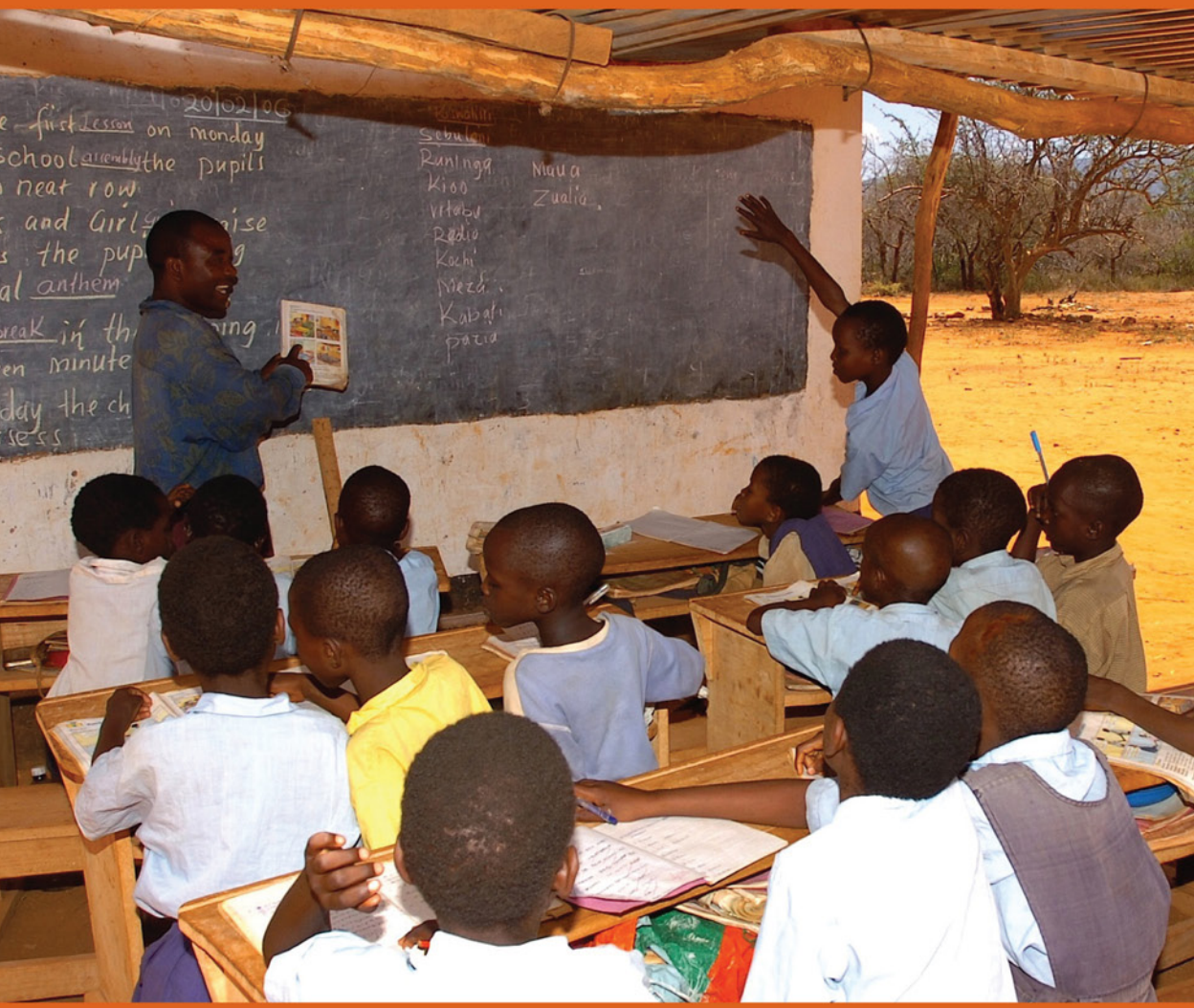
Educators in Exile

The Role and Status of Refugee Teachers

Commonwealth Secretariat



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Barry Sesnan, Eric Allemano, Henry Ndugga and Shabani Said

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Commonwealth Secretariat
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Pall Mall
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United Kingdom

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Foreword

The Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol, adopted by Commonwealth ministers of education in 2004, has provided a robust framework for managing the international migration of teachers. It sets out the principles of protecting source countries' education systems, recognises the benefits of encouraging migration to destination countries, and promotes the ethical recruitment of teachers and the protection of their rights, including those of refugee teachers.

The role that refugee teachers play in providing access to quality education in emergency situations, and their legal, professional, social and economic status, are issues that are currently poorly addressed in the literature. This study, which involved field research in three Commonwealth countries currently hosting refugee teachers, aims to fill this gap. Its goal is to provide ministries responsible for the welfare of refugees who are also teachers, along with other stakeholders such as multilateral agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), with information about the issues faced by refugee teachers. It includes policy recommendations to reduce the institutional barriers refugee teachers sometimes face, so that their experience and expertise can be more quickly and efficiently utilised in the event of an emergency.

As the study recognises, there is a continuum between 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration, with teachers migrating in response to a complex interplay of 'push' and 'pull' factors. Intuitively we understand that teachers moving across a border to escape sudden onset of conflict or a natural disaster face issues that could be very different from a teacher deciding to migrate primarily in search of, say, improved pay or feeling professionally 'blocked' and searching for advancement. In fact, the study found that many of the issues faced by refugee teachers are similar – the need for secure employment and a reliable salary; the difficulties of being accepted or valued by host communities; the wish to exercise their profession to the best of their abilities. However, the experience of these issues might be qualitatively different, and made more intense due to lack of preparedness, on the part of the teacher and/or the host country. The resilience of refugee teachers shines through, but this prompts questions such as: what are the factors that can allow teachers' resilience to flourish, and what factors might erode it?

Three points emerging from the study are worth drawing attention to here. First, the situation on the ground is that teachers are often discouraged by the way they are treated by the officials and employers they encounter. There is a net loss of teachers over years, not a gain. This suggests too little readiness to deal with the new situation both as an employment problem and as a social challenge.

Second, teachers reflect the flexible age in which we live. As their circumstances change, qualified teachers may remain as teachers, or they may give up teaching, temporarily

or permanently. A myriad of factors surround the decision. For the education policy-maker attempting to manage teacher supply and demand, this situation is not helped by the fact that teachers might have been reluctant or accidental teachers, rather than teaching being a definite and preferred career choice. This suggests the need to build in greater flexibility into education planning.

Although one can predict that teachers will generally position themselves where the incentives are strongest, many other factors are less predictable. One of these is whether the teacher will wish to stay on as a teacher and make a career of teaching. The Refugee Education Trust (RET) has noted that in camps the appointment as teachers of young people who are initially not qualified has often transformed their community role. Some reluctant, 'press-ganged' teachers come to like teaching and may take it up as a career. However, it is also important to note that many more do not. The case of returnees to South Sudan, discussed later in this document is a case in point.

Third, in the final analysis, financial security, stability and, to a lesser extent, the career prospects available, in the form of a 'ladder', are what keep teachers on the job. It is on these factors that policy should focus particularly.

The study does find that refugee teachers are playing crucial roles in providing education, and not just in emergency settings. This report starts a conversation about how host countries – and home countries on their return – can maximise the potential offered by refugee teachers, and the Commonwealth Secretariat looks forward to more voices joining the debate.

Esther Eghobamien

Interim Director, Social Transformation Programmes Division
Commonwealth Secretariat

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The Commonwealth Secretariat would like to thank the experts who reviewed draft versions of the report, and who provided such perceptive comments: Dr Marina Anselme, Eleanor Brown and Ita Sheehy.

Dedication

This publication is dedicated to all those who teach, train and run education programmes in difficult conditions. In particular it is dedicated to Mr Abdi Ali Yusuf, who was shot dead while escorting a Norwegian Refugee Council mission in Ifo Camp, Dadaab, Kenya on 29 June 2012.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

CTRP	Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol
DoR	Directorate of Refugees, in the OPM, Uganda
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	educational management information system
EPSR	Education Programme for Sudanese Refugees (now Echo Bravo)
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports, Uganda
ICT	information and communications technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IT	information technology
IDP	internally displaced person
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IRC	International Rescue Committee
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister, Uganda
RET	Refugee Education Trust
RLP	Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Uganda
RSD	refugee status determination
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SACE	South African Council for Educators
SOLO	Sudan Open Learning Organization, Khartoum (formerly Sudan Open Learning Unit)

TIRRO	Tshwane Interim Refugee Office (Pretoria)
TSC	Teachers' Service Commission (Kenya)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNESCO-IICBA	International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa
UNESCO-IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
UNESCO-PEER	Programme of Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Examinations

D6	DR Congo (EXETAT – 'Examen d'etat) (12th grade, end of secondary)
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (8th grade, end of primary)
KCSE	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (12th grade, end of secondary)
UPLE	Uganda Primary Leaving Certificate (7th grade, end of primary)
UCE	Uganda Certificate of Education (11th grade, end of lower secondary ['O level'])
UACE	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (13th Grade, end of upper secondary ['A level'])

Terminology

A *refugee* has crossed a border and in this sense is different from an *internally displaced person* (IDP). The *host country* is the country that has received the refugee. The *home country* is the country from which the refugee has fled, also known as the *country of origin*. Both refugees and IDPs are considered to be *forced migrants*. Article 1 of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as amended by the 1967 protocol, defines a refugee as:

> A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (cited in Shacknove 1985: 275).

Recognition of a person by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as a *prima facie refugee* (the term can also apply to a group, however large, who arrive en masse for the same reasons) does not automatically imply recognition by the host government concerned. It is often just a preliminary step. Most countries have a process through which people must pass before they are recognised fully as a refugee. This is usually called *refugee status determination* (RSD) (names for the procedure can differ from country to country).

Meanwhile the refugee is (formally or informally) an *asylum-seeker*. While waiting to be accepted as a refugee, an asylum-seeker's access to services or rights, such as the right to live outside a camp, may be limited administratively. Further, even being a fully recognised refugee still does not guarantee all the same rights as a citizen.

Refugees are deemed to have left their country because of a *well-founded fear of persecution*. In common talk the refugee has been *pushed* from his county. In many cases there is also a *pull* to a better economic situation or better education. When the pull is the only recognised reason for migrating, the person is *not a refugee* but rather an *emigrant* or *migrant worker*. The term *economic refugee*, which is commonly used, is therefore strictly speaking not accurate as it does not conform to the term 'well-founded fear of persecution'. The exception to this is when life at home has become unliveable because of the economic actions of a state, which is of course a push factor, though in practice there is often a *tipping point* where pull is stronger than push. 'Severe economic restrictions which deprive a person of all means of earning a livelihood can amount to persecution' (UNHCR 2005: 34).

Certain countries apply a rule of *country of first asylum*. Under this rule refugees are obliged to apply for asylum in the country they first arrive in. Thus under this rule a Somali should not be able to get asylum in Uganda by passing through Kenya. This rule is not always applied, but may be invoked in specific cases.

Refugee situations should always come to an end one day, with one or more *durable solutions*. There are three possible durable solutions, which can apply to individuals or whole refugee communities. These are: (i) *settlement* (integration) in the host country, a rare solution these days; (ii) *voluntary return home* when conditions permit; or (iii) being moved to another country (*third country*), a solution that is highly dependent on the goodwill of third countries and currently open mainly to specific vulnerable people or groups.

Forcible return (also known as *refoulement*) is not permitted, though it does occur, often for political reasons.

Only settlement and return are considered in this report, as the usual reasons for moving to a third country are not connected with being a teacher.

The word 'migrant' has specific connotations in South Africa, where the term 'migrant worker' has been used for many years. It is found advisable therefore to limit the use of the term 'forced migrant', and in this work we use the non-jargon word 'refugee' by preference, but not exclusively.

In this study 'teacher' can include a trainer (in skills) or a tutor (of individuals or small groups). It does cover a refugee who teaches but is not qualified to do so. No distinction is made here between formal and non-formal education, nor between different levels such as primary and secondary. Primary predominates. The study did not look into pre-primary or early childhood education teaching.

Many different words are used in practice for teachers such as *tutors*, *facilitators*, *educators*, and so on. This is sometimes because the word *teacher* has legal implications. However, a *lecturer* is not, for the purposes of this book, included in the definition of a teacher.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Education is a basic human right, affirmed by various declarations and conventions. International consensus on this issue was confirmed by the 1990 Jomtien World Conference on Education for All and the 2000 Dakar World Education Forum. The right to education persists even in situations of armed conflict. By extension it is regarded as being in force in all but the very earliest phases of emergencies.

Having sufficient numbers of trained and competent teachers is essential in guaranteeing the right to education. This study, commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat to explore issues affecting refugee teachers in selected Commonwealth countries, presents the results of documentary and field research that the authors conducted in the first half of 2012 in Kenya, South Africa and Uganda.

This research initiative follows in the wake of the Sixth Commonwealth Research Symposium on Teacher Mobility, Recruitment and Migration in Addis Ababa in June 2011. The symposium examined the implementation of the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol and the relevance of its principles to education in emergencies. In particular, it aimed to determine how refugee teachers could best be managed so that their rights were protected; their impact on the destination country was beneficial; they were enabled to improve educational quality and access for refugee children (and, at times, host country children); and finally to better themselves. The impact of returnees on their home country also arose as an issue to be explored. The symposium looked into systemic and structural issues, as well as good practice, and identified future research directions.

This research pursues some of the issues from the symposium by looking at three receiving countries – Kenya, South Africa and Uganda.

However, the findings are relevant to any country hosting refugee teachers. The overall aim of the present investigation was to answer two research questions:

1. What are the issues affecting refugee teachers?
2. What policies are necessary to ensure the welfare of refugee teachers and to create an enabling environment for them to teach?

The specific objectives were:

1. To identify the issues affecting refugee teachers and the existing policies influencing their role and status, and to determine the connections between these issues and policies and refugees' ability to contribute towards education in and after emergencies.

2. To formulate recommendations for policy-makers that will protect the professional role and status of teachers forced to migrate and enhance their ability to operate constructively in emergency conditions.

This study responds to the increasing urgency of providing policy guidance on education in emergencies, as armed conflict and natural disasters represent serious obstacles to achieving the education Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Education for All (EFA) goals by 2015 through the loss of teaching talent. This loss is poorly documented in the literature.

Among the concerns of the Commonwealth Secretariat is to identify obstacles and opportunities to using the talents of refugee teachers in host countries. The Commonwealth Secretariat, which inter alia seeks to encourage co-operation on education issues among its member states, requested the authors to conduct a study on refugee teachers in order to provide guidance on strengthening policies on educational co-operation, particularly those policies encouraged in the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol. Consequently, the authors have identified the international legal protections afforded refugees in general (none of these address teachers specifically), as well as national policies on refugees in the three Commonwealth host countries: Kenya, South Africa and Uganda. The research findings also include data on South Sudan and the status of teachers returning there from exile in countries, including Kenya and Uganda.

The issues surrounding refugee teachers are little documented, as they are mostly incidental in the literature on education in emergencies, which focuses largely on students. The teachers themselves, of course, have generally a clear view of their situation and much of this report is based on that.

The major findings of the literature review and interviews in Kenya, South Africa, South Sudan and Uganda show that the international migration of teachers is a complex phenomenon. Not least among the factors is whether a teacher is part of a mass exodus or moved individually (with some control over timing for example).

A teacher's decision to leave home is typically motivated by a combination of 'push' factors – such as political threats and armed conflict, or simply poor pay and a lack of professional opportunities – and 'pull' factors, such as better pay and living conditions in a host country.

Internal migration in the home country has also to be taken into account. There are often few qualified teachers in refugee camps. This is because teachers, just as other salaried people, may, in a crisis, migrate *within their home countries* to preserve their salary, employment and benefits.

In this study, three types of refugee teachers are described: a) qualified teachers who succeed in finding teaching jobs in the host country; b) qualified teachers who are forced to find non-teaching employment in the host country; and c) individuals who have taken up teaching or training to work in the host country, but are not qualified.

Despite international protections that guarantee the right to work of refugees in host countries, a number of obstacles intervene to make it difficult for refugee teachers to find teaching jobs in host countries. These obstacles include factors such as the following:

- The absence of co-ordination between ministries of education and ministries in charge of registering and managing asylum-seekers and refugees.
- The inability of many teachers to obtain recognition of their credentials in the host country, which forces many to seek work outside of teaching. Some go into business for themselves, often trading or opening small shops, cybercafés and information and communications technology (ICT) services.
- Refugee teachers rarely have support in obtaining teaching credentials in the host countries.
- The temporary or uncertain nature of refugee status, which works against economic security, tenure, contractual protections, promotion prospects and professional development, and obtaining long-term teaching jobs.
- The over-supply of trained teachers without jobs in many host countries despite there being unfilled teaching jobs, a constraint caused by a lack of money for education budgets. Parents sometimes employ teachers, and refugees occasionally get temporary employment in this way.
- Xenophobia towards foreigners in general and the wariness of national teachers' unions towards refugee teachers.
- Language differences: refugee teachers from non-English-speaking countries have great difficulty in finding teaching (or other work) in Anglophone Commonwealth countries.

Interestingly, gender was not found to be a major issue. It was frequently noted that the lack of female teachers in camps was because qualified women found it easy to get less stressful jobs in other NGOs.

The study identified other issues, as well:

- Some practices of the UNHCR and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that supervise schools in refugee camps were reported to be unattractive to qualified refugee teachers. These practices included there being no legally binding contract, and that much is demanded in terms of a full day's work or adherence to a code of conduct, yet remuneration may consist only of a small allowance or in-kind support, such as housing in tents. Career development is virtually non-existent. The various forms of informal training that may be given do not add up to a usable qualification.
- Indeed, relatively few qualified teachers are to be found in camps. Those who leave their home countries often find work in non-teaching positions with NGOs that supervise camps. This applies particularly to female teachers. Teachers serving in camps are mostly refugees with some education who become para-professionals after varying types of training provided by NGOs. There is no common framework for training these teachers, and their training may not be recognised by either home- or host-country governments. This means that their skills may be lost after they leave the camps simply because they cannot get a job in teaching.
- The literature further suggested that encampment itself can be an issue, as refugee teachers' teaching qualifications can be undermined in refugee camps by the employment of less qualified or unqualified teachers in alternative basic education

centres or child-friendly spaces by NGOs, who tend to prefer these modalities (Penson and Tomlinson 2009).

The research revealed that refugee teachers are surprisingly resilient. When unable to find suitable teaching jobs, many use their skills to become independent entrepreneurs, opening services such as cybercafés in their host countries after taking, initially, low-paying jobs – for example, as maids or car park attendants.

The research found few women refugee teachers in the three host countries studied. The age of the refugee did not seem to be significant, though most refugee teachers are young, reflecting the recurring idea that teaching is not thought of as a career.

When qualified women do flee, they often have more chances to leave teaching for other jobs, sometimes helping to fulfil other organisations' gender quotas. Gender balance among teachers is generally believed to be beneficial, though thorough studies are few, especially in developing countries (Kelleher 2011). However, women as role models for young girls and examples to young boys are valuable. In some countries of Southern Africa, notably Botswana, women do have senior and strong roles in society. In Zimbabwe, a woman was the Minister of Education for some time. In Northern Uganda the Acholi headmistresses are well-known for the good schools they run and the training they give.

Some educated refugees end up *becoming* teachers in host countries, either in refugee settlements or in secondary or higher education. In some cases their language (for example, French) enables them to teach that language in a host Commonwealth country. In Uganda, long-term refugees from Sudan have obtained teaching credentials and returned to newly independent South Sudan, but there, as noted later in the document, they often take more remunerative jobs.

The authors have drafted a number of recommendations to remedy the problems revealed in the research. Among the recommendations is a suggestion that mechanisms should be created to validate teacher training and credentials. The study emphasises the importance of better co-ordination between ministries of education and ministries in charge of refugee affairs in Commonwealth countries. The need for providing refugee teachers with better information on regulations and opportunities in Commonwealth host countries is also cited.

1.2 Summary of recommendations

The stakeholders concerned in implementing these recommendations are governments, especially of Commonwealth countries, UNHCR and its NGO partners, other organisations working with refugees, 'think-tanks' such as particular university departments and 'communities' such as the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), and the Commonwealth Secretariat itself.

1.3 The role of the Commonwealth

While it is recognised that the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (CTRP) is not a legally binding framework, it is evident that the protocol constitutes a useful tool for guiding inter-country co-operation in the area of teacher management.

Table 1.1 Summary of recommendations

No	Issue	Recommendation
1	The review of the literature revealed that there are few studies on refugee teachers. Overall, published studies and reports on education in emergencies deal with children. This lack is important for all stakeholders involved in education in emergencies and in refugee education (see chapter 2).	Efforts must be made to put relevant unpublished United Nations, government, NGO or personal documents (sometimes called 'grey literature') online; if funds can be found, an educational NGO, or university should be supported to gather the common experiences in education for refugees (with teachers as a focus) over the last 20 years. The academic community could prioritise research on refugee teachers, in order to better understand the issues that affect such teachers in different contexts and how their efficacy can be maximised. Among others, Echo Bravo, the Refugee Studies Centre of Oxford University and the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University (Canada) are suggested partners in guiding and evaluating relevant research, possibly with the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (IICBA).
2	Although international conventions stipulate that refugees may work and study in host countries, there are often barriers to refugee teachers who seek employment in host countries. Both officials and refugees may lack relevant information about refugee rights (section 4.3).	Governments should ensure by internal communications that refugee rights, in particular the rights to work and study, are respected by all institutions in the country. While governments are the primary actors concerned by this recommendation, it is also relevant to UNHCR, IOM, teacher unions and INEE members. Education International, which represents organisations of teachers and other education employees across the globe, could play an advocacy role in supporting the rights of refugee teachers.
3	Reception centres for refugees frequently do not collect information on the skills and qualifications of arriving asylum-seekers (section 4.3).	The authority which first deals with refugees should maintain a database that captures the skills and qualifications of people who enter the country, and should share such information with other departments and relevant educational authorities. UNESCO and UNESCO-IICBA could give guidance on comparing teacher qualifications from different countries, as could the Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth of Learning.

(*Continued*)

Table 1.1 (Continued)

No	Issue	Recommendation
4	Interviewees often stated that they were bewildered by bureaucratic procedures in the host country. They were poorly informed about their rights in general. Interviewees in South Africa cited xenophobia as one of their most serious problems in finding employment and housing (section 5.1).	Governments should ensure that official policy is clearly explained (to their own people, as well as to refugees). This includes the law, and the rights and obligations of refugees. Where necessary, such explanations should be targeted at specific issues causing xenophobia or misunderstandings. This information is best provided in a simple brochure, in radio spots and professionally produced publicity, similar to the professionalism of HIV/AIDS campaigns, emphasising the humanity of refugees and promoting a 'welcome' from the host community. Incorporation of refugees into popular soap operas could be a way to start. Organisations with credible histories of combating racism, xenophobia and discrimination are present in most countries hosting refugees. They can be selectively invited to contribute to creating a climate of respect for refugee rights.
5	The research revealed that there is no systematic process of identifying refugee teachers or refugees in the host country, whether in camps or not. As a result, important skills often go untapped (section 5.2).	Educational management information systems (EMIS) are needed to register teachers who are refugees, as well as refugees who *become* teachers. While development partners such as UNESCO-International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and IICBA may support the development of such an EMIS, local ownership, ongoing management and support from UNHCR, NGOs and bodies that register refugees will be needed.
6	Refugees from non-Commonwealth countries have major challenges in obtaining recognition of their qualifications in the host country (section 5.2).	The emerging teacher recruitment protocol for Africa, which at the time of writing is being developed by the African Union, should specifically address the issue of refugee teachers. Governments should liaise with neighbouring countries and, if it does not exist already, establish a system for mutual recognition of qualifications. Institutions should be encouraged to place results (and the meaning of grades) on public access websites. This should be developed alongside other similar mechanisms such as, for example, the Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth's Transnational Qualification Framework, to ensure wider international comparability. The South–South co-operation aspects of liaising among developing countries to support mutual recognition of qualifications could be supported by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Special Unit for South–South Co-operation.

Table 1.1 (Continued)

No	Issue	Recommendation
7	The researchers found that there is no co-ordination between ministries that register and manage refugees and ministries and related bodies that manage teachers (section 5.3).	The lead ministry for refugees and the ministry of education should each designate a person or a unit to work with the other on the matter of refugee teachers. Action relating to this recommendation is of primary concern to governments. However, INEE members and the Commonwealth Secretariat can provide technical assistance. The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and UNESCO-IIEP could assist ministries of education whose capacities these agencies have developed in managing education in emergencies to co-ordinate with ministries that handle refugee affairs.
8	The authors found that ministries of education in Africa have generally done little to prepare for emergencies. They also noted that qualified teachers often migrate to safe areas in their home country. They are rarely found in refugee camps (section 5.3).	In emergency and early reconstruction, teachers who have not completed official certification processes but who possess 'alternative qualifications' could be temporarily recognised. To enable this, tools such as rapid assessment tests of teaching skills and instruction in emergency situations are needed.
9	There is no comprehensive system of certifying teacher qualifications outside of their home countries. Training of para-professional teachers in camps is not generally certified by any national authority (section 5.4).	Refugee teacher training should for the most part be provided by a certificate- or diploma-issuing body recognised in both host and home countries. Home countries should ensure that their administration is aware of any such agreements and the validity of qualifications. UNHCR and the NGOs that provide teacher training would benefit from technical guidance from UNESCO-IICBA and IIEP in developing teacher certification programmes. UNESCO and, among other partners, the UK Open University and the Commonwealth of Learning, can offer technical guidance on distance and open learning for refugee teachers. USAID also has a great deal of experience in distance learning for teachers in developing countries.
10	The lack of competitive salaries and benefits, including career development, discourages teachers in camps from remaining in the profession. Qualified teachers seeking employment in host countries often find themselves forced to work for less pay than nationals. As a result, many will seek better-paid work outside of the teaching profession (section 5.6).	It should be recognised that refugee teachers increasingly find their own place in the employment market. Agencies and NGOs can help, however, by paying competitive salaries and providing promotion opportunities in the camps or wherever they employ teachers. They should not rely on the principle of volunteerism for more than the first few months of a refugee crisis, nor work to keep salaries artificially low in relation to the wider employment market. UNHCR and NGOs in charge of training and supervising camp teachers could help facilitate the eventual integration of trained teachers into the education systems of their host or home countries.

(*Continued*)

Table 1.1 (Continued)

No	Issue	Recommendation
11	Qualified refugee teachers face considerable, informal and bureaucratic hurdles in finding employment in South Africa in particular. Opportunities may exist, but they are hard to find. Teachers' unions or NGOs could play a role in promoting networks and information hubs that would facilitate access to employment for refugee teachers (section 5.7).	Because of informal or bureaucratic barriers to work, refugee teachers in South Africa should co-operate among themselves to create organisations to play a leadership role in opening closed doors. They must not rely only on their rights as refugees, but also come up with different skills and competences in order to create opportunities for themselves. Teacher unions or NGOs could serve as advocates as well as intermediary between refugee teachers, the South African Council for Educators (SACE), the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), UNHCR and the government at different levels. Education International, of which the South African teacher unions are members, could also play an advocacy role.
12	In host countries, refugee teachers are often seen as competition for national teachers and a danger in terms of pressure to reduce salaries (section 5.7).	Encourage a view of refugee teachers as an asset towards improvement of quality or towards achievement of EFA goals, particularly in refugee-affected areas of a country such as camps. In some cases, this may be a temporary measure. UNHCR, UNICEF and UNESCO-IIEP are well suited to promoting refugee teachers as a resource for achieving EFA goals.
13	It is difficult for qualified teachers from non-English-speaking countries to find employment in Anglophone Commonwealth host countries (section 5.8).	UNHCR or service providers should provide intensive English (or other) language improvement where necessary to enable refugee teachers to compete in the host country. The UK Open University, Oxford University Press and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) are just a few UK and Commonwealth sources for distance learning of English. There are many others.
14	Tripartite agreements are designed to smooth the transition of refugees back to their home countries. In cases where refugees have gained qualifications and skills in other countries, measures are needed to ensure the recognition of these qualifications by the home country (section 5.9).	Any tripartite agreement between the host country, the home country and UNHCR for the return of refugees should specify the validity and equivalence of qualifications. Work should be carried out to make sure that such an agreement's contents be sent to the correct receiving institutions in the home country. Returnees should receive transcripts or certificates before they return home, with comprehensive records placed on the worldwide web. The technical aspects of providing transcripts or certificates and creating the EMIS to record and update records could be supported by UNESCO.
15	The authors found an exceptionally useful handbook designed by a refugee support unit in a university to help refugees find information about their rights and obligations (section 6.2).	Information brochures in hard copy and online (and in various languages, such as Swahili, Somali, French and Portuguese) could be prepared to disseminate information on refugee rights and responsibilities. This is a role for advocacy bodies with the relevant government departments.

To this end, work to develop the CTRP further will need to contain explicit language about the rights of refugees, as well as guidelines for hiring and deploying refugee teachers in host countries in camp settings and in resettlement contexts.

In addition to the recommendations above, it is clear that the Commonwealth Secretariat could have, especially in the context of the CTRP, a substantive role in:

- working with governments to build their capacity at the national level to manage refugee teachers more effectively;
- working with governments, regional organisations (including the African Union) and specialised agencies (including the International Labour Organization (ILO), the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and UNESCO-IICBA, to help build regional mechanisms for managing international teacher migration;
- publicising the rights that teachers have, especially to work in host countries;
- providing guidelines for teacher service commissions and ministries of education in order to inform them about the rights of refugee teachers;
- providing training for ministries of education and authorities handling refugees to assist them in co-ordinating their responses;
- encouraging the creation of an initiative involving partnerships with teachers' unions, the press and broadcast media in order to overcome negative perceptions of refugee teachers;
- lobbying for organisations such as the Global Partnership for Education or the Gates Foundation to fund initiatives to use refugee teacher talent in accelerating progress toward the MDGs and EFA goals in host and home countries;
- developing tools and providing technical assistance to help governments collect data on teacher migration, including forced migration;
- developing tools and providing technical assistance for the development of teacher qualification comparability frameworks, with partners such as the Commonwealth of Learning, the African Union and UNESCO-IICBA; and
- using its position as a member of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies Working Group on Education in Fragility to provide access for Commonwealth government officials to global policy forums, in order to ensure refugee management policy reflects their needs and experience.

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Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

A full set of documents from the Refugee Studies Centre at Oxford University, UK, and the library of the Refugee Law Project, Makerere University, Uganda (which covers law issues and serves as a centre for urban refugees) were consulted. This was augmented by a thorough review of documentation available on the internet to provide background information. The UNHCR website in particular provided the basic background information about the countries studied.

The information available is often partial, patchy and frequently out-of-date. Efforts over the years to collect grey literature and NGO documents have been only partly successful. There remains a great deal of material held in the memories of individuals and, in a fragmented way, in the institutional memory of organisations.

Equally, little work has been carried out on the specific problems of teachers. Rather, there is work on refugees in general, and some work on the employment of refugees. Information on teachers tends to be anecdotal rather than empirical, and is not separated out from work on all professionals and their need to be trained, qualified and recognised.

Recommendation 1: Efforts must be made to put relevant unpublished United Nations, government, personal or NGO documents (sometimes called 'grey literature') online; if funds can be found, an educational NGO or university should be supported to gather the common experiences in education for refugees (with teachers as a focus) over the last 20 years. The academic community could prioritise research on refugee teachers, in order to better understand the issues that affect such teachers in different contexts and how their efficacy can be maximised. Among others, Echo Bravo, the Refugee Studies Centre of Oxford University[1] and the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University (Canada) are suggested partners in guiding and evaluating relevant research, possibly with the UNESCO International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (UNESCO-IICBA).

2.1 Overview of documentation

The authors found that the study, 'Beyond the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol: Next steps in managing teacher migration in education in emergencies' (Penson et al. 2012), provides the most comprehensive assessment of refugee teacher issues to date. Its extensive bibliography guided this research.

The review of articles and studies confirmed that the *lack of literature* on refugee teachers in developing Commonwealth (or other) countries is a serious obstacle to understanding their needs and how refugees can contribute to education in their host countries and (eventually) to their home countries.

> '… the documentary basis for research in this field [refugee teachers] needs radical strengthening. Because of the precariousness of the working environments, political volatility and frequent rotation of key staff, most of the primary sources for educational work in emergency settings consist of grey literature – unpublished documents in the form of assessments, project evaluations and donor reports, which enjoy limited circulation and are rapidly lost in dusty filing cabinets and the C-drives of key staff. Online availability of grey literature is a vital need, to consolidate all the gains of the past few years and to ensure a rich source of documentary evidence for future research into better programming and planning.' (Talbot 2005: 6)

To date, the majority of research and reporting on education in emergencies has concentrated on:

- The needs of pupils in camp schools, IDP centres and communities affected by conflict or natural disasters and how UN agencies, governments and NGOs respond to these needs. Issues related to integrating pupils into the host-country school system are often raised (e.g. UNHCR 2007).
- The role of teachers and curriculum in camp schools in building peace and harmony during and after an emergency (e.g. Rose and Greeley 2006).

By and large, the coping strategies of refugee teachers, or educated refugees who become teachers, receive only passing mention in most of the literature on refugees and education in emergencies.

Several patterns of teacher behaviour are documented in the literature:

- Many teachers do not migrate or flee in emergencies, but find coping strategies in their home countries instead.
- Frequently, few existing teachers are found in refugee camps. Sponsors undertake to train new teachers from among the more educated refugees (Norwegian Refugee Council/The Camp Management Project 2008).
- The NGOs that manage refugee programmes will often hire refugee teachers for office or co-ordination work rather than for teaching in camp schools (Pennells and Ezeomah 2000).
- Refugee teachers whose home countries have different languages and education systems from the host countries have difficulty finding work as teachers because they do not speak the local language of instruction or do not have recognised credentials (ex. Rose and Greeley 2006). Such teachers generally seek work in other sectors.
- There are significant bureaucratic barriers to qualified teachers seeking work in host countries. There is often a lack of co-ordination between government agencies that deal with migrant and immigrant issues (usually the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior) and the Ministry of Education. In decentralised or federal states, provincial authorities may not be aware of, or motivated to apply, rules that might permit the hiring of refugee teachers.

2.2 Categories of refugee teachers

For the purposes of this study, refugee teachers have been grouped for analysis under three categories.

A. Individuals who were teachers when they became refugees and are teaching now or who wish to teach

The literature highlights numerous challenges for refugee and/or migrant teachers trying to obtain employment as teachers in the host country. There are differing bureaucratic requirements between countries with regard to minimum qualifications to teach. Changes to standards may suddenly make previously accepted qualifications unusable (Penson et al. 2012).

Once refugee teachers overcome the bureaucratic hurdles, they face additional problems. These may include inadequate or non-existent contracts; discovery that their job has significantly less status or remuneration than that previously promised; poor accommodation; discrimination; or job insecurity (Reid 2006). Penson et al. note that:

> 'as refugee status is often difficult to gain, and as recipient governments may be keen not to be seen to encourage further flows of migrants into their territory, ensuring refugees' rights may similarly be difficult. For example, recognising migrants' qualifications and allowing them to work might be seen by host governments as adding a pull factor to the existing socio-economic-political-environmental push factors underlying forced migration, thereby potentially increasing the number of migrants which they are already struggling to accommodate.' (Penson et al. 2012)

B. Qualified teachers who do not teach when in the host country, including those who do other jobs (such as working for NGOs)

Many teachers do not live in camps. South Africa, for instance, has a policy of community integration, meaning no refugee camps are used. This situation, and the fact that South African policy makes it a long process to obtain full refugee status, means that many experienced, well-qualified teachers and head teachers end up in menial jobs, not using their professional skills (Sibanda 2010).

However, a conclusion that this pool of unused refugee teachers *can* be utilised to the host country's advantage is not necessarily matched by evidence that it *is* being used. Most such countries already have a large number of unemployed national teachers, who are naturally given priority in employment.

The ideas illustrated in the above quotation may, however, apply to other countries with a teacher shortage – as they did indeed apply to South Africa in the 1990s, as mentioned elsewhere. Global data on teacher supply and demand suggests a significant net shortfall – around 2,000,000 – in the numbers of teachers required to reach universal primary education (UPE) alone by the target date of 2015. More than half of this shortfall is in sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2011), suggesting that African countries in particular would benefit from reducing teacher

loss. However, the finding of the present study, that countries had large numbers of unemployed properly qualified national teachers, suggests that the central issue for governments, though not necessarily for refugees, is not the number of teachers available, but the lack of sufficient funds to employ them.

C. **Refugees who became teachers after arriving in the host country**

In their study on Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia, Kirk and Winthrop (2007) found that experienced teachers tended to exit the system, or else 'migrate up' from primary to secondary teaching positions due to the higher remuneration and status afforded by the latter. 'Spontaneous teachers' were thus recruited to replace the qualified teachers, but the researchers found that these were 'tentative' about teaching, having not previously planned on becoming a teacher.

Some educated refugees have a language advantage over host-country nationals. Hart (2001) notes that young male Bhutanese refugees living in camps in Nepal sometimes took up teaching because they could offer classes in English, the language of education at home and in the camps.

2.3 Recognition of refugee qualifications obtained in a host country

The frictions caused by professional qualifications not being accepted by a host country or by a refugee's home country (if obtained while living in the host country) have led to steps to create a quasi-legal framework for facilitating the integration of refugees. These can be comprehensive frameworks such as the Commonwealth Teacher Qualifications Comparability Table (Keevy and Jansen 2010), though this framework applies to all migrant teachers and does not specifically target refugee teachers.

The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies has published a handbook and related materials that include guidance on selecting and training refugees to be teachers. It affirms the importance of obtaining prior recognition of the training (usually provided by contracted NGOs) from the national authorities of the host country (INEE 2010b).

2.4 The Commonwealth

Economic differences among Commonwealth states include wide gaps in teacher salaries and working conditions. As a result, member states such as Canada, South Africa and the United Kingdom have attracted teachers from less-developed Commonwealth countries.

The Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol of 2004 was developed to provide a framework for the ethical management of such teacher migration. This was followed by the Commonwealth Teacher Qualifications Comparability Table in 2010 (published in Keevy and Jansen 2010), which provides a mechanism for comparing teacher qualifications in 35 Commonwealth countries. However, there

remain difficulties in implementing the protocol fully. This is often because teacher unions and teacher service commissions may favour their own nationals, particularly in countries where there is a shortage of teaching jobs in the public sector. However, implementation problems may occur because the protocol has both a protective role (to avoid exploitation) and preventive role (to avoid brain drain).[2] Nevertheless, the protocol (which does not address refugee teacher issues per se) is important in that it establishes the principle of mutual recognition of teacher certification among member states and provides guidance for adjusting their respective policies and procedures on hiring teachers.

2.5 The challenges of teacher recruitment, training and certification in emergency and reconstruction

Margaret Sinclair (2002) provides a useful summary of practices and challenges in providing teachers for schools in emergency and post-conflict reconstruction environments. In the absence of trained teachers, educated refugees can be trained to serve as teachers. There is a great deal of experience available in this field, including RET, JRS and Echo Bravo, though it is not always written up, as previously noted.

There are cases where host-country nationals seek and obtain posts as teachers in refugee schools, or authorities insist that all or a certain number of teachers must be host-country nationals. In Dadaab, Kenya, the Norwegian Refugee Council is launching a new Accelerated Learning Programme in four camps by using ten well-qualified and experienced Kenyan teachers as teachers and mentors in a start-up team with all the other teachers being refugees themselves.

Certification is another thorny issue when refugee teachers are trained outside their home country. Liberian refugee teachers in the camps in Guinea received extensive in-service training and in-school support from the International Rescue Committee (IRC). However, the Ministry of Education in Liberia had difficulty in awarding qualified teacher status, which required the completion of a specific training curriculum. The main lesson of this and other interventions is that recognition needs to be built-in from the start. These issues are covered thoroughly in *Certification Counts* (Kirk [ed.] 2009).

Sinclair (2002) and others recommend the use of distance learning, as it can reach large numbers of untrained teachers at the same time. What is now called ODL (open and distance learning) is cited for its flexibility in allowing trainees to set their own learning pace to prepare for an examination. The fact that the internet and computers are penetrating deep into the camps is opening up the field in very exciting new ways. The UNHCR, Safaricom (the major Kenyan mobile phone provider) and Microsoft collaboration in Dadaab is forging ahead on technology for primary schools which have no electricity or libraries; for the moment the content (especially of ordinary subjects for the Kenya syllabus) has not yet caught up. Experiments in South Sudan with tablets-for-teachers promise to have interesting results in quality, standardisation and record-keeping. Echo Bravo is conducting a study of this transition phase where technology is leaping beyond content available.

2.6 Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies

The INEE handbook, *Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction* (INEE 2004), is widely used and promoted by organisations working in conflict and post-conflict situations, as well as natural disasters.

These standards echo many of the themes discussed by Sinclair (2002). The INEE standards and their 'teachers and other education personnel' domain are intended to provide guidance in creating or re-starting education in emergency situations. INEE emphasises community participation in managing schools or child-friendly learning spaces, as the case may be. Much importance is given to equity issues, such as removing obstacles to the inclusion of learners with disabilities, children of diverse ethnic or social origins, former child soldiers or single mothers in the education process. Schools or learning spaces must be easily accessible as well. In addition, safety concerns are examined and the handbook lists tasks such as the removal of landmines and abandoned munitions, as well as protecting learners from violence or sexual exploitation.

The original 2004 standards were updated in 2010 and renamed the *Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery* (INEE 2010b). They were supplemented by, among the other publications comprising the *INEE Toolkit*, a complementary publication: *Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning* (INEE 2010a) The guidance notes on the learning process highlight the importance of responding to the psychosocial needs of learners, and of using languages of instruction that are supported by the community.

One of the limitations of the *INEE Toolkit* is that it does not specifically provide guidance on the content or quality of education, nor how they may be measured. Notions of quality education instead are linked to conflict avoidance and resolution, gender equity, participation and similar notions:

> 'Quality education contributes directly to an individual's ability to engage in society as well as contribute directly to the social, economic and political stability of the society in which the individual lives. Education consensus holds that quality education is education that is relevant, effective, efficient, comprehensive in scope and participatory in delivery. It may play a role in reducing the risk of violent conflict by enabling social cohesion through promoting shared values and traditions, supporting conflict resolution and peace-building skills, and challenging inequities'. (INEE 2010a: iii)

It is noted that 'success in learning' is not specifically mentioned.

When people who are not specialised in education set up camp schools, they need to have information about practices such as classroom management and testing. The *INEE Toolkit*, for example, does not specifically address some key situations – e.g. that informally trained teachers might not use learner-centred pedagogy, indeed may not even have experienced it themselves as students. Similarly, that home/host countries may vary culturally over the use of corporal punishment. In this case, as in the exclusion of older girls, there is a clear clash between ideals and 'respecting culture'. In this respect it is also important to recognise that the NGOs or UN bodies

also have their own cultures, in the form of sometimes disparate codes of conduct that they apply, frequently without consulting the refugees' own culture.

The *INEE Toolkit* does not discuss in detail teachers who are themselves refugees. In most schools in camp settings the teachers are refugees with at least a near-secondary level of education, but not necessarily a teaching background. The *INEE Toolkit* recognises the value of certification and enjoins educational planners to learn about the teacher certification processes that are in place in a host country in order to ensure that training is formally recognised by education authorities. It also recommends that in-service training programmes be harmonised and structured so that they lead to recognised teacher qualifications (even if they incorporate additional components needed in crisis and postconflict situations) (INEE 2010a).

Nevertheless, it is likely that the host or home countries will refuse to recognise the credentials of teachers selected and trained in a non-formal process, as 'normal' pre-service teacher training usually takes at least a year of course work and up to a year of practice teaching. National authorities might also frown on instruction in languages of other countries, or have specific laws forbidding such instruction. (Sesnan 1993)

The *INEE Toolkit* gives good advice about avoiding situations where teachers of different origins (e.g. nationals and refugees) receive different levels of pay, especially in the *Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-Crisis Recovery* (INEE 2009). The notes state that a sustainable compensation system is needed. To this end, co-ordination is required between UN agencies, NGOs, education authorities and other stakeholders in order to determine common levels of compensation. This has been identified as one of the most intractable issues faced in any situation where refugees are to be employed (Penson and Tomlinson 2009).

2.7 Study countries in the literature and notes

2.7.1 Kenya

Sesnan (2011), in relation to Somali refugees hosted by Kenya, points out how complex the dynamics may be when the disparities between the two sides of a border are very great in terms of security and social and economic life. This is particularly significant where the home government has completely collapsed to the extent that no formal teacher training has taken place at home for many years and, until the relatively recent introduction of the Strengthening the Capacity of Teacher Training programme and its variants, it was impossible to qualify there.

2.7.2 South Africa

Since South Africa does not allow the creation of refugee camps or settlements, refugees must try to integrate themselves into South African society. For the most part they reside in townships and suburbs near the cities. Khan (2007) observes that the integration process faces two basic challenges: first, the need to create an *enabling environment* and second, the need to create a *welcoming society*. The latter issue hinges

on overcoming xenophobia; previous, quite recent unrest, mainly in 2008, has left a legacy of fear and uncertainty. On the other hand the unrest does not seem to have discouraged new refugee arrivals.

2.7.3 Uganda

Article 29 of the 'Uganda Refugee Act 2006' establishes the right of refugees (teachers are included implicitly) to practise their profession in Uganda, as long as their qualifications are recognised by Uganda's competent authorities. This article also affirms the process of recognition of foreign certificates, diplomas and degrees (Government of Uganda 2006).

2.7.4 South Sudan

Two studies for the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) refer to issues of the reintegration of South Sudanese returnees, who were trained as teachers in Uganda when they were refugees. The principal observation relevant to this present report is that few of these teachers were found to be teaching. The reasons are clear. First, teachers' salaries are lower than salaries for almost any other job in government service, including those of drivers. Second, most teachers have to work in rural areas, get little support of any kind and may be subject to transfer at any moment away from their home area (JRS East Africa 2010 and 2011).

Notes

1 See www.rsc.ox.ac.uk (accessed 2 August 2012).
2 Source: Personal communications with officials unwilling to be named in all three countries.

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Chapter 3

Methodology

The study was conducted by Echo Bravo Consultants and led by Barry Sesnan, with a senior researcher and a field researcher for East Africa (Kenya and Uganda). In South Africa research assistants who are refugees themselves were used to conduct interviews and focus groups. All three countries, as well as South Sudan, were visited.

3.1 Choice of countries

It was decided to focus on three Commonwealth countries with refugees representing three stages of conflict: current intensive conflict (Somali refugees in Kenya, complicated by new arrivals following a drought); longer-term post-conflict and sporadic conflict (Sudanese and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) refugees in Uganda); and refugees from long-term violence (e.g. Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa). While the study was underway it was further decided to take advantage of the now virtually complete return of refugees to South Sudan from Uganda, to enrich the report with information about returnees.

South Africa has for solidarity reasons decided to give refugees the freedom to live among its own population. It has no camps; the teaching of refugee children by refugee teachers was not an issue except where locally arranged, commonly at kindergarten or vocational levels.

Uganda was once a major source of refugees, in the 1970s and 1980s, and this is often given as an important factor in the welcome given to refugees coming into Uganda. Large waves of refugees have often arrived at once and the Ugandan authorities lodge them in camps at first out of necessity. However, the country is not in practice very restrictive on the rights of refugees to farm, move around, go to school or take a job. Many refugees, particularly from Sudan, have lived for nearly 20 years in Uganda, living through the period during which refugees became self-supporting under a settlement (but not naturalisation) policy. This has provided time for a generation of refugee teachers to be trained in Uganda.

Kenya, which maintains a much stricter policy on refugees, hosts well over 600,000, mainly South Sudanese[1] and Somali refugees who are kept in remote camps. Being an urban refugee is discouraged, and in December 2012 was disallowed. There are Eritreans and Ethiopians also, and a small group of Ugandans. Almost all refugees in Kenya are either in Dadaab or in Kakuma camps (see Figure 4.1). Kenya has a problem of illegal dual identity, with many refugees, after being in Kenya for many years, having obtained some sort of Kenyan ID. Towards the end of 2012 following several acts of terrorism, the Kenyan Government took a stronger line against refugees not in camps.

The populations and locations studied appear in Table 3.1. Maps are provided in Figure 4.1 for Kenya (camps) and Figure 4.2 for Uganda (settlement areas).

Table 3.1 Study locations

Country	Target group (major in bold)	Study locations
Uganda	Congolese, Eritrean, Rwandese, **South Sudanese**	Urban (Kampala and Kakira); Bweyale, Kyangwali settlements
Kenya	**Somali, South Sudanese**	Nairobi and Dadaab refugee settlement and camp complex
South Africa	**Zimbabwean** and DR Congo, Ugandans, Rwandese	Cape Town and Gauteng; there are no camps in South Africa
South Sudan	Returnees from Kenya and Uganda	Juba, Kajo Kaji and Rumbek

3.2 Selection of informants

Informants were chosen both geographically and by a social mapping process that developed as the study progressed, using additional information gained from refugees or ex-refugees themselves. Care was taken that the interviewees represented a variety of situations. Both self-reported and official statistical data were used to develop a profile of refugee/migrant teachers in each host country, although the data on refugee teachers is limited and often out-of-date.

Some refugees in each country were chosen for case studies and were asked to provide further information as the study evolved. Some of these case studies illustrate this report.

3.3 Field research and interviews

The field research was carried out in urban areas and refugee camps/settlements, where they exist. Interviews were held with refugees, individuals and others who work with refugees and with key institutional actors. In some cases the discussions took place in small homogenous groups (usually of one nationality of origin). A structured interview form was available and used (particularly if the refugee was filling it in him- or herself or being interviewed via Skype). The interviewer had discretion to vary the interview to focus on specific issues.

Refugee teachers (or ex-refugee teachers) who have worked with CARE, Echo Bravo, JRS, Windle Trust and UNHCR over the years since 1990 were also contacted, sometimes less formally, to verify information.

Both the official view and the 'on the ground reality' were sought. Anecdotal information was valued, but was cross-checked. The proportion of male and female refugees interviewed reflected as near as possible the proportions within the refugee population itself, recognising that a smaller number of women choose to be teachers (often because educated refugee women have more options available, as referred to elsewhere in this document).

Most refugee teachers found in South Africa were male, an indicator that family is being left at home. In both Uganda and Kenya where whole families were present and new generations growing up, specific NGO programmes existed to train girls to become teachers.

Some refugee organisations were approached (mainly in South Africa), but this was not completely satisfactory as several organisations had changed their names or split from others, while other refugee organisations were more political than educational. In one case the organisation contacted seemed to have formed just for the study.

Some interviews were conducted via Skype. There was no evidence that this biased the sample as most refugees have easy access to an internet café. Refugees were reimbursed for their transport costs to interviews.

3.4 Interviewees' expectations

Despite the great care taken in how the study was presented to potential interviewees, there were often expectations about employment, assistance or scholarships arising directly from participation. The interviewer was instructed to recognise this and deal with it politely. It is noted that refugees have often complained of being 'over-interviewed' without anything concrete resulting for them.

Note

1 With a distinct number of Ethiopians and Eritreans.

Chapter 4

Findings – The Refugee Teacher's Experience

4.1 Findings

As would be expected, a study of three different countries hosting up to ten different countries of origin produces a complex picture of who refugee teachers are, why they came to the host country and what their status is.

The refugees may be in a strictly managed camp, in a less formal settlement or living in urban areas or with relatives, compatriots or tribe-mates in rented accommodation. They may be knowledgeable about their new country or have completely inaccurate ideas.

There may be official sympathy in the host country for the plight of refugees, but this is often not matched by the actions of authorities dealing with refugees. The host population may be warm to refugees (usually if a significant part of the host population have been refugees themselves); or refugees may find themselves competing with a population that periodically breaks out in xenophobic acts.

The unfortunate reality is that these host countries do not need refugee teachers and certainly the authors did not find any organisation, ministry or country proactively working for them per se. Refugee teachers respond to this by seeking work in other fields.

There are honourable exceptions (some mentioned in chapter 6), and the benign attitude of Uganda is commendable, but many countries do not see refugees (and will not see them any time in the near future) as a source of teachers for their own system. Nor do they feel any official responsibility on their side to improve the refugees' situation or help them. Further, what the research found in South Africa is that those who came as teachers are leaving the profession. In addition, there may be widespread cynicism in the host country about the refugees' reasons for fleeing their home countries.

Refugees may be teaching because that is what they want to do, or because it is the only option. Where and when they are allowed to teach can depend on local rules or market forces and will always depend on the availability, or otherwise, of unemployed host-country teachers.

If the refugee teachers accept lower salaries or fewer benefits than their host-country counterparts, they are seen to weaken the bargaining power of the existing teaching force. Only in special cases, such as the Congolese who can teach French or a refugee teaching other refugees, is the refugee teacher 'safe' from these factors.

There are major differences between *'trickle-in' refugees* who come largely as individuals, and *large-scale influxes*.

The authors also observed that in any given country, or even in different parts of the same country, what appear to be strict rules and regulations may be: (a) regularly enforced; (b) seemingly contradictory; or (c) regularly ignored.

4.1.1 Categories of teachers studied

For this study the following broad categories were used to underpin the analysis:

A. Individuals who were teachers when they became refugees and are teaching now or who wish to teach

These individuals were already qualified and fled just like everyone else, but could teach when they got to the host country – either in camps or in a host-community job, formally or informally. Because of rules and regulations or language difficulty, some teach only members of their own community, typically but not universally, in camps.

B. Qualified teachers who do not teach when in the host country, including those who do other jobs (such as working for NGOs)

Not all teachers succeed in finding teaching jobs; not all decide to stay in teaching.

C. Refugees who became teachers after arriving in the host country

In many settlements and camps there are no qualified teachers. The more educated, often secondary school leavers[1], are asked to teach, often receiving short training courses from their employers (churches, NGOs, private contractors). In long-term situations such as that of the South Sudanese in Uganda and Kenya, they may follow the full route to qualification at diploma or degree level in the host country. This group also includes individuals who can teach a specific skill (such as a language or mechanics) which is in short supply in the host country.

4.1.2 Migrants are not new

Professionals, including teachers, migrate to other countries all the time. The prospect of a better salary, more experience and a chance to improve oneself attract many people to seek work in a different country. 'Working abroad' is, indeed, not unusual among teachers at some point in their careers. Kenyan and Ugandan teachers working in Rwanda and South Sudan are current cases in point.

For well over 100 years South Africa has received workers from countries as far north as Tanzania. Most recently they have come from Lesotho, Mozambique and other countries of the 'near-abroad'. They came as 'labour' under various agreements, worked to make enough money and generally went back home. Such workers were not called refugees, did not usually come with their families if they came to work in the mines, and often lived in ghetto-like camps near their work. Recent xenophobic outbreaks have given the impression that South Africa and its people are fundamentally unfriendly to those coming to work in the country, but this is not historically the case.

Partly as a result of a high-level political decision to be more open to the rest of Africa post-1994 in response to their support for the liberation struggle[2], South Africa has recently received a large number of foreigners from countries which had not been a source of many migrants before. The migrants did not intend to be received as refugees, but gradually new arrivals, especially those from countries clearly in conflict

such as DRC and Somalia, or with ethnic or political discrimination, have made a more formal asylum process necessary.

There have been South Sudanese in Uganda since the growth of the sugar estates in the 1920s. Like people from West Nile – Ugandans – they came to work and went back to farm, build a house and marry. Gradually sections of their families settled in Bugerere with the King's permission, and formed a South Sudanese resident community. The civil wars in Sudan obliged these original groups of workers (who formerly did not believe the borders to be significant) to consider themselves as refugees. Some, having homes in Uganda already, took refugee registration in order to formalise their status as – especially after the fall of Idi Amin (President of Uganda from 1971 to 1979 and widely perceived to be South Sudanese himself) – their situation had become precarious from an ethnic point of view. As these were settled villagers fully integrated into the Uganda school system, some got trained as teachers in the Uganda system.

For a country like South Africa without camps, refugees teaching their own people is not a prominent issue except when, as with some Mozambicans, they are giving basic education in their home language.

4.1.3 'Push and pull'

Migrating to another country can be the result of being forced to do so because of conflict, insecurity, natural disasters or similar causes. This is known as 'push', and teachers who move for such reasons have the right to be called refugees. On the other hand, migration may be encouraged by the attraction of better pay, living conditions and options for professional development in another country. This is known as 'pull', and may be no different from 'going abroad to get a job'.

Frequently, the initial reasons for a teacher migrating are a complex mix of 'push' and 'pull' factors. Then, when home circumstances change, teachers may find themselves unable to go home; or they may find they are no longer qualified to be a refugee in the host country. They may nevertheless stay and try to keep or obtain refugee status, because there are some advantages to doing so, such as healthcare or access to schools.

It is noted that refugees in all the areas studied maintain strong links with their home countries, a relatively new situation arising from the prevalence of mobile phones and cyber cafés. In Uganda, this is tacitly encouraged by the authorities with a view to the eventual return of refugees to their home countries. The situation often results in the 'one foot in each country' phenomenon, which may go as far as periodic returns home for seasonable planting or even to take examinations, or leaving a part of the family (typically school going children) in the host country.

4.1.4 'Pull' factors

Economic survival in a fragile state or an emergency may drive teachers (and other salaried people) to migrate internally; that is, not to become refugees with the rest of the community. Sesnan attributes this to the fact that when they can, teachers flee or gravitate towards their salaries (2011).

In cases where teachers choose to migrate to another country for better pay and working conditions, they are often under the illusion that 'the streets are paved with gold' in the country they are aiming for. This perception has drawn many refugees to South Africa, as opposed to other African countries. However, upon arrival teachers often find barriers to satisfactory employment. For example, when refugee teachers are hired by schools in a host country they may be paid less than host-country nationals. More is said on this elsewhere in this report, especially section 4.3.

4.1.5 Social and psychological factors

According to many commentators, and the teachers themselves, refugee teachers face a number of challenges in adjusting to life in the host country. Our interviewees reported that xenophobia and discrimination often occurred. The authors have noted that xenophobia, discrimination and anger against immigrants and refugees are particularly strong in South Africa, and constitute a barrier to the smooth integration of asylum-seekers and refugees.

4.1.6 Resilience

This study confirms the stress factors affecting refugee teachers. However, the study also notes a strong resilience and quickly acquired self-confidence, which overcome the stress factors to a large extent when refugees are granted the freedom to find their own solutions or operate 'under the radar', as noted by JRS in their study of refugee coping mechanisms in Nairobi.[3]

This is particularly true when teachers have quit teaching and entered the wider labour market, often becoming self-reliant entrepreneurs. The available literature does not address this resilience, tending to present the teachers as passive victims of circumstances rather than actors in their own fate.

4.1.7 Working abroad or refugee?

In each country, many people had left perfectly normally, had possibly even been actively recruited, to take up jobs in a country that was at that time experiencing a shortage of teachers.

Among this group are many Zimbabweans presently in South Africa. They came from a country that, post-independence, had developed one of the best education systems in Southern Africa. For them, what had been an opportunity started becoming a necessity as the economy at home deteriorated and political and social conditions went downhill to the extent that going home and staying home was not a real option.

For these people, an intact home country still existed that one day they could go back to. Indeed, the South African government was relaxed enough to allow them to go home occasionally, something which is denied to formal refugees in other countries. Eventually, South Africa tightened status requirements and going back home became a risk, as one's status had to be renewed at every return. It is clear that this tightening will continue as South Africa's official view of Zimbabwe evolves. With the dollarisation of the Zimbabwean economy, salaries are beginning to be

meaningful again (and people can set up their own small businesses and earn solid money, something which had previously been impossible).

This fluid and evolving situation illustrates the point that being a refugee and not being a refugee is not the simplistic dichotomy that a process such as refugee status determination (RSD) might suggest. The blurred boundary increases the challenge of developing policies for refugees. Further, this blurring may be deliberate, as it increases options for refugees and their advocates, as well as for officials, and the blurring is increased as it happens over time.

4.1.8 Home countries and returnees

There are important differences between countries, which make generalisations difficult. For example, what is clearly a drain on the teaching force in a largely peaceful Zimbabwe to the benefit of South Africa is different from the situation in South Sudan, where there were few teachers anyway and there was a danger to life in staying at home.

Significant too is that it was widely understood in the early 1990s, by everyone working with the Sudanese as with the Somalis in Kenya, that the only way their home country would survive was to reproduce a complete education system in exile. Conferences and curriculum debates took place regularly, along with heated debates about language of instruction.

The South Sudanese teachers trained in Uganda are, in theory, now a benefit to their home country. Yet this study discovered that because teachers' salaries remain low compared to civil servants' salaries in South Sudan, few returnees are actually teaching. Instead, paradoxically, Ugandans and Kenyans teach in South Sudan, accepting the low salaries there which are nevertheless higher than those at home.

This South Sudan case illustrates that the refugee scenario may unexpectedly *reduce the overall number of available teachers*. Even though in Uganda and Kenya there were large programmes to get South Sudanese formally trained for the return home, almost no returnee teachers are now teaching (see Box 4.6). In many ways this is disappointing, as training refugees from Sudan in the early 1990s was always based on the principle of maintaining continuous training 'offshore' and ensuring an unbroken flow of educated people, even during what turned out to be a 20-year war.

The Zimbabwe case is similar. Qualified and experienced teachers not only no longer teach, but do not intend to teach when they go home.

4.1.9 'One foot in each county'

Refugees nowadays maintain strong links with their home countries. Issues of family tracing,[4] knowledge of home conditions[5] and concern for family left at home are very different in today's circumstances.

The rise of easy money transfer also plays a role. A refugee in 2012 can send money home or receive money from home or from elsewhere. These services can be either efficient, such as those provided by Dahabshil, the dominant company for money transfer in

Somalia and between countries across East Africa, or subject to restrictions, such as those applied in South Africa, where refugees cannot receive money without having at least received a green residents' card, which would permit them to open a bank account.

The following sections look at the context of each of the study countries.

4.2 Kenya

The Department of Refugee Affairs is the public office responsible for all administrative matters concerning refugees in Kenya and co-ordinates activities and programmes relating to refugees. Also, the department manages the provision of protection services to the refugees and asylum-seekers in Kenya.

4.2.1 Refugees in Kenya

Kenya has hosted refugees for many years. The major source countries for refugee flows since the 1980s have been (South) Sudan, in the mid-1980s, and Somalia in the later 1980s, both of which have suffered from long-term state collapse as a result of civil war. The majority of refugees are housed in the camp complexes of Dadaab and Kakuma (see Figure 4.1), refugees being obliged to live in camps by Kenyan law.

The Somali population in Kenya has been swelled by the famine of 2011 (itself exacerbated by the political/military situation). The fact that Kenya also has an ethnic Somali population leads to continuing suspicion in some communities in Kenya, made worse by the recent involvement of Al-Shabaab in terrorist attacks on Kenya's town and economic sources (notably tourism).

South Sudan's population has largely returned home, with the exception of those completing school. Recent events in South Sudan have caused a re-return, probably temporary, to Kakuma. Kenya also has an internally displaced population as a result of the post-election violence of 2007–2008.

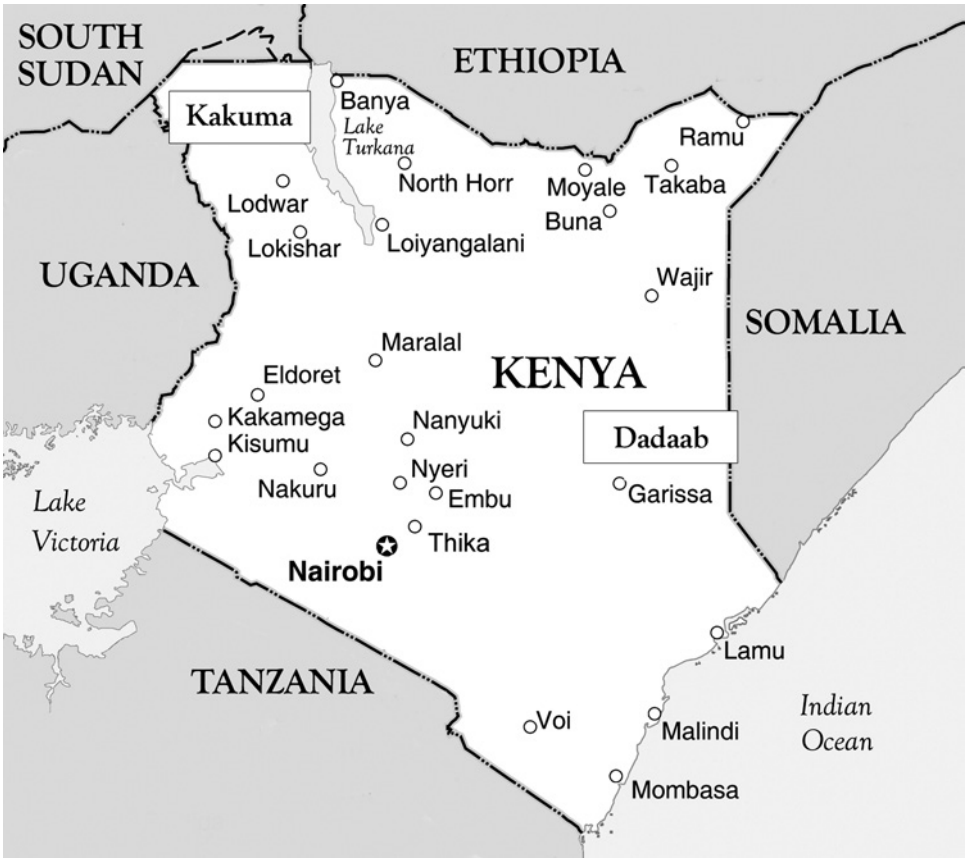
4.2.2 Important background

Over the years Kenya has trained and qualified a large number of Kenyans as teachers, more than budgets can support. Currently tens of thousands of these teachers are unemployed as the national budget cannot afford to employ them all, even though there are vacancies. This is aptly illustrated by the Kenya government's recent agreement to employ 10,000 more teachers (the union says it should be 20,000), *all of whom will come from the stock of unemployed trained Kenyan teachers* (Siringi 2012). As in other places, these teachers are vocal and it is unlikely they will easily make way for significant numbers of teachers coming from elsewhere, such as refugees. In Kenya the teachers' union (the Kenya National Union of Teachers [KNUT]) is strong and such as issue would require negotiation.

4.2.3 Becoming a teacher in Kenya

In Kenya refugees are not allowed to take formal employment without obtaining a work permit, as the law requires any foreigner wishing to work in Kenya to hold such a permit. Refugees are treated as foreigners when it comes to employment. The Kenya

Figure 4.1 Map of Kenya showing locations of Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps



Source: Based on UN map East African Community, no. 4248 Rev. 1, June 2012

Ministry of Education does not consider refugee teachers as a special category, as long as they have a work permit.

KNUT brings together and unites teachers of all grades and qualifications in Kenya, and provides a forum for co-operation. The union works within the laws in place. Its mandate is both of a trade union and professional organisation that serves all registered teachers in Kenya of Kenyan nationality who choose to join and, as such, to recognise the need to anchor operations on certain key principles and values. KNUT unites teachers of all grades for quality service, socio-economic improvement and professional advancement, strengthens their bargaining power and promotes quality education (KNUT 2012).

Interviews with KNUT representatives showed that they felt that, should a refugee manage to overcome the hurdles and become a teacher in Kenya, they would fight for that person's rights as a teacher. They would not, however, intervene on any issue regarding refugee status, such as deportation. The Education Officer, Kenya National Union of Teachers noted: 'As long as you are teaching in Kenya, whatsoever race or status, your case is taken into consideration since you are a teacher'.

Box 4.1 Case study of Mohammed: A former refugee teacher now looking for work in Eastleigh, Nairobi

Mohamed arrived from Somalia in one of the camps during the early years of the collapse of the Somali state with his parents as a refugee in search of safety. He sat for the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) in 2004. Having passed, he was admitted to Dadaab Secondary School in 2005 and completed his secondary education in 2008.

In June 2009, he started to teach in one of the camp primary schools without any form of teacher training. He said this was possible because of the high demand for teachers. It was during this period that he managed to acquire some training on teaching skills for a period of 12 days during one term, which was conducted by CARE Kenya. He also received short training on child protection from Save the Children and more on hygiene promotion from the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC).

In March 2011, he decided to stop teaching and moved to Nairobi in search of better living standards.

His original reasons for choosing the teaching profession were:

a. lack of other opportunities;

b. desire to earn a living while still close to his parents;

c. desire to help his younger siblings; and

d. hope to ascend to other lucrative jobs in the camps.

The salary for primary teachers like Mohammed was as low as US$50 with a small yearly increment, while mainly non-refugee trained teachers were paid US$375–US$500 a month. His 'salary' eventually went up to US$75 a month.

His reasons for quitting teaching in the camps were:

a. the low salary and lack of other incentives;

b. long working hours and lack of holiday breaks;

c. the distance to the school and the harsh weather; and

d. zero or limited capacity building to improve the quality of teaching.

A Kenyan educationalist familiar with the Somali community summarised, in a personal communication, the reasons for those who were teachers at home dropping out of teaching as being:

- the low status of teachers in Kenya compared to home;
- the lack of professional skills and knowledge compared to Kenyan standards;

- the lack of a recognised qualification;
- an inadequate educational background due to the years of insecurity and sporadic opening and closing of schools; and
- poor remuneration compared to what can be gained in the commercial world.

4.3 South Africa

4.3.1 Refugees in South Africa

The majority of refugees in South Africa are from other African countries. This study looked mainly at Zimbabweans and Congolese. Anecdotally, the authors were told that there were few teachers of other nationalities. The authors are also aware of large numbers of Kenyans and Ugandans teaching in South Africa; these individuals do not usually claim to be refugees but have come for work.

As described above, South Africa has hosted large numbers of migrant workers since the opening of the mines in the nineteenth century. This makes migration feel normal, at least for lower status workers and those from immediate neighbouring countries. Some share a common language, and therefore having fewer problems assimilating.

In South Africa, the study included the issue of 'push' factors, which force refugee teachers to migrate from their home countries, and the difficulties experienced in host countries by these refugees, especially if they want to practise their profession. Clearly there were also 'pull' factors (social, political and economic), which cause these refugees to migrate to South Africa instead of any other country.

South Africa does not have an encampment policy for refugees. Refugees live in different parts of the country, chiefly in the main urban centres. Since all refugees in South Africa live in the community, government institutions, NGOs, associations and independent teachers were approached during the study. There were approximately 40 interviews in total and 10 small group meetings.

4.3.2 Supply and demand in South Africa

A special factor in South Africa was the emigration of a substantial number of qualified teachers (often, but not exclusively, from the white community) to Europe and other non-African countries. In 2007, there was 'a mismatch between supply and demand, for example 6,000 teachers graduated in 2006 while 20,000 left' (South African Council for Educators [SACE] 2010: 6).

> 'Various reasons contributed this state of affairs: an ever-changing education policy landscape and teachers' under-preparedness to cope with it, unattractive salaries and conditions of service leading to demoralisation and creating higher propensities to leave the profession, as well as the impact of HIV and AIDS on the teaching profession.

'In order to address the teacher shortage problem, especially at secondary level (and particularly in mathematics and science disciplines), South Africa subsequently turned

to other countries for the provision of teachers, thereby became both a 'sending' and 'receiving' country for migrant teachers.' (SACE 2011; 6, citing Appleton et al. 2006).

4.3.3 The refugee process in South Africa

The process of being officially recognised as a refugee in South Africa is characterised by several stages which often involve waiting fairly long periods and, because refugee administration has been centralised in a few centres, a certain amount of money for travel and stay in Pretoria or one of the other centres.[6]

From first registration known as 'Form 22' (Asylum-seeker) and then 'Form 24' (Refugee Status) there is an explicit right to work and study, but it is interpreted 'on the ground' universally as work *on temporary contracts*. Only on attaining the green residence card is one allowed to take up *a permanent contract* – Refugees Act No. 130; Immigration Act No. 13 (Republic of South Africa 1998; 2002).

In a short interview an officer of the Department of Home Affairs illustrated how policy might work by explaining how the school in his community (managed, like all schools, by a School Board of Governors) was able to appoint temporary refugee teachers to 'fill gaps'.

Recommendation 2: Governments should ensure by internal communications that refugee rights, in particular the rights to work and study, are respected by all institutions in the country. While governments are the primary actors concerned by this recommendation, it is also relevant to UNHCR, IOM, teacher unions and INEE members. Education International, which represents organisations of teachers and other education employees across the globe, could play an advocacy role in supporting the rights of refugee teachers.

The researchers called at Tshwane Interim Refugee Office (TIRRO) – the initial reception centre for refugees centralised in Pretoria serving Gauteng Province. Essentially, TIRRO is a processing centre, not a policy body. Despite some of the evidence of refugees who complained, the system seemed fairly well organised, with refugees telephoned and given appointments at the various stages of the processes. Importantly for this study, this centre does not appear to collect information on a refugee's skills, experience or qualifications, which would have been useful data at various levels later.

In Johannesburg, a visit was made to KTC Computer and English Training Centre. This centre is like a home to many Congolese refugees and the authors got a chance to speak to the Congolese Association of Independent Teachers.

On a visit to the University of Cape Town, Faculty of Law, the researcher obtained a booklet that guides asylum-seekers and refugees through the refugee and asylum-seeker process in South Africa (University of Cape Town undated). In this brochure, refugees and asylum-seekers can find details of the numerous organisations offering

assistance on legal and administrative issues, as well as providing the language and skills training they need. As a result of this information the team visited Scalabrini Centre in Cape Town, which is a non-profit organisation dedicated to the assistance of refugees and asylum-seekers (see section 6.3).

Recommendation 3: The authority which first deals with refugees should maintain a database that captures the skills and qualifications of people who enter the country, and should share such information with other departments and relevant educational authorities. UNESCO and UNESCO-IICBA could give guidance on comparing teacher qualifications from different countries, as could the Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth of Learning.

4.3.4 Becoming a teacher in South Africa

To work as a teacher (or in any profession) one must be qualified. If their qualification was not locally obtained, an applicant needs to get an 'Equivalence' from the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA). The exception to this rule is applicants with a Zimbabwean teacher's qualification.

A permanent contract has to come from the provincial Department of Education if there is a request for a salaried post, which may or may not be permanent. Such a contract, as noted earlier, requires the refugee to have a resident's permit. At this point the refugee will also seek registration with SACE.

A school can only give a temporary contract, either to fill vacant government-supported post or a post paid for by the parents. This is because schools have a certain amount of autonomy under their School Board of Governors. Refugees perceive temporary contracts as being handled in an unpredictable manner, and report that they are sometimes withdrawn without warning.

Many refugee teachers work in private schools (or in structures they have created for themselves, usually to teach other refugees). The authors also heard of one or two who worked as markers and distance tutors with a large and respected home study institution.

Some refugees seek qualification, or further qualifications, while in South Africa. This usually requires a sponsor, unless the refugees can pay for themselves. The most common such further qualification would be the Advanced Certificate of Education, which can be studied for by semi-distance methods.

4.3.5 Zimbabweans in South Africa

Zimbabweans are in South Africa because of regional affiliations, similarities of language and culture, and the fact that a qualified Zimbabwean teacher does not generally need certification or requalification. Under normal circumstances, i.e. without a push factor, they would not be called refugees or forced migrants but simply migrant labour.

Box 4.2 Case study of Saidi: Trained Congolese teacher in South Africa; not teaching by choice

'Many Congolese left Congo as qualified teachers, but few teach. That includes myself. I only got that qualification to proceed with my education to the next level. Experience showed that few qualified teachers want to exercise the job because [it] is paying very less (40 to 60 dollars a month and up to 100 dollars at some private schools); a driver can get 10 to 20 dollars a day; so many small jobs pay better than teaching at primary school in Congo.

'I have learnt that once you are a refugee in South Africa, you have to explore every potentiality that you have in order to survive. After failing to become a teacher or a nurse, I have put myself into an IT venture and I have survived seven years now fixing and selling computers and electronics stuff.'

Box 4.3 Note on DRC qualifications

The first and commonest qualification to teach in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is the 'D6-Pédagogie'. This is a 12th grade, end of secondary diploma, also known as EXETAT (l'Examen d'état). The training is integrated into the three upper secondary years.

This qualification is intended to include some teaching practice before leaving school. On leaving school, students are automatically qualified to teach at the primary level. There is no probation. Holders of other D6 qualifications may also apply to be teachers. Similarly, many students take the D6 in order to go to university (or another similar institution).

Not all of the Congolese respondents in the study who said they were teachers were actually qualified teachers when they left DRC. One interviewee expressed annoyance that a private school wanted to see his documents, affirming that he 'knew how to teach' and implying that no one had the right to disbelieve him.

The authors observed that despite numerous complaints, refugee teachers from Zimbabwe are better integrated into the South African education system than those from elsewhere. They have the advantage of there being similarities between the Zimbabwean and South African education systems; they also have a good command of English.

Many of the Zimbabweans interviewed said that they were finding more difficulties working in the government schools compared to the private ones. They mentioned the issue of the government failing to put them on the payroll, unlike teachers who are citizens, and yet they do the same work. They also mentioned that in Eastern Cape Province, many refugee teachers are being dismissed – even those on temporary contracts – under direction from provincial officials. Later the authors established in

Cape Town that this was true in Western Cape also, and the situation is subject to test case litigation led by an NGO to oblige the authorities to recognise asylum-seekers' rights.

Box 4.4 Case study of Timothy: A qualified teacher from Zimbabwe, who is in South Africa but is not teaching

'I am a 32-year-old Zimbabwean teacher named Timothy. In 2001, I left my country for South Africa due to [the] bad economic situation and political atmosphere.

'I had taught for two years in Zimbabwe before leaving. I arrived filled with hope for a change of fortune – better life … I then went all out attempting to get admitted into the South African education system, but it was to no avail.

'The set conditions coupled with financial constraint meant I had to shift my focus and look for other work to survive.

'There was no choice, so I took every job that came my way from building, painting to gardening. It was the xenophobic attacks that really inspired and motivated me to do something of value in the future – because I don't belong here! I therefore approached a local computer company to take me on [a] work and learn basis. I then gained ample vital skills, knowledge and experience in computer hardware and software, maintenance, repairs and sales.

'Furthermore, I enrolled for formal [information technology] IT certification with a local accredited institution, where I am at an advanced level. My vision now is to run my own IT centre back home with assistance or in collaboration with willing NGOs. I wish to inspire and impart education in a different way through information and communication technology.'

The authors note that Timothy's refugee experience has stopped him being a teacher, resulting in a net loss to the teaching force in both countries, even though he has gained other skills.

4.3.6 Ugandans in South Africa – refugee status can end

Many Ugandan refugee teachers came to South Africa during the conflict in the northern part of Uganda. However, now that the conflict is over, the South African government has stopped recognising these people as refugees. They therefore find it difficult to obtain refugee permits, which would enable them to seek employment. Even those who had refugee papers before now find it difficult to extend them, because the government now views Uganda as a stable country capable of looking after all its nationals.

The authors met five Ugandans – four of whom stated they were qualified in Uganda and showed their apparently genuine certificates of post-secondary training (Diplomas

in Primary and Secondary Education). Most had just arrived at the end of 2011. They were not at all knowledgeable about their options. They did not know that only mathematics and science teachers are even allowed to apply in most provinces; they failed to realise that their teaching subjects were not in demand.

4.4 Uganda

The extensive review of the Uganda refugee situation conducted for this study found a largely sympathetic government structure that was not intent on deliberately imposing obstacles. The basic reality is that teaching jobs are badly paid in Uganda and there are plenty of unemployed Ugandan teachers. Indeed, the domestic surplus of Ugandan teachers helps fill the schools in South Sudan and Rwanda.

4.4.1 Refugees in Uganda

Refugees in Uganda come from all its neighbours, except Tanzania. South Sudanese came back as refugees in the early 1980s, having already been refugees (but not generally in camps) in the 1960s. They have tended to come as a response to massive events at home, usually related to wars. Refugees have come as whole families and villages. They integrate well in Uganda, rarely causing many complaints from the host population.

Rwandese refugees have alternated between different ethnic groups according to the situation in their homeland. Congolese (DRC) refugees come back and forth generally according to local and temporary conditions. Though there is always a large population of Congolese in camps, many live in the main cities of Uganda and are not always fully recognised as refugees. There is also a small number of Kenyans following the post-election violence of 2007–2008.

4.4.2 Becoming a teacher in Uganda

It is not easy to find employment without qualifications in the Ugandan system. To become a qualified secondary teacher in Uganda, it is necessary to have either a degree, a Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) or grade 5 (Advanced Level + 1) education. To teach at the primary level, it is necessary to have at least a grade 3 qualification (Uganda Certificate in Education + three years' training). In all cases it is required to have completed four years of secondary school (Uganda Certificate of Education).

If a teacher's qualification is not a Ugandan or other East African qualification, then it is necessary to obtain the 'Equivalence'. This must be translated if necessary (at a cost) into English and validated by the responsible institution: the Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB), though a Makerere University validation or an Education Programme for Sudanese Refugees (EPSR) validation would often suffice.

4.4.3 Policy on employment of refugees in Uganda

On interviewing some of the government officials from the Directorate of Refugees (DoR), Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), the authors established that registered

refugees have the right to employment in Uganda. The directorate described Uganda's refugee policy as being liberal, and this seems to be the case.

There is no specific policy from the DoR on *how* a refugee should be employed, nor is there a proactive stance to search for employment on behalf of a refugee. This is seen as the refugee's own responsibility, helped in many cases by NGOs or churches.

The Ministry of Education and Sports Uganda (MoES) has no specific mandate for refugee teachers. It announces teaching posts that have been approved by the Ministry of Public Service through the Education Service Commission, which is directly involved in recruitment. For primary school at least, such announcements are made at district level.

The Director of Secondary Education said that a refugee teacher can look for a job as an individual, and that negotiations are carried out between the two parties depending on qualifications. He reported that this process works well with private schools.

The OPM has offices in the field in the towns nearest to the camps, and these deal with refugee issues. Government officials working in these offices, such as the Senior Protection Officer at the refugee desk in Hoima (a town in Western Uganda), confirmed this position, as did the Hoima District Education Officer.

Refugee teachers who manage to find employment as teachers tend to be employed by private schools. Their employment may be part time (often paid by the day, or even the lesson) or full time.

Generally, refugee teachers are poorly paid (within an environment of already very low pay in Uganda). Sometimes even that low pay is subject to deductions, such as for social security that is unlikely to be collectable before the refugee returns home. Even with the deduction, refugees do not have the same benefits as a Ugandan national. The authors were told that 'refugees are unlikely to complain'. The illustration in Box 4.5 is typical.

Box 4.5 Experience of a refugee teacher

'I am a Diploma hold[ing] Congolese refugee. I arrived in Uganda February 2010. I was in the teaching service for two years, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, teaching sciences. I managed to get a teaching job at a private school in Kampala, teaching mathematics and French on a short contract, while doing a short course in English at [a] Refugee Law project… [I]t was irritating since the pay was very bad, getting payments in small bits. The head teacher taking me for granted as I was a refugee, besides not having an appointment letter. Money was not of value. Since then, I [have] failed getting another teaching job. Now I am earning a living by loading and off-loading commodities from trucks in one of the big markets in Kampala.'

4.4.4 Sampling

This study was based on interviews and research conducted in:

i. Office of the Prime Minister (Department of Refugees);

ii. Refugee Law Project (Kampala);

iii. Kakira Sugar Works in Jinja District, home to many South Sudanese who came to work on the sugar estates and became de facto refugees when their home country descended into war;

iv. Kyangwali/Kiryandongo Refugee Settlements in Western Uganda;

v. OPM Refugee Desk Office, Hoima, Western Uganda;

vi. Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports, Kampala; and

vii. Hope of Children and Women Victims of Violence, a community centre that serves refugees living in the Ndejje area of Kampala.

4.4.5 Kyangwali refugee settlement

Kyangwali refugee settlement is situated in the western part of Uganda, in Hoima District, 79 km from Hoima town. Most of the refugees come from the Democratic Republic of Congo; however, some are from Rwanda and a few come from Sudan. The sampling was done from three of the five schools within the settlement.

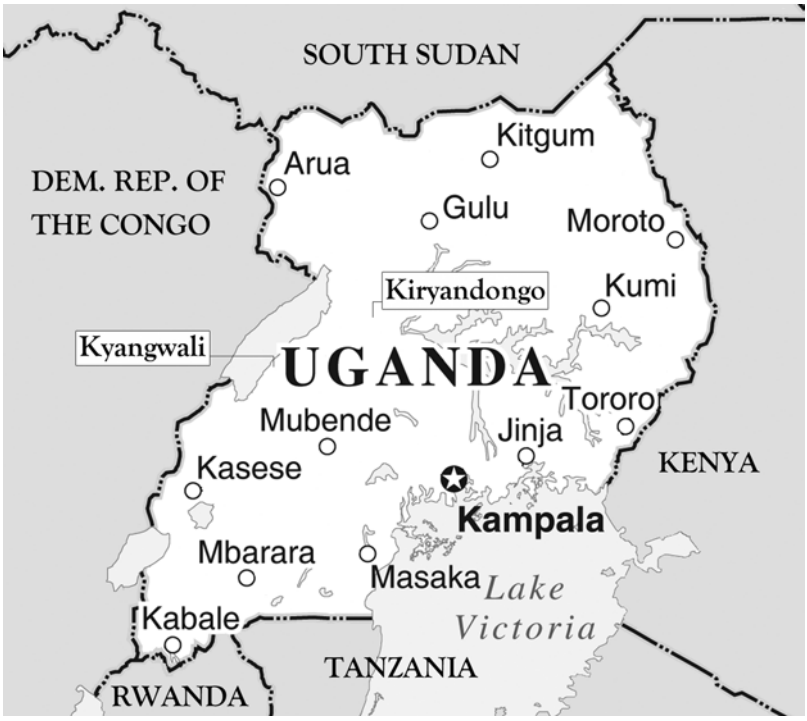
A number of refugee teachers teach in the schools in the settlement. Half of these teachers were trained in Uganda, either through government teacher training colleges (full training) or NGO training (a series of short courses). The other half of those sampled were not trained as teachers to the standards of the teacher training curriculum of the Uganda MoES. When the schools were taken over by the government, some of these refugee teachers lost their jobs because of this.

4.4.6 Kiryandongo refugee settlement

Kiryandongo refugee settlement is situated in Kiryandongo District, about 200 km north of Kampala. Most of the refugees here were South Sudanese refugees. There are also some displaced from Northern Uganda as a result of the war against the rebel group the Lord's Resistance Army. Most of the refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement have repatriated to South Sudan, though they often retain an economic interest in Uganda such as a piece of land or a small shop. Often family members continue to go to school in Uganda. In the three former refugee schools (out of five) taken over by the government, remaining refugee teachers are paid by UNHCR since the Government of Uganda at present has no concrete policy on employing even well-trained refugee teachers.

As in Kyangwali, some of the teachers are refugee teachers qualified from recognised institutions, like Kyambogo University (Uganda) and its affiliates. Others were trained by NGOs such as NRC, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and African Action International, by means of a series of short courses. Refugee teachers

Figure 4.2 Map of Uganda showing the Kyangwali and Kiryandongo refugee settlements



Source: Based on UN map East African Community, no. 4248 Rev. 1, June 2012

who find employment within refugee settlements are fully employed, but do not receive the same benefits as Ugandan national teachers since they are paid by various organisations or by the community.

4.5 South Sudan

South Sudan has provided an excellent study area for what happens to returnees. This population lived for almost a whole generation in Uganda, and teachers have been trained from their own school population as they left the refugee or national secondary schools.

Table 4.1 Refugee teachers who participated in the Uganda study

Country of origin	Male	Female	Total
South Sudan	15	4	19
Interviewed in Sudan (returnees)	5	0	5
Democratic Republic of Congo	12	3	15
Rwanda	5	5	10
Burundi	1	–	1
Total	**38**	**12**	**50**

Box 4.6 Case study of Christopher: Sudanese returnee teacher from Uganda

Christopher, 31, was a South Sudanese refugee in Uganda since childhood and is now a returnee in Sudan. He was educated in English throughout and is highly articulate.

As a refugee, he attended three different secondary schools in Uganda.

Christopher taught in primary schools in Uganda after secondary school, while still a refugee and unqualified. His mother is still in Uganda, and his father is in Sudan. He is unmarried, but supports two nephews in school. He expects to marry in a year or so.

As a returnee, Christopher went back to South Sudan in 2004 and taught at Yei Girls' Secondary School. He was sponsored by JRS to return to Uganda to take the two-year Diploma in Secondary Education at National Teachers' College, Muni in Arua, Uganda. The system is sufficiently tolerant and flexible that his return to Uganda as an ex-refugee and ex-returnee caused no problems.

On return to South Sudan, he was employed by an educational NGO as a tutor in the Intensive English Language Programme, which schools Arabic-trained teachers to use English as the language medium in class.

He says he 'fell into teaching' and came to like it. Of the twelve people he knows who followed roughly the same trajectory (only two of whom are female) he is one of only two still directly involved in teaching (in his case teacher training). He does not want to work in government service because of the low salary offered. Although he should be on the 'grade 9' salary appropriate to his diploma-qualified status, he was offered only the lesser 'grade 12' salary appropriate to a secondary school leaver.

In a paradox referred to elsewhere, the schools of South Sudan are now often staffed by Ugandans and Kenyans. South Sudan does not pay teachers enough, so those who are suitably qualified join the police or civil service, which pay much more but are available only to South Sudanese nationals.

Notes

1 In some cases 'stranded students' waiting to get back onto their education ladder.
2 It is noted that when South Africans were in exile in countries such as Nigeria or Tanzania, they preferred the words 'in exile' to being called refugees.
3 Irene Waweru, JRS East Africa, personal communication.
4 Refugees, or their families at home, no longer wait for months to receive the famous Red Cross Message, a standardised, unsealed, short pre-printed note, with boxes to be ticked about where they are now and who is with them, allowing no room for personal details or emotional content.
5 In 2011, Ivorian refugees in Liberia found out directly from their home villages what conditions were like and made the regular 'missions from the home country by ministers' unnecessary.
6 Port Elizabeth, Durban, Cape Town and the Musina Refugee Reception centre at the Zimbabwean border. According to the latest information they will all be moved nearer to the borders shortly.

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Chapter 5

From Findings to Policy and Practice

The findings from interviews and group discussions lead, perhaps counter-intuitively, in two directions. First, the issues that affect refugee teachers are often banal and also affect national teachers or other refugee professionals. Refugees are usually *more* affected, rather than differently affected, particularly if they are qualified already.

Second, looking at the four countries (if we include South Sudan, not in the original remit) it is clear that there are few measures that would work everywhere. Disappointingly some 'universal' measures, such as trying to set up a system of certification, have been tried over the last 20 years and have had only limited success.

5.1 Government

5.1.1 Government policies, national and local

Governments have policies on refugees and have generally acceded to the various conventions governing the status and rights of refugees. The authors have noted already that the ministries dealing with refugees do not automatically liaise with the ministries of education or local education departments. For example, the Ugandan MoES has no specific mandate or policy regarding refugee teachers. Generally, refugees seeking employment in public schools have to join the same recruitment process as nationals, usually through some form of teachers' (or education) service commission.

There is no institutional preference for refugee teachers – and it would be politically difficult to justify employing refugee teachers when national teachers are unemployed, unless they were qualified in shortage areas.

Recommendation 4: Governments should ensure that official policy is clearly explained (to their own people, as well as to refugees). This includes the law, and the rights and obligations of refugees. Where necessary, such explanations should be targeted at specific issues causing xenophobia or misunderstandings. This information is best provided in a simple brochure, in radio spots and professionally produced publicity, similar to the professionalism of HIV/AIDS campaigns, emphasising the humanity of refugees and promoting a 'welcome' from the host community. Incorporation of refugees into popular soap operas could be a way to start. Organisations with credible histories of combating racism, xenophobia and discrimination are present in most countries hosting refugees. They can be selectively invited to contribute to creating a climate of respect for refugee rights.

The study found evidence that refugee teachers do face constraints in finding secure, equally remunerated teaching work, constraints national teachers do not necessarily face.

5.1.2 Divergence between policy and practice

Official policies often differ from actual practice, and this can be both a hindering and facilitating phenomenon. In some cases, this blocks employment or frustrates the teacher. In others it allows for niches where they can work, although not always as a teacher. In South Africa, there are significant disparities between official national policy and provincial and local practice. For instance, it was found that provincial schools sometimes *go against* national policies in not allowing qualified refugee teachers to teach – even though they are legally entitled to do so.

Teachers are not the only professionals among refugees, and a government may see no reason to have a separate policy for them. Advocacy groups should lobby for consistency at least in policy on implementing the right to work, with an emphasis on teachers regarding advocacy with ministries of education. As noted elsewhere, teachers will have to play their own role in this by organising themselves and addressing specific concerns, by perhaps approaching the unions for help.

5.2 Refugee teachers

5.2.1 Scarcity of qualified teachers in refugee populations

It is often found that there are few teachers among migrant populations (Sesnan 2009). This has been noted in Malawi (Mozambicans), in Uganda (Sudanese and Rwandese) and in Chad (Sudanese refugees from Darfur). The same observation applies to populations isolated in civil wars (stayees) and in urban slum areas. Along with other salaried people, they may not have left with the rest, preferring to stay at home or move somewhere else in the home country. Often this is because they want to retain their jobs and salaries.

> **Recommendation 5**: Educational management information systems (EMIS) are needed to register teachers who are refugees as well as refugees who *become* teachers. While development partners such as UNESCO-IIEP and IICBA may support the development of such an EMIS, local ownership, ongoing management and support from UNHCR, NGOs and bodies that register refugees will be needed.

5.2.2 Teacher supply and demand

The market for refugee teachers is not what the economists would call a 'free market' since although there may be a willing seller (the refugee teacher), there is rarely a willing buyer. The refugee teacher is at disadvantage at almost every step in the process. Nonetheless, a supply and demand description does help to understand the situation

of refugee teachers. In many African host countries, there are large numbers of trained national teachers who are unemployed because of government budget constraints. In Uganda, for instance, there are already too many qualified Ugandan teachers in relation to budgeted openings. Refugees must have the same qualifications, or fit into poorly paid niches in private schools or take on private tuition. In Kenya, outside the camps it is the same situation.

However, South Africa has had a different experience. Many national teachers started leaving the profession in the early part of the last decade. There were genuine opportunities for qualified teachers from neighbouring countries, who were not at first considered as refugees (and in the case of, say, Botswana, are still not considered refugees).

The existence of unemployed teachers in a region with a net shortage of teachers in the classroom raises questions about the efficiency of teacher deployment. The African Union is currently developing a continental teacher recruitment protocol, along with supporting mechanisms for improving the management of internationally recruited migrant teachers. The protocol will encourage the mobility of teachers, promoting the orderly deployment of teachers from areas of teacher surplus to areas of deficit.

Integrating refugee teachers into this emerging framework could be beneficial. It is more cost effective to redeploy trained teachers than train new ones. Facilitating the voluntary movement of teachers to where they are needed might reduce some of the negative consequences of being a refugee, though it is difficult to envisage how this could be handled given that it would have to apply to all professionals among refugees.

5.2.3 Sponsorships and scholarships

Sponsors have helped some refugees to gain qualifications. There is some sporadic evidence of this (notably the work of RET, JRS, Windle Trust and World University Service Canada through the then Education Programme for Sudanese Refugees [EPSR]). One of the refugee informants for this study received support from the South African National Zakat Foundation. He mentioned that JRS also provides scholarships for teachers, though this does not seem to be on a regular basis. The provision of individual scholarships is not common practice in Kenya, though each year some refugee teachers do get a chance for advancement through partnerships between NGOs, UNHCR and certain universities.

In Uganda sponsorship was used in the past on a collective basis to allow groups, particularly of women, to receive training. The Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative (also known as the 'DAFI programme') is managed in different ways in each country, and has provided some opportunities for higher training.[1]

5.2.4 Attrition among refugee teachers

In Uganda it was observed that even trained teachers leave teaching at a fairly high rate. There is thus a continual need for recruiting/training new refugee teachers. In camps, refugee teachers (especially those that are well-educated and female) are often quickly employed by NGOs/UN agencies for other kinds of work. Refugee teachers

simply take more remunerative work outside their profession, almost always in the private sector.

5.2.5 Motivation/desire to be a teacher

This leads to the important issue of *motivation*. It is difficult to analyse how many of the refugee teachers the authors met actually *wanted* to be teachers, rather than taking the post because nothing better was available. The latter option is common across Africa, and not only among refugees. On the other hand, in Dadaab some years ago it was noted that Congolese teachers worked hard and well, and produced good results both in education and in the examinations.[2] Indeed, some few refugee learners also often excel in exile, having high motivation and fewer distractions.

5.2.6 The legal and professional status of refugee teachers

Among the challenges facing refugee teachers is the absence of institutional frameworks, such as published information or recruitment organisations to guide them in finding jobs. Often host countries fail to recognise refugee teachers' qualifications and bodies such as teacher service commissions and teacher unions might not readily provide professional guidance and support. In many cases, refugee teachers will end up doing work other than teaching in the host country. When seeking work in the host country, many refugee teachers accept jobs that do not utilise their professional skills, as, for example, car park attendants or maids.

Technically, refugee teachers in Uganda and South Africa are entitled to work, and there are no legal obstacles to their doing so after being officially recognised as refugees or asylum-seekers. However, there are administrative hurdles to be overcome, not least the need to be qualified according to local laws.

The authors found a common misunderstanding among refugee teachers that the authorities would proactively welcome them, or search for them and ease their way. It is clear that because of lack of information and support in finding employment, teachers themselves have to take most of the responsibility to find a job.

Recommendation 6: The emerging teacher recruitment protocol for Africa, which at the time of writing is being developed by the African Union, should specifically address the issue of refugee teachers. Governments should liaise with neighbouring countries and, if it does not exist already, establish a system for mutual recognition of qualifications. Institutions should be encouraged to place results (and the meaning of grades) on public access websites. This should be developed alongside other similar mechanisms such as, for example, the Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth's Transnational Qualification Framework, to ensure wider international comparability. The South–South co-operation aspects of liaising among developing countries to support mutual recognition of qualifications could be supported by the UNDP Special Unit for South–South Co-operation.[3]

5.2.7 The main obstacles to becoming a teacher in a host country

In host countries like Kenya, which has a pool of 40,000 unemployed (but trained) teachers, it is difficult to recommend that refugee teachers be hired, even though there is a teacher shortage at school level. An exception may be where the refugees are found in remote, sparsely populated regions where it might be difficult to find or attract local teachers. However, this was not the case in the countries studied.

Several challenges make it difficult for teachers to have their qualifications recognised in other countries. First of all, there is an absence of agreed international standards for the contents and scope of teacher training or for related professional standards, though there are often bilateral or ad hoc arrangements. Even in situations where teachers' qualifications might be recognised, they may not have the relevant paperwork in their possession at the time of departure from the home country during an emergency. National authorities seldom accept teaching certificates given by NGOs or other non-formal providers. To address this issue, the Commonwealth Secretariat, with the South African Qualification Authority, has developed tools on the recognition of teacher qualifications and professional registration status across Commonwealth member states (Keevy and Jansen 2010). However, these tools do not cover non-Commonwealth countries; nor do they take into account the particular circumstances of education in emergencies (Penson et al. 2012). It is clear that NGOs which recruit teachers in emergencies should work together to harmonise their teacher training programmes. Teacher training programmes should aim for official recognition. If they do not already exist, governments should establish an accreditation mechanism for teacher training programmes delivered by non-state providers, and provide clear information on the standards expected and the accreditation process.

5.3 The management of refugee teachers in host countries

The management of refugees in a specific country may be multi-layered and it was noted that, in all three countries studied, the ministries of education are not involved in the management of refugee teachers as a distinct category. Typically, governments treat a refugee like any other foreigner when it comes to employment. This fact complicates any intent to lobby for the protection of the rights of refugee teachers specifically.

The reduction of UNHCR's activities to camp management and protection, and the subsequent handing over of education to NGOs or government, has been in place for around 20 years. Education in most camps is monitored by a UNHCR protection officer or a community services officer, but very rarely an education officer, although UNHCR has proposed a welcome renewed role for itself in education in its latest education strategy (UNHCR 2012).

Recommendation 7: The lead ministry for refugees and the ministry of education should each designate a person or unit to work with the other on the matter of refugee teachers. Action relating to this recommendation is of primary concern to governments. However, INEE members and the

Commonwealth Secretariat can provide technical assistance. UNICEF and UNESCO-IIEP could assist ministries of education whose capacities these agencies have developed in managing education in emergencies to co-ordinate with ministries that handle refugee affairs.

5.3.1 Preparedness for an emergency provoking a refugee influx

Adapting educational planning and management to anticipate and mitigate emergencies is in its infancy in most African countries. By and large, host countries cope with growing refugee populations on an ad hoc basis.

Although preparedness is clearly vital, preparation for an emergency does not seem to figure highly in many governments' policies. 'As a result of this lack of political attention, the budget for emergency planning is often neglected and funds are not earmarked for these activities' (IIEP 2010b: 22). Further, 'The vagaries of annual budgeting compound the problems of education financing during emergencies. This is especially true in situations of long-term displacement' (UNESCO 2011: 19), where budgeting for long-term refugee needs is made difficult by changing political and donor priorities. There remains much advocacy work to be done to increase the understanding of refugees' needs in an emergency, and of developing proactive institutional frameworks for managing them in the event of an emergency.

Recommendation 8: In emergency and early reconstruction, teachers who have not completed official certification processes but who possess 'alternative qualifications' could be temporarily recognised. To enable this, tools such as rapid assessment tests of teaching skills and instruction in emergency situations are needed.

5.4 Getting trained, qualified and certified

It is possible for a refugee to be trained as a teacher in the host country and there are many examples of this, especially in East Africa. The examples range from refugees who take up a full course of training (and in extreme cases actually catch up on their secondary schooling before doing so or, as in Chad, simultaneously) to those who are employed without training, in camps or private schools, but are given a series of short courses. Such courses are rarely integrated with others and are of limited use when they go home, as they tend to be uncertified by any recognised institution. The amount of time spent on these short courses and their frequent duplication is an issue that is rarely addressed yet they have an impact on teaching time. Switches in the NGOs delivering services can mean that training previously provided is repeated unnecessarily. The per diems offered for training mean that it is often taken up even when its utility is questionable.

In some places, there is a modular in-service course leading to a fully recognised qualification. Some examples are given below. In South Sudan's liberated areas during the war, such a modular in-service course existed. Following it, in theory, after three years of self-study and vacation courses, a primary teacher could accumulate sufficient modules to be given a certificate. However, this did not often happen in practice, as NGOs lost funds or their priorities changed, and teachers moved on to other places or other jobs.

In South Sudan this course has been replaced by a detailed 'Unified Curriculum', but in the camps, first in Uganda and then in Kenya, the pragmatic trend has been to link into existing good-quality professional courses. In some cases these are specially designed for the refugees' situation, as in the case of Kyambogo University (then the Institute of Teacher Education), which revived a moribund qualification[4] and revised it to suit the needs of South Sudanese refugees.

Two particularly interesting cases were found in Uganda in the 1990s: in one instance JRS sponsored 30 young female South Sudanese a year to be trained as teachers in Christ the King Teacher Training College, Gulu; and in the other instance, serving teachers in the camps were linked into the national Northern Integrated Teacher Education Programme through the EPSR's Alere Resource Centre.

5.4.1 Short courses

Short (in some cases very short) courses for refugees in camps are common. Examples are given in Mohammed's case study (Box 4.1). These courses tempt us to ask: *How many short courses make a certificate?* The answer is usually that they are of little value, not least because 'attendance certificates' and the like are generally uninformative and because they do not fit into an overall schema. National systems do not easily recognise these modular or 'bitty' courses, and sometimes on the return home the refugees find the courses have no value at all, in terms of their contributing towards a recognised qualification.

Note was taken of how distance and open programmes are evolving. Radio has often been useful in reinforcing teachers' self-help efforts and, gradually, online courses, e-books/tablets and mobile phones will play a role, although it is doubtful that they can fully replace the classic self-study manual with occasional face-to-face encounters with a tutor.

5.4.2 Missing qualifications

A refugee may have been a teacher in his or her home country, but has migrated without documentation. In this case a competency test should be provided, preferably by a recognised host-country institution. This, it should be noted, is less of a problem these days than before, because of much improved communications and the existence of many databases online.

5.4.3 More advanced courses

An example of a more advanced course for an already trained teacher is the South African Advanced Certificate in Education, which 'enables students to become greater

specialists in their subjects or to be retrained in a new specialisation within a relatively short period of time' (University of South Africa 2011). Similarly, in Uganda there is a recognised ladder for teachers leading to degree level, in the form of a two-year Bachelor of Education from Kyambogo University. Refugees have access to this ladder if they can find sponsors. The case study of Christopher (Box 4.6) illustrates this.

Recommendation 9: Refugee teacher training should for the most part be provided by a certificate- or diploma-issuing body recognised in both the host and home countries. Home countries should ensure that their administration is aware of any such agreements and the validity of qualifications. UNHCR and the NGOs that provide teacher training would benefit from technical guidance from UNESCO-IICBA and IIEP in developing teacher certification programmes. UNESCO and, among other partners, the UK Open University and the Commonwealth of Learning, can offer technical guidance on distance and open learning for refugee teachers. USAID also has a great deal of experience in distance learning for teachers in developing countries.

5.4.4 Learning management and school governance

There are courses that promote capacity building for teachers to participate in and develop skills in leadership, financial management and democratic decision-making. An example of this is Section D of the *Be a Better Teacher* course (see section 5.5.2).

5.5 Being specifically trained to teach in emergencies

The unpredictable nature of emergencies makes it difficult to provide advance training for all teachers. In some cases, a course is provided rapidly while the emergency is under way or when it has settled down. It will usually include (as related by a reviewer of this study): *sensitivity to the psychosocial needs of (conflict and disaster affected) children and youth; adaptation to the reality on the ground.*

What follows are some examples that address the issue of helping the untrained teacher to become *competent*, *knowledgeable* and *confident*.

5.5.1 Teacher Assistance course (a rapid methodology course)

In an urgent situation where thousands of displaced people were arriving in Khartoum from the South of Sudan and Darfur in the 1980s, SOLO (Sudan Open Learning Organization) in Khartoum developed a self-help course for the large number of 'volunteer' untrained teachers called the Teacher Assistance course. This course comprised 30 short modules on specific and practical themes (*How to Use the Blackboard* and *Handling Large Classes* were examples), which were to be studied alone in the teacher's tent or shack and in small groups with an experienced teacher, wherever one could be found.

No effort was made to include more than the simplest educational theory or pedagogy, the urgent need being seen to help the teacher become competent and confident in front of the class. This training, like most similar trainings, had no legal or academic recognition, although several years later it was incorporated into a wider training for the displaced. It is important to recall that such short trainings are often given only to help the teacher function for the expected limited period of the emergency, and are often *not designed* to become official qualifications.

5.5.2 *Be a Better Teacher/Bon enseignant*

In Somalia, where the state education system had largely collapsed since 1989, the UNESCO Programme of Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction (PEER) first worked on primary education. Eventually, building on SOLO's work in Sudan, a UNESCO-PEER team in Somaliland developed a much more substantial self-help, 40-module course called *Be a Better Teacher,* which established the now common pattern of three, ten-module courses for ordinary teachers (A, B, C) and one extra course (D) for school administrators and inspectors. A ten-module course typically lasted one term. This has been replaced now in Somalia by various forms of the Strengthening the Capacity of Teacher Training programme (SCOTT, see Box 5.1).

The training was adapted for francophone contexts as *Bon enseignant*.

Box 5.1 Strengthening the Capacity of Teacher Training programme (SCOTT)

SCOTT produces primary and secondary teachers who are recognised by the Somaliland and Puntland governments, so although it is managed by NGOs and mostly implemented by the private sector, it is integrated into the official system. Perhaps this is the learning that could be applied generally – i.e. greater co-ordination among agencies to ensure an integrated approach, rather than the piecemeal approach described above. Two weakness of SCOTT are that it is an 'emergency' design that is trying to be extended into a non-emergency context and that NGOs, as direct recipients of the donor funding, have a great deal of control.

5.5.3 Conversion courses

Occasionally a teacher who is already qualified needs a conversion course, most commonly to enable them to use a new language or a new syllabus. The case study of Timothy (Box 4.4) demonstrates the utility of such courses.

5.6 Financial considerations

It was clear that there was major drop-out of teachers, whether they were qualified or not, into more lucrative work (Zimbabweans in South Africa, Somalis in camps,

South Sudanese at home). The authors examined the issue of how much teachers were paid in a variety of circumstances.

5.6.1 Pay and remuneration

Both the UNESCO International Institute for Education Planning (IIEP) *Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction* (IIEP 2010a) and INEE *Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-crisis Recovery* (INEE 2009) contain advice on compensating teachers, particularly in camp settings.

5.6.2 Low levels of payment in camps

Refugees are often paid on a fixed low scale[5] which applies to all sectors and is substantially less than they would have earned either at home or if paid on the host country scale. The word 'salary' is avoided and replaced with a word like 'allowance' or 'incentive'. Contracts are not given and ordinary employment rights are not available. There is a fear of commitment in what may turn out to be a short-term emergency. In many African countries employing someone for a year gives them rights which organisations are reluctant to accord to refugees.

UNHCR, which often controls the salary grille (since they finance most of the NGO partners), argues that refugees get free 'housing', free food, free medical care and free education for their children. This can set a precedent for other donors.

Further, the host government may have expressly, as in Kenya, forbidden refugees to be employed without almost-impossible-to-obtain work permits. The use of the term 'salary' or 'contract' is avoided to remain under the radar, yet this raises questions about labour rights which are rarely addressed.

The arrival of modern communications has clearly, perhaps for the first time, reminded us that refugees have families and obligations at home and abroad. Donors and other partners were alleged to have yet to adapt to this reality. A recent case in eastern Chad, where an international NGO employing refugees used Chadian law to argue that refugees should have contracts, is also significant. It was established *prima facie* that the case of an 'employee' being a refugee did not mean that the 'employer' was allowed to avoid providing contracts or paying salaries and giving mandated benefits.

Teachers eventually want to 'go where the money is'. The authors are convinced that if realistic salaries were paid in the short term, teachers who left the profession might come back.

5.6.3 The ladder

Manik (2011) notes that Zimbabwean refugee teachers working in South Africa found it difficult to access opportunities for promotion or professional development, mainly because they were on temporary contracts and therefore ineligible. In long-standing refugee situations, teachers want an explicit link between training, length of service and promotion. This would be normal in the teaching service, as has been reported

Table 5.1 Remuneration: Monthly salaries for teachers (excluding benefits packages)*

	Government (USD)	Camp (NGO paying 'incentive teacher'**) (USD)
Kenya primary	$150	$90
South Africa primary	$1,300	NA
Uganda primary	$110	Around 20% less***

* It is not simply a matter of salary; a teacher who is 'established' in the system has many benefits and entitlements, including a rank (seniority) and a pension. Refugee teachers may have reluctantly left those at home and are highly unlikely to obtain them in exile.

** The term 'incentive teacher' is used to refer to those refugees on an allowance, not a salary. This allowance in Dadaab, for instance, is less than 20 per cent of the government salary.

*** In Uganda, teachers employed by NGOs complain that social security and similar deductions are made, though they will never benefit from them.

from the early days of expansion of the Zimbabwean education system and from the trade union-led push for self-improvement in Tanzania some years ago.

However, this leads to the question of whether a refugee teacher sees a future within the system and is willing to stay on the ladder. This is not always the case.

Recommendation 10: It should be recognised that refugee teachers increasingly find their own place in the employment market. Agencies and NGOs can help, however, by paying competitive salaries and providing promotion opportunities in the camps or wherever they employ teachers. They should not rely on a principle of volunteerism for more than the first few months of a refugee crisis, nor work to keep salaries artificially low in relation to the wider employment market. UNHCR and NGOs in charge of training and supervising camp teachers could help facilitate the eventual integration of trained teachers into the education systems of their host or home countries.

5.7 Sensitising the host country

In an atmosphere of mass unemployment and xenophobia, it is important to work on encouraging the host community to accept and help refugees. The authors note that some refugee teachers are welcomed by students, parents and the local education authority, but our study shows that this is generally the exception not the rule. There was little evidence that a refugee was seen as 'value-added', and whereas individuals often welcomed individuals there was no general policy on accepting them.

In South Africa, Khan has proposed working to create a 'welcoming society' for the *kwerekwere*[6] saying that:

> 'It has been our experience then when the South African community understood the reasons why refugees were forced to flee and why refugee protection is a moral

> and legal obligation, [there is] a significant change in attitude. This was done by having *information campaigns* – within the communities where refugees find themselves… We now know that information is not enough. We also need to create empathy – this can be facilitated by having refugees to tell their stories.' (Khan 2007: 8)

She further notes that 'A way of creating a welcoming society is to ensure balanced public information on refugee issues. To achieve this we engage the media. This is also one way of tackling xenophobia' (2007: 8), and that 'The South African government has done very little to educate South Africans about refugee documents' (2007: 5).

One refugee told us: 'I honestly think that the South African community in its majority has not yet understood why refugees are in their midst. Public servants and/or government officials are mostly the ones who make it difficult for refugees'.

5.7.1 Promoting knowledge about refugees and refugee rights

An example of an indirect barrier to work is the difficulty refugees have in accessing public services, particularly primary school education for their children. South African law, for example, is quite clear and in conformity with the various conventions: that public schools must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way. Refugee children are entitled to the same primary education as South African children (Republic of South Africa 1998). Despite these rights, refugees often face obstacles accessing education for their children – for example, they are often requested to pay school fees (where they would otherwise qualify for school fee exemptions).

Recommendation 11: Because of informal or bureaucratic barriers to work, refugee teachers in South Africa should co-operate among themselves to create organisations to play a leadership role in opening closed doors. They must not rely only on their rights as refugees, but also come up with different skills and competences in order to create opportunities for themselves. Teacher unions or NGOs could serve as advocates as well as intermediaries between refugee teachers, SACE, SAQA, UNHCR and the government at different levels. Education International, of which the South African teacher unions are members, could also play an advocacy role.

5.7.2 Refugee teachers as an asset

Although the atmosphere is not always conducive, there are cases where having a source of refugee teachers can be an advantage, if only on a personal basis, to give learners a wider experience or a better (or different) accent. Refugee-affected area policies take advantage of this situation, often to mutual benefit. For example, the policy in Northern Uganda that camp schools should keep 10 per cent of their places for children from host schools on the periphery of the camp, recognised the fact that

the camp schools were better endowed than the national ones (Sesnan et al. 1995). Similarly, in Eastern Chad parents often enrolled their children in Arabic-medium schools in the Sudanese refugee camps in order to benefit from the higher quality of Arabic taught there (Sesnan 2011).

Recommendation 12: Encourage a view of refugee teachers as an asset towards improvement of quality or towards achievement of EFA goals, particularly in refugee-affected areas of a country such as camps. In some cases, this may be a temporary measure. UNHCR, UNICEF and UNESCO-IIEP are well suited to promoting refugee teachers as a resource for achieving EFA goals.

5.8 Language

To teach the main curriculum in all the three countries studied requires good English. Refugees from non-English-speaking countries (principally in our study, Somalis and Congolese, with some Rwandese) generally recognise this and attend courses to improve their English. However, the quality of classes is variable, and in some cases they are taught by fellow refugees who do not have the requisite standard themselves.

In Uganda, the Refugee Law Project provides English for Adults to enable refugees to adapt to the system in Uganda, since most refugees come from non-English-speaking countries, e.g. Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea and Somalia. Such English courses do not have great value in themselves in enabling refugees to find teaching jobs. They are more useful in enabling them to take further courses (and to navigate bureaucracy).

In South Africa, Congolese refugees complained that the government had done little to help them in this regard, but from our observation it could also be argued that these refugees had not shown much commitment and enthusiasm in trying to improve on their communication skills. One South African private centre the authors encountered, which is trying to help refugees with some simple basic English skills, is poorly resourced, reliant on refugees to deliver lessons and unable to offer a high-quality of instruction.

Recommendation 13: UNHCR or service providers should provide intensive English (or other) language improvement where necessary to enable refugee teachers to compete in the host country. The UK Open University, Oxford University Press and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)[7] are just a few UK and Commonwealth sources for distance learning of English. There are many others.

It is interesting that French-speakers occasionally get a chance to teach French, as Box 5.2 below shows.

Box 5.2 Case study of Bahati: An untrained Congolese refugee from DRC, who is teaching French in private institutions in Kampala, Uganda

'Being a teacher in Uganda was not a fluke. Since 2005, I am a refugee in this country and my profession keeps growing, not because of my own efforts but because the government policy on handling refugees enables me. For, under the Refugees Act 2006, recognised refugees enjoy the same right to work as nationals. Refugees do not require work permits in Uganda. OPM issues refugees with letters explaining their status and rights, including the right to work.

'For this reason, I found myself in the obligation to take this advantage and not shut myself up in a refugee settlement, this despite the fact that refugees in private schools do not enjoy the benefits of social security, unemployment or disability insurance, nor does labour legislation protect them.'

5.9 Returning home

Technically, refugees lose special protections afforded to their status by UNHCR and host governments once a conflict is declared 'over', at which time refugees are expected to return home. In reality, however, long-term refugees may have lost their homes, land and sources of livelihood in the home country. Returnees may find themselves blocked by bureaucracy and bureaucratic lack of knowledge about the tripartite agreement, as in Juba where the Windle Trust took up their cause and trained them to be temporary teachers and youth counsellors while they waited for admission to university.

An optimistic note is struck by RET. After years supporting refugee education in Tanzania (refugees from Burundi and DRC), RET accompanied the repatriation process of thousands of Burundian refugees to their home country. While supporting the integration of returnee youth into the Burundian Education system, the RET worked with former Burundian students who performed very well in English because of their long exile in Tanzania and they became English 'teacher's assistants' in Burundian secondary schools. The learning assets of returnee youth have been highly beneficial for Burundian students and help the returnees to reinforce their self-esteem and feel useful to their peers.

5.9.1 Recognising returnees' qualifications

The recognition of refugees' qualifications at home at the end of their period of exile is an important issue. Sudanese refugees in Chad would not take Chadian courses or examinations because they feared they would not be recognised at home. South Sudanese refugees in Uganda were, on the other hand, content to use Uganda's qualifications secure in the knowledge that those qualifications would (despite initial hiccups) be recognised in their new country.

5.9.2 Note on tripartite agreements

The importance of the tripartite agreement has to be mentioned. This agreement, signed when a refugee crisis is effectively over, is between UNHCR, the host government and the home government. It should contain clauses about automatic recognition of refugees' qualifications obtained while in exile. The relevant agreement for returning South Sudanese from Kenya (in January 2006) did not contain a clear reference to qualifications and was signed with the Sudanese government in Khartoum, whereas the returns were to an increasingly autonomous South Sudan, which had not been party to the agreement. Although such an agreement was also signed with Uganda in March 2006, the authors have not been able to access the details.

The 2006 *Tripartite Agreement between the Government of Kenya and the Government of the Republic of Sudan and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the Voluntary Repatriation of Sudanese Refugees in Kenya to the Sudan* includes the following statement in Clause 8, Recognition of personal status and equivalency:

> **Clause 8: Recognition of personal status and equivalency**
>
> The legality of births, adoptions, marriage or divorces which will have taken place while the refugees were in Kenya shall be duly recognised by the Government of the Republic of Sudan upon the return of the refugee concerned. Academic qualification, vocational skills, diploma and certificates similarly obtained by them shall also be recognised, where applicable, in light of equivalent or comparable Sudanese qualifications.

Recommendation 14: Any tripartite agreement between the host country, the home country and UNHCR for the return of refugees should specify the validity and equivalence of qualifications. Work should be carried out to make sure that such an agreement's contents be sent to the correct receiving institutions in the home country. Returnees should receive transcripts or certificates before they return home, with comprehensive records placed on the worldwide web. The technical aspects of providing transcripts or certificates and creating the EMIS to record and update records could be supported by UNESCO.

5.9.3 Adapting the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (CTRP) to the needs of refugee teachers

The current study intends, inter alia, to provide initial recommendations and guidelines for developing policies on refugee teachers in Commonwealth host countries. The reason for this research is to propose complementary policy guidelines to the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (CTRP) of 2004, whose main purpose is to:

> '…balance the rights of teachers to migrate internationally, on a temporary or permanent basis, against the need to protect the integrity of national education

systems and to prevent the exploitation of scarce human resources of poor countries.' (Commonwealth Secretariat 2004, para. 2.3.1)

An important drawback of the CTRP is that its guidelines do not easily apply in situations of forced migration. Ochs's (2011) review of the implementation of the CTRP identifies significant lessons for optimising the management of voluntary teacher migration. Key recommendations include:

- preparation and planning;
- institutionalisation through policy and law; and
- data management.

The present report recommends that these same principles be applied to the management of refugee teachers.

Notes

1 See www.refed.org (accessed 2 August 2012).
2 Obura, personal communication.
3 The Special Unit seeks to support innovative/best practices in South–South co-operation.
4 To avoid having to create special legislation.
5 In Kenya around one-third of the official rate and without pension etc.
6 Common term used for refugees in South Africa.
7 See www.bbc.co.uk/learning (accessed 2 August 2012).

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Chapter 6

Models and Best Practice

Several interesting models have been identified. Four examples are mentioned here.

6.1 Refugee Law Project, Uganda

The Refugee Law Project (RLP) is affiliated to the Faculty of Law at Makerere University. It acts as a hub where many urban refugees meet. The RLP hosts a service called the Legal Aid Clinic, for clients who want either to gain refugee status or to deal with other problems, in particular medical, employment or security issues.

The RLP Legal Aid Clinic provides free legal services to refugees and asylum-seekers. It has represented more than 1,000 refugees and asylum-seekers in Uganda. It is the only legal aid clinic in Uganda concentrating efforts specifically on the refugee community. The Legal Aid Clinic continues to push for reform of existing laws, policies and practices that adversely affect refugees.

Their training courses – specifically courses in English – are available to all refugees who want them. They are not, however, of a standard that would convert a teacher from, say, French- to English-medium; rather an effort, familiar in the field, to provide the refugee with the ability to survive in an English-using environment.

The overall aim of the department is to ensure that the rights of refugees, asylum-seekers, deportees and other refugees in Uganda, as specified under national and international law, are respected and implemented.

There is assistance in the area of counselling, and referrals for clinical and mental health issues. The Psychosocial Counselling Unit aims at assisting refugees and asylum-seekers to become mentally prepared and empowered to face the challenges of displacement. Both individual and group counselling are undertaken.

6.2 Refugee Rights Unit, Cape Town University, South Africa

The University of Cape Town's Faculty of Law has produced a booklet called *Refugee Rights Unit* that guides individuals through the refugee and asylum-seeking process in South Africa (University of Cape Town undated). From this handbook, a refugee can learn about the numerous organisations assisting refugees and asylum-seekers with language and skills training in order to better integrate into communities.

The authors feel that this is an excellent model to follow, with the usual caveat that any such brochure needs to be kept up-to-date. The authors did not find anything similar for the Gauteng area.

Recommendation 15: Information brochures in hard copy and on-line (and in various languages, such as Swahili, Somali, French and Portuguese) could be prepared to disseminate what refugee rights and responsibilities are. This is a role for advocacy bodies with the relevant government departments.

6.3 Scalabrini Centre, Cape Town, South Africa

The Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town is a non-profit organisation dedicated to the assistance of refugees and asylum-seekers. The centre runs a number of programmes aimed at the integration of refugees into South African communities. Apart from its language courses, it has several programmes linked under the 'Employment Access Programme'. Among these are:

- The Litigation Programme, which takes up test cases. Currently staff members are working on the issue of why the province is refusing to allow qualified refugees to teach when the national government policy is to allow them to work on temporary contracts.
- The Foreign Educator Internship Programme (FEIP), which is part of the Foreign Educator Skills Training and Placement Programme, provides experienced qualified foreign teachers with three months' experience in a South African school. It is reported that a good proportion of the teachers then are accepted in the school where they are placed. The FEIP has received a lot of support from schools in Western Cape, as it helps to ease the challenges faced by local schools due to teacher shortages.
- Sometimes a well-intentioned measure has side-effects. Zimbabweans were granted a right to remain under the Zimbabwean Dispensation Project – but unfortunately this was granted on application by applicants' current employers, and related to the work they were doing at the time without talking their qualifications into account. Thus a teacher working as a house-maid was granted a dispensation as a house-maid. The Scalabrini Centre and others are now working to allow the nature of the job to be changed *post facto*. They are succeeding.

6.4 Windle Trust Kenya

Dr Marangu, Executive Director of Windle Trust Kenya, notes that Windle Trust 'provides, promotes and co-ordinates quality education and training for refugees in Kenya and for needy Kenyans, so as to transform both their lives and that of their communities' (personal communication).

He further notes that many refugees who teach in refugee camps or settlements (such as Kakuma and Dadaab, see Figure 4.1) were not trained as teachers, but they taught in camp schools and were paid 'incentives' by NGOs. Some have undergone a series of short training courses.

In 2006, Windle Trust started to offer teacher education certificates for refugees, and now plan a diploma level programme. (Note that Windle Trust has no mandate to find employment for refugees.)

The Teacher Education Certificate for Refugees (TECR Primary Teaching) was instituted and implemented in 2006. Technically, the certificate obtained from this training should enable the holder to apply for higher education in any institute in any part of the world to study for a diploma. The certificate is also recognised by the Government of South Sudan. It worked successfully for Sudanese refugees in Kenya, who at that time had strong expectations of returning home. This was achieved through Windle Trust, the Kenya government (Ministry of Education) and the South Sudan government (Ministry of Education) entering into negotiations and agreeing a solution. The South Sudan government (which was not yet fully independent) agreed that it would recognise the certificate obtained in Kenya. A course was started. The tutors were from teacher training institutions in Kenya, in conjunction with the Kenya Ministry of Education. In 2006–2007, more than 300 refugees sat examinations for the training for the Teacher Education Certificate for Primary Teachers, with the majority being Sudanese. A good number of refugees who graduated from the training repatriated through the Government of Sudan with the hope that they were assured of a job 'teaching', but as noted elsewhere in this report job expectations were not always met.

There is a further prospect for a diploma-level qualification entitled Borderless Higher Education for Refugees.[1] This is a five-year project awaiting funding. The teacher training will specifically be for a Diploma in Education for secondary teacher refugees in the Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps.

Note

1 More information available at: http://crs.yorku.ca/bher (accessed 5 August 2012).

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Chapter 7

Final Remarks

The recommendations appearing throughout the report have been the direct responses to situations the authors encountered during the course of the research in the three countries. This chapter will look at the wider context, drawing on the literature review.

Teacher migration is an issue for the African continent as, with increasing globalisation, it happens almost everywhere. Migration, forced or voluntary, is not a new issue – it has happened for millennia and will continue to happen. In modern times there is a wish and an opportunity to manage migration.

Migration, even when it is forced, still reflects elemental human drives: to ensure security, safety, stability and predictability. Any attempt to manage or plan for migration must therefore take these elemental drives into consideration. The case of refugees who are teachers is no different, but just as national educational planners need to develop policies to, for example, provide incentives for their teachers to be attracted to remote locations to teach, so too they need to take into account the special circumstances facing refugee teachers. Planning also needs to recognise that a refugee may be a teacher only temporarily.

The emerging teacher recruitment protocol for Africa will provide a set of principles for the ethical international recruitment of teachers. The implementation of the protocol is intended to be supported by mechanisms, which, among other objectives, build capacity in the collection of data on migrant teachers, facilitate bilateral agreements between countries for the exchange of teachers, promote the recognition of teaching qualifications according to an internationally agreed comparability framework and ensure that the rights of migrant teachers are respected. This study has suggested that managing the migration of teachers is difficult, especially in an emergency, but also that governments could take concrete steps to improve the institutional framework affecting refugee teachers. It is hoped that these concrete steps will be reflected in the emerging mechanisms, and also that the particular refugee-related nuances of the issues faced by migrant teachers will be reflected in the protocol.

In order for this ambitious project to succeed, action will be required by a number of different actors. Unions could recognise the specific difficulties of refugee teachers, who will not know the system and whose experiences make them particularly vulnerable, offering them specific assistance in negotiating the system and support in claiming their rights. Unions could create a role of refugee teacher liaison officer, if they do not have one already. It is recognised that national teaching unions might wish to put national teachers first. Organisations such as Education International are doing much to promote the rights of all teachers.

Ministries of education could establish and resource emergency preparedness units, where they have not done so already. The units would be responsible for integrating contingency plans for emergencies into education programming, ensuring they reflect disaster risk reduction and conflict sensitivity, and liaising with other relevant ministries and non-state stakeholders to ensure a consistent, co-ordinated multi-sector approach to an emergency. However, the issue of planning for emergencies is a provocative one. Given the likely increase in forced migration due to increased environmental pressures and conflict, as, for example, reported by the Ramphal Commission on Migration and Development (Gamlen 2010; Hugo 2011; Thomas-Hope 2011), preparedness is key to ensuring that children are assured of as minimal disruption to their education as possible in the event of an emergency. As the 2011 Education for All Global Monitoring Report notes, 42 per cent of the world total of out-of-school children of primary age – 28 million children – are in conflicted-affected poor countries (UNESCO 2011), although the difficulty in capturing data on refugee children should also be noted.

It is recognised that the establishment of emergency preparedness units is a particularly ambitious recommendation, and that similar units have in the past not succeeded. However, this might be an appropriate measure for some countries for several reasons: first, is the greater profile given to education in emergencies in recent years; second, development partners have increased their involvement with conflict-affected countries; and finally, there is the potential support offered by initiatives such as INEE policy roundtables, which assist countries in developing emergency-responsive policies.

Where this recommendation is taken up, two points come out strongly: first, the need for greater co-ordination between ministries of education and ministries responsible for refugees; and second, the need for greater integration of planning for emergencies in education sector policy development. Regarding the first point, emergencies – especially complex emergencies – require a multi-sectoral approach, not just in the immediate aftermath but before and after. Regarding the second point, education planning for emergency preparedness for the first stages of an emergency could include provision for ensuring that refugee teachers are compensated with a remuneration and benefit package equivalent to that which could be expected by national teachers – government guidelines on remuneration would help this to become a reality, given that education in emergencies might be delivered by non-state actors. In conclusion, the authors emphasise the need for a greater awareness of the profile and needs of refugee teachers in order to integrate them into EFA strategies. Qualified and committed teachers are an essential element in providing good-quality education and refugee teachers have the potential to fill staffing gaps in countries like South Africa, which have teacher shortages. They should also be hired to teach in camp schools, on condition of being given adequate remuneration and support.

There have recently been initiatives which seek to understand more about education quality in emergencies. For example, INEE has established a Quality Education Task Team, and there are links between the INEE Working Group on Education Fragility

and the Learning Metrics Task Force. Emerging frameworks for quality teaching and learning, such as the Commonwealth Professional Standards for Teachers and School Leaders and the emerging Global Learning Standards should more explicitly address education in emergencies and education for refugees, to ensure that their particular needs and contexts are taken into account, and that quality standards are published and adhered to. Consideration could be given to establishing a competency-based rapid assessment tool to ascertain a teacher's fitness to teach. This would enable refugee teachers to teach temporarily while formal recognition of their credentials is obtained. Harmonisation of the various NGO training programmes and government accreditation processes might then be based on these international competency-based professional standards.

There is an obvious need for funding and co-ordination of training and/or certification. The nucleus of responses to the needs of refugee teachers are already taking various forms, such as initiatives in South Africa, where the Foreign Educator Internship Programme shows promise in integrating qualified refugee teachers into the host country's school system. These, and programmes like them, need to be evaluated and taken to scale in different settings. In recognition of the fact that teachers are increasingly mobile, but that career-long professional development is expected of them, opportunities for continuous professional development and promotion should be made available to refugee teachers.

Making refugee teachers part of Education for All strategies will necessarily involve adapting national EFA plans to take this into account. This is particularly important for countries in crisis or post-crisis recovery, whose educational systems are fragile. To this end, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the CTRP could serve as a liaison between efforts to support and benefit from refugee teachers and partners that could provide technical and financial support.

One of these partners could be the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), a civil society movement that aims to end the global education crisis. Its membership is composed of a great variety of national, regional and international civil society organisations, teachers' unions and child rights campaigners. The GCE national coalitions work to hold governments to account for the promises repeatedly made to provide Education for All. There are more than 80 education coalitions that have their own memberships, comprising teachers' unions, NGOs and other civil society organisations committed to education.

Certain Commonwealth countries could benefit from the multi-donor Education Program Development Fund (EPDF), which was set up to enable more low-income countries to access the Global Partnership for Education and accelerate progress towards universal primary education. The EPDF can provide technical support and build the capacity required to prepare a sound education plan in countries with weak capacity due to crisis conditions. It can also provide support to countries in the implementation of their education sector plans, by supporting knowledge generation through better monitoring and evaluation, and knowledge sharing across countries. The Commonwealth Secretariat together with INEE partners could provide guidance on adapting technical support and funding to educational development in emergency

and post-crisis reconstruction situations, especially in countries to which refugee teachers hope to return.

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Appendix A. Interview Topics

The following topics were covered as appropriate to each group:

- The professional status (qualification, experience, registration) of the refugee teacher.
- The causes of each kind of migration; general, individual and personal reasons.
- The official policies for a durable solution; how official policy differs from actual practice in relation to employment, remuneration and rights of refugees.
- How refugee teachers are perceived by students, parents, school heads and fellow teachers.
- Whether teaching in another country (or being taught by a refugee) can be a positive, enriching experience.
- Refugee teachers' coping mechanisms in all aspects of their lives, particularly in the case of urban refugees.
- Whether anything is 'carried back' to the home country.

Tool A: Background questionnaire for individual refugees

The refugees themselves were the main source of information. Although the questionnaire was adapted slightly for each country, the following topics were covered.

Personal background

1. Country of origin, age, sex, family status, formal qualification, notable matters (e.g. disability, marriage to host national)?
2. Type of teacher training diploma obtained (primary, secondary, technical, educational administration, other...)?
3. Years of teaching in home country; at what level?
4. How long in the host country? How long teaching?
5. How they got into teaching or other occupations in the host country; if in another occupation at present, what might induce them to return to teaching?
6. If they have left teaching, why and whether they intend to return?
7. What issues they faced in getting settled (barriers to teaching, problems in getting residence papers, prejudices faced and coping strategies developed)? How were these different from life at home?
8. How they interact with authorities?
9. Awareness of the official rules; extent to which they are enforced?

Where employed

Not teaching
Employed by UN, NGO, church (specify)
Employed in private sector
Employed in state sector

Formally established in the system: equal rights (e.g. right to promotion)
Formally in the system: fewer rights
Occasional tutor, essentially alone
On the margins, tolerated, 'agreements', not contracts
Own refugee compatriots

What they would request as the most useful forms of help?

Which change in policy would help most?

Tool B: Interviews with people in an official capacity

The following categories of correspondents were interviewed for the study:

- Government officials, national and local, working with refugees;
- Staff of NGOs, church organisations, and UN bodies working with refugees;
- Education bodies of the host country (the ministry, teachers' service commission [or equivalent], local authorities, teachers' colleges and schools);
- Teachers' unions; and
- Private and other schools employing refugee teachers.

A list of experts and people with insight were contacted including UNHCR, UNICEF and NGO education staff, particularly including NRC, Windle Trust and JRS who have (or had) activities in all the study areas, often for over 20 years.

Tool C: Communication with informants by phone, email or in person

Communication with informants was based on a short questionnaire sent by email, followed by dialogue either by phone or by email. A list of experts and people with insight were contacted including UNHCR, UNICEF and NGO education staff, particularly including Windle Trust and the Jesuit Refugee Service who have (or had) activities in all the study areas and a depth of knowledge over 20 or so years of action.

Appendix B. Researchers

Barry Sesnan works in education in East and West Africa, in the Horn and Great Lakes, as practitioner and at policy level. He was a research fellow at the Refugee Studies Programme in Oxford, and has supervised research in Makerere University. An early proponent of quality education in refugee and other difficult circumstances, he has worked with refugees, stayees, returnees and displaced people. He has carried out education projects during and after volcanoes, floods, mass loss of teachers due to AIDS, famines and wars.

Barry Sesnan is responsible for innovative measures ensuring quality in remote or difficult situations, including assessment of teachers by video and rapid training projects. He is a specialist in alternative forms of education and in certification.

Dr Eric Allemano, a sociologist, has more than 30 years' experience in educational research and development. His work includes research and programme planning for education in emergencies in Liberia, Chad and Haiti. Among Dr Allemano's achievements are initiatives in teacher training and management and cross-cultural communication. His writing includes studies on HIV/AIDS and education in Africa, as well as evaluations of basic educational projects funded by UNICEF, USAID and other development agencies.

Henry Ndugga is a Ugandan manager and researcher with ten years' experience in development management; he is a researcher in both commercial and educational contexts. He has worked in Rwanda, Uganda and South Sudan, including managing a school in the refugee-affected area of Uganda.

Said Shabani speaks French, English and Swahili and comes from DRC. A qualified teacher, nurse and HIV/AIDS educator, he has more than ten years' work experience in NGOs such as Echo Bravo, Hange na SIDA, SOS Grand lacs and 'Les amis intimes'. He has conducted HIV/AIDS peer education consultancies for UNICEF Goma and UNDP Bunia in DRC. He is now in South Africa.

John Kitumaini Kasongo assisted with the logistics and setting up of interviews in South Africa.

Dr Anne Hewling, a consultant in education and development, provided valuable insights and substantial editorial support.

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