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*Migration, displacement and education:
Building bridges, not walls*

TEACHING AMIDST CONFLICT AND DISPLACEMENT: PERSISTENT CHALLENGES AND PROMISING PRACTICES FOR REFUGEE, INTERNALLY DISPLACED AND NATIONAL TEACHERS

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ABSTRACT

Confronted with record-high numbers of displaced persons and protracted crises that have lasted for decades, this paper draws on case study examples from multiple countries to examine both the persistent challenges and promising practices for refugee, internally displaced, and national teachers in their efforts to provide education to the millions of children and youth affected by crisis. Specific examples are drawn from Chad, Ethiopia, Germany, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Syria, Turkey, and Uganda. The paper is organized into sections related to teacher supply and planning, teacher professional development, teacher well-being and motivation, and teacher agency and resilience. It also identifies new possibilities within the policy sphere that could be leveraged to strengthen support for teachers working in displacement settings. The paper concludes with detailed recommendations for improving teacher management and development in displacement settings.

1. INTRODUCTION

Countries around the world are hosting unprecedented numbers of forcibly displaced persons—65.6 million (UNHCR, 2018a)—as a result of conflict, violence, persecution or human rights violations. Given the protracted nature of displacement, upwards of 25 years in some cases (Crawford, Cosgrave, Haysom & Walicki, 2015), educational opportunities provided by qualified and supported teachers are desperately needed for the millions of children worldwide who are displaced; children account for over 50 percent of all refugees and more than 40 percent of all internally displaced persons (IDPs) (UNHCR, 2018a; UNICEF, 2017; Bilak, 2017). Displaced children have myriad academic, linguistic and psychosocial needs. They may have experienced considerable disruptions to their schooling, or never started their education, depending on the timing and duration of the crisis. Children and youth who have experienced violence and conflict may suffer psychological distress that needs to be addressed. Once displaced, they may also need to learn a new language of instruction and confront cultural and social differences in an unfamiliar environment. As more children and youth are affected by protracted crises, there are unprecedented demands on governments and humanitarian partners to provide a range of education services including pre-primary, primary, secondary, non-formal, and post-secondary education in refugee and IDP situations. This pressure puts tremendous strain on available schools to absorb large numbers of children, and requires rapid establishment and scaling up of services, including significant teacher recruitment efforts.

Recruiting adequate numbers of teachers to provide education services is no small feat in the context of the current global teacher shortage: 68.8 million teachers are needed by 2030 (UIS, 2016). The global shortage of teachers disproportionately affects the most geographically and socially disadvantaged parts of the world (Mulkeen et al., 2017). While there are no global data on teachers in displacement situations available, local level data show that almost without exception, a large-scale influx of refugees or IDPs leads to severe teacher shortages, whether displaced children are accessing education services offered by the state or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In Germany an estimated 24,000 teachers will be needed to meet the needs of refugee children (Vogel and Stock, 2017). Uganda, now hosting the largest number of refugees in Africa, needs close to 6,000 teachers to meet the educational demands of some 680,000 school-aged children (Uganda ERP, forthcoming). Without adequate numbers of trained teachers, access to schooling is limited, and education quality is compromised.

There is ‘broad consensus...that “teacher quality” is the single most important school variable influencing student achievement’ (OECD, 2005, p. 2; see also, Darling-Hammond, 2000; Schulle, Dembélé, and Schubert, 2007; Rawal, Aslam, and Jamil, 2013). This is even more true in displacement and refugee contexts where the teacher may be the only resource available within a resource-poor environment. In addition to providing academic support, teachers working in forced displacement contexts and/or hosting refugees or IDPs in their classrooms have an important role to play in: facilitating their students’ transition to a new schooling environment; acquiring the language of instruction (in many contexts); supporting learners’ social-emotional needs; learning more about their students’ educational trajectories prior to arrival; and respecting and valuing different cultural practices that might be quite different from their own (Mendenhall et al., 2015; Dryden-Peterson, 2015). In cases where refugee or IDP children are integrating into host community classrooms, teachers also need to address issues of social cohesion in order to mitigate the social pressures, bullying, and discrimination that displaced children often face (Dryden-Peterson, 2015). Teachers who hail from the refugee or internally displaced populations themselves are also expected to help their students develop skills that will benefit the rebuilding of their countries or communities of origin when and if they are

able to return home (Shepler, 2011; Kirk, 2004). The demands placed on teachers are significant, and few teachers are available who have the skills to support the complex needs of displaced learners. Even when there are teachers available, they may not receive adequate support to perform their roles and responsibilities or attend to their own well-being.

The demands and challenges for displaced teachers are poorly documented, and promising practices are few and far between. Yet, working towards solutions for sufficient numbers of appropriately trained and qualified teachers is an urgent imperative of our time if we are to ensure a safe, quality education—and hope for the future—for the rising tide of children affected by conflict and crisis.

1.1 Organization of paper

The following core sections of the paper illustrate both the persistent challenges and emerging promising practices that need to be further strengthened and expanded to better support teachers and their learners in crisis contexts.

The core sections of this paper include:

Section 2: Teacher supply and planning in crisis-affected contexts (illustrative examples from Chad, Ethiopia, Germany, Iraq, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Syria, and Uganda)

Section 3: Professional development across diverse teacher profiles and displacement contexts (illustrative examples from Chad, Germany, Kenya, and Turkey)

Section 4: Teacher well-being and motivation amidst displacement (illustrative examples from Iraq, Jordan, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Syria)

Section 5: Teacher agency and resilience against all odds (illustrative examples from Germany and Kenya)

Section 6: Policy developments to better support teachers in displacement (illustrative examples from global and regional organizations and initiatives)

Emerging recommendations are highlighted at the end of each section. The paper concludes with overarching recommendations based on the findings presented through the various case study examples about ways to further strengthen the planning, supply, preparation, planning, well-being, resilience, and policy-making environment for teachers working in displacement settings.

1.2 Methods, case study selection and limitations

Amidst a dearth of global, regional, and national data about teachers in displacement contexts, the 12 country examples for this paper were selected through purposive sampling (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016), in an effort to identify key challenges and promising practices for teacher development and management in crisis-affected settings. These “*information-rich cases*” (Patton, 2015, p. 53, *emphasis in original*) provide an

opportunity to learn more about what is and is not working across diverse teacher profiles and in different types of displacement settings around the globe. To select the cases, the authors drew on field-level data about teachers made available by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), key informant interviews with agency staff responsible for developing and implementing new programs and policies (both United Nations and NGO), and extensive organizational and scholarly literature about teachers in crisis and non-crisis contexts. The authors prioritized examples from countries currently hosting significant numbers of displaced persons as a result of protracted displacement and for which adequate data were available for analysis.

While we recognize the critical importance of looking at the educational pipeline in its entirety from pre-primary to tertiary, the scope of this paper is limited to the complexities inherent to basic education. The paper also aims to cover several essential facets of teacher development and management, preventing more in-depth discussions on certain issues.

1.3 Conceptualizing diverse teacher profiles across displacement contexts

Teacher profiles across displacement contexts are influenced by three important factors: 1) teachers' prior educational context and academic achievements; 2) the employment conditions under which teachers work; and 3) displacement status, which directly affects teachers' conditions of work. The academic profiles of teachers in displacement depends on education levels and teacher education standards in their respective countries or communities of origin. For example, Syrian refugee settings have high numbers of qualified, experienced teachers and university graduates, while refugee teachers in Sub-Saharan Africa are typically secondary school graduates who have not been formally trained (Deane, 2016; World Bank, 2018).

The range of service providers and the employment conditions under which teachers work also present a unique challenge in displacement settings. Although more host countries are mainstreaming refugees and IDPs into state schools soon after arrival, many displaced children still receive education from NGO-managed and community-based schools and learning centers, especially in camp settings where access to state schools is limited. Teacher supply in most refugee and IDP situations is characterized by mixed employment conditions, including teachers employed through the state teacher service, hired on short-term contracts, enlisted as volunteers, or recruited as "incentive" teachers from the community and paid a nominal stipend for their work (Ring and West, 2015; Kirk and Winthrop, 2007).

Teachers' displacement status is an influential factor in these settings as it determines which legal, policy, and administrative barriers to employment and professional development teachers face. In this paper, we identify three main categories of teachers working with displaced children—host community or national teachers, internally displaced teachers, and refugee teachers (see Box 1.1 for detailed descriptions). These different types of teacher profiles merit closer attention and inform the case selection, findings, and recommendations presented in this paper.

Box 1.1 DIVERSE TEACHER PROFILES AMIDST DISPLACEMENT

Host Community or National Teachers Working with Displaced Children

Host community or national teachers are teachers who work with displaced children in host community schools or camp settings in countries or communities of asylum. Host community teachers are generally registered with the national teacher service and teach

in state schools. In cases of large-scale displacement, host community contract teachers may be hired on a short-term basis to help address teacher shortages. National teachers may also work as volunteers in schools or community learning centers to help fill skills gaps, typically language skills, in the teaching force.

Internally Displaced Teachers

Internally displaced teachers are national teachers who have been displaced and are working in a host community school or an IDP camp. Since the national teacher service system in many countries is ill-prepared for crisis, internally displaced teachers often experience difficulties being re-deployed in their host community, collecting salaries, and claiming basic entitlements and benefits (Dolan et al., 2012). In some cases, internally displaced teachers continue to be managed from their district of origin, even when education offices are adversely affected by conflict or disaster.

Refugee

Teachers

Refugee teachers are refugees who have been employed to teach in host community or refugee camp schools. Refugees do not have the legal right to work in many countries and often qualified and unqualified refugee teachers are employed as volunteer or “incentive” teachers. Qualified refugee teachers are prevented from joining the host country teacher cadre by multiple barriers, including restrictions on the right to work, lack of recognition of teacher qualifications and, in some cases, a lack of proficiency in the language of instruction (Sesnan et al., 2013). Refugee teachers may also be recruited by a host country’s Ministry of Education to work as teaching assistants in national classrooms.

With these profiles in mind, we turn to a discussion about teacher supply and planning.

2. TEACHER SUPPLY AND PLANNING IN CRISIS-AFFECTED CONTEXTS

The diversity of teacher profiles and qualifications in displacement settings has important implications for teacher planning, management, and development. An in-depth understanding of the differentiated characteristics of the teaching corps is necessary in order to ensure every teacher has decent working conditions and relevant professional development. Nicolai (2016) finds that a critical gap in emergency response is an “inadequate teacher workforce capacity, with shortages of well-trained [and] paid teachers who are able to address the specific needs of their pupils” (p. 3). Teacher management systems in crisis contexts face many of the same challenges as teacher systems elsewhere (Mulkeen et al., 2017), though the challenges are magnified and the teacher gaps more acute as a result of displacement.

These primary challenges encompass issues related to availability, financing, and planning.

- **Availability:** Mass shortages of teachers, especially qualified individuals exist across displacement settings, with severe shortages of female teachers in some cases. In crisis contexts, low levels of education amongst the affected population, posts in remote and/or conflict-affected locations, and lack of recognition of refugee teacher qualifications further exacerbate the availability of teachers.

- **Financing:** Teacher compensation is a long-term cost that poses a critical challenge for national teacher services whose budgets are already stretched, as well as for humanitarian partners whose short-term, emergency funding cycles are incompatible with the recurring costs of teacher salaries (Mulkeen et al., 2017; Nicolai, 2016).
- **Planning:** Accurate, detailed education data that include projected teacher recruitment and professional development needs based on teacher profiles are either not available in displacement situations or not consistently used as the basis for planning in either education sector or humanitarian response plans (UNESCO, 2016). Teacher attrition is rarely tracked, but it is an important indicator to both project teacher supply needs and assess the quality of teacher management.

These pressures, combined with the diverse range of education providers in some displacement settings, lead to a proliferation of unregulated, substandard teacher contracts and working conditions. The teacher gap also forces mass recruitment of underqualified teachers and increased class sizes that compromise the quality of education and further exacerbate poor working conditions (World Bank, 2010; Dolan et al., 2012). Short-term contracts, poor compensation, and tough working conditions contribute to a vicious cycle of high attrition rates in displacement settings, with teachers leaving their posts for better paid, less demanding jobs (Dadaab Education Working Group, 2013; Ring & West, 2015; Vogel and Stock, 2017). In some situations, like the Syrian refugee crisis, there is a massive loss of qualified refugee teachers from the teaching force when refugees are denied the right to work, their teacher qualifications are not recognized and/or a different medium of instruction in the country of asylum prevents them from returning to the classroom (Sesnan et al., 2013; Culbertson and Constant, 2015).

2.1 Daunting teacher gaps across myriad contexts

To meet the needs of both in- and out-of-school children, teacher data, including projected recruitment numbers, attrition rates, and details on teacher education levels and qualifications must be used as a basis for planning teacher recruitment and development (UNHCR, 2015c). However, basic education data gathered during rapid needs assessments in refugee and IDP situations often focuses on children's enrollment and educational profiles but excludes much detail on teachers. Although some teacher data is available at local levels, accurate teacher supply projections and costing are rarely seen in sector or humanitarian plans, the case studies below providing exceptions to the rule.

Uganda currently hosts the largest number of refugees in Africa, around 1.3 million people fleeing from concurrent emergencies in neighboring countries, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Burundi. There are over 680,000 school-aged children among the refugee population, of which only 39 percent are enrolled in any kind of education services. The country needs an estimated 1,757 additional teachers to meet the needs of refugee children currently enrolled in education services. In primary schools across refugee settlements, the average pupil-teacher ratio is 85:1, compared to a national average of 43:1. The situation is even worse in Uganda's largest refugee settlements, Bidi Bidi and Arua, where the pupil-teacher ratio is an untenable 94:1 and 133:1, respectively. If all school-aged refugee children were to enroll in primary education, approximately 6000 teachers would be needed, along with some 5,000 additional classrooms to meet educational needs (Uganda ERP, forthcoming).

Increasing the supply of teachers in Uganda’s refugee settlements is not straightforward. One challenge is short-term funding for teacher salaries – a hefty, ongoing cost, which many humanitarian partners avoid taking on (Dolan et al., 2012). Save the Children estimates that salaries for a sufficient number of teachers to reach the primary school-aged population would cost close to 15 million USD over the next three years (Save the Children, 2017). Another is an administrative barrier to hiring Ugandan teachers: Uganda’s teacher service determines a teacher ceiling, a maximum number of teachers who can be deployed per district, based on allocated payroll budget per district. Accounting for population growth and the refugee influx, the ceiling requires revision to allow deployment of more teachers, though the question of sustainable funds for teacher posts would need to be addressed. In addition, South Sudanese qualified refugee teachers’ qualifications remain unrecognized; while many are acting as classroom assistants, a valuable resource is wasted in the absence of an approach to cross-border recognition of teacher qualifications or fast track qualification (Uganda ERP, forthcoming; Save the Children, 2017).

The recent shift to mainstreaming of refugees into national education systems is a positive move towards providing sustainable, accountable, and certified education services (UNHCR, 2017a). However, integrating large numbers of displaced children with complex academic, linguistic, and psychosocial needs into national schools has serious implications for teacher supply. Germany has seen a rapid spike in asylum applications since Angela Merkel opened the country’s borders to those seeking refuge; it hosted 1.6 million persons seeking protection in 2017 (Federal Statistics Office, 2017). This migration surge has put education services under extreme pressure and more teachers are needed across the country for language classes, remedial support, and to staff schools where existing resources are stretched (Massumi & von Dewitz, 2015). The German education staff union, Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW), estimates that an additional 18,000 educators and 24,000 teachers will be needed to meet the staffing gap, at an estimated cost of €3 billion extra per year (Vogel and Stock, 2017).

This shortage has led to a proliferation of teachers working on a temporary, contract, or voluntary basis. Contract teachers bring variable qualifications, typically work on short-term contracts with no job security, and earn significantly less than their counterparts in the national teacher service. The country has also reactivated retired teachers and started using “lateral entrants” (teachers with University degrees, but without teacher training qualifications) to fill the teacher gaps (Vogel and Stock, 2017; Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft, 2016). While the use of contract teachers who possess variable qualifications and often work under unsatisfactory conditions has been criticized, the challenge of recruiting qualified teachers under state teacher service contracts is daunting (World Bank, 2010). The teaching profession in most countries is so highly regulated in terms of recruitment conditions and qualification standards for public service that hiring large numbers of teachers, unanticipated in national education plans and budgets is virtually impossible.

In contexts where there is a lack of qualified teachers from the displaced population, volunteer teachers from the host community or even from other countries may be deployed as a stop-gap measure to fill critical skills gaps and to alleviate teacher shortages in order to expand education opportunities for displaced children.

2.2 More female teachers needed to fill gaps and to encourage girls’ education

Recruiting and retaining qualified female teachers in displacement contexts remains a challenge and many countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, are experiencing an acute shortage of female teachers. In Chad, only 15 percent of primary school teachers, and just six percent of secondary school teachers, are female (UIS,

2012). In Dadaab camps in Kenya, only 10 percent of the primary school teaching force is female and in Ethiopia's Dollo Ado camps, the percentage is only slightly higher at 16 percent (UNHCR, 2017b; UNHCR, 2013). Increasing the number of qualified female teachers has been proven to expand educational opportunities and increase educational attainment for girls in myriad contexts (see e.g. Kirk, 2004; Sperling and Winthrop, 2016). Female teachers act as role models for girls; an increased presence of female teachers in a school or community often encourages parents to send their daughters to school and can even shift perceptions about gender stereotypes, resulting in girls themselves increasing their educational and career aspirations (Sperling and Winthrop, 2016). In some instances, recruiting more female teachers also helps create safer school environments for girls and decreases the likelihood that female students experience harassment and abuse from male peers and teachers (Kirk, 2004).

However, many IDP and refugee situations are contexts where girls' educational opportunities are severely limited, which makes it difficult to recruit qualified female teachers to fill teacher gaps and perpetuates gender inequity in education systems (Shepler and Routh, 2012; Jenner, 2015). In Pakistan, shortages of qualified female teachers from the refugee community, and from the host population, have negative effects for both Pakistani and Afghan girls (Jenner, 2015). More than half of the 25 million out-of-school Pakistani children are girls and just over seven percent of Afghan women and girl refugees in Pakistan are literate (Jenner, 2015; Ailaan, 2014). The difficulty of recruiting qualified female teachers is often compounded by an inability to retain those teachers, particularly in areas experiencing violence since women are subject to higher levels of harassment and exploitation during conflict (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010; UNESCO, 2015a). In Pakistan for example, female teachers who have been displaced by violence are hesitant to return to work, fearing for their security in areas where militant groups continue to target schools (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010).

2.3 Challenges compensating teachers in displacement situations

Equitable and predictable teacher compensation underpins sufficient teacher supply, recruitment, retention, motivation, and well-being. However, compensation remains one of the thorniest teacher management concerns in displacement contexts (INEE, 2009). The challenges to effective salary systems in fragile and conflict-affected states are well documented in Dolan et al.'s study (2012): lack of sufficient financial resources to pay teachers, weak auditing mechanisms to track teacher pay, destruction of payroll records and teacher qualifications, and poorly maintained Teacher Management Systems all contribute to low, or nonexistent, teacher salaries in crisis contexts. In countries where conflict and crisis have disrupted civil service, payment of regular salaries to in-service teachers is compromised when central funds become unavailable or when teachers cannot travel safely to collect their salaries (Golden, 2012). In Syria, now classified as the largest displacement crisis in the world, a study of the state of education found that around 87 percent of teachers are paid irregular stipends from various authorities and international organizations. On average, teacher stipends have dropped to 10 percent of the value of pre-crisis salaries (Assistance Coordination Unit, 2017).

For internally displaced teachers already on the payroll, issues with government financing and receiving payment when working outside of their districts of origin are especially challenging. Even when they are teaching in a host community, internally displaced teachers may continue to be under the management of their home district, which leads to protection risks and administrative hurdles that make collection of regular payroll payments virtually impossible. In Iraq, IDP schools are run by the local authorities in their governorate of origin. For example, the district of education in Ninewa has the challenging task of running schools for IDP

children even though the schools are scattered throughout Kurdistan and the district capital, Mosul, as well as large parts of its territory, have been severely affected by conflict. Many Ninewa teachers working in IDP schools have not received salaries in recent months (DORCAS, 2016). In Syria, the government requires teachers to return to government-controlled areas to collect their salaries every month; teachers report that colleagues making the journey have been arrested or detained, deterring many from attempts to claim their salaries (Assistance Coordination Unit, 2017).

The national education system into which refugees are entering may already face significant challenges in serving students and compensating teachers from the community, without the added task of accommodating an influx of refugee learners. Where national authorities are unable to do so, the burden of funding teacher posts falls to humanitarian partners using short-term emergency funding that is already spread thin between competing priorities, and insufficient for predictable provision of equitable salaries. Education in crisis settings is chronically underfunded; education accounts for just 1.6 percent of total humanitarian funding (Nicolai, 2016). The approach to funding education in emergencies is supply, rather than demand, driven; as Winthrop and Matsui (2013) indicate, “donors’ engagement with fragile contexts starts from what they are able to do and provide rather than from what is needed on the ground” (p. 41). Dolan et al. (2012) also note that many donors avoid paying teacher salaries due to fiduciary risk and sustainability concerns. Diaspora or local communities sometimes also contribute to teacher salaries, though this source of funding can also be erratic and unsustainable (Culbertson and Constant, 2015).

The use of volunteer teachers being paid small stipends, often known as “incentives,” is common; refugees are most often forced into this category by legal restrictions on the right to work. Incentive payment scales typically do not provide increments that account for qualifications, experience, and cost of living; in camp settings teachers often earn the same amount as other unskilled workers in less demanding jobs (Dadaab Education Working Group, 2013; Ring and West, 2015). Additionally, sharp disparities between payment of national and refugee teachers can cause tension. In many cases teacher compensation is not coordinated and different partners offer various stipends depending on their budgets, which causes tension between partners and teachers. In Iraq for example, 44 education partners are providing services across 15 governorates, and supporting around 4,500 teachers with stipends or “incentives” (Education Cluster, 2017). Poor coordination between partners has led to gaps in service, disparity in pay for different categories of teachers, and tension between partners. Recently, the Education Cluster in Erbil, Iraq brought partners together to agree on a coordinated incentive scale with standard rates for teachers and other types of workers, a promising step toward increased coordination among partners (personal communication, Education Cluster Iraq, January 12, 2018).

2.4 Comprehensive planning needed for teachers in crisis contexts

Education planning in displacement contexts is compromised by a fragmented education architecture (Winthrop and Matsui, 2013; Nicolai, 2016). Insufficient coordination between education authorities, humanitarian agencies, and development actors prevents teacher supply and development gaps from being addressed adequately. The wide range of education providers in these contexts also poses a problem, with humanitarian coordinating bodies, such as the Education Cluster and Working Groups, often struggling to coordinate and standardize a joint approach to teacher recruitment, compensation and development. Comprehensive planning is needed to address teacher shortages, fair compensation and teacher development needs across displacement settings, though promising examples are scarce.

In Nigeria, eight years of violence perpetrated by the Jihadist militant group Boko Haram has left an estimated 2.2 million people internally displaced (UNHCR, 2017c). Since 2009, Boko Haram has destroyed over 1,000 schools and displaced 19,000 teachers in the Northeast region of the country (UNOCHA, 2016; PCNI, 2016). The attacks have had a devastating impact on educational access; over 90 percent of the estimated 13.2 million school-aged children who are out of school are in the Northeast (PCNI, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2016). The conflict has also had an adverse effect on teacher supply, compensation, and development. Teachers working in the conflict-affected communities and in IDP camps receive sporadic training and report that their salaries are not enough to cover even basic expenses; many teachers cite low salaries as their most pressing challenge (Igbinedion et al., 2017). In the high-risk areas of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa states, where large numbers of teachers have fled due to security concerns, the majority of teachers who remain in the area are working on a voluntary basis, with minimal or no access to professional development opportunities (Igbinedion et al., 2017). The continued violence perpetrated by Boko Haram has only exacerbated issues related to teacher supply, compensation, and development that existed previously in Nigeria; lack of timely and consistent compensation, along with destroyed school infrastructure and ongoing safety concerns, perpetuate a shortage of qualified teachers in the Northeast.

In 2016, in an effort to address the teacher shortage and coordinate teacher development initiatives in the Northeast, the Nigerian government created the Teacher Recruitment and Recertification Programme (TRRP) (PCNI, n.d.). The TRRP will aim to re-train and re-certify existing primary and secondary school teachers in the Northeast and recruit and train 10,000 new teachers to meet the educational needs of displaced and host community children in conflict-affected areas. The TRRP will provide hardship allowances to internally displaced teachers returning to the conflict-affected areas and to teachers with IDPs in their classrooms. Teachers who complete the compulsory number of training workshops will also be eligible for benefits such as subsidized housing and access to free medical care. A Teachers' Endowment Fund, established with support from the federal and state governments, the private sector and external donors, will cover the costs of the incentives. Implementing partners include the National Teachers Institute, UNICEF, and Transparency International. The TRRP could serve as an example of a comprehensive, multi-partner approach to teacher recruitment and training in a context of large-scale displacement, however, insufficient funding and continued conflict in Nigeria threaten the program's success. The project will require an estimated 76.9 billion Naira (213 million US dollars) to implement and ongoing security concerns will likely prevent teachers from returning to conflict-affected areas, despite the incentives (PCNI, 2016).

2.5 Emerging recommendations

The examples above clearly illustrate the need for solutions to provide sufficient numbers of teachers with decent work conditions in displacement contexts. The various stakeholders involved in providing education (e.g. national governments, UN agencies, NGOs) need to gather more accurate teacher data in crisis and developing contexts and use the data to accurately project recruitment needs. Comprehensive plans for education provision and teacher coverage in crisis-affected settings must address teacher supply gaps and quality and include proactive measures to recruit and retain female teachers where relevant. A paradigm shift that prioritizes high levels of multi-year funding for teachers is needed, starting with funding for national teacher service commissions to rapidly increase their supply of teachers in displacement-affected areas. Funding opportunities should be leveraged through the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) and Education Cannot Wait, to name two examples.

3. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACROSS DIVERSE TEACHER PROFILES AND DISPLACEMENT CONTEXTS

All teachers working in displacement contexts require professional development opportunities better tailored to their and their learners' diverse needs. Newly recruited teachers from displaced communities will have different needs than trained national teachers who host refugee learners in their classrooms. Thousands of "unqualified" teachers make access to education for refugees and IDPs possible, yet are teaching in some of the most challenging conditions with limited, sporadic support. In Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, where the average student-teacher ratio is 96:1 at the primary level, 73 percent of the teachers who work in primary schools are uncertified (UNHCR, 2017g). In contexts such as Germany and Turkey, national teachers are trained and certified, but require new skills to address the linguistic and psychosocial needs of refugee learners. Contract, volunteer, and incentive teachers, whether recruited from the displaced or host population, also need particular support and attention.

Despite the range of skills teachers in displacement contexts require, teacher development suffers the same fate as teacher management with multiple partners providing mixed, ad-hoc, often insufficient teacher training for new and unqualified teachers (Burns and Lawrie, 2015). Teachers also deserve clearer pathways toward certification and employability, two critical challenges that are not easily overcome. Teacher educators need upskilling and additional support in working with diverse teacher profiles. This section provides several case study examples of efforts to bolster teacher professional development and teacher professionalization across different teacher profiles.

3.1 All teachers lack knowledge and skills required to address the complex needs of displaced learners

Displaced children have myriad academic, linguistic, and psychosocial needs. Refugee and IDP children have missed significant periods of schooling, often experience psychosocial and traumatic stress as a result of their exposure to violence and conflict, are sometimes required to learn a new language of instruction and must overcome social and cultural barriers in the classroom. Teachers working with displaced populations generally lack specialized pre-service or in-service training and support to cope with complex multi-level, multilingual, and multicultural learners. Although some countries have made progress in training teachers in second language acquisition pedagogy and diversity in the classroom, there is still a gap in providing teachers with specialized competencies to help children succeed (PPMI, 2017; Dryden-Peterson, 2015).

A critical challenge for teachers in Turkey and Germany, both major refugee host countries engaged in mainstreaming large numbers of refugee children in national education systems, is a lack of skills in managing heterogeneous classrooms and the absence of systematic orientation and preparation of teachers to cope with the needs of refugee children in their classrooms. In particular, many teachers lack pedagogical training and skills in second language learning – an urgent need for integration of refugee children in both Turkish and German schools (Seker and Sirkeci, 2015; Baumann, 2017).

Education policy in Germany is decentralized across its 16 federal states, and progress towards effective provision of education for refugees and asylum seekers varies widely between states depending on the size of the refugee case load, previous experience with migrant students and local policy orientation. Teachers working in welcome classes designed to provide children with German language skills and to prepare them

to integrate into regular classrooms, are often newly qualified or contract teachers who lack formal teacher training. Teachers report feeling ‘left alone’ with the challenge of integrating refugees in the classroom (Vogel and Stock, 2017). High demand for language instruction skills were reported even prior to the recent refugee population surge—a 2012 survey of over 500 teachers found that 70 percent reported teaching students in urgent need of language support (Becker-Mrotzek et al., 2012). German states have made definite, if mixed, progress in preparing teachers for language support at the teacher training level. Baumann (2017) found that between 2012-2015 there has been progress in inclusion of German language support in teacher training, with 10 states providing explicit policy-oriented content for language support. However, only six states so far have made language support pedagogy mandatory for all teachers (Baumann, 2017). Baumann and Becker-Mrotzek (2014) recommend that specific language support courses be developed for teachers, and that second language pedagogy should be integrated across all teaching subjects. They also propose that more practical support be made available through curricula and training material on language support.

Turkey currently hosts the largest number of refugees in the world, and is in the process of a large-scale effort to mainstream Syrian refugee children into state schools. Studies show that Turkish teachers clearly identify language as a major barrier to both learning and social cohesion for refugee children, but they lack pedagogical skills to support second language acquisition in the classroom (Seker and Sirceci, 2015). Teachers across several studies in Turkey also observed a variety of behavioral challenges in refugee students including withdrawal, emotional outbursts, and aggression; however, teachers seemed to blame students for these behaviors, rather than recognizing them as symptoms of psychosocial or post-traumatic stress (Seker and Sirceci, 2015). The success and retention of Syrian students in Turkish schools will require systematic preparation for teachers including second-language acquisition and multi-level pedagogy, psychosocial support strategies, and approaches to supporting diversity and multiculturalism in their classrooms (Culbertson and Constant, 2015). Efforts in this direction include an EU-funded 30-hour orientation training provided to 15,000 Turkish teachers (6,200 contracted teachers and 8,800 public school teachers) covering psychosocial support and management of traumatized students, conflict management, teaching methodologies, guidance and counseling skills. Other studies call for a more holistic approach to inclusion of refugee students, with better opportunities for teachers to understand student backgrounds and collaborate with parents (Seker and Sirceci, 2015).

3.2 Supporting “unqualified” teachers from displaced communities through more robust teacher professional development approaches¹

In many crisis contexts, there is a lack of qualified teachers to draw from among the displaced community. Qualified teachers may have fled, they may have been directly targeted amidst the violence, or there were already very few teachers available (UNESCO IIEP, 2010; Burde et al., 2015). In these settings, individuals from the community, with at most a high school diploma and only their own educational experiences to draw on, may be recruited to become what Kirk and Winthrop (2007) call “spontaneous” and “tentative” teachers -- *spontaneous* in their sudden and unforeseen role as teachers and *tentative* in either their desire to remain teachers or in their confidence to perform the ascribed duties.

¹ In full disclosure, two of the co-authors of this paper have been directly involved with the development of the TiCC Working Group and/or the Teachers for Teachers initiative described below. We have made an effort to provide a balanced account of these activities and to also reflect on the challenges still facing these efforts.

Despite these uncertainties and overall lack of preparation to be teachers, these individuals may have other valuable traits to contribute to the educational opportunities being provided, either in IDP or refugee settings. Typically, these teachers will have shared languages and cultural understandings with their learners, and they may have had similar experiences during the crisis and the displacement period that make them more sympathetic to the learners in their schools. Kirk and Winthrop (2013) recognize these individuals as “alternatively qualified” teachers to “highlight the context-specific qualities and abilities that inexperienced and unqualified teachers in crisis and post-crisis contexts do have, especially with regard to child well-being” (p. 126). Kirk and Winthrop’s assets-based framing of these teachers’ contributions is important and, yet, these teachers still require additional training and support in order to provide quality educational opportunities to their students. The following example from Kenya illustrates an effort to provide more robust support to refugee teachers through multi-modal approaches.

Kakuma refugee camp in northwestern Kenya has been operational since 1992. The camp remains one of the largest camps in the world and currently hosts 147,064 refugees from 18 different countries; the largest populations in the camp hail from Somalia and South Sudan, with smaller representation from Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Burundi and Uganda (UNHCR, 2018c). The total school-aged population is 87,098 (3-17 years); 14 percent of children are out of school at the primary level, while 94 percent of secondary school-aged children are out of school (UNHCR, 2017g). Over 80 percent of the teachers in Kakuma are refugees; the vast majority of the teachers are male, with women making up just 19.5 percent of the teaching population. Most teachers are young and have recently finished their secondary education. Until recently, newly recruited teachers received little if any training prior to entering the classroom.

In an effort to respond to the gaps in teacher professional development and to help stem the tide of teacher turnover in Kakuma, a team of faculty and graduate students from Teachers College, Columbia University, as part of their involvement with the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies’ (INEE) Teachers in Crisis Contexts Sub-Working Group helped develop, pilot, and field-test training and coaching packs for primary school teachers in crisis contexts in Kakuma refugee camp called *Teachers for Teachers* (see Box 3.2a for more details). Building onto this model, the team also added a mobile mentoring component to help teachers in the camp connect with trained teachers or passionate educators around the world via the mobile application, WhatsApp. The teachers participating in *Teachers for Teachers* participated in a training workshop, coupled with ongoing peer coaching support provided through teacher learning circles (i.e. group-based discussions) and classroom visitations, and 4-6 months of mobile mentoring. Since its inception, 130 teachers participated in the first phase and 411 teachers participated in the second phase, which ended in March 2018, covering nearly 90 percent of the entire primary teaching force in Kakuma refugee camp and the new, nearby Kalobeyi settlement. Thirty national teachers also participated in the training across both cohorts. Finally, given that the overall teaching corps in Kakuma is male-dominated, *Teachers for Teachers* experimented with an all-female cohort in an effort to provide a supportive space for women to participate and share their experiences during the training, coaching and mentoring activities. Teachers’ perceptions about their experiences in the project highlight the importance of teacher collaboration, the opportunities to learn from their peers and mentors, the benefits of their improved confidence and well-being on their relationships with their students, and their proclivities to advocate more strongly on behalf of their students as a result of participating in this effort (see Mendenhall, 2017 for a detailed case study on *Teachers for Teachers*).

Box 3.2.a Training and Coaching Packs for Primary School Teachers in Crisis Contexts

The *Training Pack for Primary School Teachers in Crisis Contexts* is an inter-agency, open-source training pack developed by INEE's Teachers in Crisis Contexts Sub-Working Group. The pack builds basic teaching competencies for unqualified or under-qualified teachers recruited to teach in emergency settings. The training materials are framed around the following core competencies: teacher's role and well-being; child protection, well-being and inclusion; pedagogy; and curriculum and planning. The materials can also be used with qualified teachers who require refresher training or who would benefit from additional support in critical areas like child protection.

The training pack includes a facilitator's guide, participant handbook, and PowerPoint slides for each component of the training and can be adapted to the needs of local contexts. The complementary coaching pack proposes a peer-to-peer approach through which teachers can seek support from one another, brainstorm solutions, set goals, and celebrate their successes (INEE, 2018). The training packs can be accessed on the INEE website at www.ineesite.org/tpd.

Nevertheless, challenges abound. While this initiative fills a critical gap in helping prepare new and inexperienced teachers for their duties, it is not yet recognized or certified by education authorities. Fortunately, there are other teacher training opportunities in the camp that lead to more formal credentials (see Box 3.2.b for one example provided by a Kenyan teacher training institute), though finding ways to meld the various approaches might ultimately lead to a higher quality professional development model that meets the needs of the local teacher training colleges as well as the needs of the teachers working in the camp (both refugee and national). Additionally, while child protection and well-being are central to the training and coaching approaches, some of the harmful practices that teachers wage on the students are deeply entrenched and changes in behavior take time; more concerted efforts are needed across both education and protection sectors in the camp to mitigate these harmful practices. Nevertheless, the opportunities for teachers to be involved in the initial development and piloting of the materials and now as peer coaches and co-facilitators in the training room bodes well for the program's sustainability moving forward moving forward.

Box 3.2.b Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST)

MMUST has offered diploma and certificate programs to refugees in Kakuma refugee camp since 2010, in partnership with UNHCR and the Lutheran World Federation. One of the academic programs entails a Diploma in Primary Education, which refugee students (mostly full-time primary school teachers) complete over the course of the year. The diploma consists of foundational courses (e.g. curriculum studies) and subject-specific courses (e.g. social studies, science, life skills, and peace education). However, there are no noticeable adjustments in the curriculum for the specific needs of refugees teaching in camp schools with overage learners, over-crowded classrooms, and limited teaching and learning materials. Graduates are awarded diplomas directly from the MMUST, which one could argue is significantly more valuable than any certificate of participation awarded by UN agencies, NGOs or other partners. Given the overall success of the initiative, MMUST expanded its academic offerings and opened a campus in Turkana, the district that hosts the refugee camp, in 2016. The hope is that the MMUST credential will prove useful when and if refugees are able to return to their country of origin (though additional research and evaluation are needed on the transferability and recognition of

credentials across borders). The credential is not as useful for refugees in the immediate-term; refugees do not have the right to work in Kenya and the credential is not recognized by the Kenyan Teachers Service Commission.

In order to provide effective support to teachers, educators from various NGO- and government-run programs who work in the same contexts must do a better job coordinating training initiatives. Coordination remains a persistent challenge in displacement settings and results in negative impacts for both implementing organizations and teachers (Burns and Lawrie, 2015). On the one hand, a lack of coordination can result in multiple organizations expending resources on similar professional development activities and in a redundant training experience for teachers (Save the Children, 2008). On the other hand, a lack of coordinated approaches can lead to a sporadic training experience for teachers that is characterized by ad-hoc, discontinuous professional development sessions (Save the Children, 2008). Though challenging, a more concerted effort from government and non-government actors working in displacement settings to coordinate their training approaches would be beneficial for teachers. One way to provide sustained, coordinated professional development to teachers in displacement settings is to include displaced teachers in national training programs. Mainstreaming displaced teachers into national training schemes can help ensure that all teachers - national, refugee, and IDP - who work in the same context receive training that is uniform in content and delivery. Either way, refugees who are being trained as teachers during displacement need formal pathways to certification.

3.3 Supporting refugee teachers' pathways into national classrooms

Given the dire teacher shortages that accompany refugee education in national schools, more needs to be done to integrate the rich resource of qualified refugee teachers into country of asylum classrooms. Refugee teachers could help bolster teacher supply and also serve as valuable classroom and school resources with their understanding of refugee children's language, academic background, and history of displacement. Refugee teachers are generally excluded from national service for three main reasons or a combination thereof: a) in many contexts refugees are denied the right to work, which acts as a legal barrier to joining the national teacher workforce; b) refugee teacher qualifications are not recognized in the country of asylum—even when re-training is possible, it is often a lengthy and costly process, requiring full-time study conflicting with employment and family obligations; and c) refugee teachers, just like students, are often excluded because they are not proficient in the language of instruction used in the host country. Though refugee teachers in many settings are unable to teach in host community classrooms, there are some examples of efforts to support pathways back into the profession.

In Germany, “the teaching profession is among the most difficult to access for people educated in other countries” due to academic and linguistic rigor (Vogel and Stock 2017, p. 24). Addressing the teacher shortage, concerns about refugee integration, and language acquisition needs, the University of Potsdam in Germany has launched the Refugee Teacher Programme, enabling Syrian and other refugee teachers to return to the classroom, where they could potentially serve as bridge-builders between German schools and new arrivals. The program is in line with Germany's efforts to integrate refugees and asylum seekers into the workforce. The 11-month course starts with several months of intensive German language coursework, and includes teacher training and classroom practice at a school. The University received more than 700 applications, but it had only 25 places in its first course. The University plans to expand access to the course in the coming year (Universitat Potsdam, 2017).

Chad boasts one of the most promising examples for professional pathways for teachers. The country has hosted refugees for over 13 years (UNHCR, 2018b), predominantly from the Central African Republic (CAR) and Sudan. There are currently 193,872 school-aged children (6-17) in refugee camps in eastern Chad, 86,295 of whom are enrolled in primary education (UNHCR, 2017d). Given the protracted crises in neighboring countries affecting refugee inflows into Chad, the government, with support from national and international organizations, shifted its focus from a humanitarian to a development-oriented strategy (UNHCR, 2015b). This strategy change entailed transitioning the refugee schools to a Chadian curriculum; deploying more Chadian teachers to refugee camps to teach French, civics, and geography; and up-scaling refugee teachers' qualifications. Refugee teachers now have opportunities to become fully certified by the Chadian education authorities and to work in public schools in Chad. From 2012-2016, 341 Sudanese refugee teachers have been certified by the Abéché Bilingual Teacher Training College, after completing a two-year teacher training course offered during the summer months. Additional cohorts of teachers are currently undergoing training, and a small number of teachers in Djabal camp are working as temporary teachers in Chadian national schools (personal communication, UNHCR representative, January 2018). From 2012-2014, 98 refugee teachers from CAR participated in a similar certified training offered by the Doba Training College. Furthermore, the Chadian government, Sudanese government, UNESCO, UNICEF and UNHCR signed a joint agreement to ensure that certification and equivalency is recognized when Sudanese teachers are able to return home (personal communication, UNHCR representative, January 11, 2018).

Despite these promising policies and practices on certification and equivalency, refugee teachers in Chad express concerns about the compensation structures in place for refugees, which continue to be based on incentives rather than salary scales commensurate with certification. UNHCR has recently increased the amount of the incentive pay for teachers and started offering cash incentives for training activities in an effort to motivate teachers to pursue the training and to remain in the profession (personal communication, UNHCR representative, January 11, 2018). The Chadian case is an encouraging example for other countries, particularly those facing teacher shortages, of promising practices for training, certifying, and demonstrating the benefits that stem from the contributions that refugee teachers can make to national education systems. However, it also highlights the complexity of compensation due to restrictive labor policies in many countries hosting refugees.

3.4 Overlooked role of teacher educators

Teacher educators play an indispensable role in preparing teachers in displacement situations to address the complex needs of learners, yet, training for teacher educators is minimal or nonexistent in many contexts; furthermore, teacher educators, similar to the teacher profiles portrayed in this paper, have diverse backgrounds and experiences (Burns and Lawrie, 2015). Educators require their own training before they can support teachers in displacement settings effectively. This is true for educators who work in government training institutions, as well as for those who work with NGOs. In some instances, educators have never been teachers themselves and deliver training that is overly reliant on theoretical knowledge, rather than grounded in practical, classroom experience (Burns and Lawrie, 2015). In other cases, educators do not possess a degree in the subjects they are training teachers in, which inhibits their ability to develop teacher competencies effectively (Burns and Lawrie, 2015).

Even when educators have teaching experience and subject-specific knowledge, it is unlikely that they have taught in conflict-affected or displacement settings. Thus, even experienced educators are unable to deliver training that helps teachers in these contexts address the unique challenges they are facing in their

classrooms (Burns and Lawrie, 2015). Without firsthand experience, educators lack the requisite skills that teachers who work in displacement contexts require, e.g. the ability to manage mixed-age, mixed-level and overcrowded classrooms, address students' psychosocial well-being, and promote inclusion among groups of multicultural and multilingual students (Burns and Lawrie, 2015; PPMI, 2017).

In situations where students come from a variety of social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, educators must also be trained to address the various biases—e.g. religious, cultural, linguistic, gender, etc.—that teachers bring with them into the classroom (Gichiru, 2012). Teachers might have preconceived notions about students whose backgrounds differ from their own (Roy and Roxas, 2011), just as educators might make assumptions about teachers' abilities, based on their backgrounds or countries of origin. Teacher educators must be prepared not only to address teachers' biases but also to reflect on their own biases and how these might influence the content and delivery of their training.

In addition to helping teachers manage diverse groups of students, educators who work in displacement settings must also be able to tailor their training approaches to diverse cohorts of teachers. Educators who work with refugee and IDP teachers need to adjust their methodologies to the realities of delivering education in overcrowded, mixed-age, multicultural and multilingual classrooms (Mulkeen et al., 2017). Educators who work with national teachers in host countries must prepare teachers to deliver instruction that supports effective learning for both host community and displaced students (PPMI, 2017). When working in host countries, educators must also be able to support refugee teachers being re-trained in the host country; in these instances, educators must learn more about teachers' previous educational experiences and specific development needs in order to adjust or bolster their training accordingly (PPMI, 2017).

Finally, even when teacher educators possess the requisite skills to aptly support refugee and other displaced teachers, they are often a part of a multitude of providers who draw on various and often contradictory training styles and approaches. Better coordination across agencies and Ministries working in these environments is critical for avoiding duplication, mitigating imbalances in incentive structures for participation, and ensuring that the teachers who need it most have the opportunity to benefit from quality professional development opportunities.

3.5 Emerging recommendations

Core teacher competencies need to be agreed on across all teacher profiles, offered through national teacher training institutions and mainstreamed into pre- and in-service teacher training, so that teachers can better support displaced learners. The examples of promising practices presented in this section also highlight the need to create flexible pathways to teacher qualifications that are recognized by both host countries and in countries of origin, through cross-border arrangements, in the case of refugee teachers. Advocacy and policy work must proceed while simultaneously respecting the "alternatively qualified" profiles that these teachers have and addressing any concerns about the de-professionalization of the field. This can be done through efforts to strengthen in-service and continuous teacher professional development opportunities to which refugee and other displaced teachers have access. Teacher educators also need professional development relevant to working in crisis-affected contexts, and their efforts and training plans need to be well-coordinated across diverse actors. Improvements to teacher professional development will have multiplier effects in bolstering teacher confidence, motivation, well-being, and overall teacher identity. Finally, more research on teachers' experiences in displacement are needed. As Nicolai and Hine (2015) note, "there has

been very limited research done on the effect of emergencies on teachers,” which is necessary to gain a deeper understanding of how best to support teachers in these contexts in terms of their professional development, psychosocial and personal needs (p. 21).

4. TEACHER WELL-BEING AND MOTIVATION AMIDST DISPLACEMENT

Erratic and insufficient compensation, overcrowded classrooms, dilapidated school infrastructure, lack of training, and a shortage of basic teaching supplies contribute to the challenging learning environments in which teachers in displacement situations work. In addition, teachers lack training and skills in managing large classes of learners with complex needs. In Syria, 73 percent of teachers surveyed by the NGO, Assistance Coordination Unit (2017), had no training on how to provide psychosocial support for children in their classrooms, let alone on how to support themselves. Many refugee and IDP teachers are suffering from the same traumatic stress as their students. Yet, teachers receive little support to cope with both psychosocial and systemic stress.

IRC’s (2016b) study on teacher well-being in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) found that female teachers, teachers in camp schools, and teachers without support from their supervisors reported lower levels of motivation and more job-related difficulties. One teacher interviewed for IRC’s study (2016b) stated: “The students’ wellbeing is from teachers’ wellbeing. How can the teacher teach if all he thinks about are his troubles?” (Ibid., p. 5). An IRC needs assessment (2016a) also captured teachers’ stress, with one teacher commenting that: “IDP students who were good in their place of origin are now average performers. They have a lot of things on their mind. It impacts us too. We bear the pressure at school; once we go home, we are so tired” (p. 13). The IRC found that the financial strain from not receiving salaries factors heavily into teachers’ well-being. “A lack of consistently paid salaries or the complete absence of salaries and a perceived lack of respect and dignity were commonly stated reasons teachers would consider leaving the teaching profession or KRI” (IRC, 2016b, p. 4).

In countries affected by attacks on education, teachers’ lives are at risk. In Nigeria, where Boko Haram continues to target teachers explicitly, those displaced have witnessed violent attacks on their students, colleagues, and family members (UNOCHA, 2016; Amnesty International, 2013). “Teachers in Borno state told Amnesty International that the attacks on their colleagues have deeply affected the teaching community in the state. They said the general insecurity has compromised the ability of teachers to perform their jobs well and has affected morale” (Amnesty International, 2013, p. 11). “Similarly, attacks where teachers are killed in broad daylight, in some cases in full view of pupils, are likely to expose the children and other teachers to shock, distress and severe psychological trauma” (Ibid, p. 12). Many teachers have stopped showing up to school, or switched professions, after receiving personal death threats (UNOCHA, 2016). Internally displaced teachers, in particular, report feeling unsafe and at risk in their host communities, fearing that if their host community got attacked, they would be unprotected and left to fend for themselves (Igbinedion et al., 2017). Among the teachers interviewed for a November 2017 needs assessment in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe states, several mentioned the desire to raise awareness among community members of the importance of education and of the teaching profession due to the fact that teacher morale in the Northeast was at “rock bottom” (Igbinedion et al., p. 42).

Targeted training to help teachers manage stress has been shown to be effective. In Malaysia, refugees are discriminated against, subject to exploitation and violence and live in constant fear of getting detained or deported (Low et al., 2014). All of these stressors put teachers at high risk for anxiety and depression (Low

et al., 2014). Refugee teachers themselves report that they are under a lot of stress, and are not equipped with self-care strategies (O’Neal et al., 2017). During a refugee teacher training intervention implemented by a team from the University of Maryland, College Park, Burmese refugee teachers reported that the component on self-care was the most helpful training session, because it showed them that taking care of themselves and their own mental well-being made it easier to manage their classrooms effectively (O’Neal et al., 2017). After the intervention, teachers were able “to manage their own stress and stay focused on the classroom” more than they could prior to participating in the training sessions (O’Neal et al., 2017, p. 13).

A recent evaluation of the Norwegian Refugee Council’s (NRC) education program in Syrian refugee camps in Jordan (Shah, 2017) found that teachers provided with systematic training and classroom support reported personal and professional benefits. NRC provides teachers with a regular salary and ongoing teacher development opportunities through Teacher Support Officers whose tasks include carrying out classroom observations and feedback sessions with all teachers, reviewing and co-constructing lesson plans, and finding new resources for use in the classroom. Teachers in the program reported that their work gave them a sense of purpose. One teacher said that working in the learning center “reminded me of my roles and responsibility as a teacher [and]...restored some of the hope and professional identity I lost when I left Syria” (Ibid., p. 30). Another noted, “we lost hope, and working here at the centre is where I have found it again” (Ibid., p. 88). Teachers also commented on how professional development has improved their confidence in the classroom. “A teacher in Azraq, for example, reflected how ‘I’ve received a lot of additional training and courses...on a range of subjects including classroom management and curriculum planning. As a result, I’ve become a lot more creative in how I teach, and more effective in ensuring that students learn. I’ve learned how to make learning more hands-on and interactive, encouraged to develop new talents and identify some of my untapped talents...and feel more confident to support the students in my community to learn in the best possible way—whether in Azraq or in Syria when I return’” (Shah, 2017, p. 31).

Teachers in displacement contexts are often over-burdened teaching multi-level, second language learners, as well as coping with students’ psychosocial needs. Teacher stress can be relieved and attention to learners’ individual needs improved by outsourcing tasks to school support staff. In Turkey, Dogutas (2016) found that volunteer tutors providing individualized sessions for refugees relieved teachers and resulted in rapid improvements in children’s Turkish language skills, better communication with teachers and integration with host community children. In Jordan’s refugee camps, NRC employs a specifically trained cadre of support staff at each learning centre to support children’s social-emotional and protection needs. These staff are responsible for psychosocial support activities for all children, identification of cases and referrals for children with child protection, medical or mental health issues and supervision of children outside of the classroom, thus freeing teachers from having to address these needs (Shah, 2017).

One example of an effort to professionalize and optimize the teaching force is UNRWA’s Teacher Policy (2013) for teachers of Palestinian children in the Middle East. The policy recognizes that over 90 percent of UNRWA’s education program spending is consumed by teacher salaries and that increasing support to teachers enhances returns on investment in education, stating: “there is no better cost efficiency within the UNRWA resource constrained education environment than paying attention to teacher motivation and performance to ensure delivery of high quality learning” (p. 2). The policy also details career progression for both qualified and unqualified teachers who enter the UNRWA teacher cadres as school leavers, ensuring that every teacher is provided a professional pathway through development support and performance appraisals. These steps contribute to teachers’ well-being, motivation and job security.

4.1 Emerging recommendations

In displacement settings, teacher well-being should be an indicator of all teacher management and development practices. Teachers with fair compensation, decent working conditions, relevant training, and classroom support, including tools to manage their own stress, are more likely to stay in the profession and work effectively. Key tasks and support services need to be delegated to other school staff (when feasible) in order to avoid over-burdening teachers with excessive demands on their time and abilities.

5. TEACHER AGENCY AND RESILIENCE AGAINST ALL ODDS

While teachers clearly suffer from stress and tough working conditions in displacement contexts, we also find that paradoxically, the teaching profession provides meaning, a sense of purpose, and hope to many. In every context there are examples of displaced teachers doing extraordinary work, despite their own experience of conflict and chaos. Teachers who have also experienced displacement, it turns out, are well placed to advise and lead efforts to better address the needs of refugee and IDP children in their care. Likewise, there are also dedicated teachers in host communities, who are instrumental in helping children to integrate into a new society despite the lack of systemic support. A German teacher captures this point clearly: “As their teacher you experience it all on a daily basis – you are sister and mother, friend and role model. You show them the city, try to give them a view into the world of work, discuss the rights of women and gay marriages and dry tears – and yes – you also teach them German” (Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft, 2016, p. 5). Teachers are a powerful and underutilized asset in addressing the challenges of educating displaced children; using their wits and responding to their students’ needs, many are solving problems and developing new approaches, knowledge, and skills in their classrooms everyday.

In Tanzania, a representative from UNHCR reflected on the teachers who he works with, saying that “despite everything, refugee teachers remain one of the most remarkable teachers you come across. They deal with matters that none of the TTIs [teacher training institutes] prepare them to deal with; with very minimal support they are still able to deliver remarkable results” (personal communication, January 2018). In Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, participants in the *Teachers for Teachers* program have shared stories about how they confront child protection issues, inside and outside of the school compound--e.g. by talking with a caregiver about the demanding chores that regularly kept two adopted/foster sons out of school, and seeking to improve the protection of a young girl who had been a victim of sexual violence and experienced continued abuse going to and from school (Mendenhall, 2017).

In the German state of Bremen, the German teacher union (GEW), with the support of Education International, has brought teachers together to “define their needs and the needs of their students, but also to develop ideas about the best measures to address these needs adequately and formulate demands towards political actors in Bremen” (Vogel and Stock, 2017, p. 30). The project, “Teachers Organising for Quality Education Provision for Refugees,” aligned itself with the local refugee council in order to present a comprehensive picture and produce joint advocacy messages regarding education challenges for refugee children and their teachers.

During meetings, teachers highlighted their challenging work conditions, but also made demands for better support for the children and young people in their care, including a proper advisory system – particularly for the transition from primary to secondary school, and from junior secondary school to vocational college or senior secondary school. Part of the project was a one-day workshop in September 2017, where nearly 100

participants came together to discuss intercultural competences to deal with prejudices and share best practice examples from teachers' experiences in their schools. The project exemplifies how teacher unions supporting teachers to share their challenges and good practices and to advocate for better policies leverages teachers' existing expertise (Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft, 2016).

5.1 Emerging recommendations

Given the immense challenges that teachers working in displacement contexts confront and the remarkable resilience that they demonstrate, all teachers working amidst displacement and/or with displaced learners in their classrooms must be extended meaningful opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes around both policies and practices that directly impact their and their students' lives and livelihoods.

6. POLICY DEVELOPMENTS TO BETTER SUPPORT TEACHERS IN DISPLACEMENT

The majority of teachers in displacement settings continue to be negatively affected by both national teacher and immigration policies, and by the absence of policies to regulate and support their employment and development. While many of the challenges teachers face in displacement settings are common to other contexts, the complex intersections of disadvantage described in this paper suggest that teachers in displacement require specific attention if the global commitments to provide safe, quality education for refugee and IDP children are to be met. Fortunately, the current education policy landscape may provide a critical window of opportunity to strengthen the supply and quality of teachers working with displaced populations. While these shifts in the policy environment are continually evolving, and the immediate effects on teacher policies in displacement settings are yet to be determined, they are worth noting here.

6.1 Windows of opportunity at global and regional levels

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (United Nations, 2016), which will inform the forthcoming Global Compacts on Migration and Refugees, creates strategic openings for changes in policies and practices. While teachers are not named specifically, the commitment to provision of education to migrant and refugee populations is a promising step for bolstering support to teachers working in these contexts. The Declaration encourages host governments to consider opening their labor markets to refugees, a measure that refugee teachers would benefit from immensely. The launch of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework and its emphasis on inclusion and bringing together stakeholders for more comprehensive planning, could also potentially benefit teachers (UNHCR, 2016). The Education Commission (2017a) also recently launched an Education Workforce Initiative, which aims to "address the recruitment, training, deployment and development needs of teachers and support staff" in low- and middle-income countries (p. 13). The initiative will identify existing promising practices in education workforce reform, explore innovative ways to address reform, and, in collaboration with policymakers and local partners, develop country-specific proposals for increasing supplies of quality teachers and education support staff (Education Commission, 2017a). Though the initiative is not focused on refugee or displaced teachers specifically, it may have positive impacts for these and host community teachers; if it truly aims to improve the quality of the global education workforce, the initiative must include the needs of refugee, displaced, and host community teachers in its reform proposals.

At the regional level, the Ministers of Education from Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda signed the *Djibouti Declaration on Regional Refugee Education* and “resolved to take collective responsibility to ensure that every refugee, returnee and member of host communities has access to quality education in a safe learning environment within their respective countries without discrimination,” including integrating refugees into national education systems (Djibouti Plan of Action, 2017, p. 1). The Declaration specifically addresses the needs of teachers and calls on signatories to: “strengthen regional frameworks to promote the inclusion of refugee teachers, and their professional development and certification, in national education systems and support of equivalency” (Ibid., 2017, p. 2). The declaration further explains that this will include the following:

- Facilitation of teacher accreditation and certification across borders;
- Identification and implementation of methods to fast-track training and certification;
- Progressively align pay and conditions of service across host community and refugee teachers as it relates to experience and qualifications;
- Support continuous pre-service and in-service professional development of refugee and host community teachers;
- Increase gender parity and equalize career progression opportunities among teachers (Ibid., 2017, p. 2).

In complement to these commitments, individual organizations are working on specific measures to address the needs of teachers in displacement. Education International (EI), a global union federation of teachers' trade unions, is tackling the challenges and opportunities confronted by refugee teachers. One of EI's objectives is to “defend and promote the right to teach of migrant and refugee teachers” and the EI Action Plan calls for “EI and education unions to advocate for the recognition of migrant and refugee teachers' qualifications and experience in their host country and pathways/training programmes to access...qualified teacher status” (Education International, 2016b, pp. 1-2). EI also brings together stakeholders to articulate recommendations for providing better support to refugee teachers as they relocate to host country settings, all while simultaneously seeking to uphold the quality of the teaching profession in the host countries (see Education International, 2016c).

6.2 New funding mechanisms should benefit teachers

Promising new financing initiatives, which should be harnessed to resolve inadequate, short-term funding for teacher compensation, have also been developed. The Grand Bargain, an agreement between donors and humanitarian partners, aims to increase multi-year planning and funding by enhancing engagement between humanitarian and development partners (Agenda for Humanity, 2018). The new global fund Education Cannot Wait is dedicated to strengthening education delivery, including education data and planning, and increasing resources for education in emergencies (Education Cannot Wait, 2018). The Education Commission's International Finance Facility for Education is another promising mechanism for bringing together diverse stakeholders to fill the funding gap for teacher compensation in low- and middle- income countries (Education Commission, 2017b). All three initiatives could be instrumental in affecting a significant increase in multi-year funding to specifically address the teacher gap and teacher quality

6.3 Emerging recommendations

Better support to refugee and displaced teachers can help address the global teacher shortage and enable more children to receive a quality education. For this to happen, however, stakeholders from the classroom to policy level need to develop and implement a comprehensive and systematic policy and planning framework for teachers in displacement settings. Teachers' unions can apply pressure on national governments, with support from Education International, to address these teacher populations while also paying tribute to those national governments that have made positive efforts to prioritize teachers and teacher management policies. These same stakeholders need to collaboratively develop a research and learning agenda in order to examine how different policy decisions affect teachers positively and negatively and engage in collective efforts to compile better and more reliable data to inform teacher management policies and practices. Teachers who have been displaced and individuals who become teachers during displacement are poised to contribute to these efforts, if we provide them with proper support.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Amidst the increasing momentum to mainstream refugee learners into national education systems, this paper illustrated promising examples for teacher development and management. However, comprehensive policies and practices that support teachers in displacement settings are still more of an exception than a rule. To make significant improvements, the findings from the case studies and relevant literature presented in this paper point to several inter-related objectives that need to be pursued in order to develop more effective teacher management policies and practices in displacement settings.

1 - RECRUIT SUFFICIENT, GENDER-BALANCED NUMBERS OF QUALIFIED TEACHERS EMPLOYED UNDER DECENT WORK CONDITIONS.

- Strengthen mechanisms to collect more accurate teacher data in crisis (and developing) contexts and use this evidence to accurately project teacher recruitment and development needs.
- Establish comprehensive plans to rapidly increase teacher supply through deployment of teachers or recruitment of contract teachers, ensuring coordinated, regulated, and respectable work conditions to the best extent possible.
- Identify barriers and implement specific measures to support recruitment and retention of female teachers.
- Identify and resolve bottlenecks in management and compensation of internally displaced teachers.
- Mobilize sufficient levels of funding for teacher recruitment and development, leveraging new funding approaches and initiatives.

2 - PROVIDE TEACHERS WITH BOTH GENERAL AND SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS TO SUPPORT RECOVERY AND LEARNING AMONG DISPLACED CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS AND CLASSROOMS.

- Identify specialized core teacher competencies to support displaced learners, and integrate them into pre- and in-service teacher training courses.
- Include refugee teachers in national teacher professional development initiatives.
- Strengthen and improve coordination of in-service teacher professional development opportunities.

- Open flexible pathways for certification of displaced teachers, including cross-border recognition of teaching qualifications.
- Extend opportunities to teacher educators to gain competencies for working with learners and teachers in displacement contexts.

3 - RECOGNIZE AND LEVERAGE TEACHERS' KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS TO ADDRESS EDUCATION IN DISPLACEMENT CHALLENGES.

- Recognize displaced teacher qualifications and provide opportunities for them to join the teacher workforce.
- Engage teachers across all profiles through inclusive and participatory approaches in development and implementation of new policies and practices.

4 - CONVENE STAKEHOLDERS FROM GOVERNMENT, HUMANITARIAN, AND DEVELOPMENT SECTORS FOR COMPREHENSIVE POLICY AND PLANNING FOR TEACHERS IN DISPLACEMENT SETTINGS.

- Facilitate a process that brings together diverse stakeholders to develop teacher management frameworks specifically for teachers in displacement.
- Coordinate efforts in education sector with other sectors (e.g. protection) to maximize improvements in school management and teaching practices.
- Advocate for teachers in displacement contexts to be accurately accounted for in education sector, SDG 4, and humanitarian planning and financing.

5 - RESEARCH THE CONDITIONS, CHALLENGES AND GOOD PRACTICES AFFECTING TEACHERS OF REFUGEE AND IDP POPULATIONS TO INFORM PLANNING AND PROGRAMMING.

- Engage university partners, research institutes, and teacher training colleges to conduct mixed-methods research and evaluations on teacher development and management policies and practices.

7.1 Conclusion

All 'teachers carry the responsibility of caring for and educating the younger generation of forced migrants to prevent them from becoming the "lost generation"' (Education International, 2016a, p. 11). Whether these children are included in national education systems or access schooling opportunities through other types of providers, it is incumbent upon international and national actors to put in place progressive and inclusive policies, sufficient financial resources, and adequate teacher management structures to support teachers in their efforts to provide safe and quality education to children and youth negatively affected by conflict and displacement. The Sustainable Development Goals, which highlight the need to "substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers" by 2030 (United Nations, 2017), and related human rights frameworks that ensure the right to education will continue to be elusive until our teachers, arguably the most important people in the education sector, are well supported.

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