy and national intention.

Responses to the CRRF and 2019 Refugee Proclamation

At the time of writing, many stakeholders interviewed for the study were waiting for additional guidance and directives on the CRRF and the 2019 Refugee Proclamation, and were exercising caution before proceeding with their work as it relates to these initiatives. According to an MoE representative:

'I don't have any detailed information, but what I know is that the proclamation has already been done, and that proclamation says that they have to be treated like any other Ethiopian citizen, but I think we need to have more clarification.' (Interview with MoE TDP representative, March 2019)

Given the absence of secondary legislation and guidance, if and how the news of the CRRF and the 2019 Proclamation has been received varies according to level and region. As pointed out by a representative from IRC: 'Those people like us working with the government, with other partners, on these issues are aware of these new developments, but the majority of the communities, I don't think have this awareness, whether it's to their advantage, their disadvantage. I don't think they really understand all of this.' (Interview with IRC representative, March 2019)

She went on to explain that she had heard there was a more negative response to news of the Proclamation in Gambella than in the other regions, explaining:

'I think numbers matter... those communities in Gambella – the refugees outnumber the local community. And if you are struggling to feed your own community, and to have access to employment opportunities within your community, and then having that additional number to come and take everything, makes them... because there were already existing tensions between host and refugee communities. In other regions, numbers also matter. But, for example, in Tigray, both Eritreans and Tigrayan communities are more integrated, with language, with culture, with everything. Whereas in Gambella, you see already existing tension between the Nuer and Anuak, so those are exasperated by new policies.' (Interview with IRC representative, March 2019)

In Gambella, we found that attitudes towards the new Proclamation, the CRRF and integration varied depending on a number of factors, particularly ethnic background. It should be noted that these topics were not discussed as explicitly during the third phase of data collection, as there were concerns within the research team about reigniting tensions in discussing such sensitive issues.

In Benishangul-Gumuz, we found that there was little knowledge of the Proclamation and related policies on the ground. However, a representative from one woreda education office interviewed in the second phase of data collection (October 2018) did highlight tensions around perceptions that refugee communities received more support than host communities did. A representative from UNICEF shared his view:

'I was at the regional coordination meeting last week... and I saw there is a gap similar to the REB. So the Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (BoFED) said they are aware; they know the CRRF is there and there is a new declaration, and now they know the new declaration, but they are claiming that the host community is not taking its share to social services: we have a gap in the host community. The host community aren't receiving their fair share, they... other NGOs have to ensure the host community are taking fair share.' (Interview with UNICEF representative, March 2019)

Policies are not being effectively communicated down to woredas and schools

Some regional officials noted they had read about policies such as the CRRF through the media rather than through official channels. As one REB official in Gambella noted, 'if people do not know the policies or why such policies are there how can they implement it?' A WEO in Gambella did not have any awareness of the National Strategy for Refugee education or CRRF. One WEO in BenishangulGumuz also indicated they were not aware of refugee education policies or strategies. In contrast, regional officials in Tigray demonstrated an overall greater awareness of relevant policies. It is unclear whether these officials had learned about the CRRF through their own initiative or through official briefings. This suggests a lack of consistency throughout the system in how policies are communicated to regional offices and woreda offices. Lack of communication can lead to a gap in practice.

When it comes to the school level, knowledge of these policies was non-existent, according to our study. In fact, none of the teachers at schools where qualitative fieldwork was conducted, in any of the three regions, were aware of policies specific to refugee education. As noted by Ball et al.,⁹⁵ teachers are both objects *and* subjects of policy. First, if they are not aware of policies that affect them, they are unable to support policy implementation. Second, given their experience 'on the ground', they have an invaluable perspective on the needs of learners and the wider school community in refugee settings; a perspective which can be drawn from to inform future policy development and implementation.

Our survey data also demonstrates an overall lack of awareness of policies relating to refugees (see Figure 5). Only 10 out of 78 refugee teachers surveyed were aware of policies that affected them.





Despite a lack of awareness of the CRRF and related documents, many school-level actors shared in the overall vision of the framework, as captured by this quote from a headteacher at a host community school in Gambella:

'Refugees are human beings. They have their own countries but there are problems. If they come and learn with Ethiopian children, no problem, but they must be supported by INGOs and government.' (Headteacher, host community school, Gambella)

According to policy, with budget and technical support from the REBs, WEOs are expected to play a key role in the recruitment and deployment of teachers, the planning and establishment of new schools within a three kilometre radius of any community (*kebele*), teacher supervision and training, and facilitating community participation and the support of the parent teacher association (PTAs). (Interview with REB representative from Tigray, March 2019).⁹⁶ However, a number of woredas and schools reported a sense of isolation and dwindling government support, even at host community schools, as described by a woreda education officer from Gambella:

'Government schools are not as good as they used to be 15–20 years ago. For the past two years, the situation has deteriorated. Apart from the limited school grants the government provides no other support to primary schools. If there are constructions, they are done by NGOs.' (Woreda education officer, Gambella) 33

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Summary

Part 1a: Policy landscape affecting teacher management in refugee context in Ethiopia

The existing policy framework in Ethiopia shows considerable promise to support the integration of refugees in the national education system, and to effectively support and manage teachers of refugees.

Although the policy landscape on refugee rights is comprehensive including international, regional and national policy frameworks, most teacher management policies do not mention refugee situations explicitly. Since 2009 there has emerged a series of documents that do explicitly tackle education in refugee settings and for the most part these focus on federal department cooperation and ways of working, teacher deployment and responses to provide access for refugees (such as double shifts).

Part 1b: Policy and system interactions

Despite the strong policy landscape, challenges remain evident for teacher management where refugees are concerned:

- implementation planning requires greater attention to translate these policies into practice
- there are bureaucratic complexities that hinder implementation
- the coordination of multiple actors in the refugee education space is complex and requires coordination.

Part 1c: Awareness of policy in the system

Communications around policy for teacher management and refugee education could be more effective.

Awareness of policies relevant to teacher management in refugee situations is strong at federal level and among donors but gets progressively weaker towards the regional and woreda levels. At school level there is virtually no awareness at all.

Part 2 Who teaches refugees?

The study's second objective was to build an understanding of who is teaching refugees at the primary level in refugeehosting regions (Part 2a) – and within this consider three dimensions of teacher management inspired by the INEE Minimum Standards:⁹⁷

- recruitment, deployment and retention (Part 2b)
- teacher training and professional development (Part 2c)
- remuneration, teacher appraisal and motivation (Part 2d)

The following sections present the findings from data collected in Phases II and III. A summary of the key points is provided at the end of Part 2.

Part 2a Who teaches refugees in Ethiopia?

Across both host and refugee communities studied, there is a lack of qualified teachers. The situation is more problematic across all refugee settings in Ethiopia, where more than 50% of the teachers have only completed up to secondary education.⁹⁸

In the host communities studied, there are significant regional and gender variations in the percentage of qualified teachers, as depicted in Figure 6. Although the proportion of female qualified teachers (93%) exceeds the percentage of male qualified teachers (88%) in Tigray, the proportion of female teachers in both Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz is significantly lower than that of male qualified teachers in both settings. At the time of writing, numbers of qualified teachers in refugee settings, by gender, was not available in the annual abstract but provided to the authors of this study directly by UNHCR in February's 2020.

ARRA national teachers in refugee camps are predominantly degree holders, as per the stated requirements of ARRA. A higher percentage of ARRA national teachers in Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz are degree holders than in Tigray. This variation suggests that despite high entry requirements into teaching, the supply of teachers may be limiting the extent to which the required qualifications can be consistently implemented. In all three regions, there are significantly more male than female ARRA national teachers. Gender variations of qualification levels are significantly less pronounced than among refugee teachers as male and female ARRA national teachers all hold either a diploma or a university degree.

Entry requirements are much lower for refugee teachers who are recruited to teach Grades 1–4. This is, in part, a result of teachers not possessing the correct documentation, in addition to a lack of qualified teachers. There are significant regional and gender variations in the qualification levels of refugee teachers as highlighted in Figure 8 (page 51). Overall the qualification levels of refugee teachers are much lower than the qualification level of ARRA national teachers. According to UNHCR data, Tigray has the highest percentage of qualified refugee teachers with more than 50% male and female teachers having a Certificate or a higher degree. In Gambella refugee teachers have the lowest qualification levels



Figure 6: Percentage of Primary Host Community Teachers' qualification by region and gender, 2011 E.C, EMIS data 2018/19 🤒

Type of teachers included in this research

Refugee teachers

Despite restrictions placed on refugees to work in Ethiopia, and a general policy position that refugee schools should be staffed by qualified Ethiopian teachers, a number of refugees do work as teachers. Instead of receiving a salary, refugees who are teachers receive an incentive which is a small monetary allotment. As a result of being paid in incentives, some stakeholders refer to refugee teachers as incentive teachers, but for the purposes of this study, this research will refer to them as refugee teachers. Refugee teachers are managed by ARRA. More experienced refugee teachers can have the opportunity to serve as deputy directors of refugee camp schools, though this does not entitle them to additional compensation. (Interview with UNHCR representative, October 2018)

ARRA national teachers

ARRA national teachers are Ethiopians who are hired by ARRA to work in refugee camp schools. The ARRA national teachers are experienced teachers who have accepted positions in refugee camp schools far from their homes. ARRA national teachers are typically degree holders and have at least two years of teaching experience before taking up their post, meaning that the requirements for ARRA national teachers are higher than for MoE teachers. Generally, degree holders are recruited by the central ARRA office and deployed to the regions to teach Grades 5–8, while those with a diploma are recruited by ARRA Zonal Office and are then deployed, following a successful interview and certificate check, to the regions to teach Grades 1–4. The Director role at refugee schools is always filled by an ARRA national teacher.

Host community teachers

A third category of teacher in the study is host community teachers. Host community teachers are Ministry of Education teachers working in Ethiopian government primary schools. More experienced teachers can work as headteachers, though interview participants across all regions reported limited opportunities for headteacher training. Host community teachers have been included in the study for comparison purposes and to understand the relationships between teachers of refugees (ARRA national and refugee teachers) and local schools supported by the MoE. with the vast majority only having completed secondary education. In Benishangul-Gumuz more refugee teachers than in Gambella have at least a teaching certificate but they represent nonetheless less than 40% of the refugee teachers in the region. Additionally, some refugee teachers have not finished secondary education. This in part may reflect the countries of origin that the refugees have come from, with general education indicators, including enrolment rates and literacy rates, somewhat higher in Eritrea than in Sudan, and significantly higher than in South Sudan (UIS). However, it could also be a reflection of the higher levels of integration in Tigray due to cultural similarities and a common language between the refugee and host population and the out-of-camp policy discussed earlier, leading to more Eritrean refugees attending university in Ethiopia. In all three regions, a higher percentage of male teachers is qualified compared to female refugee teachers.

The qualification levels among ARRA national teachers is consistently higher than that of refugee teachers. According to UNHCR data, variation in the overall teacher qualifications in refugee settings is notable across the different regions included into this study. With higher overall qualification levels in Tigray than in the other two regions. Gambella has the lowest level of teachers with at least a certificate or higher qualification while Benishangul-Gumuz is the only region with teachers that have not finished secondary education.

Many refugees are often undocumented, making it difficult to verify previous teaching experience

Identifying whether or not teachers are qualified is a problematic endeavour in a refugee camp setting. Many of the refugees applying for teaching positions might have some teaching qualifications but they have either lost the paperwork, or their qualifications are not accepted in Ethiopia.

'I can't say... especially those refugees who studied here in the camp... there are many protracted refugees here... the refugees from the great lakes... DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, most of them they have their credentials attached to their emails. But regarding the Sudanese and South Sudanese, if they come from there recently probably they don't have.' (School leader, refugee school, Benishangul-Gumuz)

'There are 41 incentive teachers teaching this school. All the teachers are displaced from South Sudan. None of the teachers are classified as certified in the Ethiopian context. However, five teachers previously taught in South Sudan.' (Refugee teacher, refugee school, Gambella)



Figure 8: Qualifications of refugee teachers by region and gender in refugee primary schools, UNHCR data ¹⁰¹



Figure 9: Qualifications of refugee and national teachers by region and gender in refugee primary schools, UNHCR data ¹⁰²



¹⁰⁰ UNHCR Ethiopia shared this data with the authors of this report in February 2020. The data is available upon request. ¹⁰¹ UNHCR Ethiopia shared this data with the authors of this report in February 2020. The data is available upon request. ¹⁰² Ibid

Case Study 1 **Refugee Camp Primary School, Benishangul-Gumuz**

Profile

The school is inside of the refugee camp and consists of a range of long single-storey buildings across a large dusty area. There is plenty of space for pupils but limited shade (only under the overhang of the school buildings). There is also a library. There are more than 6,000 pupils in total (spread across a morning and afternoon shift for lower and upper grades, respectively). The majority are from Sudan, and up until 2018 the school was still using the Sudanese curriculum.

The school leader said that she faces a big challenge having no administrative support. There is no age limit for students and many of them are over-age with some in their thirties, meaning that the age range in any one class could be large. Many refugee teachers teach Grades 1-4 in the morning and attend school in the afternoon; the exact number was unknown by the headteacher because she has been in place for four months at the time of interview and said that when she arrived she didn't receive any data. There are 47 refugee teachers and 22 ARRA national teachers in total. The pupil:teacher ratio is extremely high at over 100:1. Consequences include teachers not knowing who their students are, marking taking a long time, the view that class discussion is impossible and the class register taking 15 minutes of a 40-minute lesson. Additional challenges include a shortage of classrooms and a lack of budget for more teachers.

Knowing and managing 69 teachers

Simply knowing who the teachers are appeared to be a major challenge for the new school leader. As noted above, the school leader did not receive any data from the previous headteacher and so had no information about the teachers. We were shown a list that she was making of the teachers' backgrounds and qualifications, but it was taking her time to collect all of the information. This has implications for professional development in that the needs of teachers are not known, and potentially on a personal motivation level if the headteacher does not know her teachers as individuals.

The PTA in this school appears to be key in supporting the headteacher. The chairman of the PTA is extremely committed and comes to the school every morning at the same time as the teachers. The chairperson described the PTA's responsibilities as forging the relationship between students and parents and working collaboratively with the school community; an understanding reflected by the teachers who said that the PTA is 'a bridge between school and refugee community'. Both the headteacher and teachers had a positive view of the PTA; the headteacher said that she worked with them 'in every area', and teachers said that the PTA resolved problems. It is the PTA who regularly drop into classes to see if the students are learning well and teachers are achieving their goal. They then meet regularly with the headteacher to report any issues. Overall it appeared that the PTA did much of the day-to-day management of teachers, i.e. checking attendance, guality of learning and solving issues.



'A few incentive teachers have teaching experience in Eritrea. They can be identified by written exams. Some have documents. Out of 40 teachers (or applicants) 16 had almost all the documents. These people plan to come. But they didn't expect to have the opportunity to teach. Sometimes military took their documents on the way here.' (School leader, refugee school, Tigray)

Due to the small sample size of national teachers in refugee camps in our survey, it is not possible to draw comparisons between their highest level of education against refugee teachers and national MoE teachers. A total of 55 out of the 78 refugee teachers surveyed had reached Grade 12. Only four refugee teachers surveyed did not reach Grade 10. The majority of national MoE teachers surveyed (168 out of 254) reached Grade 10, reflecting current teaching certification requirements, with 82 reaching Grade 12 (see Figure 10).

Teacher experience also varied considerably between refugee and national teachers. The most popular response among refugee teachers to 'what were you doing before you started working as a teacher at this school?' was 'not working' (n=31 out of 78). In total, 14 refugee teachers were working at another school, 11 were undertaking other work, and 10 were in full time education. Among host community MoE teachers, 181 out of 254 teachers were working at another school prior to their current job, with 20 not working prior to taking on their current role. Of the 18 national ARRA teachers surveyed, 17 were working at another school prior to working in the refugee camp school, and one was in full-time education or training (Figure 11).

Figure 10: Highest grade reached during schooling, by school type and teacher background (teacher survey)









Teacher attendance



	117t Monday	Math	ocn Wednesday	thom.n Thursday	9CA Friday 7 Civies	
1	Monday Social Brudy	Math		Chemistr	7 Civies	
2	MATHS		SOCIAL		ENGLISH	
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Teachers are overwhelmingly male in host and refugee schools

A standout figure in the profile of teachers of refugees is the proportion of male to female teachers. According to EMIS data, more than 90% of teachers teaching in refugee camps in the three regions were male: 94% in Benishangul-Gumuz, 92.5% in Gambella and 90% in Tigray.^{103, 104} In fact, according to a senior education adviser from IRC:

....when it comes to gender balance, or having female teachers in the primary schools we see that in the refugee camps, it is non-existent. Even we struggle in our early childhood programme to have the majority to be female facilitators. In the primary schools in the refugee camps, you have maybe – I don't know – if you are lucky, a maximum of five females to 20–25 male teachers.'

Some respondents from our qualitative fieldwork suggested there are perceptions of men being better suited to the subject of maths, and that there are a variety of cultural barriers preventing women from entering teaching. Furthermore, with regards to recruiting female national teachers into schools in the refugee camps, the location of the camps requires teachers to live at the camp, which may preclude many women from taking on this role, especially if they have a family.

Other factors that lead to a lack of female teachers could also stem from fewer girls completing secondary school. Gender parity at the secondary level is particularly problematic in the refugee settings examined, where it varies from 0.17 in Gambella, 0.25 in Benishangul-Gumuz to 0.44 in Tigray. In host communities the GPI at secondary level ranges from 0.97 in Tigray, 0.75 in Benishangul-Gumuz and 0.73 in Gambella.¹⁰⁵

A representative from the Ethiopian Teacher Association (ETA) explained some of the cultural factors that can result in the observed gender disparities:

'We managed to improve girls' education. At the primary level, the numbers increased dramatically but the higher you go the more the number of girls drops. At university and CTE the number is very, very low. The reasons of girls dropping out of education are the burden of females. Females have different burdens cultural, activity. When male and female students go to the school from the same family and when they come home to their families after school. The boy can learn but the girl has to work in the home. So girls get weaker in education and drop out. You know in Ethiopia we have different cultures and ethnic groups. In some ethnic groups, girls have to leave education early but it is changing.'

The skew towards male teachers was also apparent in our survey (Figure 12). A total of 95 out of 97 refugee teachers were male, all 17 national (ARRA) teachers respondents were male and 187 out of 254 teachers in national MoE schools were male.

Those interviewed acknowledged the skew towards male teachers and indicated it was a known policy problem, though solving it has been challenging.



'As much as possible we try to encourage females. We prioritise female applicants. But there are not many. If we get one or two we try to support them. In the national system, even though there is a policy to get female teachers, but it is a matter of competition. Since the gap is high we don't get the female teachers... If they are good in the exam, we allow them to teach; we don't even interview. The difference is too big so that they don't even get interview. Even among the applicants if they do well on the exam, we select women without the interview. There are two teachers in [one of the schools], 8% of teachers are female in the refugee camps. We plan to have 35% female teachers even though the national system is 50%. There are more female applicants for incentive jobs.' (ARRA regional officer, Tigray)

However, in Gambella one woreda education officer noted that there are no specific policy efforts in place to try and recruit more female teachers and that cultural factors relating to women in education, and a lack of familial support, often led to women dropping out of teacher training:

'In case of females, there is no special quota for them in our woreda Education Office in Gambella. The gender and inclusion policy is not considered in teacher trainees' selection. They equally compete with males and those who compete and score high are selected to join GCTE; mostly females who joined in Gambella College of Education became drop-outs because they do not get support from relatives or friends and also their parents want them to give more care for children in the house.' (WEO Gambella)

However, the 2018/19 EMIS indicates the shortage of females that study at CTEs: only 42% of CTE students were female in 2018/19, pointing towards the need to improve the attractiveness of the teaching profession for women, and to support women as they progress in the profession.

In Tigray, REB representatives expressed a strong desire to encourage more teachers into the profession, with one expressing that 'we wish all teachers in primary schools to be female teachers'. A representative from Plan International, the implementing partner for primary schooling in one of the Gambella camps, commented at length on their approach to address the gender disparity problems among teachers, including recruiting female teachers into teaching assistant positions.

When we see the gender parity index in the refugee camp, more than 95% of the incentive teachers are male. So, we try to have female assistants to promote gender equity and support girls in the classroom set-up. So, we decided to make the assistant teachers only female to address the gender disparity among the teachers, and also those gaps, with a different challenge faced by girls, who might be too shy to express their feelings, their experiences with their male teachers. So, having a female assistant teacher in the class, apart from the key role the assistant is playing, the female assistant is also supporting the gender equity in the class, also the girls are considering them as a role model. So, this is just a kind of alternative approach we are using to promote, to improve the quality of education, as well as to promote girls' education in the primary school.' (Plan International, federal level)

While this initiative holds promise, and was referred to by some of the other stakeholders interviewed in the study, unless there are opportunities for professional development and promotion for these female assistants, there will still be a problematic power differential where it comes to gender, where women are in lower status roles than their male counterparts. It should also be noted that, while not representative, refugee teacher assistants interviewed for our survey were predominantly male, suggesting that trying to recruit female assistants can be challenging as well.

In fact, respondents in the study as a whole were predominantly male. Few women teachers were interviewed. Gender representation in the teaching force in refugee schools was highly skewed to males. The study did not explore school climate or, more specifically, school-related gender-based violence. Nor was the topic brought up by any of the respondents.

Unqualified or undocumented refugee teachers predominantly teach Grades 1–4

Refugee teachers are typically recruited to teach Grades 1–4. The importance of having teachers who are fluent in students' mother tongue at the lower levels of primary is noted, and is often given as a reason for recruiting teachers locally to teach at this level.

'The selection of the teacher trainees in lower cycle of primary education is based on ethnicity/mother tongue competency. In some communities it is difficult to have enough candidates who fulfil all the essential criteria for selecting teacher trainees.' (CTE, Gambella)

There seemed to be a general understanding during interviews and focus groups that teaching higher grades is more prestigious and requires more training than teaching lower grades. According to interviews and focus groups, teachers could be 'demoted' to teach a lower grade if they received a poor appraisal, or 'promoted' to teach a higher grade level if they had a good appraisal. However, a REB official in Tigray recognised the importance of having qualified teachers teach younger students, though suggested implementing this in practice can be problematic:

'Even as a direction, principals are selecting the best teachers to teach Grade 1, because we believe as education professionals, the best classroom and the best teacher should be at the lower grade. Why? If we do good in the lower grades, the foundation will be promising and we will be successful. So, as a direction, this is what we are following, but in reality, we have a lot to do.' (REB, Tigray)

This practice however does not appear to be reflected in policy, given the lower qualification requirements for teaching Grades 1–4. This approach was also not referenced in the other two regions visited, or in relation to refugee camps. There were mixed views about the appropriateness of this policy, particularly in the implications for learning among lower primary ages.

"...more focus should be given to children starting from lower grade in terms of its quality of education in order to get better teacher. Otherwise, there are some certified teachers who cannot read and write their local language as stated by the woreda Education Office of Itang and Abobo in Gambella. In this case, there may be bias of candidates due to the unavailability of enough qualified candidates from certain ethnic group." (CTE, Gambella)

'For the first cycle in primary we recruit incentive teachers for two purposes: 1) for budget issues, and 2) for the teachers to be part of the education system, the community should have a sense of ownership and active participation, they should be close to the society.' (ARRA regional office, Tigray)

Part 2b Teacher recruitment, retention and deployment

Entry requirements for teachers in host and refugee settings

Until 2008, to work as a lower cycle primary teacher at an Ethiopian national school, a candidate was expected to undertake one year of teacher training after completing Grade 10.¹⁰⁶ However, in a concerted effort to upskill its teaching workforce, the MoE adopted a diploma structure in 2008.¹⁰⁷ The recruitment of teachers in host community schools involves Grade 10 leavers with a minimum grade point average of 2.2 applying for teaching diploma courses at the regional Colleges of Teacher Education (CTEs), and then being sponsored by the Woreda Education Office to attend a three-year diploma for teaching Grades 1–8, although some students self-sponsor.

In refugee primary schools, ARRA national teachers are typically expected to be degree holders and have at least two years of teaching experience before taking up their post, meaning that the requirements for ARRA national teachers are higher than for MoE host community teachers. However, it is possible to work as a national teacher at a refugee camp school as a diploma-holder, though typically diploma-holders are restricted to teaching Grades 1–4, following a successful interview and certificate check. The Director role at refugee schools is always filled by an ARRA national teacher.

Challenges in implementing entry requirements

Despite restrictions placed on refugees to work in Ethiopia, and a general policy position that refugee schools should be staffed by qualified Ethiopian teachers, a number of refugees do work as teachers, largely due to limited budget and a shortage of qualified national teachers being willing to work in refugee camps. These refugee teachers are only allowed to work at refugee camp schools and are generally limited to teaching Grades 1–4. More experienced refugee teachers can have the opportunity to serve as deputy directors of refugee camp schools, though this does not entitle them to additional compensation (Interview with UNHCR representative, October 2018).

Despite consistency in entry requirements to become a teacher in both host and refugee schools, implementation of minimum entry levels is problematic. A shortage of qualified teachers is the key reason identified for this.

In Tigray, improving refugee teachers' qualifications (and consequently their opportunities for improved pay) is seen as essential for improving the prospects of recruiting more refugee teachers, not only in camps but potentially into local schools in the future. From the ARRA education representative in Tigray:

'Long-term thinking involves upgrading and supporting incentive teachers and pay them what they are due. These first cycle teachers – some are experienced and they are gaining experience when they have work permits they may be able to compete for jobs. We said we should upgrade and support these refugees to be teachers, especially for the first cycle, [primary 1–4] the students need their own language and type of care so we really need to do something on the salary. And the second option was to replace those teachers with national teachers but we are not pursuing that option because we don't want to replace those teachers (Grades 1–4) with national teachers. Nowadays there is more commitment, and we are expecting there will be room to get an appropriate salary. They may even be hired as national teachers.'

An MoE representative advised that teacher licensing examinations are inconsistently implemented:

'We have the licensing programme in our ministry, and according to the principle, after students have completed the training at the colleges, and before they are deployed, they have to take an exit exam. But, because of the shortage of teachers in our country, we cannot implement this regulation fully. But, in the future, we have to be more strict in this area.'

This statement was also supported by a CTE representative from Tigray, suggesting that Kunama speakers are not required to take the exam in order to graduate, reflecting the lack of supply of Kunamaspeaking individuals who wish to train as teachers, with trainees averaging 15 per year. However, if minority language students are taught by teachers with lower levels of qualifications, this could entrench and exacerbate inequalities.

Teacher deployment

MoE host community teachers

Once teachers have obtained their teaching diploma, they are deployed to schools based on pupil numbers, with a standard pupil:teacher ratio of 50:1. For local language teachers, recruitment is done by the woreda on the quota system based on geography and ethnic group. Upon graduating, those who speak local languages are assigned to Grades 1–4 and most new graduates are also sent to rural areas. According to Ethiopia's Teacher Development Policy, there are plans to increase primary teacher requirements to a university degree (at least for upper cycle teachers) and Grade 12 completion, but as Ethiopia continues to face a teacher shortage in many areas, these plans may be difficult to implement. Once teachers have completed their respective levels of education, they then take an examination to become a licenced teacher. More experienced teachers can work as headteachers, though interview participants across all regions reported limited opportunities for headteacher training.

Following successful completion of teacher education, teacher recruitment and deployment for national schools is completed at the woreda level, as described below:

'The policy of recruiting teachers is very clear. Here in this woreda, there are some students who sit for an exam. It's 10th Grade completed with a 2 point mark [on the exam]. The REB will send us the number of students, who will need to be entered into the college [quota]. The procedure will start from here. The students' files will go directly to the college.' (WEO, Gambella) 'The woreda education officers announce the vacancies through the media (electronic or print media); applicants apply, then WEOs/TDP select the prospective studentteachers and there is an entry exam; after that they go for training; Grade 10 entrants pass through threeyear teacher training programme. After completion, if vacancies arise they apply for employment/deployment done through their respective WEOs.' (MoE, federal level)

Recruitment and deployment of ARRA national teachers

In the three regions investigated, the process for recruitment of national teachers by ARRA into refugee schools was relatively consistent and transparent. ARRA described its process as being similar to that of the MoE. Schools will advise ARRA of their current vacancies, and ARRA will then centrally advertise those posts in Addis for Grades 5–8, and regionally for lower grades. Applicants will then be shortlisted and undertake a series of tests and an interview for the role. Informants at both the school level and the federal level described this process:

'Teachers are selected by and recruited by ARRA. The applicants go through a recruitment process. Vacant positions are advertised, certificates/documents/ CVs submitted, screening process that involves exams followed by employment.' (School leader, refugee school, Gambella)

'Teacher recruitment by ARRA not much different what the government/woreda level does: ARRA recruits competent teachers from the national market (national level) and sometimes regional level for lower level Grades 1–4 (zonal recruitment); this is because of mother tongue curriculum instruction at Grades 1–4.' (ARRA federal level, senior education expert and head of programme implementation)

Generally, degree holders are recruited by the central ARRA office and deployed to the regions to teach Grades 5–8, while those with a diploma are recruited by ARRA Zonal Office and are then deployed regionally to teach Grades 1–4.

'Degree holders' (teachers') hiring is handled at the Addis ARRA office. Diploma holders are handled by the ARRA zonal office. Certificate holders are managed at the camp level.' (ARRA regional education official, Benishangul-Gumuz)

Advertising in local areas did not appear to be a consistent practice. In Benishangul-Gumuz, for example, some teachers expressed frustration that they were not offered the opportunity to apply for jobs in refugee schools as job postings were not advertised locally. This contrasted with Tigray, where ARRA advertised for teachers locally. In Tigray, however, this was considered to cause its own set of problems:

'Many of the refugee camps have been here for years. While host communities and woredas are supportive, and the conflict that exists seems to be over natural resources, the transition of teachers from host communities to refugee camp schools only creates gaps in host community schools.' (WEO official, Tigray)

Recruitment and deployment of refugee teachers into refugee camps

It was the initial intention of the Ethiopian government that all teachers in refugee camps would be national teachers, as reflected in earlier planning documents, but due to the teacher shortage in Ethiopia this was not possible. This has led to the common practice of recruiting national Ethiopian teachers to teach Grades 5–8 and refugee teachers to teach Grades 1–4.

Positions for lower grades open to refugees are typically advertised within the camps, with candidates shortlisted by schools, and occasionally by regional ARRA offices, and go through a similar process to national teachers. Shortlisted applicants are asked to complete a test written by ARRA. Applicants receiving the highest test scores are asked to come in for interview.

'Recruitment for Incentive teachers is done locally. When hiring Incentive teachers, they ask applicants to take a methodology test.' (School leader, refugee school, Tigray)

'ARRA is in charge of the recruitment and deployment of both incentive and national teachers (incentive teachers are recruited at regional level, there are ARRA offices at both camp level and regional level).' (ARRA regional office, Gambella)

'The school doesn't recruit teachers by itself because it has no mandate. Rather, the school informs ARRA in written letter about the academic and admin vacant position posts in the school. Based on that ARRA recruiting team will decide the subject collecting information from all schools and advertise through formal post notification on the school board as well as through the formal newspaper. Shortlisted only contacted through candidates address. Written exam and interview will be administered and only those who score the highest rate will be recruited by ARRA as employees with a probation period for six months.' (Refugee teacher, refugee school, Gambella) The interviews indicated discrepancies between the needs of schools and the profile of prospective teachers. This shortage of qualified teachers, particularly in subjects such as science and maths, extends beyond the refugee camps and appears to be particularly problematic in rural areas in Ethiopia.

'The woreda has 700 teachers. There are 51 schools including five high schools. And one refugee camp. All teachers are certified but their level of certification varies. There may be gaps in staffing at schools (in terms of positions filled) because there are not enough with the appropriate certificate.' (WEO, Benishangul-Gumuz)

"... we have a problem when it comes to planning overall in the region, not only in the refugee areas... who is trained, who is teaching what in the school... but, in general, in the region, maybe as a country too, we have a problem of planning. We have some excess teachers in one subject, and a deficit in other areas." (REB Director, Tigray)

According to the WEO in Gambella, there were between 150 and 200 vacant teaching positions in that region alone. The WEO attributed this to an increase in the number of students and a lack of budget to recruit more teachers.

How teachers heard about teacher vacancies

In our survey, we asked teachers how they heard about vacancies. The responses confirm relative consistency between official responses as to how jobs are advertised and teachers' experiences of hearing about vacancies. However, the ways in which teachers heard of vacancies did vary among different groups. The most common way of hearing about vacancies among refugees was seeing a post advertised, which is consistent with national (ARRA) teachers recruited into camps. The second most popular response among refugee teachers was being contacted by ARRA directly, while national (ARRA) teachers mentioned as second most popular option that they have heard about a vacancy through a friend or relative. The variation in the ways in which teachers heard about vacancies may hint to inconsistencies in practice, but may also suggest that different individuals have different preferences for seeking out job advertisements, which are reflected in how they heard about vacancies. It is difficult to determine from our data whether this indicates a policy implementation gap in ensuring consistency in recruitment practices, though it may be an important point for consideration



Teacher retention

There was a reported high turnover rate among refugee teachers. There are two key factors attributed to this: poor salary and the transient nature of refugee populations.

Absenteeism among teachers is not much of a problem. Teacher retention is a challenge. This year 17 teachers quit at the end of the school year. They have gone out of the woreda for better paying jobs. Remote areas are the places with the biggest turnover.' (WEO, Benishangul-Gumuz)

"... this camp hosts refugees from different African countries, so as I told you there are refugees from the Great Lakes countries and this refugees they know French, Swahili and other different languages... So most of them they stay here, they want to go to Addis they may disappear illegally, so she is hired... because the incentive here is a very small amount.' (School leader, refugee school, Benishangul-Gumuz)

Many refugees interviewed had family responsibilities and jobs outside of teaching and at the weekends. This not only related to absenteeism, but also resulted in teachers having limited time to engage in professional development activities. Some had to regularly leave to queue for water, because each zone in the refugee camp had a designated time for water collection and not queuing at the right time meant risking access to water for that family. One teacher explained how in a camp of 14,000 people, water was limited to approximately seven and a half litres (two gallons) per household per day, so they also had to regularly leave school during the day in order to receive their household ration. In addition, it was noted that refugee teachers may be absent from school two to three days per month for when they need to collect their rations. Overall, however, retention of refugee teachers was considered a bigger challenge than teacher absenteeism.

'Retention of the incentive teachers is an issue. Teaching is more challenging than the other professions. When these teachers get an alternative option, they go for it. We do not prevent them from leaving.' (ARRA, federal level)

Case Study 2 **Refugee Camp Primary School, Gambella**

Profile

This school hosts 1,985 learners (532 girls and 1,453 boys), mainly from South Sudan. Many of the students are over-age; one was 39 years old. It employs 37 teachers; 16 male refugee teachers and 21 ARRA national teachers of which only one is female. The school is isolated from the residential camp 'tukuls' (houses for the refugees). There is a pathway road that runs right in the middle of the school linking centre two with another nearby camp centre. There is constant noise from nearby generators. The school lacks fences, the library lacks shelves and there are not enough textbooks, chairs and tables.

All the school buildings looked relatively new and include several blocks each consisting of three to four classrooms. Teachers complained of classrooms lacking doors and small children from nearby houses were using the classrooms as toilets. The headteacher, staffroom and bookstore were in one block and slightly isolated from the rest of the buildings.

Teacher recruitment

The headteacher reported that ARRA national teachers were degree holders and competent, but refugee teachers struggled to teach the Ethiopian curriculum. All the ARRA national teachers in the school had undergone the same recruitment procedure at national level. Teachers mentioned that vacant positions are usually advertised through the national print media and interested candidates apply. The selection process includes both written exam and interview. The selection criteria of the national teachers includes holding a degree and having a minimum of two years' teaching experience. All of the three teachers we interviewed had previously taught in government schools and their experience ranged between two and nine years.

Overall, the ARRA national teachers' motivation was good. However, some challenges and issues raised included feeling of isolation, difficult to adjust to the extreme hot weather, inadequate professional development opportunities, inadequate accommodation facilities and higher market prices of goods in the local markets. The circumstances of the refugee teachers are more challenging due to low salaries and difficult living conditions which affected their motivation negatively.

The refugee teachers teach only from Grades 1–4 in lower primary school since they didn't pass through the formal education system of the MoE and therefore do not hold the necessary diploma from Ethiopian Teacher Colleges. National and refugee teachers at the school have good communication and help each other through sharing of knowledge and skills; in particular the upper-grade ARRA national teachers support the lower grade refugee teachers.

Students' expectations

The students we interviewed about their experiences at school and their future aspirations were very confident when asked to present pictures for their current and future self. Similarly, they had great expectations from their school, teachers, parents and community in fulfilling their future dreams.



Part 2c Teacher training and professional development

Key actors in teacher training and development

Colleges of Teacher Education (CTEs) are the key actors in teacher professional development for primary teachers, in addition to NGOs and donor organisations who also offer teacher development opportunities. The Ethiopian Teacher Association (ETA) has also played a role in recent national developments in the area of teacher education.

Pre-service training, bridging training and induction for refugee teachers

At the time of our research, no pre-service training was available to refugee teachers, although numerous in-service courses were provided by CTEs in collaboration with ARRA, the REBs, UN agencies and/or NGO partners, including the refugee teacher qualifications component of the ECW initiative mentioned earlier.

Some interviewees made the point that Ethiopian pre-service teacher education system is weak, too, meaning that host nation teachers of refugees also lack the required skills.

In the absence of pre-service training for refugee teachers, some schools reported that they ran induction programmes. However, there was no evidence of a policy on induction for refugee teachers and some school leaders acknowledged that there was no induction programme offered.

According to our data, the length of time of induction varied from five minutes to two years, so it is possible that there were different understandings of what induction meant and what it should consist of. In Gambella, national teachers reported that they were given a five to ten-minute introduction before they started teaching, whereas in other areas it was reported that partners provided five hours of induction on the context of refugees and teaching code of conduct. In Tigray, it was reported from one school that there was a two-year induction into 'school components', after

CTEs

- Ethiopia has 37 Colleges of Teacher Education.
- CTEs are responsible for providing pre-service and in-service training for primary school teachers.
- Students for the pre-service training are selected locally.
- CTEs collaborate with the MoE to develop teacher training syllabus.
- All students are expected to take a combination of pedagogical and professional courses, subject-specific courses and practicum.
- CTEs are occasionally involved in short-term in-service training for refugee teachers.

ETA

- The Ethiopian Teacher Association is present at all levels of governance, including schools.
- Only Ethiopian national teachers and no refugee teachers are part of the ETA.
- The ETA initiates and advocates for initiatives to support teacher development and efforts to raise the status of the teaching profession.



which teachers transferred over to the CPD programme. There was no evidence of training given to new teachers on the specific needs of refugee learners.

According to a school leader in Tigray, refugee teachers have a general induction during their first year and then a three-year plan is developed for them, which includes monthly activities, for example, technical support given by the school principal. Gaps in quality teaching are identified through formal observation and feedback from higherperforming students. Based on these gaps, trainings are provided by ARRA, the CTE, and/or INGOs.

In-service training

Despite the survey data indicating that over half of ARRA national teachers had received some kind of capacity development before deployment, the general consensus through interviews with both refugee and ARRA national teachers was that there was no provision for the specific needs of refugee teachers or wider inclusion issues (e.g. gender). School leaders, woreda officials and CTEs in other regions also said there was no support for teachers on how to meet the needs of refugees. Identified topics of professional development (apart from the aforementioned programmes) included active teaching and learning, teachercommunity relationships, and English and Civic Education subject support. Areas identified where more support was needed included subject matter and language training.

There are opportunities for some refugee teachers to gain qualifications while teaching. There were multiple donorfunded initiatives that provided training to refugee teachers. This training was available to teachers in Gambella or Benishangul-Gumuz, where regional CTEs were funded by Education Cannot Wait (ECW) to deliver teacher training to groups of refugee teachers. In Tigray, a collaboration between IRC and Adwa CTE provided a comprehensive summer training programme for refugees, though any certification obtained as part of this programme was unclear.

Partnerships with CTEs have enabled over 300 refugee teachers to upgrade to an Ethiopian certificate or a teaching diploma. In the summer of 2018, through ECW, 42 refugee teachers from Benishangul-Gumuz and 301 refugee teachers from Gambella were enrolled for the summer programme at Gilgel-Beles CTE and Gambella CTE respectively. According to a UNICEF representative in Gambella, 'the selection criteria were determined by the REB, which were then given to ARRA who was told to do the selection and submit the list. Entry qualifications were Grade 10 for the certificate level and Grade 10 for the diploma' (Interview with UNICEF Representative, March 2019). According to refugee teachers in Gambella, the refugee teachers with Grade 10 or 12 were prioritised, while those with diploma or degrees from South Sudan were excluded (Refugee teacher interview, Gambella, October 2018).

In addition, a collaboration between IRC and Adwa CTE was launched in 2019 in Tigray region involving a comprehensive summer training programme for refugees, though it is unclear as yet if this will lead to a formal Ethiopian teaching certification (Interview with Education Representatives from IRC, March 2019; Interview with Adwa CTE Representative, March 2019). A case study of this initiative is on page 67.

Case Study 3 Adwa College of Teacher Education, Tigray

The CTE is mandated by the REB to provide teacher education. As well as training primary teachers through the three-year diploma programme, it also offers an extension and summer programme. The medium of instruction is Tigrinya and there are seven departments: Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Language (English, Amharic, Tigrinya), Mathematics, Professional Science (pedagogy, education psychology, etc.), Aesthetics (sports, music, arts) and Special Needs. They are one of the few CTEs to have a Special Needs Department; only 5 CTEs (out of 37) have a dedicated Special Needs department according to the CTE representatives.

In addition, the CTE reported giving regular training to host community teachers on action research to help them to conduct their CPD programme because all teachers nationally were supposed to do action research (however, note that no teacher interviewed, including in Tigray region, explicitly referred to 'action research'). They stated that, in relation to CPD, teachers' action research could be about either teaching and learning, teaching methodologies and teacher management, but that the teachers could select the specific topic within those areas according to their own interests. The process is that each woreda sends the CTE their top five action research projects and the college then selects the top 12 projects and invites those teachers to their annual regional conference on action research, to which researchers who have undertaken action research in the region are also invited.

As well as general teacher education, the CTE also provides in-service training for refugee teachers in Tigray based on identified needs. The trainings are requested and funded by ARRA, NRC and IRC, and there is an MoU with NRC. The trainings started three years ago, generally occur twice per year and last for between three and ten days. The medium of instruction of the courses is Tigrinya. Sometimes the partners identify and request specific topics, whereas other times the CTE decides the appropriate topic based upon a needs assessment. Although based around the needs of refugee teachers, host community teachers are also invited to take part in the trainings. Interviewed refugee teachers confirmed they had received training from the CTE, saying that lecturers visited the camps four times a year and that there were also trainings in Shire. Teachers also felt the training offered on psychosocial support (PSS) and socio-emotional learning (SEL) was helpful, although it was noted that they did not receive certificates. Other trainings noted by teachers included workshops on active learning, classroom management and subject knowledge support for language, and science teacher professional development. Note that the trainings themselves were organised by partners including IRC, NRC and UNHCR but delivered by the CTE.

One challenge identified by the CTE is that they were currently restricted by their mandate. They are mandated by the REB to provide teacher education and the Ward administrates the college. They have a curriculum in English and so could teach refugee teachers from other regions in English, but do not have the mandate to do so. Given the restrictions on refugees' movement, it is difficult for Eritrean refugees to come to the CTE to study as it is located outside of Shire. For this reason, a collaboration between IRC and the CTE was recently launched involving a comprehensive summer training programme for refugees in Shire, though it is unclear as yet if this will lead to a formal Ethiopian teaching certification.

Another challenge is related to the Kunama community. Although the CTE has the mandate to train teachers through the medium of Kunama, they had been unable to find teacher trainers qualified in Kunama and so had not yet been able to start offering the course. Kunama trainees, numbering at around 15 per year, have been trained through Tigrinya to date, although an interviewee from the CTE mentioned that they would be offering training in Kunama starting at the end of 2019.

Professional development opportunities for both refugee and host communities are generally short, uncoordinated and do not lead to qualifications or credentials

A significant weakness of the current professional development offered to both host community and refugee schoolteachers appears to be the lack of a strategic and coordinated response based upon teachers' identified needs. This is compounded by the lack of systematic structures in place to identify and respond to teacher's needs. In fact, according to interviewees from Plan International and NRC, the most common approach to needs assessment is to simply ask teachers what their needs are, rather than to take a more holistic approach that includes observation and continuous feedback.

'A needs assessment is carried out, but because it's more of a focus group discussion with the teachers, asking them what skills they think they need. But that is not where we want to go. What we want to be, is that you find that out from classroom observation.' (NRC representative, national level)

Despite a variety of training courses that have been offered by a number of actors to a range of schools, they are often short-term and do not appear to be part of an overall coordinated strategy to provide regular and consistent support. The survey showed that, of the courses attended by ARRA national teachers and refugee teachers, 66% lasted seven days or less, while just 17% lasted between 8 and 14 days. In addition, 37% lasted three days or less. None of the opportunities were linked to increasing teachers' qualifications or credentials, although respondents noted that this would be welcomed.

School leaders, education officials, teachers and CTE representatives recognised the limits of existing training. One WEO official explained how teachers are doing what was taught on a superficial level but that they lacked understanding: 'The forms are there, filling in forms. It looks good but they don't understand' (Benishangul-Gumuz, October 2018). One school leader reported that 'training is not enough because understanding is not the results of one or two-day trainings' (Benishangul-Gumuz, October 2018). A CTE representative from Tigray explained how such short trainings did not lead to behaviour change: 'Training for ten days is like a drop on a hot stone, it will not change the teaching practice of refugee teachers.'

A need for improved communication between education bodies (ARRA, REB, UNICEF, CTEs) was highlighted as an area for improvement during regional interviews with ARRA. In Tigray, an ARRA official recommended that, for training to be effective, it should 'be on the same page as national teachers [and] harmonise with the woreda office'. Logistical and financial challenges were also noted. In Tigray an ARRA official relayed how a proposal to organise some training for refugee teachers had been submitted and accepted, with the local teacher training college offering accommodation and lecturers for the course. However, no funding was found for transport or for subsistence while at the college and so the training ultimately did not go ahead (ARRA interview, Tigray).

Not every teacher is able to access professional development opportunities

Refugee teachers gave differing accounts of the professional development opportunities they had received. Some, possibly due to their higher level of English, had received numerous trainings, including in AfL and from the British Council, whereas others had received nothing. One training that did receive positive feedback from teachers across a number of schools in Benishangul-Gumuz was the British Council-run 'Language for Resilience' project (see page 69 for details). Feedback from refugee and national ARRA teachers indicated that they had become more confident in doing peer observation and being observed by others as a result of the support.

There was a reported overall lack of professional development opportunities for host community teachers, and, as one school leader noted, although all primary schools in a woreda accessed professional development opportunities, crucially not every teacher did. Some teachers interviewed had attended a range of courses and workshops while others had attended none. Sometimes this appeared to be due to the subject taught; if the workshop was subject-matter related, and sometimes it was due to levels of language; in training provided by both UNICEF and the British Council the level of English was a key factor in determining access and priority for both refugee and host community teachers. Again there may be a gendered aspect to participation in this context, but the study did not explore this in detail.

Language was raised as a challenge to accessing teacher professional development by both refugee and host community teachers. One professional development programme was delivered in English and was available to both refugee teachers and national teachers in host community schools. However, the level of English required to participate meant that not all host community teachers were, in practice, eligible to take part. In one school in Benishangul-Gumuz this resulted in only the school leader taking part in order to cascade the training. However, all

British Council's Language for Resilience project for refugee teachers in Benishangul-Gumuz

After discussions with ARRA and UNHCR, and a scoping study to Benishangul-Gumuz in 2016, the British Council determined that there was a need to provide English Language training to support teacher development in the region. To date there have been three rounds of training, and a fourth took place in October 2019.

Although the targeted primary beneficiaries of the project were refugee teachers, host community teachers were also included where possible. Around 25 teachers have been selected for each training, with selection partly being based upon existing English language skills because the course was delivered in English. This did mean that, in the initial training, more national teachers than refugee teachers were selected because they had a higher level of English, although more refugee teachers have since been trained and there is also a concerted effort to include female teachers. English language requirements also limited the participation of host community teachers, who did not all possess the required level of English. Once a shortlist was produced, teachers were interviewed and chosen based upon their motivation and previous experience.

The programme mainly consists of face-to-face training, with the selected teachers being trained as teacher educators and expected to train other teachers in their schools through school-based support. There has also been ongoing support provided via mobile phones, and since March 2019 another component has been added which involves loading a mobile-accessible SD card with recorded lesson extracts. This SD card has also been provided to host community teachers who did not attend the training. For the SD card innovation a needs analysis was carried out to ensure that teachers had phones into which SD cards could be inserted, and the teachers themselves were trained to carry out the data collection for the needs analysis.

Local consultants were employed to provide support to ongoing schoolbased training, but it was soon realised that the teacher educators were relying too heavily on the local consultants to both deliver the training and observe classroom practice. In response to this, a peer observation Training of Trainers session was delivered in order to strengthen teachers' confidence and ability to observe each other in the classroom. During interviews teachers highlighted this particular training as being very helpful and had led to them feeling comfortable to both informally observe colleagues and be observed themselves.

materials and forms were originally in English, so even after the training had been cascaded teachers still had to translate; for example, one woreda explained how they had translated the Grade 1–4 materials into the Berta language.

Three significant areas of development on offer to host community teachers at the time of the research included Assessment for Learning (UNICEF), Language for Resilience (British Council - see above) and upgrading (REB through CTEs). (Note that the Language for Resilience training from the British Council was only available to some host community teachers in Benishangul-Gumuz and was primarily aimed at refugee teachers.) Although there were opportunities to take part in the British Council and UNICEF programmes, and to upgrade, not every teacher received direct support from trainers or educators as a cascading approach was commonly employed. In addition, in Gambella professional development opportunities were described as very limited and teachers said that, in most cases, only one or two teachers at a time were selected to take part in trainings. This was verified by a headteacher,

who said that the limited number of teachers was due to budget limitations.

Some interviewees said that short training sessions were organised by the REB and the WEO but were mainly for directors, deputy headteachers, heads of departments and unit leaders, rather than teachers. There was then the expectation that this knowledge would be cascaded to the rest of the school, although this was not possible to verify. Another school leader claimed that support from international agencies to host communities had reduced, and that in previous years there had been more support and professional development opportunities offered by organisations such as UNICEF and Plan International. A representative from the REB also said that school-based support was mainly used for monitoring and evaluation purposes. Although school inspectors were said to attend some professional development courses and share the knowledge gained with teachers, the lack of transport was apparently a barrier to the inspectors visiting all of the schools to share the knowledge.

The role of the woreda in professional development

Officials in Tigray reported that, with the support of UNICEF (including financial support for supervision), and after meeting with ARRA, they started to communicate directly with refugee schools and met with camp administrators to discuss how relationships could be built. This led to the WEO providing training on CPD and action research and the refugee school submitting a strategic plan to the WEO:

'We began in a short period of time our work with the refugee schools, two years, to try to see how the teacher teaches and how the director is... we are trying to engage them... we visit them two times and we just are suggestion to their teacher...' (WEO, Tigray)

However, they also acknowledged the limitations of their training: 'We give some hint on CPD but it is important to give detailed training' (WEO, Tigray)

When questioned, woreda Education Office officials in Tigray demonstrated a desire that refugees were not to not be viewed as different to Ethiopians and that there should be additional support to refugee schools, going beyond already-existing policy provisions for professional development:

'The refugee teachers need support and it should be provided... in reality the training and supervision support is not given equally to government and refugee schools because of budget so the teachers in refugee schools need support and special training... when we see the education policy of the federal government the ground is unique it's mismatched so it's better to provide special professional training... there needs to be professional training for the refugee teachers and also administration. People should be paid for teaching. There should be more inputs in refugee schools such as training.' (WEO, Tigray)

Some woreda Education Office officials in Tigray had also included refugee schools in the cluster system. It was reported in one woreda that there had been five meetings between WEO officials and refugee teachers in the last year, that refugee school headteachers had participated in the cluster meetings and that refugee teachers visited model schools¹⁰⁸ twice a year to observe teaching practice.

'Refugee teachers go to model schools in the host community twice a year to observe. This is funded by UNICEF. Woreda experts deliver the training.' (WEO, Tigray)

As well as the sharing of experience between refugee and host-community teachers in Tigray, formal training, open

Cluster system

The purpose of the cluster approach is to enable professional development to take place at the school level through both formal training and the informal sharing of experience among teachers from different schools. It is carried out at government schools, which are grouped into clusters of around three to five schools. Grouping is organised by the woreda, which appoints a cluster supervisor to support schools, and the better performing schools should act as a cluster centre, offering support and sharing resources with weaker schools. The cluster supervisor reports to the WEO supervisor.

to all, had also taken place. For example, the CTE from Tigray held a two-day weekend session on pedagogy and IRC held a workshop for two teachers from a mixture of schools on how to prevent trafficking.

'There is no training that we have not been allowed to go to... some teachers were taken to Shire for language and science teacher professional development provided by IRC. We did not get any tools or materials. Was helpful to learn about the new (Ethiopian) curriculum.' (Refugee teacher, Tigray)

'Cluster supervisors and other woreda officials visit here. They come from the woreda and the REB and do mentoring and training. We have experience sharing "atkilti" where we go over weekly and annual lesson plans and reflect on how it went. We then use that for more work planning.' (Refugee teacher, Tigray)

Although interviews with refugee teachers revealed that they welcomed both the interaction and the information learning they received, others also said that outside of formal training there were not opportunities to collaborate with the host community teachers, and some also said it was the headteachers rather than refugee classroom teachers who attended the cluster meetings.

[[It] would be good to have regular meetings. The course we did was on lesson plans, classroom management, teaching large classes. This is one day only. There was talk only, no showing.' (Refugee teacher, Tigray)

'We never meet with the primary teachers from the host community school which is right next to this one. There is fence but it is broken and one can easily get there. But we don't have discussions with them. The principal exchanges materials but we don't get involved. We have the Tigrinya texts from that school. There is no rule against collaboration. We just don't do it.' (Refugee teacher, Tigray)
Mentoring and relationships within schools

A key promising practice identified during fieldwork involved ARRA national teachers mentoring refugee teachers in some schools. Although this was not widespread, it indicates a promising model for informal teacher professional development to take place.

'You have national teachers who are already qualified, including directors, who provide coaching for the refugee teachers. They support especially those refugee teachers who are not teachers by profession. They provide informal support.' (UNHCR representative)

Refugee teachers in Tigray and Benishangul-Gumuz discussed being mentored by national teachers, with those from Benishangul-Gumuz describing the nature of that relationship:

'We used to exchange with other teachers, sometimes we make a structure we have a group of subject teachers both Incentive and National teachers and we sit down together and discuss. We sit together and prepare together. We work on how to teach with the new Ethiopian textbooks. We discuss professional growth. Sometimes we are advised to change the name of something in the Ethiopian textbooks to a Sudanese name so the students will be able to learn easier.... We share ideas with National teachers, they may give us small period of discussion or talk before we teach something. We learn how to prepare our lesson plans with the national plans.' (Refugee teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz)

School leaders explained that national teachers were given a number of refugee teachers to mentor, with support including advice about the curriculum and pedagogy. However, it was unclear to what extent the mentoring system was effectively implemented and there was a lack of consistency across schools and regions, with many schools reporting no such mechanisms.

'It is not. There is no mentoring or coaching going on here.' (Refugee teacher, Tigray)

'There is no formal school mentoring programme. Informally incentive teachers support each other the collaboration is mainly non-teaching and learning areas.' (Refugee teacher, Gambella)

Although national teachers confirmed that they supported refugee teachers, it was said to be irregular: 'It is not continuously it is sometimes' (National teacher, Tigray). Mentoring therefore appeared to be taking place on a more systematic basis in some schools compared to others.

One challenge identified by a school leader in Tigray was the double shift system which operated in many refugee schools. Lower grade teachers teach in the morning and the higher grades take the afternoon shift. With ARRA national teachers teaching the higher grades, there was not always the opportunity for refugee teachers teaching the lower grades to be mentored as 'national staff not always interested to work two shifts'. While not directly linked to mentoring, refugee teachers in Benishangul-Gumuz also raised the difficulties of meeting with national teachers due to the double shift system.

Our survey data suggests that mentoring does not regularly take place. The majority of teachers within and outside of refugee schools responded that they do not take part in any mentoring (see Figure 15).



Figure 15: Number of teachers who are involved in mentoring relationships with other teachers

Case Study 4 **Refugee Camp Primary School, Tigray**

Profile

The school buildings are relatively new and well maintained. The school shares a compound with the local host community school. There is no fence between or around the two schools. The lack of a fence is contentious as animals wander through the campus freely, making it nearly impossible to have a garden or plant shade trees. The buildings and the amount of classroom space for the number of students and teachers is in stark contrast to the nearby host community school which had to recently ask some children to stay home because there was no teacher and a lack of space for them. Teaching and learning materials are plentiful and well-kept. The arid, rocky environment with little shade is shared with the host community school. This school hosts 2,256 students (909 female and 1,347 male), eight Ethiopian Teachers (one female) and 27 refugee teachers (one female).

Providing oversight, supervision and support to teachers

Providing oversight, supervision and support to teachers at the school has had some challenges. Refugee teachers have had limited participation in teacher professional development activities, and when they recently attended a workshop they returned disgruntled because they had to pay for at least some of the transportation costs themselves. Teacher motivation is low at this school due to, among other things, the low 'incentive pay' and lack of professional development opportunities. The teachers at this school, unlike teachers from other refugee schools, have not had opportunities for participation in professional upgrading in Tigray's CTEs or universities. Many of the teachers here are eager for third country migration and see teaching as a way to pass the time.

The WEO reported that normally they should conduct supervision visits in camps to give feedback to ARRA on the results of the supervision. It is part of their planning. However, in the woreda were the school is located, there are 64 schools including the refugee school. The schools are very scattered. Because of the schools being so dispersed the WEO struggles to reach all of them; even though they are expected to supervise all schools each semester, they were unable to supervise 34 schools during the first semester. That is why the WEO only visited the school once during the year of our visit.

Particular challenges

The first language of a portion of the students in the school is Kunama. The language of instruction for the curriculum in Grades 1-4 is Tigrinya and in the upper grades it is Amharic. The Kunama children have a particularly difficult time in school because many are not fluent in Tigrinya and are unable to read the Ge'ez script as Kunama is written in Eritrea in the Latin script. In the upper grades they struggle with two languages and two alphabets – Tigrinya as a subject and Amharic as the medium of instruction for the rest of the subjects, both of which are written in Ge'ez. In addition, many of the Kunama children are over-age. Our discussion with students required interpretation (Tigrinya – Kunama). There are no texts written in Kunama in Latin script. There is the risk of Kunama students being further marginalised (in addition to being a refugee) due to the language issues.



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Teachers within schools are supportive of one another

According to a representative from the MoE, a mentoring programme has been developed for novice teachers and guidelines have been drafted to ensure stronger links between CTEs and schools and to support this programme; but these are yet to be realised in practice. At the time of our research, official mentoring relationships did not appear to be taking place in the majority of schools; however, there appear to be supportive and collaborative relationships taking place between teachers. Our survey found most teachers agreed they have good relationships with other teachers within the school and that colleagues are generally supportive of one another.

Teachers in more rural host-community areas seemed to particularly suffer from the lack of access to informal support. As part of CPD, more experienced teachers are supposed to support the inexperienced teachers, but the more experienced generally moved to urban areas when opportunities arose. This resulted in fewer experienced teachers in more remote schools, leading to a lack of access available to support newer teachers.

'No special person trained in skill because majority of teachers have no detail.' (School leader, Tigray)

Language barriers also limited opportunities for communication, and therefore informal support, between refugee and host community schools in some areas. One group of refugee teachers in Tigray claimed that, despite sharing the same site as the host community school, they did not meet or collaborate with the host community teachers because only the refugees spoke the Kunama language in that particular community.

The need for reform of teacher professional development was expressed

It is important to note that many actors were aware of the challenges faced in teacher professional development and were proactively seeking to make improvements and mitigate against the issues. In fact, according to one MoE representative:

'In the beginning, our data shows that our teachers have been having problems with implementing selfcontained classrooms, and participatory type of pedagogy... These are some of the problems in our schools, and therefore we are the ones who develop materials here in the MoE, at the federal level. We develop materials, we check them, we print, and we distribute. However, later on teachers begin to question why they are always taking materials from the ministry because they should be focused on their own issues. The CPD now has been mainly at the school level school-based CPD. But last year, I had the chance to go to Asosa and I saw that teachers are working in the CPD area but it is not as it is supposed to be. It's a programme, but it does not give enough pedagogical support to teachers. That is what has been observed.'

This response was echoed by a CTE representative from Tigray, who noted that: 'The MoE knows the CPD courses; the regions know the CPD courses. But the problem raised in every school is that it is not well implemented. People ask for revisions and development of the modules.' This response illustrates the problem with developing materials at the federal level and attempting to implement directly in schools, without

Figure 16: Number of teachers who agreed with statements relating to relationships within schools (refugee teachers n=78, national (ARRA) teachers n=19, national MoE teachers n=254)



Refugee camp schools

contextualisation or involving stakeholders at different levels of the education system, particularly the CTEs. For this reason, the MoE is working on a different modality:

As part of the new GEQIP programme, what we are calling CCA (Continuous Classroom Assessment). For this CCA, we have developed different materials for how teachers have to implement it and side-by-side we have also developed CPD materials, how teachers can get together and how they can exchange experience. This is what we are really working on now.'

Another problem with the current CPD system is that:

"When it is implemented in schools, there are a lot of problems. For example, those who complete CPD courses, and those who interrupt or didn't take the courses... there is no difference in their motivation; they all take the same salary. This is one of the problems in implementing the CPD courses. But every teacher is obliged to take the courses, except there is a problem in its implementation." (CTE representative, Tigray)

One promising development in relation to supporting teacher education is that an increasing number of stakeholders recognise the importance of understanding the context-specific nature of teachers' professional development needs. In refugee-hosting communities, this means looking to the needs of teachers in both host *and* refugee communities. Interviewees from NRC and VSO described a joint initiative they were launching to respond to these needs:

'This year we have had a partnership with VSO. And VSO is giving us a teacher professional development specialist, who will be based in Gambella for one year. We have an agreement with the regional government that the VSO volunteer will be based at the Gambella teacher training college and will support teacher professional development for both host community and refugee teachers. They'll also be building the capacity of the teacher trainers to incorporate some of the skills that can be included in the preservice training for the teachers. So that will be starting from next month. And, again, what we want the specialist to help us with is to move away from the short trainings to now continuous teacher professional development. So, once we have trained a teacher, we are able to follow them in class and support them individually, do classroom observation, give instant feedback, do on-the-job training, and so forth, and so forth. So that at the end of it all, we build the capacity of these teachers to a level we can call qualified teachers. And the reason why we are doing that

is because Ethiopia itself has challenges, has shortages of teachers, so we want to build the capacity of these teachers to a level we can consider them as qualified and trained teachers to support our learners.' (Interview with NRC representative)

'We want to integrate this flexible pedagogy approach into the curriculum of the CTE in Gambella so all teachers have the skills to support students in refugee settings. The exact programme will be developed once the volunteer has started working with NRC and designed the interventions.' (Interview with VSO representative)



Part 2d Remuneration, teacher appraisal and motivation

Remuneration

A persistent concern expressed by refugee teachers related to their compensation. As refugees, at the time of the interviews, they were not officially allowed to work and were paid by UNHCR in 'incentives'. On average, these incentives were reported to be around 820 ETB per month among survey respondents (approximately 27 USD). According to a federal level UNHCR representative, rates were set by a task team led by ARRA and UNHCR in 2012, and also apply to other non-school positions throughout the camp, as UNHCR pays a standardised rate. The assumption behind the incentive payment at the time was that refugees receive benefits including shelter, access to health services, food, education and other services from UNHCR and its partners.

National ARRA teachers reported figures seven times higher than refugee teachers in monthly income. National teachers in Ethiopian host schools reported earnings approximately 60% higher than that of refugee teachers. It is unclear at the time of writing this report whether the 2019 Refugee Proclamation will enable refugees to teach in the same positions as national teachers, and to therefore earn a salary rather than be paid via UNHCR incentives. Article 26, paragraph 1 of the new Refugee Proclamation states that: 'Recognised refugees and asylum-seekers shall have the right to engage in wage earning employment in the same circumstance as the most favourable treatment accorded to foreign nationals pursuant to relevant laws' (11091). One UNHCR representative at federal level commented on the uncertainties around refugee employment and potential difficulties with financing these teachers on the same rate as national teachers:

'I think salaries is one of the single-most recurrent expenditures that is very expensive. With more children and more teachers, the costs keep going up. So sustaining that is quite difficult. We also have at the moment some refugee teachers – though it may only be a few – they are qualified, but when it comes to remuneration, can they access the government system to be employed? I think those are some of the guidelines that are going to come out of the Proclamation. So the secondary legislation that might state clearly whether or not refugee teachers can be employed within the system. Within that, majority of our teachers are incentive teachers. Now, already we have challenges with paying teachers. We have national teachers, and we have incentive teachers. Anything you may introduce in between here may even bring more conflict within that.' (UNHCR, national level)

It is important to note that these figures were not consistent with findings from the qualitative fieldwork for our study, with refugee teachers in some areas reporting an increase in incentive pay between the two rounds of data collection.

The main source of contention with compensation among refugee teachers was that they could be earning the exact same amount doing a less demanding job.

Table 9: Average monthly salary/incentives according to our teacher survey				
	Refugee camp schools		Host (MoE) schools	
	R efugee teachers	National (ARRA) teachers	National teachers	
Average monthly salary or incentive (ETB)	830 ETB (26 USD)	6275 ETB (196 USD)	3665 ETB (114 USD)	

As you know, teaching... the work is very demanding, as you know. Often, the teacher has to get prepared before they go to class, he has to check the exams, rosters, and all those, so the work of the teacher doesn't end in the school. It goes together with the teacher to his or her home. And the load is very high. For example, someone who mobilises the community with a megaphone for two to three hours... then the work is done for the day. But the payment is similar. So that is one of the demotivating factors. We have high turnover of teachers because the payment is very small but the work is very demanding.' (UNHCR, national level)

'The teaching workload of the incentive teachers is increasing from 15 to 18 lessons per week – just equal to that of the national teachers – while they are being paid very low incentives.' (Deputy school leader, refugee school, Gambella)

'The incentive policy and guidelines come from the higher officials so this affects the whole thing. It is now 900 Birr (28 USD) [per month for incentive teachers]. When you look at the issue of payment I am really sad about that. Because those refugees who have completed degrees from Ethiopian Universities with the national teachers only get 900 BIR [per month to teach as Incentive teachers]. When you look at the Eritrean... teachers who have taken the jobs, they act as professionals. Those [Eritrean teachers] who support health, wash and sanitation – they are working only one or two hours a day. So compared to teachers who work a full day and more, those qualified teachers from Eritrea would rather take other jobs. Teachers are demoralised.' (ARRA regional education officer, Tigray)

According to our teacher survey, teachers reported that they spent almost half of their work-week (48%) teaching; however, according to our interview data and the recent Teacher Workforce Management Framework, while many teachers reported feeling overworked, the actual average time spent on active teaching during any given school week was 12.7 hours compared with the 22.5 hours stipulated by the MoE.

The MoE stipulations for the division of labour during the working week is summarised in Figure 17 below:

An ARRA regional officer in Benishangul-Gumuz suggested that a key reason for teacher retention problems is a direct result of the payment system for refugee teachers.

'Holder of diploma, degree... should be paid. We are not paying individuals we are paying for skills and knowledge. I am the one who advertised everyone should receive based on skill. Background not matter what matter is qualification. Equal pay for equal level of skills. I am not happy with current situation. That's why we lose many qualified teachers.' (ARRA regional level, Benishangul-Gumuz)



Teachers also expressed dissatisfaction with incentives being standardised regardless of levels of experience. A refugee teacher with a degree, teaching in a refugee camp, would earn the same amount as a refugee teacher who had not completed secondary education.

No grading system for the incentive teacher. A lot of initiatives done to change the practice by ARRA but it is UNHCR decision. Unfortunately due to international refugee crises UNHCR is not able to change payment levels or existing payment structures... incentive teachers are paid 800 Birr (25 USD) including deputy incentive heads. Acknowledgement of compensation disparities between deputies and directors. Role of teachers similar whether incentives or regular teachers. Clock about 20 lessons per week just like regular teachers. Declaration of the employment of the refugees prevent formal payments – as a regular teacher.' (ARRA federal level, senior education expert)

In addition to their set incentives, teachers are also compensated for attending training workshops. In our survey, 65 of 78 refugee teachers reported that they had received compensation for attending training workshops, and of those 40 had received money or a per diem. Other forms of compensation reported included a certificate (n=23) and refreshments (n=7).

Low pay is considered problematic for national host-school teachers

Financial compensation was also noted as problematic for national MoE teachers working in host schools. The low salary for teachers in Ethiopia was considered to be a factor preventing the highest achieving students from entering the profession. As noted by an ETA representative:

'The high achievers are going to the preparatory schools, universities or TVET, the remaining list of low achievers apply to the teacher colleges. That is the first challenges that we face. I think the high achievers do not apply because the payment is so low for teachers. The high achievers are not interested in this low pay profession. Even if you come to university the high achievers of the preparatory students train in engineering, technologies, etc. and again the low achievers at the university they go to teaching. That is the problem that we face.'

This suggests that the low salary for teachers is, in part, responsible for the overall shortage of qualified teachers in Ethiopia.

National teachers are incentivised to work in refugee schools with high pay, though the context surrounding this is complex

As noted in the section above, national teachers working in refugee camps earn considerably more than refugee teachers working in the same environments. Incentivising national teachers to work in camps is considered important for attracting qualified teachers. It is noted that these teachers are being recruited to work in the remote areas with more difficult living conditions than those they are accustomed to, due to living in camps when accepting teaching positions in refugee schools. Without the higher salary, it is unlikely that many national teachers would opt to work in refugee camps, as suggested below.

'Yeah, it's better than [national teacher pay]... maybe compared with the national teachers recruited by the REB or MoE, it's better. But, we need to look into also is the camps are very remote, we don't have facilities, maybe... you need to travel maybe hours from the regional capital into the camps, the very isolated one, and in terms of the weather, the weather is usually harsh, and the infrastructure... you don't have internet for example, water provision, for example. They live in very hard conditions, compared to the others. Maybe it's just to attract for the teachers to go to those remote areas and then provide the education services to those refugees. Maybe that's why as you said it's better than the MoE/REB deployed teachers, but you need also to consider the environment, the very harsh conditions that they live in.' (UNHCR national level)

'(We) feel that the pay and other incentives (housing the camp, the quality of the school) are good.' (National teacher, refugee school, Benishangul-Gumuz)

At ARRA federal level, however, they were keen to state that although there are incentives in place, there are some benefits that ARRA national teachers do not receive that national teachers teaching in host schools do, such as a pension.

'It is good to understand the context. UNHCR payment is based on project funding/temporary. There is no pension provisions therefore slightly higher than the government rate. Government teachers also receive housing allowance.' (ARRA, federal level)

Some also considered that although the salary is higher in refugee camps, as these teachers live in the camps there is less opportunity to earn additional income, such as through private tutoring or second jobs, which means that the overall income might not be much higher. 'Though the Ethiopian teachers who teach in camps get incentives in their salary it is not enough to overcome the possibilities that town teachers have to make extra money in the afternoons, with businesses, etc.' (WEO, Benishangul-Gumuz)

A representative of a UN organization also noted how the difficult camp conditions can make it problematic for enticing national teachers and then retaining them once there. Adequate accommodation was considered to be one of the problematic areas.

'They can join NGOs. Because of that you may see turnover is high. And sometimes, the living conditions in the camps is not conducive. They may be sharing rooms. Accommodation is one issue because when this is not a town, it's an isolated village. So ARRA tried to construct some accommodation for its staff but ARRA has a lot of staff working in the health sector, working in the education sector, and also for protection, food distribution... all those, they need accommodation. So it's challenging to address all those because it's very isolated in the middle of nowhere sometimes, like Dollo [Somali region], for example. The harsh living conditions may lead to the teachers leaving the job. It is one of the reasons for the high turnover.' (UN representative)

Teacher appraisal and career progression

ARRA staff commented that teacher appraisal in refugee schools is conducted by directors and departmental heads. ARRA noted that these appraisals take place at the end of each semester. These appraisals appeared to be in place formally for ARRA national teachers, with a less formal system in place for refugee teachers.

'At the end of each semester each teacher is appraised and also received annual appraisal results. Sometimes the REB and woreda do observations as well.' (ARRA regional level, B-G)

'Teacher appraisal mainly carried out by school director who are national teachers.' (ARRA regional level, Gambella)

'Teacher appraisal is carried out by the school director and ARRA inspectors. Government inspectors are not involved in the evaluation programmes.' (School leader, refugee teachers, Gambella)

'Refugee schools are using same curriculum and evaluation system that the national schools are using

except one school due to language problem. The school uses Kunama Language with Latin alphabet.' (REB, Tigray)

There is some variation in the frequency of teacher appraisals. The minimum standard appears to be one appraisal per semester for national teachers in refugee schools, though some schools exceeded this. One school in Tigray, for example, suggested they conduct appraisals on a monthly basis:

'We have a monthly appraisal system. All teachers are evaluated by department heads and Vice director of school. Checklists are used to identify strong and weak teachers and grades are given. A teacher who gets an A gets an award, we do this every term.' (School leader, refugee school, Tigray)

Teacher appraisals are not systematically conducted for refugee teachers

One of the issues noted with the appraisal system related to it not being systematic, with appraisals seemingly taking place on an ad-hoc basis.

'[teacher evaluation] not systematic and institutionalised teachers so long as teachers do the basics they continue serving as teachers.' (UNICEF, federal level)

'Teacher evaluation rarely happens but schools collaborate to share experience.' (School leader, refugee school, Gambella)

School leaders in refugee schools spoke of observing teachers and giving them feedback, though this was often in the absence of a more formal system.

'Actually after I supervise the first thing I do is have a discussion with the teacher so I will ask him how did you see your session he is the one who will give feedback... and after him I will provide him with pointers and things to improve... and the next time when we go I will try to see.' (School leader, refugee school, Benishangul-Gumuz)

The same school leader from Benishangul-Gumuz stated that one of the difficulties in systematically implementing a teacher appraisal system with refugee teachers is due to the variation in teacher qualifications within the school.

'In our context you know there are qualified and non-qualified teachers and how to evaluate them once you call them a teacher it has become difficult to organise standards and evaluate.' (School leader, refugee school Benishangul-Gumuz)

Case Study 5 The challenges of informal evaluation and formal appraisal at a Refugee Camp Primary School, Benishangul-Gumuz

Profile

This primary school is a large school with wellconstructed buildings and good facilities. It hosts 3,800 refugee children (1,755 female and 2,045 male) and 21 Ethiopian children (two female and 19 male). There is a well-equipped library (although many of the books are donated so are not necessarily relevant to the context; for example, a book about 'my home' which portrays a 'typical English' house, AQA UK exam board textbooks), a computer suite with computers and a large dining hall. The school appears to be orderly and the headteacher, who has been headteacher there for two years, seems to have things under control. The school has 76 teachers altogether: 55 are refugees (six female and 49 male) and 21 are ARRA national teachers (two female and 19 male).

Teacher informal evaluation and appraisal

During our visit to the school the headteacher raised issues with teacher appraisal. Formal government-based appraisal systems are not conducted in refugee schools: ARRA has its own system, but this is camp-wide and not school-based. This means that ARRA national teachers in schools are also not subject to formal appraisal on the teaching and learning process, which could put them at a disadvantage if they wanted to return to the national system.

Current evaluation is informal/formative and, after a needs assessment last year, the British Council has been giving training on peer observation to the refugee schools in the B-G region. This has received positive feedback from teachers, who said that they believed that it is helpful to informally learn from each other. However, the challenge remains that teachers are not given a benchmark score of where they are. There is only informal feedback and support and it was unclear if there was a formal record of observations undertaken by peers/headteacher/head of department or evidence of improvements made.



Refugee Camp Primary School, Benishangul-Gumuz

The size of the school further compounds the challenge for appraisal in refugee settings, particularly when compared to host community schools. For example, in one of the host community schools there was one headteacher to seven teachers, compared with this school where one headteacher is responsible for 76 teachers. Even if there were formal appraisal procedures in place it would be difficult for the headteacher to undertake that many observations on top of other duties. It would likely need the training of deputies (but these may be refugee deputies and unqualified) and heads of departments.

School leaders of refugee and host schools adapt standard appraisal forms for their local context

At woreda level, there was some scepticism over the scores attributed to teachers as part of teacher evaluation.

'I do not know if teacher evaluation was effective or not but generally thought it was unreliable and with inflated scores. All of the teachers get around 80/100, but when the teacher scores are compared to student results, it does not match up because student results are poor: it needs a needs assessment. Scores are based upon relationships rather than teaching quality.' (WEO, Benishangul-Gumuz)

Some refugee schools indicated they adapted woreda level forms used for national schools to suit their local context. This was in the absence of official evaluation forms for them to use, and a need for forms that were better contextualised to the school setting.

'To some extent we make, use form from woreda – some points which are not on the local school but are here, e.g. extent school feeding, unaccompanied children, attendance. As in they adapt the woreda form.' (School leader, refugee school, Tigray)

The system of teacher appraisal in host schools appeared to be more rigorous, in that there are multiple ways in which teachers could be assessed.

'Teacher performance: we evaluate teachers in two ways. One there is a committee in the school that evaluates them once every semester. Again, there are evaluated by their departments, there are standard evaluation questions. Each semester, teachers' strengths and weaknesses is assessed and areas of improvement recommended (internal evaluation). The second is the external evaluation from woreda and REB. In addition, there are school cluster supervisors who evaluates teacher performance. Cluster supervisors share reports with the school director before they submit it to woreda and REB....' (School leader, host school, Gambella)

There were, however, concerns among host schools that teacher appraisals do not adequately assess teachers. Performance appraisal are every six months. Criteria is "inefficient to measure/differentiate" as criteria is set by REB. There are national appraisal criteria but criteria are too general.

'They adapt the guidelines for evaluation (checklist). Modify some topics, e.g. how is teaching methodology? Checklist prepared by woreda but the context is different.' (School leader, host school, Tigray) This last quote from Tigray indicates that the evaluation checklists provided at woreda level are not sufficient for effectively evaluating teacher practices. Multiple school leaders supported this claim, suggesting they adapt the evaluation forms for their context.

Teacher appraisals and teacher promotion in refugee school and host school settings

Teacher grading can be a promotion opportunity. As stated in a previous section, teaching higher grades is considered more prestigious and professionally more appealing. One school in Tigray also confirmed that teachers could receive promotions based on their performance reviews.

'For the evaluation of National Teachers we use the national checklist at camp level. There is a review every three to four months. Teacher can get salary promotions based on these reviews. Incentive teachers have not guidelines for career ladders.' (School leader, refugee school, Tigray)

One host school in Gambella noted that teachers could be promoted to a higher grade, or demoted to a lower grade, dependent upon their evaluation results.

'The school director evaluates the performance of teachers. There is a grading system which ranges from A-C. Teachers who perform poorly in the evaluation are de-graded to teach lower grade classes. Good teachers are promoted to higher classes.' (School leader, host school, Gambella)

However, there were also indications that teacher performance in Gambella is not linked to teacher promotions in host schools.

'Monitoring and evaluations are not linked to teacher promotion. The only recognition of good teachers is the recognition of being a star teacher.' (School leader, host school, Gambella)

It may be the case that whether being 'upgraded' to teach a higher age group is considered as a promotion or not is a matter of perspective. Two REB representatives in Tigray confirmed that teachers are rarely fired for poor performance, with the suggestion that a stronger connection needs to be made between teacher evaluation and teacher promotion or dismissals.

'In our education system, there are ladders for promotion, which depends on your performance. Every teacher is expected to perform well, but we have a problem in how to critically evaluate this. Nowadays, the system is getting very critical because we are failing in quality. If they are performing badly, they should be fired.' (REB representative, Tigray) *'[Unless a teacher scores very, very poorly] the Civil Service Bureau never accepts firing any civil servant. It matters who evaluates the civil servant.'* (REB representative, Tigray)

Refugee teachers are limited in their prospects for promotion. There are no opportunities for them to receive pay increases based on performance, as everyone is paid on a flat rate. In addition, they are only able to teach up to Grade 4, therefore they are unable to be given informal promotions in the form of teaching older children. This was the same across all regions in Ethiopia. Refugee teachers were also able to apply for deputy school leader roles, which in terms of seniority and increased responsibilities can be considered a promotion, but their compensation would remain the same as if they were teaching.

A further limiting factor for refugee teachers is their inability to access training, which would enable them to take on official teaching roles.

'The incentive teachers know and understand the routes to teacher certification in Ethiopia- Gambella region but state that there are no opportunities to enrol in the certification programmes.' (School leader, refugee school, Gambella)

Motivation

One ARRA official stated that they had attempted to increase salaries among teachers, but that this was not the primary motivating factor for the majority of those teaching refugees.

'We [ARRA] are following SOPs [Standard Operating Procedures] but we have managed to get the payment up to about 700 ETB (22 USD) per month. But the basic idea is not the money but supporting their country, strengthening brotherhood.' (ARRA, regional level, Benishangul-Gumuz)

A school leader for a refugee school in Tigray indicated that national teachers come to refugee schools as 'they have a great love for children they teach from the bottom of their hearts'. This suggests that national teachers are also intrinsically motivated, though we do not have supporting evidence for this across all three regions. Another motivating factor is related to refugee teachers wanting 'their community' or 'their people' to learn.

T1: 'I need my community to be on the same level as me'

T2: 'To help your community if you have no interest it may not work'

T3: 'my interest what I learn I want to supply to my community to let them learn from me'

(Refugee teachers, refugee school, Benishangul-Gumuz)

Overall, however, most teachers commented on the poor salary as being demotivating, and comments related to other motivating factors were limited across all three regions.

High pupil-teacher ratio is considered the greatest challenge to working conditions

When asked about working conditions, the majority of teachers across all three regions commented on issues with pupil:teacher ratio. Poor ratios were reported across all three regions in refugee schools, though EMIS data suggests some regions have poorer ratios than others. As noted in Table 10, Gambella has some of the poorest PTR data compared to camps in other regions, with a PTR of 137:1 for Grades 1–8.

'Actually it doesn't show up to the context of our school. It looks... the figure looks nice but the number of classrooms of students... we have very large classrooms it's like 1:84.' (School leader, refugee school, B–G)

'The total students' population is 4,488. PTR is roughly 110. There is high overcrowding in all classes across the grades. There is extreme discomfort due to the hot weather.' (School leader, refugee school, Gambella)

'Overcrowding issues; the current refugee educational system is unable to absorb the number of out of school children in the camps. Within the schools, enrolment

Table 10: Pupil:Teacher Ratio in camp primary schools by region (EMIS data 2018–19)			
Region	Pupil:Teacher Ratio		
Gambella	137:1		
Benishangul-Gumuz	63:1		
Tigray	60:1		
Average in all refugee camps	82:1		

rates for girls are lower than boys. Classroom shortages are vast.' (Refugee teacher, refugee school, Gambella)

'There is a dire need for more classrooms. The ratio of 1:50 cannot be met at the moment it is more like 1:90.' (NRC, Tigray)

A host school in Gambella suggested that pupil:teacher ratio is not problematic for them, but classroom:pupil ratio is, suggesting multiple classes are being taught in the same space. This suggests that in host schools, issues with infrastructure might be the biggest contributing factor for high numbers of students in classrooms, whereas in refugee schools the shortage of teachers is a bigger concern.

'The PTR is low – about 1:30 – but the CPR is very high about 110 pupils per class. There new unfinished classrooms funded by REB but the process has halted since the last three years due to budget limitations.' (School leader, host school, Gambella)

Factors that impact teacher motivation

Variability in school infrastructure and resources, with some promising signs of sharing between host and refugee schools

One of the key issues noted with the influx of refugees was that Ethiopia's education system was already strained prior to taking in refugees, therefore further pressure was added to the system. An ARRA official in Benishangul-Gumuz noted this as a problem, though also saw the influx of refugees as promoting job opportunities for some.

'I think in some cases they (host communities) have benefited (from refugee camps)... but from the very beginning our country is a poor country... it is not that we are poor because of refugees. We are doing our best to create a friendly environment by creating... jobs, construct roads if they are damaged, the security issue also well protected... All people know we are a poor country and it is not the fault of the refugees that they are here. We have poor schools to begin with even if there were no refugees. Job opportunities are created by the refugees being here. There is development going on.' (ARRA regional office, Benishangul-Gumuz)

It was noted that resources are less problematic when refugee students speak the same language as the host community they are entering.

'Financial resources; students' accommodation and teaching learning resources could be an issue if we are

to operate in additional capacity, however, since language of curriculum instruction is not an issue we can use our textbooks with the refugee teachers.' (ARRA regional office, Tigray)

One of the noted differences between refugee and host schools is the infrastructure, with many suggesting that, overall, the infrastructure of refugee schools is better than national host schools:

"... if you visit refugee schools, and then you step out of the refugee contexts and you visit the surrounding national schools, the infrastructure in refugee schools is so much better. So the infrastructure in refugee contexts is much better in most cases than the national infrastructure. In most cases. There are exceptions." (UNICEF national representative)

Host schools confirmed a lack of resources were problematic.

'There is a shortage of books, the classes are overcrowded, there are not enough classrooms, they get little support on professional development. Unlike nurses there is no off time in which to try to make additional income. Even drivers will get a per diem when travelling in the field. They often work in the afternoons even though the teaching is in the morning shift. They will continue to teach as long as it helps to make ends meet.' (Teacher, host school, Benishangul-Gumuz)

In Tigray, some promising signs of sharing between host and refugee school were observed.

'We have more seats that were borrowed from the refugee school (the refugee school has a lack of classrooms), and we lent them textbooks and materials and furniture.' (School leader, host school, Tigray)

'Because we have a shortage of teacher guides, textbooks and stationery. We share materials with the host schools.' (School leader, refugee school, Tigray)

The status of teachers

In our survey, only 20 national MoE teachers disagreed with the statement, 'I am highly valued in my role as a teacher in my community', with the overwhelming majority (n=234 / 91%) agreeing or strongly agreeing. These views were mirrored by refugee and national (ARRA) teachers alike, who, on the whole, agreed they are highly valued in their role as teacher in their communities.

Federal interviews suggested that national actors, such as the MoE, ETA and the VSO, were focusing on raising

the status of teachers to help overcome a range of other challenges. As one MoE representative stated, 'teachers are always complaining about their salary'. The same official noted that teachers see others within their community who have lower qualification levels than them but are earning more money. Another MoE official also acknowledged that, 'the payment for teachers is very, very low when we compare the salary with what they do.'

Salary was perceived to be directly linked to status, therefore part of national efforts have been about disentangling this connection by focusing on aspects such as increasing minimum entry requirements for the profession, but to also create a system where teachers' salaries can be increased. These efforts would, in turn, raise the status of the profession. A national MoE official spoke of moving teacher development from directorate level to Teacher Commission level, which would enable teachers to have a clear system that enabled salaries to increase. This commission was not in place at the time of the interviews, but suggested some promise for improving teacher salaries in the future.

A representative from VSO suggested that teachers seeing the value in their role and the impact they have on the community is vital in overcoming issues relating to salary. VSO suggested that the way to overcome the preoccupation with salary is to demonstrate to teachers the value and importance of their role:

'The issue of low salaries is evident. Even the government knows it. So, it is not a question of convincing the government. It is a question of the government being able to fund higher salaries or not... Our role is that we want to make sure that government, communities, stakeholders have recognised so what is the role of the teacher what is their role in terms of building the next generation. Making sure that we have created cohesive communities and that teachers are valued... So why should a community value a teacher that is our mandate. Then we rather support them in any way we can to increase their capacity so they do not end up saying: "I need salary, I need salary." We try to make them see what is it that you are contributing to what is the long-term return for the government.' (VSO representative, national level)

In the words of a representative from the Tigray REB, improving the motivation, status, and effectiveness of teachers is dependent on more than a fair salary:

'Well, money may motivate someone else, but my understanding, to my knowledge, money is good, but professionalism is better than that. Unless the teacher has professionalism in his mind, I don't think that quality of education will be in place. So, effective teacher management starts from the very beginning, with recruitment... you have to have from within... I have to say that "I will be a teacher". That will be the initiative. The successful countries, I know South Korea, Japan, and others, the teachers have the love of a professional. Even three guys told us they were working in a factory, and they were paying more in that factory, but they came to the teacher profession. I asked them why and they said because they love teaching. In Tigray, in Ethiopia, we also have students who take the national exam, and those who failed come to the teaching profession. The same is true in the refugee schools... if a teacher only looks for money, which is better in that area, he may only work for a week or two. Not just money ... from within, they have the professionalism of a teacher. How do we do that? Research can answer those things!'



Figure 18: Teacher agreement with the statement 'I am highly valued in my role as teacher in my community' (refugee teachers n=78; national ARRA teachers n=19; national MoE teachers n=254)

TEACHER MANAGEMENT IN REFUGEE SETTINGS: ETHIOPIA

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Summary of key points

Part 2a: Who teaches refugees in Ethiopia?

The general policy position is that schools in refugee camps should be staffed by qualified Ethiopian teachers. ARRA hires national teachers, typically degree holders with at least two years of teaching experience, to teach at these schools. National teachers make up 27% of the teaching workforce in refugee primary schools.

Refugee schools are primarily staffed by refugee teachers, recruited from the camps, and hired on an incentive payment basis. Refugee teachers are generally less well qualified than their Ethiopia colleagues. Most have only secondary education or less.

The vast majority (over 90%) of teachers of refugees are male; unless barriers for more women to enter the workforce are explicitly targeted this will be hard to change.

Refugee teachers, particularly those with lower level qualifications (e.g. school completion, degree with no teaching qualification) teach lower grades.

Host community teachers are Ministry of Education teachers working in Ethiopian government primary schools. Most (around 90%) are qualified, holding either a diploma (Grade 1–4 teachers) or a degree (Grade 5–8 teacher).

There are not enough teachers in some schools; pupil:teacher ratios can be as high as 100:1, double the desired 50:1.

Part 2b: Teacher recruitment, retention and deployment

Ethiopia has clear recruitment criteria for teachers, including teachers of refugees. However, it is hard to find enough national teachers with the desired level of qualifications willing to teach in refugee camps, and very few refugees are qualified.

ARRA national and refugee teachers teach in camp schools due to difficulties recruiting enough willing and qualified national teachers.

Retention of teachers in refugee settings is an issue due to a range of factors including:

- Low pay, particularly for refugee teachers who are paid only an incentive payment. This payment is the same for all refugees no matter what work they undertake.
- No career structure for teachers.
- Large class sizes and resource-poor teaching environments.
- Poor professional development and support.
- Challenging circumstances of being a refugee and living in or outside a camp setting.

The deployment of teachers to refugee schools is often guided by consideration of language and ethnicity.

Part 2c: Teacher training and professional development

There is no pre-service training offered for refugee teachers and pre-service training for national teachers does not consider refugee teaching environments.

Some form of induction is common for new teachers of refugees but practices varied wildly in our study.

In-service training is common but not comprehensively offered to all teachers of refugees. Most often it is shortterm, uncoordinated and does not lead to certification or portable qualifications.

Some examples of training were evident; these involved Centres of Teacher Education (CTEs) where refugee teachers were able to gain certification and qualification.

Promising activities seen at woreda level included the inclusion of refugee schools in clusters with national schools, mentoring between ARRA national teachers and refugee teachers and teacher-to-teacher support.

Many participants in the research called for widespread reform of teacher education and teacher professional development in the refugee context.

Part 2d: Remuneration, teacher appraisal and motivation

Motivation was high among the participants, despite evident retention issues such as poor remuneration, high workloads and difficult working conditions.

Appraisal was almost non-existent for teachers of refugees and there was no system of appraisal linked to career progression. There were almost no opportunities for career progression.



Part 3 Identifying promising areas and making recommendations

The third and final objective of the study was to identify promising areas for further policy development and successful implementation of teacher management in refugee settings. This final section makes a series of recommendations primarily aimed at policy and education decision-makers in Ethiopia. It may also appeal to a wider audience including policy and education decision-makers in other countries, as well as stakeholders at other levels in an education system.

In line with the conceptual framework of this study, the research recognises policy implementation as a complex, dynamic process and considers socio-political contexts and the complex interactions between various policy actors, particularly at the local level and between levels.

It explored international, regional and national policies that frame teacher management in refugee contexts and presented findings on local practice, which revealed a number of gaps between policy and practice. In this chapter, we aim to examine these gaps in more depth and to identify strategies to improve the management of teachers in refugee contexts in Ethiopia, using the matrix below (see Figure 19).

With this in mind and based on the analysis presented here, the report puts forward strategies to:

1. Sustain and build on promising policies currently reflected in promising practices

2. Support the implementation of promising policies that are not systematically met in practice

3. Scale up promising practices that are not reflected in policies

4. Respond to policy and practice gaps. These strategies are based on global good practices and recommendations that have emerged from our fieldwork.

The recommendations aim to support the implementation of Ethiopia's policy engagements for refugee education stipulated in the CRRF and Djibouti Declaration in addition to the country's forthcoming Education and Training Roadmap and the MoE's Ethiopian Teacher Workforce Management Framework.

Figure 19	: Summary of promising policy and practices Promising practice	Gaps in practice
Promising policy	Promising policy reflected in promising practice • Documentation and data.	 Promising policy not systematically met in practice CRRF education pledges and the Djibouti Declaration. Mother tongue education. Addressing pupil:teacher ratios. Teacher qualifications. Teacher induction. Teacher remuneration schemes.
Gaps in policy	 Promising practice not based on/reflected in policy ARRA national teachers mentoring refugee teachers. Refugee schools included in cluster meetings. Opportunities for refugee teachers to gain qualifications while teaching. Professional development based on identified need for refugee teachers. 	 Gaps in both policy and practice Shortage of female teachers. Inconsistent teacher appraisal and limited career progression

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Part 3a Promising areas for policy and practice

This chapter describes the promising policies and practices, together with the gaps in practice and in policy that have emerged during the field work.

Promising policy and practice

Figure 19 (page 91) summarises the key findings under presented in the matrix used to frame the analysis. Each is discussed in more detail in the text that follows.

Documentation and data

The first key promising policy that we see being implemented through promising practice is the policy pledge through the CRRF to improve documentation for refugees in Ethiopia, which in turn is expected to improve coordination and service provision for refugees and more effective teacher management. This documentation pledge together with the Vital Events Registration and National Identity Card Proclamation¹⁰⁹ has a huge impact on the amount of available data and data accuracy, and therefore on educational planning and teacher management. There have been significant improvements in data collection for Ethiopia's refugee population in general. Not only does the L3 registration exercise aim to ensure that all registered refugees have received a proof of registration document and a refugee identification card,¹¹⁰ but refugees are able to record data on their education and skills in an online humanitarian portal, which will potentially be a useful resource for the management of refugee teachers.

More specifically within the education sector, data on refugee education has been included in the MoE's annual statistical yearbook in 2017/18 and again in 2018/19. While the yearbook does include teacher-related indicators including PTRs, numbers/percentages qualified teachers, numbers/percentages national and refugee teachers in refugee settings, it would be useful to have additional information about teachers in refugee settings, that are already available nationwide. This could include an analysis of the distribution of teachers, their qualification levels, attrition rates (both from the profession and from teacher education), enrolment rates in colleges of teacher education, the number of teachers with special needs, and the number of teachers trained in special needs education or on the psycho-social needs of displaced populations.

It would also be important to ensure that the data is collected and analysed in a timely fashion and that the indicators covered in refugee settings should mirror those covered by the MoE. This will facilitate a comparative analysis and ultimately provide a clearer picture of teacherrelated issues in refugee settings.

Promising policy not systemically met in practice

The CRRF education pledge and the Djibouti Declaration

At the time of writing, the implementation of the CRRF's education pledge and the Refugee Proclamation¹¹¹ had only just started at the federal level. Although respondents suggested that the CRRF has already had a significant impact, and there is considerable promise in the ambitious pledges of the CRRF and the Djibouti Declaration, there are secondary laws – particularly related to the out-of-camp policy and the right to work policy – that are still to be finalised and formalised before the CRRF, and specifically its education pledge, can be fully implemented.

The education-specific pledge of the CRRF grants refugee children the same right to education as Ethiopian children, but the provisions related to the freedom of movement (that could facilitate refugee access to teacher training and other forms of higher education) and the right to work (in particular whether refugees working as teachers/ with teaching qualifications could be salaried teachers), were not yet clear. Changes in the policy with regard to freedom of movement and right to work would result in policy considerations outside the field of education that would need to be considered when planning for teacher recruitment, for example.

With regards to the Djibouti Declaration and Plan of Action,¹¹² there is great promise in the ambition to integrate refugee education into national sector plans by 2020, and to ensure minimum standards for refugee education. In fact, at the time of writing, the process of developing the ESDP VI in Ethiopia had just started, and there were positive indications from the Director of Planning and Resource Mobilization that refugee issues would indeed be included in the sector plan. This is indicative of emerging coordination of refugee education at the federal level and is indeed a promising practice related to the implementation of the Djibouti Declaration.

While there was an initial indication of promising policy coordination of refugee education at the federal level between the plethora of actors involved, coordination at the regional and local levels and between the federal and decentralised levels remained rather limited. Coordination challenges were compounded by the lack of presence of ARRA at woreda level, due primarily to limited education staff within ARRA and the differing structures of ARRA and the MoE. Moving forward, it will be important to seize opportunities to enhance this collaboration at the regional and woreda level, as well as to ensure coordination with other sectors that will ultimately be responsible for implementing the freedom of movement and the right to work policies. The coordination meetings taking place through the UNICEF Building Self-Reliance Programme (BSRP) for Refugees and Vulnerable Host Communities was noted as a promising practice in some locations. In Tigray this programme supported refugee schools to be included in the school cluster system and in Benishangul-Gumuz it led to greater interagency coordination between ARRA, REB, BoFED, UNHCR, UNICEF and INGOs, and to joint inspection visits to schools. Such practices could be extended to other refugee hosting regions in order to foster continued communication and coordination at the regional and local levels.

Finally, although the ambition to integrate refugee students in the national education system is a promising policy commitment put forward in the CRRF, the current status of school segregation in the three regions studied posed a significant challenge to this integration. In reality, refugee camps and their schools were often in remote locations and quite distant from host communities. This segregation had major implications for teacher recruitment and deployment as well as for teacher professional development, particularly in a context where integration is a key policy commitment.

Mother tongue education

The importance of having teachers who are fluent in students' mother tongue at the lower levels of primary has been highlighted, and is often the justification for local recruitment of teachers at this level. As previously mentioned, the mother tongue education policy is de facto extended to the refugee setting, and teachers of Grades 1–4 are locally recruited in both camp and host schools to support this policy.

The use of refugee teachers to deliver lower grade classes has enabled many refugee schools to deliver mother tongue education. But the application of the mother tongue policy remains problematic in minority language host communities and in refugee camps that host a mixture of different linguistic groups. Lack of fluency in a national language (English or Amharic) is a barrier to participation in training (pre-service teacher and CPD). Furthermore, the application of the mother tongue policy to refugee contexts is not explicitly mentioned in policies related to refugee education.

Yet, the implementation of the mother tongue policy has significant implications for teacher recruitment and training and requires careful consideration for teachers in refugee contexts. Not only does the implementation of the policy potentially open the door for the further recruitment of refugee teachers, and thus provide an opportunity to facilitate the integration of refugee teachers in the workforce going forward, but it also implies that teacher professional development opportunities would need to take place in local refugee languages.

Addressing pupil:teacher ratios

The national standard for the pupil:teacher ratio at primary schools is set at 50:1, and at the national level and in the three host regions visited this standard was met (39:1). While the same standard applies to refugee schools, the ideal PTR of 50:1 is not met in refugee schools, where PTRs range from 137:1 in Gambella to 60:1 in refugee schools in Tigray. These high ratios have been attributed to limited budget, a shortage of qualified candidates (inconsistent by location and subject), the sudden, unpredictable influxes of refugees and challenges with teacher retention.

The high PTRs were frequently cited as creating difficult, if not dire, working conditions for teachers in the camps, leading to very large class sizes. In some of the host communities, it was lack of facilities rather than lack of teachers that was driving large class sizes, with some cases of multiple classes being taught at once in the same space.

Teacher qualification policy

The recruitment and qualifications policy for Ethiopian primary teachers is clear, consistent and has become increasingly ambitious over time. In an effort to improve the quality of the teaching workforce, Ethiopia rolled out a nationwide in-service teacher qualification upgrading programme, which would allow practising underqualified teachers to attend CTE courses and obtain the required diploma. While this has led to significant improvements in the qualification levels of teachers in the last few years, the minimum qualifications are inconsistently implemented across regions and within regions.

There is a dearth of qualified teachers across both host and refugee communities studied. As with the PTR, the situation is more problematic in refugee settings, where across all refugee settings in Ethiopia, more than 50% of the teachers have only completed up to secondary education. According to 2019 EMIS data for teachers in refugee primary schools, only 46% of teachers have any teaching qualification, while in host communities the majority of teachers (90%) are qualified. However, anecdotal evidence indicates that teachers from some language groups are exempted from the licensing exam.

This lack of qualified teachers may be attributed in part to the fact that at the time of writing, no pre-service training was available to refugee teachers. Furthermore, refugee qualifications (including any relevant teacher qualifications from another country) are not yet recognised in Ethiopia, as stipulated in the Djibouti Declaration. However, the 2019 Refugee Proclamation may ultimately enable refugees to participate in pre-service training with national teachers.

At the time of the research, the requirements for entering a teaching diploma course were being increased from Grade 10 to Grade 12. The implementation of this new requirement, particularly in refugee contexts where access to upper secondary is very limited, may be problematic, as there may not be a sufficient number of new entrants to the CTEs.

With regards to initial and ongoing professional development, our analysis highlights the promising national teacher induction policy, which had not yet been systematically implemented in the contexts studied here. The analysis also describes multiple promising practices in supporting teachers of refugees through mentoring and the inclusion of refugee schools and staff in the national cluster system. The analysis also reveals that although there were on occasion, opportunities for certified professional development and training offers that responded to the specific needs of teachers in refugee contexts, these practices are not yet reflected in policy and warrant further attention and expansion.

Teacher induction policy

The Ethiopian National Policy on teacher induction stipulates that newly deployed teachers are expected to work through a two-year induction programme, supported by mentors. The Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015–2018 indicates that there is a standardised orientation and induction package for both national and refugee teachers, with specialised content to introduce national teachers to refugee protection principles and programmes. These promising policies were not reflected in the practices observed in refugee schools visited for this research. In Gambella, ARRA national teachers reported that they only received a five to ten-minute introduction. whereas in other areas it was reported that partners provided five hours of induction. Some headteachers said there was none. In host schools newly appointed teachers had very limited access to experienced teachers for mentorship and guidance, as many of the more experienced teachers preferred to move to urban areas where living conditions are better.

In spite of the fact that the teaching profession generally has a low status in Ethiopia, it is interesting to note that the vast majority of teacher respondents in the survey conducted for this study indicated that they felt highly valued in their role as a teacher in their community. Furthermore, when asked what they hoped to be doing in three years' time, the most common response for all teacher groups was that they would be working in the same job or school, indicating that teachers interviewed are generally satisfied with their professional situation. This positive perception is encouraging and points towards high levels of motivation which were also observed throughout the course of the research. Our findings indicate that the teachers in the refugee settings studied are intrinsically motivated to teach, despite the poor living and working conditions and the oft-cited low salaries for both national teachers in host settings and refugee teachers.

Although there is a promising policy provision for equal pay for refugees in Ethiopia outlined in the 2019 Refugee Proclamation, remuneration and career structure for teachers in refugee settings seem particularly problematic and our analysis brought to light significant policy and practice gaps for teacher remuneration and career structure, as described below.

Unclear teacher remuneration schemes

The 2019 Refugee Proclamation contains a promising policy commitment: Article 26, paragraph 1 of the new Refugee Proclamation states that: 'Recognised refugees and asylum-seekers shall have the right to engage in wage earning employment in the same circumstance as the most favourable treatment accorded to foreign nationals pursuant to relevant laws'.¹¹³ However, at the time of writing, as described above, this proclamation has not yet been fully enacted and it remains uncertain if this article will enable refugees to teach in the same positions as national teachers, and to therefore earn a salary rather than be paid via UNHCR incentives, which would significantly increase the wage bill and require the mobilisation of additional funding.

Since refugees are not officially allowed to work, they are paid by the UNHCR in 'incentives'. However, there is only one incentive rate for refugee teachers regardless of performance, qualifications and level of responsibility, meaning that refugee teachers have no promotion opportunities. Furthermore, it was noted that the incentive rate for refugee teachers is the same as in other jobs where workload was considerably lower. Finally, generally speaking, the compensation for refugee teachers was perceived to be insufficient and was frequently invoked as a key reason for low retention rate. As many teachers in refugee settings are paid on a project-basis, and not as civil servant, benefits are rarely available, creating perceived inequities in salary. With payments often tied to project funding cycles, there is limited job security, which may also contribute to high attrition rates.

As indicated in our survey, there are notable discrepancies in the average salary or incentive rates across refugee teachers (830 ETB), national ARRA teachers (6275 ETB) and MoE host community teachers (3665 ETB). These differences can in part be explained by varying benefits that are attributed to the teachers. ARRA national teachers, for example, do not receive a pension, while national teachers teaching in host schools do. Likewise, host community teachers also receive housing allowances. Furthermore, incentivising national teachers to work in camps is considered key to attracting gualified teachers, as without the higher salary, many national teachers would not choose to work in refugee camps. There are also opportunity costs associated with being a national teacher in a refugee camp, as there are fewer opportunities for national teachers to supplement their income in the refugee camps.

Promising practice not based on/reflected in policy

ARRA national teachers mentoring refugee teachers

During our fieldwork, one promising practice noted in several schools across all three regions studied were examples of ARRA national teachers mentoring refugee teachers. This was possible due to the staffing system of well-qualified nationally recruited teachers working with less well-qualified locally recruited teachers. It was suggested that this promising practice could apply to the host school system also, where it was noted that in rural schools there was a shortage of experienced teachers to provide mentoring.

Although this was not the norm some school leaders explained that ARRA national teachers were assigned a number of refugee teachers to mentor, with support including advice about the curriculum and pedagogy. In other cases the support was more informal and ad-hoc. In spite of the fact that these official mentoring relationships do exist systematically, our findings suggest that there are supportive and collaborative relationships between teachers in both refugee and host community schools. As previously described, our survey data indicates that most teachers agreed they have good relationships with other teachers within the school, and that colleagues are generally supportive of one another. According to a representative from the MoE, an official mentoring programme has been developed for novice teachers and guidelines have been drafted to ensure stronger links between CTEs and schools, but these are yet to be realised in practice.

Refugee schools included in cluster meetings

Some woredas in Tigray were noted to be working to support refugee schools by providing training sessions and including them in the cluster system. This was in part due to support from UNICEF as it was providing the budget to the woreda to enable refugee schools to be included. In one woreda, WEO officials and refugee teachers had met multiple times over the course of the last year, refugee school headteachers had participated in the cluster meetings and refugee teachers visited model schools¹¹⁴ twice a year to observe teaching practice.

However, this was not yet a common practice, as other respondents indicated that there were no opportunities to collaborate with the host community teachers beyond formal training, and some also said it was the headteachers rather than refugee classroom teachers who attended the cluster meetings.

Opportunities for some refugee teachers to gain qualifications while teaching

Throughout the three regions studied, there were multiple donor-funded initiatives that provided training to refugee teachers. Partnerships with CTEs have enabled over 300 refugee teachers who have achieved Grade 10 to upgrade to an Ethiopian certificate or a teaching diploma. This training was available to teachers in Gambella or Benishangul-Gumuz, where regional CTEs were funded by Education Cannot Wait (ECW) to deliver teacher training to groups of refugee teachers. In Tigray, a collaboration between IRC and Adwa CTE provided a comprehensive summer training programme for refugees, though certification obtained as part of this programme was unclear.

Furthermore, it was noted that the plethora of professional development opportunities for both refugee teachers and host community teachers are often insufficient, lack effective coordination and do not lead to qualifications.

Professional development based upon identified needs for refugee teachers

Although our survey data indicate that more than 50% of ARRA national teachers had received some kind of capacity development before deployment, the general consensus with both refugee and ARRA national teachers was that there was no provision for the specific needs of refugee teachers or wider inclusion issues (e.g. gender). School leaders, woreda officials and CTEs also said that there was no support for teachers on how to meet the specific psycho-social needs of refugees.

One promising practice identified in the research was the British Council's 'Language for Resilience' project that began its implementation by going into the refugee schools to find out what was needed. Based on the specific teacher training needs, the course was then developed and offered to refugee teachers. Although this needs identification is indeed promising, access to the training however was still limited for refugee teachers with low levels of English because the training was provided in English.

Another promising practice is the VSO-NRC initiative, to bring a teacher development specialist to Gambella CTE to address the teacher training needs of both refugees and host communities.

Gaps in both policy and practice

Shortage of female teachers

In the three regions studied, over 90% of refugee camp teachers were male, potentially exacerbating existing challenges for the retention of female students in primary education. Respondents saw barriers to the recruitment of female teachers as cultural, and perhaps due to a lack of family support leading to drop-out. While there are policy commitments to ensure that teachers address gender disparities in their classrooms, there are currently no explicit policy provisions to ensure gender parity in the recruitment of teachers. Even specific initiatives designed to improve gender parity in the refugee schools teacher workforce faced challenges, such as Plan International's programme to recruit female teacher assistants: most of the teacher assistants in our survey sample were male. Without opportunities to participate in formal teacher education and obtain a teacher certification, these gender disparities will continue. Furthermore, coupled with the lack of girls that complete secondary education, the predominance of male teachers in refugee settings is a problem that is seen as external to, and perhaps beyond the control of the teacher training and recruitment system, requiring a specific policy framework to address this gap and retain girls in school.

Inconsistent teacher appraisal and limited career progression

The teacher appraisal system for teachers of refugees appeared to be applied inconsistently. In theory, ARRA teachers (Ethiopian nationals and refugees) should be promoted based on appraisals but in practice in some of the refugee contexts researched there was limited if any appraisal for teachers. In those settings where appraisals did take place, there was variation in the frequency of teacher appraisals, ranging from one appraisal per semester to monthly appraisals. These appraisals appeared to be more formally implemented for ARRA national teachers, with a less formal system in place for refugee teachers.

This implies that many ARRA national teachers have limited career progression opportunities within the refugee education system and it is very challenging for these teachers to return to the MoE system.

In host schools, there is a poor linkage between teacher performance and teacher promotion, although appraisal systems are in place for national teachers in host schools.





Part 3b Strengthening teacher management in refugee settings

This final chapter makes a series of recommendations linked to the areas of policy and practice related to teacher management that have been outlined as more or less promising and reflected in practice.

With a desire to strengthen teacher management policy and practice firmly in mind, the chapter considers:

- strategies and opportunities to enhance promising policy that is reflected in practice
- strategies and opportunities to ensure that promising policies are seen more systemically translated into practice
- strategies and opportunities to build policy around promising practice
- strategies and opportunities to address areas where there appear to be gaps in both policy and practice.

Strategies and opportunities to enhance promising policy that is reflected in practice

Documentation and data

Develop and implement a TIMS which covers teachers in refugee settings

The forthcoming Education & Training Roadmap presents an opportunity to apply and build upon the improved data on refugees and education through its provision for the establishment of a Teacher Information Management System, or TIMS. This system would be particularly useful in refugee settings to establish more information on teacher backgrounds, certification and training needs, as will be described subsequently. Establishing such a system would help ensure that data for teachers across all settings is comparable across settings. As noted above, information collected through the L3 registration exercise could prove valuable in populating this database.

Reinforce MoE capacities to analyse and monitor refugee education

Although there had been an improvement in the data on the provision of education in refugee settings, it was noted that there was a need to reinforce MoE capacities at both the federal and decentralised levels. At the federal level, establishing a unit within the Directorate of Planning and Resource Mobilization to support the planning and management of the integration of refugees into the national education system would ensure the continuity and sustainability of efforts. At the woreda level, ensuring that education authorities have an understanding of the provision of refugees in education settings would support further integration. To improve capacities, joint planning between WEOs and ARRA that focuses on disparities and reaching common targets across refugee and host community settings is one way forward. Ensuring that school inspectors also visit refugee schools can also enhance MoE capacities to analyse and monitor refugee education.

Ensure the integration of refugee education throughout the ESDP VI

In moving forward, it will be essential to use the data provided in the annual statistical yearbook to ensure that refugee issues are included in the ESDP VI, as well as its related implementation plans and the projection model that will be used to cost the implementation of the ESDP VI. Using the data provided in the annual statistical yearbook will also highlight shortcomings and further needs for specific data that can be collected subsequently.

Strategies and opportunities to ensure that promising policies are more systemically translated into practice

CRRF's education pledge and the Djibouti Declaration

Ensure the effective communication of policies and plans to regional, woreda and school levels, and consultation with these education actors on how to implement these policies.

As previously highlighted, researchers noted that these policies had not yet reached woreda-level authorities or schools, that many schools were not aware of policies related to refugee education, and that some regional officials heard about the policy through the media, not official channels. To support the implementation of the CRRF and the Djibouti Declaration, a key strategy would be to ensure the communication of these policies to the decentralised and school levels. Furthermore, regular consultation between stakeholders at regional, woreda and cluster level to discuss and reflect on the implementation of these policies would be beneficial to policy implementation. Additionally, it would be important to ensure that teachers and teacher organisations have the opportunity to participate in educational decision-making and policy implementation.

Communication around the forthcoming secondary legislation on the right to work and freedom of movement of refugees as well as the regional education plans for refugee education and the related implementation guidelines that ARRA has developed should be prioritised.

Coordinate the implementation of the refugee proclamation and the Djibouti Declaration with the development and implementation of relevant teacher policies.

An additional strategy would involve ensuring that the 2019 MoE Ethiopian Teacher Workforce Management Framework¹¹⁵ could be adapted to include a provision for refugee teachers, building on the common regional approach for teacher accreditation, including accelerated programmes for refugee and returnee teachers that is expected to be developed at a regional level through the Djibouti Declaration (Article 24 of the Action Plan).

Mother tongue education

Consider how unqualified educators could have a role as language assistants to support teachers of multilingual classrooms.

Given the lack of qualified teachers in refugee settings, it may be useful to explore the opportunity to recruit

language assistants in schools that are multilingual. This will help ensure that students are able to learn in their mother tongue. Language assistant roles could be included as part of an alternative pathway into teaching that is more accessible to female candidates.

Addressing pupil:teacher ratios

Consider developing shared school facilities with double shifting and improve time management.

Double shifting in host schools can facilitate access to education and reduce class sizes, and improve working conditions for teachers. Double-shift schooling, if carefully implemented, can foster social cohesion across refugee and host communities. It also enables more efficient use of teaching facilities and resources through sharing across shifts. Building additional classrooms may be necessary in order to accommodate the large numbers of both refugee and host community students in the regions studied. However, investment in joint facilities can be seen as increasing long-term surge capacity through the use of double shifting.

Although use of double-shifts does not directly reduce PTRs, it can facilitate more efficient use of teachers by ensuring that all teachers have full teaching timetables. By pairing more experienced or specialised teachers with less qualified (often locally recruited) teachers across shifts, and exploring options for co-teaching and collaborative lesson preparation and student assessment, teachers will be able to utilise their time more effectively. Where necessary, each shift can be delivered in different languages in the early grades to facilitate mother tongue instruction.

Teacher qualifications

Develop alternative entry routes to the teaching profession.

Given the pronounced teacher shortages in the refugee-hosting areas, and building on the 2019 MoE Ethiopian Teacher Workforce Management Framework provision to enable the use of alternative pathways to the teaching profession, providing additional teachers needed for refugee settings could also be done through hiring national apprentices, initially to work at lower costs and subsequently providing them with incentives including accelerated career pathways to the teaching profession. Additionally, recognising prior certification of refugee teachers would enable the teacher workforce to expand and contribute to reducing the high pupil:teacher ratios in refugee settings. Providing alternative pathways to the teaching profession could also include diversifying recruitment criteria to include content and pedagogical knowledge, and attitudes towards teaching. In diversifying recruitment criteria the pool of potential teachers will expand, which could provide an opportunity for teaching assistants and other professionals with proven content and pedagogical knowledge the possibility of acquiring credentials and being recruited into the workforce.

Harmonise teacher qualification requirements across host and refugee settings.

Ethiopia's forthcoming Education and Training Roadmap highlights the importance of acquiring the right candidates to enter the teaching profession and will set a minimum standard and harmonised entry process for teacher recruitment. This will be particularly demanding for refugee teachers at the start, but the standard should be maintained for teachers in refugee settings and will have implications for professional development.

Establish a Teacher Service Commission to monitor the quality of teachers.

The 2019 MoE Ethiopian Teacher Workforce Management Framework foresees the establishment of a teacher service commission 'as a permanent body responsible for controlling the quality of teachers by preparing and administering standardised exit exams and managing all teacher-related information' (70). Such a body could be useful to ensure that the teacher qualification policy is consistently implemented across settings, including in refugee camps and for teachers of refugees. Many interviewees in our study saw great promise in the establishment of such a body, noting that it would significantly improve the status of teachers across Ethiopia.

Teacher induction

Disseminate information on and provide time for the implementation of the teacher induction policy.

Well-organised and supportive induction programmes can play a major role in professionalising and retaining young teachers. According to the European Commission, beginning teachers need three basic kinds of support: personal, social and professional.¹¹⁶ This support can come through mentoring, working in teams with other teachers, and supervision and coaching by experts from CTEs and from more experienced teachers. These processes require time for discussion and self-evaluation. New teachers and their mentors could discuss their learning needs with their supervisor, and together draw up a professional development plan. Additionally, parts of their working days should be dedicated to the induction process and their teaching loads adjusted to take this into account. Induction processes also require that new teachers have access to experienced teachers and experts. Nationally recruited, well experienced and qualified teachers, such as those recruited by ARRA, could play an important role in induction in both host and refugee schools. Refugee schools could be given access to cluster level expertise and CTE expertise.

Teacher remuneration

Ensure fair salaries, benefits and working conditions for all teachers including teachers in refugee settings.

The forthcoming Education and Training Roadmap puts forward activities to help ensure that salaries, benefits and working conditions for all teachers in refugee settings are fair. These include:

a. Review teachers' salaries to make them competitive to that of other professions.

b. Provide adequate benefits such as housing, transport, free medical treatment, adequate pension, low interest loans.

c. Improve hardship allowances and associated packages.

In addition, it would be important to conduct a thorough comparative analysis of the compensation package for national teachers in host communities, national (ARRA) teachers and refugee teachers, taking into consideration benefits such as pension, housing and career structure. A comparative analysis of the entire compensation package for all types of teachers in refugee settings will not only clarify the extent to which there are disparities in remuneration, it will also facilitate advocacy efforts that will be necessary in moving forward with the implementation of the Education and Training Roadmap and the 2019 MoE Ethiopian Teacher Workforce Management Framework.

Coordinate humanitarian and development funding to cover teacher salaries

In order to harmonise the compensation across the different teacher types, it will be important to ensure that it is possible to use development funding to provide sustainable support to cover the salaries of all teachers working in refugee hosting contexts (refugee teachers, ARRA teachers and host community teachers) .Traditional humanitarian funding can cover teacher salaries for surge capacity teachers needed in affected communities in the short term (refugee teachers, ARRA national teachers), but there also needs to be blended funding modalities, with project cycles of several years, that enable salaries of these surge capacity teachers to be covered in the interim as they become integrated into a national teacher salary system supported through development funding.

Scale up of school clusters including refugee schools

Further support collaboration between Woreda and ARRA through the cluster system.

Integration of refugee schools into the cluster system would facilitate sharing of expertise for the mentoring and coaching of less experienced and less qualified teachers in both host and refugee schools.

Improve opportunities for refugee teachers to gain qualifications and relevant professional development opportunities

Use humanitarian funding to scale up funding of CTEs across refugee hosting regions on a long-term basis.

As was frequently mentioned by respondents, the use of one-off, ad-hoc training for teachers is not a sustainable solution to teacher professional development. Long-term investment in certified, qualifying pre- and in-service professional development for teachers in refugee settings is therefore preferable. It will strengthen government ownership of teacher training in these settings and will facilitate the integration of additional teachers required to meet the needs of the growing student body.

Ensure that professional development opportunities are coordinated.

For training opportunities to be certified, it will be important that all professional development opportunities are coordinated. To this end, the forthcoming Education and Training Roadmap suggests that the pre-service teacher education programme should be reformed to include the establishment of a specialised National University of Education (NUE) with focus on teacher education. This NUE may be useful in supporting the coordination of the diverse offer of both pre- and in-service opportunities available to teachers in refugee settings.

Ensure that professional development opportunities can contribute to securing requisite qualifications on par with the national standard.

The forthcoming Education and Training Roadmap may provide a useful policy framework to this end, as it recommends the use of diverse modalities of teacher preparation (including but not limited to integrated/ concurrent and add-on/consecutive modalities). However, these diverse modalities should all contribute to teacher learning that is recognised and accredited. In fact, it was surprising to note in our research that there were few, if any, opportunities for teachers to participate in blended learning to further their qualifications. Courses designed and delivered by CTEs using mobile technology could be made available to teachers to support the upgrading of their qualifications.

Ensure that professional development opportunities are relevant and accessible to refugee teachers.

The training needs of refugee teachers in terms of qualification upgrading can be assessed by including them within the TIMS system (see above), with data on training and qualifications attained. More detailed qualitative training needs analyses should also be conducted by school heads.

To address language barriers to accessing professional development, training needs to be delivered in the language of instruction used by teachers. To enable more refugee teachers to access accredited professional development programmes, CTE modules should be translated and disseminated to refugee camps to facilitate distance learning for refugee teachers. Again, the use of mobile technologies could prove useful in this regard.

Formalise mentoring of refugee teachers by ARRA national teachers into official policy

Based on further consultation and needs analysis of refugee teachers, mentoring of refugee teachers by well-qualified and experienced teachers could become formalised into policy. Mentoring of refugee teachers could be included as part of the job description of ARRA national teachers, and mentoring sessions to become compulsory professional development for refugee teachers. Nationally recruited headteachers could be trained in instructional leadership to oversee the mentoring process, and communities of practice groups that bring together national and refugee teachers could be established.

Strategies and opportunities to address areas where there appear to be gaps in both policy and practice

Shortage of female teachers

Take inspiration from existing programmes increasing numbers of women in education delivery roles.

For example, programmes such as that run by Plan International where recruitment of female refugees into teaching assistant positions is underway. This innovative practice could perhaps be scaled up to other regions, as the presence of a woman in a classroom may likely have a knock-on effect and contribute to an increase in female student retention. If possible, it would be important to enable these teaching assistants to subsequently qualify as teachers, thus providing an alternative pathway to enter the teaching profession.

Attention should be paid to the potential impact that harmonisation of the recruitment process has on the number of female recruits.

Raising qualification requirements could reduce the number of female candidates even further, unless mitigation strategies are employed to facilitate more females to enter the profession.

Develop a strategy to improve gender parity in teacher recruitment.

The 2019 MoE Ethiopian Teacher Workforce Management Framework provides an opportunity to reduce the shortage of female teachers when it stipulates the importance of ensuring equity and efficiency in teacher recruitment and the need to create a teacher deployment and redistribution strategy. This would necessitate specific measures to ensure a sufficient supply of females that qualify for the teaching profession. Such a strategy could include activities such as the provision of tutorial programmes and scholarships for female students in primary and secondary education, so as to increase the number of girls that are able to progress through the education system and become potential teachers. It could also include hiring women as teaching assistants, as mentioned above, and providing alternative pathways to the teaching profession for women with relevant requisite experience. As noted, there are opportunities for teachers to obtain teaching qualifications while in-service, with the roll-out of the MoE upgrading programme in 2008 and the recent ECW initiative to allow refugee teachers to obtain teaching certification. Strategies for supporting more nationally recruited, well-qualified female teachers to deploy to refugee hosting areas could include provision of housing and employment guarantees for spouses.

Teacher appraisal and career progression

Find ways to encourage the implementation of appraisal system in refugee schools.

Design, implement and encourage supportive teacher supervision, formative teacher assessment and continuous classroom assessment of teachers to implement transparent and fair teacher evaluation and appraisal mechanisms and improve teaching. Build on existing practice where possible.

Ensure the implementation of the new teacher career structure in refugee settings.

As the forthcoming Education and Training Roadmap has a provision for a clearer career structure for teaching staff, it will be important to ensure that the new teacher career structure demonstrates a clear differentiation between roles and responsibilities across the different steps in the career ladder, and shows a natural progression related to teaching experience and professional development opportunities. This would require ensuring that teacher career progression is based on competency- and performance-based assessments, including in refugee settings.

In implementing the career structure reform, it will be important to carefully reflect on the approach to take. As described in Tournier and Chimier¹¹⁷ there are three options for MoEs to use when implementing a teacher career structure reform. These include:

1. The **big-bang approach**, wherein the new status is imposed on all teachers from the early stages of reform implementation. Where feasible, a big-bang approach that incorporates some flexibility in its implementation may be more suitable.

2. Grandfathering, where the reforms only apply to new teachers entering the profession. Although this may initially seem to be the easiest option to implement, the constraints to cohesion and the additional management burdens are important to consider.

3. The **'opt-in' approach**, where teachers are given the choice to voluntarily 'opt in' to the new career structure before it becomes mandatory for all teachers after a few years of implementation.

It may be useful to consider piloting the latter option on a smaller scale, get feedback and then adjust the policy, which can increase the likelihood of successful reform implementation in the long term.







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