

Teachers in Refugee and Displacement Settings: Chad Case Study

Challenges and Strategies for Teacher
Quality and Workforce Sustainability

May 2024



Tadmoun Primary School, Farchana refugee camp, hosts over 1,300 Sudanese refugee students.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	3	Implications for teacher quality	27
		Inadequate compensation	27
Visual Displays	4	Insufficient continuous teacher professional development	27
List of Tables	4	Diminishing prospective teacher pipeline	27
List of Maps and Boxes	4	Additional challenges	28
Acronyms	5		
Case Study Overview	6	Implications for Sustainability of the Teacher Workforce	28
		Sustaining teachers and teaching in the camps	28
Country Context	7	Cross-border strategies	29
Overview of displaced populations	7		
Overview of education system	8	Implications for Inclusion of Refugee Teachers into National Systems	29
Education expenditures and donor support	10	Complexity of inclusion	29
Overview of national inclusion efforts	10	Economic constraints	30
Methodology	11	Advocacy for inclusion	30
Data analysis	12		
Study limitations	12	The Way Forward	30
		Teacher management	30
Teachers Working in Refugee and Displacement Settings in Chad	13	Teacher professional development	31
		Teacher well-being	31
Key Findings	14		
Teacher management	14	References	32
Teachers' salaries and benefits	15		
Salary inequities	16		
Other conditions of work	18		
Teacher attrition	18		
Teacher data	19		
Teacher professional development	19		
Teacher qualifications: pathways and complexities	20		
École Normale des Instituteurs	22		
Bilingue d'Abéché training pathway	22		
ENSA training pathway	23		
Continuous teacher professional development	24		
Academic opportunities and job prospects	25		
Teacher well-being	26		

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Visual Displays

List of Tables

Table 1: Refugees in Chad by country of origin, UNHCR, March 2023	7
Table 2: Refugee children in Chad by countries of origin	8
Table 3: Chadian education system structure	9
Table 4: Teacher profile overview	13
Table 5: Teacher salary contributions by Funder	16
Table 6: École Normale des Instituteurs Bilingue d'Abéché enrollment and completion	22
Table 7: General training programme structure and content	23

List of Maps and Boxes

Map 1: Situation of refugees, internally displaced persons and returnees in Chad	7
Box 1: Key education actors in Eastern Chad	14
Box 2: Promises and pitfalls: Transferring teachers' salaries into national financial systems	17
Box 3: Teaching qualifications pathways in the Chadian system	20
Box 4: Community teacher levels (UNESCO, 2020)	21

Acronyms

APE	Association des Parents d'Élèves
APICED	Agence pour la Promotion des Initiatives Communautaires en Éducation
BPRM	Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration
CAR	Central African Republic
CBO	Community-based Organizations
CDFCEP	Centres Départementaux de la Formation Continue d'École Primaire
CFEN	Certificat de Fin d'Études Normales
CEFEN	Certificat élémentaire de fin d'études normales
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CRT	Chadian Red Cross
CTPD	Continuous Teacher Professional Development
EAA	Education Above All
ECW	Education Cannot Wait
EiE	Education in Emergencies
ENIBA	École Normale des Instituteurs Bilingue d'Abéché
ENSA	École Normale Supérieure d'Abéché
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCR	Global Compact for Refugees
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
IDA	International Development Association
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IMG	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
KI	Key Informant
MENPC	Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Promotion Civique
MOE	Ministry of Education
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
TPD	Teacher Professional Development
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
WASH	Water, Sanitation, and Health
WB	World Bank
XAF	Central African Francs

Case Study Overview

Teachers are central figures in any education system, yet they rarely receive the attention they deserve (Schwille, Dembélé, & Schubert, 2007). Amidst the latest policy trends and educational innovations, their contributions and needs remain largely neglected. The Chad case study examines what is happening across the teacher management, teacher professional development (TPD), and teacher well-being dimensions for different profiles of teachers working in refugee and displacement settings. It further situates these dimensions against the current global push for including refugees in national systems.

The case study is part of a more extensive study on Teachers in Refugee and Displacement Settings: Challenges & Strategies for Teacher Quality & Workforce Sustainability¹. That aims to identify the challenges, opportunities, and implications for strengthening teacher quality and teacher workforce sustainability to make needed changes. The individual country case studies conducted in Chad, Malaysia, and Uganda capture the complexity of national education systems and teacher policies and practices in refugee-receiving contexts by describing the current state of affairs in rich detail.

Within the context of Chad, the case study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the teachers' profiles working in Chad refugee settings?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities for improving teacher management, professional development, and well-being among teachers working in refugee settings in Chad?
3. What are the implications of these challenges and opportunities for strengthening teacher quality and promoting workforce sustainability among different profiles of teachers?
4. What are the implications for the inclusion of refugee teachers into the national system?

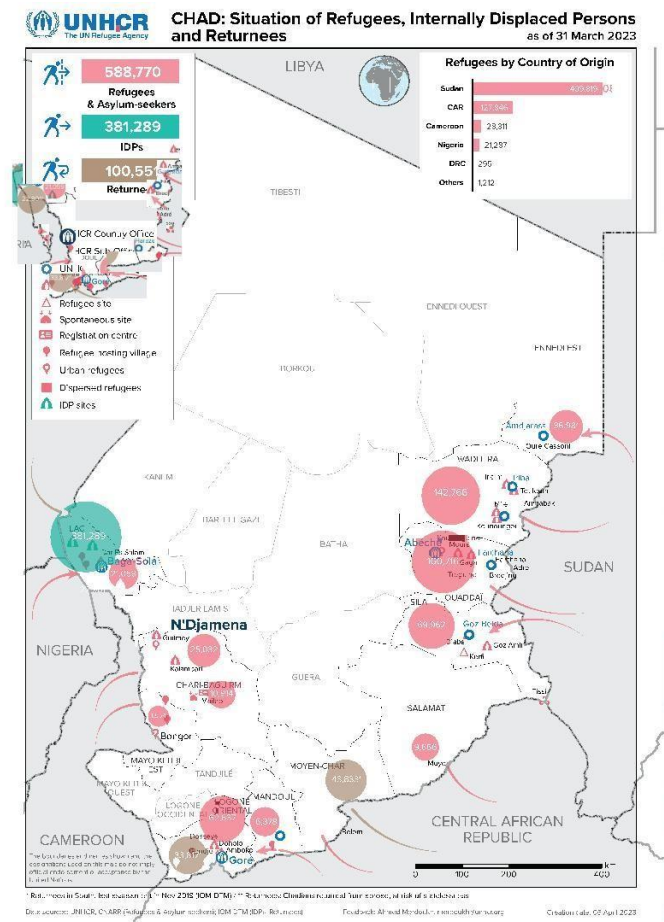
The case study presents the country context, study methodology, teacher profiles; critical findings related to teacher management, professional development, and well-being; implications for improving quality, promoting workforce sustainability, and advocating for the inclusion of refugee teachers into the national system; and recommendations for the way forward (while simultaneously acknowledging that there is no straightforward path).

¹ Mendenhall, M. (2024). Teachers in Refugee and Displacement Settings: Challenges & Strategies for Teacher Quality and Workforce Sustainability. UNHCR

Country Context

Chad is a low-income country with the world's fifth- lowest human development index (World Bank, 2020b). It has a largely rural and dispersed population, estimated at 17 million (World Bank, 2024; LFA, 2013). Chad grapples with security issues connected to inter-communal conflicts in neighbouring countries and the effects of climate change, which is drying up Lake Chad (Watson et al., 2018). The government also faces the spreading threat of violent extremism in the broader region (Ibid). The security situation in Chad remains generally stable, though the incursions of non-state armed groups and intercommunal conflicts pose threats in some parts of the country (UNHCR, 2022a). Boko Haram remains active around the Lake Chad Basin (Ibid). The security situation in southern Chad remains relatively calm, but incidents have spread throughout the region, including clashes between regular armed forces and rebel groups (Ibid). These factors have contributed to forced migration and displacement within Chad's borders as well as cross-border with inflows and outflows of refugees.

Chad's economy is vulnerable to regional insecurity and price volatility due to its heavy dependence on oil production (World Bank, 2020a). In 2003, Chad transitioned from a largely agrarian economy to a predominantly oil-producing country (Ibid). The country experienced a deep recession from 2016 to 2018, caused by a drop in oil prices (Ibid). The economic crises disrupted the provision of education services, especially in rural areas (UNICEF, 2017; World Bank, 2020a). It also cut or caused delays in teachers' salaries and subsidies and negatively impacted resource mobilization for the education sector (UNICEF, 2017).



Map 1: Situation of refugees, internally displaced persons and returnees in Chad

Overview of displaced populations

Chad currently hosts around 583,356 refugees, 381,289 IDPs, and 100,551 returnees (UNHCR, 2023). Refugees in Chad originate from multiple countries, with the majority from Sudan, Central African Republic (CAR), Cameroon, and Nigeria, as demonstrated in the following Table 1.

Country of origin	Population
Sudan	407,378
Central African Rep.	125,433
Cameroon	28,256
Nigeria	20,937
Not Specified	1,088
Dem. Rep. of the Congo	264

Table 1: Refugees in Chad by country of origin, UNHCR, March 2023

Refugees from Sudan, CAR, and Cameroon are in protracted displacement contexts, whereas refugees from Nigeria are currently considered to be in acute displacement. Sudanese refugees live in refugee camps in Chad's eastern border provinces (Ennedi, Est, Wadi Fira, Ouaddai, and Sila), whereas Nigerian refugees live

predominantly in the Lac region. Refugees from CAR live predominantly in the southern provinces of MoyenChari, Salamat, Mandoul, and Logone Oriental (UNHCR, 2021). While most of the refugees in Chad live in 23 camps and sites run by the government with support from UNHCR, refugees also reside in over a dozen host villages in southern Chad and the urban areas of N'Djamena and nearby provinces. Chad also has 381,289 IDPs residing in the regions that border Cameroon, Nigeria, and Niger, most of whom are in Lac Province (UNHCR, 2023). The displacement of IDPs is primarily caused by non-state armed groups who have engaged in insurgency in the Lake Chad Basin since 2015 (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2021). Chad also has a population in the south who initially fled to CAR as refugees due to political instabilities in Chad and have since returned due to political unrest in CAR (Burde and others, 2023). Linguistically, in addition to various local languages, most Sudanese refugees speak Arabic, Central African refugees speak French, Nigerian refugees speak Hausa, and Cameroonian refugees speak French or Arabic, depending on their background (UNHCR, 2022a).

As of April 14th, 2023, there were 269,473 refugee children between 3 and 18 years old, 50 per cent of whom were girls. See Table 2.

	3-18 year olds		
	Pre-primary, Primary, Secondary		
	Girls	Boys	Total
Total Sudanese	93,994	94,210	188,204
Total Central African Republic	29,637	29,488	59,125
Total Cameroonians	5,171	4,698	9,869
Total Nigerians	4,742	4,590	9,332
Total Urban (Mixed)	1,436	1,507	2,943
Total Operation	134,980	134,493	269,473

Table 2: Refugee children in Chad by country of origin (UNHCR, 2023)

Overview of the education system

Four central education-related ministries govern different parts of the educational system in Chad. The pre-primary education cycle, while not compulsory, is covered by the Ministère de la Femme, la Famille, et la Protection de la Petite Enfance. The Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Promotion Civique (MENPC) covers the primary level and academic stream of the secondary level. The technical and vocational streams of secondary school are covered by the Ministère de la Formation Professionnelle et des Métiers. Finally, tertiary and higher education, whether academic or vocational, are covered by the Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Recherche Scientifique et de la Formation Professionnelle.

The MENPC sets the curriculum, examinations, school calendar, and key education delivery policies for nationals and refugee children attending primary, secondary, and non-formal schools (Dewulf and others, 2020). The Chadian National Education System coordinates with various bilateral partners, including the World Bank and UN agencies, to address the educational needs of displaced populations in Chad. In addition, UNHCR leads the national Refugee Education Working Group in collaboration with Chad's MENPC and the National Commission for the Reception and Reintegration of Refugees and Returnees with the cooperation from UNICEF, UNESCO; the World Food Program, and international non-governmental organizations such as the ACRA-CCS Foundation, Chadian Red Cross (CRT), and the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS). Additionally, the National Education Cluster, co-chaired by UNICEF and MENPC and co-facilitated by the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), coordinates education for IDPs and other crisis-affected communities (Burde and others, 2023; Dewulf and others, 2020).

The educational system of Chad is patterned after the French model, with primary, lower-secondary, upper secondary, and higher education levels, as shown in Table 3. The system also has technical, vocational, and nonformal schools at the upper-secondary level. Schools are classified as either public, private, or community schools. Within those categories are approximately 4,576 community and 5,211 public schools (APICED KII). From pre- primary to technical and vocational schools, private schools amount to approximately 2,500 (UNESCO, 2020).

Education	School/Level	Age	Years	Notes
Pre-Primary	Pre School	3-5	3	Non-obligatory
Primary	Primary School	6-11	6	1st level: cours préparatoire 1 (CP1) 2nd level: cours préparatoire 2 (CP2) 3rd level: cours élémentaire 1 (CE1) 4th level: cours élémentaire 2 (CE2) 5th level: cours moyen 1 (CM1) 6th level: cours moyen 2 (CM2) Certificate/Diploma awarded: Certificat d' Études Élémentaire et Primaire Tchadien
Secondary	Secondary	12-19	7	Certificate/Diploma awarded: Baccalaureat de l'Enseignement Supérieur
Secondary	Lycée technique commerciale/ lycée technique industriel	16-18	3	These institutions only have a higher division (seconde to terminale)
Post-secondary	Higher Technician Certificate		2	Brevet de Technician Supérieur
Tertiary	I Cycle		4	Licence
Tertiary	II Cycle		1-2	Maîtrise (Master)
Tertiary	III Cycle		3	Doctorate (PhD)

Table 3: Chadian education system structure, République du Tchad, 2021

Most primary schools are public and community schools, whereas most pre-school and secondary schools are privately operated. The national system relies heavily on community schools and teachers (maîtres communautaires) with varying experience levels to teach the official curricula. Community schools are directly created and managed by the communities under the leadership of the Association des Parents d' Élèves (APE) or Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) (Dewulf and others, 2020). The teaching population is heavily female at the early childhood level but primarily male across all other education levels. For instance, as of 2021, there were 38,686 male primary school teachers versus 9,708 female teachers and 14,059 male secondary school teachers versus only 1,173 female secondary school teachers (UNESCO, 2021).

Primary education is compulsory for children starting at age six and gives them basic six-year literacy training. Primary education should be free, but parents regularly pay PTA fees and teachers' salaries (République du Tchad, 2021). Secondary education is offered for seven years and allows students to attend vocational courses. Higher education is offered in the university or at collegiate institutions. The École Normale Supérieure is a higher education institute that offers courses specifically for secondary school teachers. In comparison, the École Normale d'Instituteurs Bilingues is a higher education institute that offers courses specifically for primary school teachers (Ibid).

Most children enter the education system at age six in urban areas or seven in rural areas. In the past, at the end of primary school, the examination for the Certificat d'Études Primaires (offered in French and Arabic) determined whether students move to secondary school or go to technical or vocational school (République du

Tchad, 2021), but this test is no longer given. Secondary school is composed of two phases. Lower-secondary school or “collège” is 3 years for professional and vocational pathways or 4 years for academic pathways, culminating in a Brevet examination. Upper-secondary school, or “lycée”, is four years ending in a Baccalaureat examination for academic and professional streams or higher level Brevet exam for some technical streams. Only a relatively small number of children enter secondary school in Chad, and they are far more likely to be boys than girls. Among refugee children in Chad, only 28 per cent enter lower secondary and just 10 per cent enter upper secondary (UNHCR, 2020b). During the 2022-2023 school year, only 16 per cent of 12 to 15-year-olds were in lower-secondary school, and just 5 per cent of 16 to 18-year-olds were in upper-secondary school (net enrolment rates, UNHCR 2023).

Instruction is in either French or Arabic. The majority of schools (10,358 schools as of 2021) use French, whereas fewer schools use Arabic (642), and some schools operate as bilingual schools (829) (UNESCO, 2021). The language of instruction generally depends on the school’s geographical location.

Education expenditures and donor support

Resource constraints severely limit educational opportunities for learners in Chad, both from refugee and host populations. Because of funding challenges and a lack of basic educational resources, the quality of learning—including pedagogy, language of instruction, classroom practices, teacher training, and differentiation—falls secondary to the challenges of access and resources for displaced populations and host communities (Burde and others, 2023). The lack of physical infrastructure, including classrooms and learning materials, is a primary constraint for host and displaced communities, as is the lack of teachers and the government’s inability to consistently pay teachers’ salaries (Ibid). Limited post-secondary education opportunities for studying can also be a factor in dropout rates due to demotivation (FGD, 2022).

Chad spends 2.37 per cent of its GDP on education spending, falling below the regional average of 4 per cent and the average for its income group of 3.6 per cent (World Bank, 2020b). Regarding international aid funding, France, Germany, and Australia give the most in the education sector (Ibid). Monitoring and financing for refugee education, including material, infrastructure, and staffing, is dependent on UNHCR, which complemented government education expenditures in 2021 with US\$ 8,030,987, or US\$ 97.80 per student for 92,891 refugee students (Burde and others, 2023). The majority of UNHCR education funding goes towards payment of teacher incentives, leaving minimal budget available to cover other needs. Aside from UNHCR, Education Cannot Wait (ECW), the World Bank, and the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) contribute the most funding to education in emergencies (EiE) in Chad, directed at both displaced populations and host communities (ReliefWeb, 2022).

The GPE is one of the primary funding sources for the EiE sector in Chad. GPE has supported the implementation of the national education sector strategy and provided funding since 2012. In 2020, the World Bank approved a US\$ 75 million grant from the International Development Association (IDA) to help the country scale up support for refugees and host communities through improved access to essential social services and livelihoods, including access to health and education services (World Bank, 2020b). Additionally, ECW’s total investments in Chad reached US\$ 41 million as of 2023 (ECW, 2023). Finally, JRS, primarily funded by the U.S. State Department’s Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (BPRM), is important in funding refugee education at the secondary education level, particularly in eastern Chad, including teacher training and scholarships for teachers to receive official teaching qualifications. However, funding remains limited (Dewulf and others, 2020). Education Above All’s (EAA) Educate a Child also contributes meaningfully to refugee education. At the primary level, the EAA’s Educate a Child programme has made significant investments in local schools attended by refugees in Chad since 2020, including financing continuing teacher development and qualifying teacher training; constructing classrooms and water, sanitation, and health (WASH) facilities in schools; distributing teaching and learning materials; as well as piloting innovative programmes such as Sports for Protection and school-based nurseries.

Overview of national inclusion efforts

Despite notable resource constraints, Chad has upheld relatively open policies for refugees and has adopted policies that benefit refugees and refugee education (UNHCR, 2020b; UNICEF, 2017). These efforts include education strategies, including Education Strategy 2013–2016, the Interim Plan for Education 2018–2020, and the Education Strategy 2030 (Burde and others, 2023). More recently, Chad adopted the National Law on

Asylum, which aims to ensure refugees and asylum seekers fundamental protections, including freedom of movement, the right to work, and access to healthcare, education, and justice (UN, 2020). Chad also adopted the Global Compact for Refugees (GCR) in 2018 and initiated multiple projects that aligned with its commitment to the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) (Carciotto, 2020). Through these efforts, the government pledged to end statelessness by 2024 and to issue free birth certificates for 120,000 refugee children (Ibid). In response to the CRRF, the Government of Chad also instituted an out-of-camp policy that follows an innovative “villagization” approach, whereby the Government either turned refugee and IDP camps into official villages or absorbed refugees from camps into nearby villages and towns (Lamarche, 2022). As a pilot, Central African refugees in three camps (Amboko, Gondje, and Djabal) in southern Chad were moved to host communities to live alongside them (UNHCR, 2023). Since then, 65 per cent of newly arrived refugees from the CAR have been placed directly in hosting villages (UNHCR, 2023). This initiative seeks to reinforce the capacity of host communities to welcome refugees. This process works well among refugees in the southern, more populated regions, where refugee camps are already close to local villages.

Over the past ten years, the Chadian government has made significant strides in developing policies to integrate refugees into national systems, benefiting refugee teachers (Mendenhall and others, 2019b; St. Arnold et al., 2023). Amidst protracted displacement, Sudanese refugee students transitioned to follow the Chadian national curriculum in 2014 (UNHCR, 2015). At that point, over 1,000 refugee teachers received training in teaching the national curriculum (Ibid). The government also converted over 100 schools across 19 camps and refugee sites to official Chadian schools, enabling refugee children and Chadian students to study alongside each other (Ibid). The government assigned 300 Chadian teachers to those schools and provided training for an additional 400 Chadian community teachers (Ibid). All refugee students also gained access to national examinations (UNHCR, 2022a).

In 2018, the government additionally committed to improving access to secondary and tertiary education for refugees (Ibid). Thirteen agreements have been signed with public and private universities to include refugees within their system (Dewulf et al., 2020). Furthermore, in 2018, the MENPC included refugees in its education sector plan and national education programmes (UNHCR, 2020a; UNHCR, 2020b). Following the Interim Plan for Education in Chad 2018–2020, Chad officially integrated refugee camp schools into its national education system, making all camp schools Chadian public schools. The government’s “villagization” strategy also worked to help host communities and refugee communities mutually support one another. Urban refugees and refugees living in host villages were allowed to attend public and private Chadian schools (Ibid).

Finally, in 2020, the Ministry of Education (MOE) validated the Refugee Education Strategy 2030 for Chad, which further reinforced the inclusion of refugees in the national system at all levels, took stock of the current situation of refugee education in the country, and set five-year and ten-year targets to improve access and quality of education. In the 2022–2023 academic year, more than 107,700 refugees attended formal school, the highest number recorded to date (UNHCR, 2023).

Despite the education strategies adopted by MENPC, there is still a financial shortfall for supporting the inclusion of refugees. The reality of refugee students attending national schools, particularly at the university level, where the gross enrolment rate for refugees is less than 1 per cent, is severely limited due to financial and other factors (Burde and others, 2023). Promising approaches for training teachers at the tertiary level will be discussed below.

Methodology

The qualitative methodology for the case study consisted of interviews with key stakeholders, including community-based organizations (CBOs), donors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), United Nations (UN) agencies, and teachers. It also entailed focus group discussions (FGDs) with teachers. The development of the case study was process-oriented, examining the “people, situations, events, and...processes” that connect them and interact and influence one another (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016, p. 29).

The research questions included:

1. What are the teachers’ profiles of those working in Chad’s refugee settings?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities for improving teacher management, professional development, and well-being among teachers working in refugee settings in Chad?

3. What are the implications of these challenges and opportunities for strengthening teacher quality and promoting workforce sustainability among different profiles of teachers?
4. What are the implications for including refugee teachers in national systems?

The research visit to Chad took place during one week at the beginning of November 2022. Data was collected in N'Djamena, Goz Beida refugee camp (Djabal and Goz Amin sub-camps), and Abéché. Co-researcher Whitney Hough travelled to Chad to support data collection activities.

Data collection consisted of:

- Nine key informants (KI) interviews with 22 total interviewees, including representatives from the CBOs, government, NGOs, teacher training colleges, and UN agencies.
- Six focus group discussions (FGDs) with 48 teachers (separate FGDs were conducted with female and male teachers, including a mix of qualified national teachers and qualified/unqualified refugee teachers).
- Information meeting with the local government agency responsible for refugees in Goz Beida.

Some interviews were in English, but most were in French with translation support from UNHCR. The FGDs with teachers were conducted in French and/or Arabic (per the participants' preferred language) with translation support from peer teachers.

For all of the research visits, we recorded the interviews with a digital recorder when possible; however, most participants preferred not to have the interviews recorded. In these cases, we took careful handwritten notes. Handwritten notes were also taken during the FGDs.

For the FGDs with teachers, we invited teachers to write their ideas in response to our questions on index cards. The prompts included questions such as: What do you like most about being a teacher? What are the biggest challenges you face as a teacher? What specific changes are needed to overcome these challenges? What pathways/options do you have for sharing your ideas for making improvements? Participants were asked to vote/rank the top 3 challenges, which helped to focus the conversation. Although the teachers presented myriad challenges during these discussions, the interactive nature of the exercise allowed them to share their ideas with the facilitators, alleviate the intensity of a more focused discussion, and, in some cases, allow time for reflection and translation.

Due to the primary investigator's institutional affiliation, Teachers College, Columbia University's Institutional Review Board approved the overall study. Participants completed consent forms aligned with the data collection activities (e.g., FGDs, interviews).

Data analysis

Interview transcripts, when available, were transcribed verbatim. Interview and FGD notes were reviewed and refined post-research visits by comparing and contrasting notes taken by two researchers who participated in the interview. Analysis of the FGDs and interviews went through an iterative process of open- and closed-coding, ultimately leading to a codebook informed by the study's objectives, scholarly and grey literature on teachers in refugee and displacement settings, and the participants' ideas. Most of the interviews were coded using NVivo software; queries of the coded data were run by theme, contributing to the final write-up of findings.

Study limitations

The data comes from interviews and focus groups primarily focused on refugee education in the eastern regions of Sudan due to time and resource limitations. This means most teachers were refugees (compared to other refugee-hosting areas in Chad that rely more heavily on national teachers). Reliance on translation support from a UNHCR staff member during some interviews may have hindered participants' full participation. The study also focuses predominantly on primary education due to the focus on the field and the various stakeholders working at this education level.

Teachers Working in Refugee and Displacement Settings in Chad

In the Chadian public education system, there are three broad categories of teachers: *fonctionnaires* (civil servant teachers), contract teachers, and *maîtres communautaires* (community teachers) (GPE, 2022). These teacher profiles vary in qualifications, financial responsibility for teachers' salaries, contract status, and nationality (see Table 4 below for more details).

Teacher profile	Distinguishing characteristics
Government or Civil Servant Teachers <i>Fonctionnaires</i> (primary and secondary levels)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Civil servants (<i>fonctionnaires</i>), salary paid by the state ▪ Nationally recognized teaching qualifications ▪ Guaranteed a contract until retirement ▪ Chadian nationals
Contract and Temporary Teachers <i>Enseignants Professeurs Contractuels Or Vacataires</i> (mostly secondary level, emerging category at primary level)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Varied teaching qualification status ▪ Salary paid by the community, partner agencies, or the state ▪ Varied contracts: <i>Contractuels</i> have part- or full-time contracts with a fixed sum for a school year or less. <i>Vacataires</i> have hourly or daily rates and work part-time, often rotating between multiple different schools. ▪ Chadian nationals and some refugee teachers (pending funding source)
Community Teachers <i>Maîtres Communautaires</i> (MC) (primary level)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Varied teaching qualification status pending level (details described below) ▪ Incentives paid by PTAs, partner agencies, or the state via <i>Agence pour la Promotion des Initiatives Communautaires en Éducation</i> (APICED) ▪ Fixed, short-term contracts of 9-10 months (aligned with the academic year), generally renewed yearly. ▪ A mix of Chadian nationals and refugee teachers, pending location

Table 4: Teacher profile overview

The exact numbers of teachers across each profile are hard to come by, but efforts are underway to develop a comprehensive database of teachers working in refugee and displacement settings in Chad.

The academic level of teachers is generally low, particularly for community teachers. Approximately three out of four pupils are taught by teachers whose highest level of education does not surpass secondary schooling, mainly because there is little access to higher education, technical education and professional training, especially for refugee teachers in camps (UNICEF, 2023). Schools that refugees and other displaced learners attend typically have a shortage of both teachers and teaching and learning materials. As of 2019, the teacher-to-student ratio in refugee areas was 1 to 104, and the classroom-to-student ratio was 1 to 125, despite the 'official' national teacher-to-pupil ratio of 1 to 56 (Chad Education Cluster, 2021).

Key Findings

Teacher management

Teacher management consists of selection, recruitment, and deployment; pre-and in-service teacher professional development; and working conditions—supervision, appraisal, and career paths (Bengtsson et al., 2023b). The entity responsible for teacher management varies and often involves coordination across several agencies. The most prominent actors in teacher management for refugee education in eastern Chad are noted in Box 1.

Box 1: Key education actors in eastern Chad

Agence Pour la Promotion on des Initiatives Communautaires en Éducation (APICED): APICED is an autonomous government agency that manages community initiatives and all teachers who are not civil servants (state fonctionnaires).

École Normale des Instituteurs Bilingue d'Abéché (ENIBA): ENIBA is the qualifying teacher training institution in eastern Chad focused on primary school teachers. ENIBA offers an accelerated training programme for refugee teachers.

École Normale Supérieure d'Abéché (ENSA): ENSA is the qualifying teacher training institution in eastern Chad focused on secondary school teachers.

Division de l'Éducation en Situation d'Urgence - MENPC's Division of Education in Emergencies (EiE): The Ministry of Education's EiE division within its Directorate of Inclusive Education, Specialized Education, and Emergency Actions officially formed in 2019. There are four subdivisions: administration; nomad; disability; and education in emergencies. The EiE division oversaw the short-term crash course training on the Chadian curriculum after 2014 when the Sudanese refugee camp schools transitioned to the Chadian curriculum. They also worked on the officialization of all the schools in refugee camps in 2018.

Jesuit Refugee Service: JRS is UNHCR's implementing partner for education in eastern Chad, particularly emphasising secondary education. JRS' involvement in the east of Chad began in 2006.

Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Promotion Civique (MENPC): MENPC is the Ministry of Education responsible for primary and secondary formal and informal education. It co-leads both EiE coordination structures in Chad—the Education Cluster, covering all EiE contexts, and the Refugee Education Working Group, focusing on refugees. MENPC coordinates education in emergencies largely through the national education system, UN agencies, and NGOs.

UNICEF: UNICEF provides some support in refugee camps, focusing mainly on host communities and returnees.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is a United Nations agency mandated to aid and protect refugees, forcibly displaced communities, and stateless people, and to assist in their voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement to a third country.

World Bank: The World Bank is an international financial institution that provides loans and grants to the governments of low- and middle-income countries to pursue capital projects

In remote refugee-hosting areas in eastern Chad, few locals have been trained and hired as civil servant teachers due to low education levels among the population. As a result, teachers in these schools are either civil servant teachers from nearby Abéché, or from other regions sent by the State, or community teachers (the majority of whom are refugees) who help fill significant gaps. This challenge is not unique to refugee-hosting areas. APICED, a government agency that manages community initiatives and all teachers who are not civil servants, and the World Bank estimate that between 60 per cent and 65 per cent, respectively, of all primary teachers in Chad are community teachers due to a lack of civil servant teachers nationally (KII, 2022).

Given teacher shortages in the region, refugees and national citizens living in the local area with and without teaching qualifications are hired and deployed by international and humanitarian actors to teach in public and private primary and secondary schools inside and outside the refugee camps (KII, 2022). Given these shortages, teachers with primary education qualifications may also be hired to teach at the secondary level.

Teachers' salaries and benefits

The myriad of organizations and approaches to paying teachers' salaries demonstrate some of the sector's challenges. The Chadian government, ACRA, APICED, GPE, JRS, UNHCR, UNICEF, BPRM, and the World Bank pay teachers' salaries. The government typically pays the salaries of civil servant teachers in public schools, while UNHCR and other implementing partners primarily fund refugee community teachers' and contract teachers' salaries. Nevertheless, UNHCR and its NGO partners often pay for civil servant teachers because the government cannot deploy and pay enough civil servant teachers, or the teachers abandon their posts, and the gaps need to be filled. Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) also contribute to teachers' salaries. The World Bank supports both contract teachers and community teachers through APICED.

Table 5 below outlines the 2020-2022 agencies funding teachers' salaries (i.e. teachers of refugees) across the country.

Funder	% Contributed to Salaries of Teachers of Refugees 2020-2021	% Contributed to Salaries of Teachers of Refugees 2021-2022	% Contributed to Salaries of Teachers of Refugees 2022-23
State of Chad	6.8%	5.0%	5.7%
UNHCR	71.0%	72.0%	76%
Community(PTA)	6.9%	7.4%	5.7%
World Bank	3.1%	2.6%	2.6%
U.S. Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (BPRM)	10.0%	11.0%	9.4%
GPE	1.0%	0.3%	-
UNICEF	-	-	.4%
Other(NGOs)	0.8%	2.0%	.3%

Table 5: Teacher salary contributions by funder, UNHCR, 2021-2022²

Source: UNHCR (2021) Tchad : Dashboard Éducation – fin d’année scolaire 2020/2021; UNHCR (2021). Tchad : Dashboard Éducation – Rentrée scolaire 2021/2022; UNHCR (2022). Tchad : Dashboard Éducation – Rentrée scolaire 2022/2023

Salary inequities

The agencies supporting teachers’ salaries pay significantly different amounts depending on the teacher profile. Civil servant teachers (working outside of refugee camps) earn a salary between 198,035 Central African francs (XAF) (~US\$ 326) and 932,457 XAF (~US\$ 1,536) per month (MENPC). The payments offered by PTAs are significantly lower. At the primary level, pending the means of the community, PTAs might pay between 6,000 XAF and 15,000 XAF (~US\$ 10-25 per month). Lower-secondary level sees 10,000 to 30,000 XAF (~US\$ 16-48 monthly). At the upper-secondary level, we see 15,000 to 40,000 XAF (~US\$ 25-45). UNHCR has accounted for the fact that PTA-paid teachers are almost entirely situated in the south, and 98 per cent work in schools outside of the camps (UNHCR 2022 register of teachers in refugee camps, sites, and host villages).

UNHCR adopts the following incentive pay scale for refugee teachers:

- Primary teacher qualified: 52,000-60,000 XAF monthly or US\$ 92 monthly
- Primary teacher unqualified: 36,000 XAF monthly or US\$ 64 monthly
- Primary school director: 54,000 XAF monthly or US\$ 95 monthly
- Middle (“moyen”) school teacher and/or director of studies: 53,000-54,000 XAF monthly or US\$ 94 monthly

Incentives paid by UNHCR assume additional contributions from PTAs.

There are also differences across regions:

- **East:** 10-month contract; Unqualified: 36,000 XAF (~US\$ 58); Qualified: 52,000 XAF (~US\$ 84); Directors: 54,000 XAF (~US\$ 87). Same at the primary and secondary level.
- **South:** 9-month contract; Maîtres Communautaires (MC; community teachers) Level 0 – 36,000 XAF ~ US\$ 58; MC Level 1 – 52,000 XAF (~US\$ 84); MC Level 2 – 54,000 XAF (~US\$ 87). In this region, UNHCR pays no primary directors or any secondary staff.
- **Lake:** 10-month contract; Auxiliary Teachers: 36,000 XAF (~US\$ 58); Community Teachers: 60,000 XAF (~US\$ 97). Same at primary and secondary. In this region, UNHCR pays no primary or secondary directors.

In these examples, it is also evident there are different ways of categorizing teacher profiles (e.g. “unqualified and qualified” in the East vs “MC levels” in the South vs “auxiliary and community teachers” in the Lake region. In the Lake region, auxiliary teachers are temporary contract teachers who teach Arabic part-time. Teachers in the Lake region earn hardship allowance and also ‘danger pay’ due to the terrorism attributed to non-state

² Data comes from a ‘registry’ of teachers collected by partners with help from school administration; some data is also self-reported by teachers. The data is also incomplete. The data for 2022-23 accounts for 2,161 out of 2,288 total teachers serving in refugee-hosting schools where UNHCR is able to collect data (personal communication).

armed groups in the area. These differences make comparing compensation amounts even more difficult within the same organization.

In another example, the World Bank pays contract teachers a salary of 75,000 XAF (~US\$ 127 monthly) and community teachers an incentive pay between 30,000-60,000 XAF (~US\$ 50-100 monthly). These salary differences are part of a strategy by the World Bank to motivate teachers to upgrade their qualifications. If level 1 community teachers pass the entrance exam (concourse) and complete two years of school at a teacher training institute, they can become level 2 teachers with an incentive increase that jumps from 30,000 to 60,000 XAF. If they continue to participate in in-service training and accrue many years of teaching experience, they can be considered contract teachers with a higher wage, as noted above.

These institutional figures vary across teacher profiles in different regions in Chad. As a result, teachers receive different salaries at various times and different lengths of contracts, depending on the agency that pays them. Some teachers in the same school may receive different salaries and contract lengths for similar work levels and comparable qualifications.

Two additional notes related to the coordination of teachers' salaries across actors are the power struggle between agencies and the government in terms of who should pay teacher salaries (see Box 2), as well as the purposeful labelling of community teacher pay as 'incentives' rather than 'salaries' due to the low amount. With regards to paying community teachers incentives rather than salaries, the World Bank representative explained that the minimum wage in Chad is currently 60,000 CFA and that it would be illegal for the World Bank to pay a "salary" below the minimum wage. Instead, they pay an "incentive" at the rate of 30,000 CFA (~US\$ 50) for community teachers (level 1).

Box 2: Promises & pitfalls: Transferring teachers' salaries into national financial systems

The World Bank engaged in an effort to transfer responsibility for teachers' salaries to the national government as part of their "performance-based condition approach". After initially funding 15,000 community teachers, the World Bank agreed with the Chadian government that it would continue paying teachers' salaries if the government put a line in their budget specifically for community teacher compensation and incrementally accepted responsibility for covering these costs (KII, 2022).

The World Bank routed the money through the government in order to build a structure to pay teachers through the government's internal system. The progressive approach incrementally reduces the Bank's contribution from 100% to 75%, 50%, 25%, etc. Now that the World Bank has finished paying, the government is supposed to pay. However, the government has only paid for two months (at the time of this study). The World Bank is still paying sixty-five per cent of the community teachers. If the government is unable to absorb teachers' salaries and additional financial support is not secured to cover recurrent teachers' salaries, the system falters. It should also be noted that the government created a budget line specifically for "community teachers" rather than include these expenditures in the budget line for civil servants (KII, 2022).

Compensation and benefits emerged as a pressing issue across the six focus groups with refugee and national Chadian teachers (n=48). Teachers in Chad lamented that their salary was insufficient to provide for their or their family's basic needs, particularly as some teachers were responsible for 10 children. They shared that it was impossible to buy food in the market or cover healthcare needs such as paying for medicine. In some cases, the PTAs supplemented teachers' salaries with the PTA fees paid by learners, yet teachers recognized the impoverishment of the community and the challenges most of their learners faced in covering these costs.

While primary school is technically free in Chad, and it is illegal for a public school to charge ‘enrollment fees’, schools do not receive adequate funding to function, and thus PTAs fill the gaps by asking for a contribution from parents (generally 1,000 XAF (US\$ 1.62) at the primary level).

Compounding their low salary were payment delays (regardless of teacher profile). Teachers explained that there were often delays in receiving their salary (usually around two months). When this happens, teachers reported being told, “These are your children, so stay and wait to be paid.” by the NGO overseeing teacher management. Teachers also discussed not receiving salaries during the July-August holiday when learners were not in school, a policy change that began in 2015—this gap in payment forces many teachers to find work to supplement their pay during this time. An INGO representative noted that this problem concerns all community teachers, including refugee and Chadian national teachers. Only state-appointed civil servant teachers have a 12-month contract.

Refugee teachers, in particular, explained that they received lower salaries than their Chadian peers, and both Chadian teachers sought supplementary employment or left their positions entirely. Community teachers funded by PTAs are often unpaid when the community struggles economically. Efforts are underway, led by UNHCR, to increase and harmonize incentive payments for the past 12 months.

Other conditions of work

Community teachers also expressed concerns about short-term contracts and teacher identification. Refugee and national Chadian male teachers described their job insecurity (despite having teaching accreditations) due to the short-term contracts, or in some cases, letters of engagement (that supplanted a formal contract) provided by their NGO employer. Many teachers tend to be employed on short-term contracts, often three to nine months long, depending on the source of funding (KII, 2022). Teachers shared that their contracts and/or letters of engagement primarily focused on the rules, not their rights as teachers.

Female refugee teachers also shared that they lacked documentation that identified them as teachers (e.g. a badge), which had implications when accessing other social services in the camp (e.g. waiting for treatment at the hospital during school hours). Female teachers proposed that they be given uniforms, which would help identify them as teachers, distinguish them from older female learners, and facilitate and expedite access to social services.

National civil servant teachers and the UN and NGO staff working with them reported that the teachers did not receive hardship pay or accommodations when deployed to the region, although other central government representatives pushed back and claimed that they did receive hardship pay and it was part of their lump sum (KIIs, 2022).

Teacher attrition

Teacher attrition is a major challenge in Chad. Although the government has made concerted efforts to send civil servant teachers to work in the camps, with an initial deployment of 307 teachers in 2014 when schools in Sudanese refugee camps in eastern Chad transitioned to the Chadian curriculum and occasional deployments since then, it has proven challenging for them to continue teaching in these remote areas far from their families and communities (KII, 2022; Refugee Education Strategy for Chad 2030). Teachers explained that there were not enough teachers in the refugee camp, and MENPC’s EiE division noted, “We need more money and more partners to sustain a sufficient teaching population.”

While high teacher attrition rates are partly due to teachers’ low salaries, national and civil servant Chadian teachers also shared that their national colleagues left the profession due to the challenging working conditions in the camp. They explained that teachers were not provided accommodation (learners often helped national teachers find homes to rent), and they were working far from their families, a distance that made travelling home extremely expensive (and something teachers could only do on the school holidays). Insufficient school infrastructure, which resulted in overcrowded classrooms and heavy teacher workloads, further exacerbated the situation.

During the rainy season, the roads are inaccessible, so teachers leave early and return late to return home. Other teachers miss a significant number of days due to the need to leave the area for agricultural purposes,

work that helps fill the gaps left by insufficient teachers' compensation. When asked if the teachers would remain in the community if they received their salaries for 12 months, FGD participants said "yes."

Female teachers face additional burdens, juggling their heavy workloads and other family responsibilities. In the focus groups, female refugee teachers shared that the lack of childcare made their work challenging as they balanced their personal and professional responsibilities. School-based nurseries exist in many schools, whether through community efforts or UNHCR/JRS initiatives, but coverage and quality can ebb and flow in some areas based on funding. Additional concerns by Child Protection actors that school-based nurseries in primary schools could inadvertently 'promote' early pregnancy also led some school-based nurseries to be redirected towards secondary schools, leaving primary-level teachers with more complicated access to childcare coverage.

Teacher data

Though several agencies mentioned their attempts to create a database of teachers of refugees and displaced learners (World Bank, APICED, UNHCR), there is little alignment between the systems and a lack of one comprehensive database. This is partially due to some agencies not differentiating their data between refugees and national teachers or discrepancies between agencies in what depicts "qualified" and "unqualified" among the different teacher profiles (see example in next section).

The MENPC's EiE division and World Bank representative presented another example of gaps in the data by sharing that the government did not know how many community teachers there were before the 2018 census. Although the 2018 census included all the provinces to determine how many qualified teachers there were, the general census protocol did not include refugee camp schools. MENPC, UNHCR, and the World Bank used UNHCR's data instead to account for community teachers in those settings. However, because of the villagization strategy, some refugee camp schools were accidentally included in the primary census data, resulting in inconsistencies and double counting of teachers in some cases. Many camp schools were also missed because the census was not carried out inside the schools (meaning that each teacher would have an opportunity to report and be identified), but rather, the census was conducted at the inspector level. The teachers had to go to the inspectors to be registered. The World Bank recommended otherwise at the time, but the government proceeded with their approach.

The lack of an integrated database has made it challenging to consistently and accurately pay teachers' salaries. UNHCR has asked the World Bank to advocate for the government to include all teachers in UNHCR-supported refugee schools in the government registry of teachers. If the refugee teachers are integrated into the government teacher registry, the World Bank will not have a problem paying them. However, the government has to agree to include them in the system.

APICED has been working to create a database of all community teachers, regardless of their status in the country (i.e. refugee) and who is paying them. APICED asked UNHCR for a database of community teachers in refugee-hosting schools, sent in March 2022, and is currently working with the World Bank to create the national database. Refugee community teachers were not formally accounted for in this effort initially, but now are due to advocacy by UNHCR, the World Bank, and the education cluster. Refugee teachers (even unqualified) are now included in this database so they can be part of government efforts and future advocacy by the MENPC to get more teacher funding. UNHCR initially managed the database but then transferred it to the MENPC. UNHCR was unclear about the status of this database at the time of our visit. The question of who counts as qualified still lingers based on the variety of descriptions of qualifications provided during the interviews, some of which contradicted each other. Overall, the lack of a unified and comprehensive database on national and refugee teachers frustrates efforts for better planning and monitoring of teachers.

Teacher professional development

TPD is "the activities that develop an individual's skills, knowledge, expertise and other characteristics as a teacher" (West et al., 2022, p. 12). In its implementation, TPD for educators encompasses a comprehensive range of topics and formats, and how it is operationalized in stable versus crisis-affected contexts will vary, given the different realities across those settings (Mendenhall et al., 2019a). However, literature across settings consistently shows that TPD is most effective when it provides sustained opportunities for continued professional development and supportive networks for teachers to collaborate to change their practices (Ibid).

Concerning TPD needs, UNHCR country office data identified the following breakdown of qualified versus non-qualified teachers (UNHCR, 2022b), but, as we will see in the next section, there is a lack of agreement about what constitutes a “qualified” teacher.

- In the Lake area, 74 per cent of primary teachers are qualified (2021-2022) vs 0 per cent in 2017
- In the South, 44 per cent of primary teachers are qualified (2021-2022) vs 34 per cent in 2017
- In the South East, 53 per cent of primary teachers are qualified (2021-2022) vs 27 per cent in 2017
- In the North east, 47 per cent of primary teachers are qualified (2021-2022) vs 28 per cent in 2017

Teacher qualifications: pathways and complexities

There are several pathways that current and prospective teachers can take to earn formal qualifications in Chad. Box 3 provides an overview of these different pathways.

Box 3: Teaching qualifications pathways in the Chadian system

Primary School Teacher Preparation

Certificat de Fin d’Études Normales (CFEN) and Certificat élémentaire de fin d’études normales (CEFEN) diplomas: These diplomas are conferred by an École Normale d’Instituteurs Bilingues (ENIB) after completion of a three-year (CEFEN) or two-year course (CFEN). Graduates can be employed as an Instituteur (Teacher, after 3 years) or Instituteur Adjoint (Teaching Assistant, after 2 years). Admission to this programme requires a Brevet d’Études du Premier Cycle (Brevet; middle school diploma) for admission to the CFEN and a Baccalauréat (high school diploma) for admission to the CEFEN.

Lower Secondary School Teacher Preparation

Certificat d’Aptitude Professionnelle de l’Enseignement aux Collèges d’Enseignement Général (CAPCEG):

Aspiring lower secondary school teachers are trained in a 2-year programme at one of the of the École Normales which are located in N’Djamena, Abéché and Bongor. A Baccalauréat (Bac; secondary education diploma) and an entrance examination are required for admission.

Upper Secondary School Teacher Preparation

Certificat d’Aptitude Professionnelle de l’Enseignement dans les Lycées (CAPEL): Upper secondary school teachers are trained in a 2-year course following the CAPCEG and earn the CAPEL. Students who hold a Licence (bachelor’s degree) can complete this programme in 1 year.

Diplôme d’Aptitude au Professorat de l’Enseignement du Secondaire (DIPES): 3-year diploma offered by an École Normale that students can obtain along with a License, qualifying teachers for both lower and upper secondary.

Any of the qualifications above allow teachers to become community teachers, though not all community teachers have these qualifications.

To become a ***fonctionnaire (civil servant teacher)***, one needs to be qualified (e.g. CFEN, CEFEN, CAPCEG, CAPEL, or DIPES) and submit their candidature to the civil service department of the government and then wait for ‘integration’ into the civil service. Many qualified teachers wait years or decades to be integrated.

The state does not have the capacity to integrate all the qualified teachers. “...It is estimated that on the labour market, there are nearly 13,000 [primary] teachers and assistant teachers trained awaiting integration [into the civil service]” (MENPC, 2017, p. 35). That only accounts for the primary level; the number increases when secondary and tertiary are added.

Among the three categories of teachers in the Chadian education system: *instituteurs* or *instituteurs adjoints* (civil servant teachers), contract teachers, and *maîtres communautaires* (community teachers) (GPE, 2022), there is a further hierarchy of profiles within the community teacher category. While multiple and contradictory explanations exist about the different levels of community teachers, Box 4 describes these categorizations based on qualifications and training.

Box 4: Community teacher levels (UNESCO, 2020)

Level 0 – No training

Level 1 – Partially trained

Level 2 – Fully trained, holding a CEFEN

Different education actors diverge in their understandings of what counts toward official recognition of these qualifications and what level of training teachers need to teach in public schools. Amidst severe teacher shortages, concessions are made to relax requirements to hire and deploy teachers to under-resourced areas.

The representative from APICED, which oversees all community teachers, indicated that to be considered “qualified”, primary school teachers must have completed middle school (Brevet) and a CEFEN diploma. This allows them to teach in Chadian public schools hosting non-refugee and refugee learners. Two additional qualifications are the CAPCEG qualification, a high school diploma with two additional years of schooling, and the CAPEL qualification, a high school diploma and three to four years of extra schooling at the tertiary level. The CAPCEG is required to teach lower secondary school. The CAPEL is required to teach upper secondary school.

Beyond the teaching qualifications pathways outlined above, the APICED representative explained that there are both academic (bachelor’s [BA]) and pedagogical CEFEN diplomas and that if teachers have a BA but no CEFEN, they are not considered qualified because they have not yet learned how to teach. In these cases, individuals with a BA and no CEFEN can teach only after accruing 40 days of pedagogical training at ENIBA (in Abéché) to get a certificate. However, the APICED representative noted that some people get jobs in schools without pedagogical training. These individuals are considered Level 0 community teachers.

In contrast, an NGO representative argued that a person who received a BA (not in education) and a teaching degree from ENSA could be considered a qualified secondary teacher and get paid the same rate. In his definition, teachers could be considered “qualified” to teach if they have a bachelor’s degree in any subject, whether or not the BA is in education. They concur with APICED about two different types of training that lead to receipt of the CEFEN—an *Instituteur Bachelier* (high school degree + CEFEN) and an *Instituteur Adjoint* (middle school degree + CFEN). A UNHCR employee admitted they were unsure if all partner staff had a common definition of qualified versus unqualified. Furthermore, in some areas of the country, UNHCR paid teachers at three tier levels following the Community Teacher Levels of 0, 1, and 2, while in other areas of the country, UNHCR paid in two tiers following a ‘qualified’ and ‘unqualified’ classification. There may be clear logic

behind these differences, but with staff turnover at UNHCR, these nuances are not always transferred. These differences in the classification of what makes a “qualified” teacher have a bearing on teacher data collection efforts, teacher payment harmonization, and the challenges of comparing teacher profile data across different organizations without a shared understanding of qualifications as a key indicator.

There has been increased attention and investment in teacher training opportunities for community teachers (refugee and non-refugee) since 2014. The refugee camp schools in eastern Chad transitioned from using the Sudanese curriculum to the Chadian curriculum. Two examples of training pathways have been opened to those teachers: one related to primary school teachers (ENIBA) and one related to secondary school teachers (ENSA). Interviews with stakeholders provided additional insight into these two training pathways.

École Normale des Instituteurs Bilingue d’Abéché training pathway

There are 22 École Normale d’Instituteurs Bilingues (ENIB) across the country (UNESCO, 2020).

The École Normale des Instituteurs Bilingues d’Abéché (ENIBA), a bilingual teacher training school in the town of Abéché, collaborates with UNHCR through an MOU to provide training to refugee Community Teachers to obtain their CEFEN. The programme for refugee students is slightly condensed compared to what Chadian nationals would generally take to become certified – 60 days vs 75 days each year over two years. The training covers the same curriculum for refugee teachers but is condensed so they can participate during the two-month school holiday in July and August. It includes classes and an internship. ENIBA has trained five cycles of refugee teachers, covering 761 teachers to date. All of them were Sudanese, coming from all 13 camps in the East. The sixth promotion spanning 2023 – 2024 will only be able to fund 31 teachers due to budget constraints.

Cycle	Timing	# Men trained	# Women trained
1 st cycle / promotion	2012-2014	136 men	31 women
2 nd cycle / promotion	2015 – 2017	131 men	69 women
3 rd cycle / promotion	2017 – 2019	129 men	74 women
4 th cycle / promotion	2019 – 2020	83 men	34 women
5 th cycle / promotion	2021 - 2022	41 men	33 women
Total to date:		520 men	241 women

Table 6: ENIBA Enrollment and Completion, 2012-2022; Source: ENIBA Administration during KII, 2022

To be selected for ENIBA, teachers take tests in the different camps. The MOE brings the tests to the field, and then the tests are graded by ENIBA in Abéché. JRS and UNHCR do pre-selection to determine who is allowed to take the test. They pre-select more than the number of spots available. There is generally a quota per camp set by MOE inspectors and local school directors, and the selections are made at the camp level, factoring in the number of years teaching in the camp, level of education, performance of teachers, and existing profile of teachers in the camp. Decisions on who will receive a spot are based on the number of people who pass the test. The ENIBA administration reiterated that the school can take as many students as possible (provided available funding). There are no limits on their side for how many they will train.

The MOU agreement with UNHCR outlines the partnership and the expectation that ENIBA charges local rather than international student rates for refugees. UNHCR scholarships for refugee teachers amount to roughly 570,000 XAF or US\$ 1000 per teacher per summer, which includes tuition, transportation, and a stipend for accommodation. UNHCR used to pay for the refugee teachers to sleep at the ENIBA campus or in common lodging rented out by JRS, but now they give them an allowance instead.

ENIBA trainers repeatedly noted that the time they have with refugees is insufficient and that the condensed nature of the programme also makes it challenging for refugees to focus, as the class days are eight hours long (compared to five hours for the regularly paced programme). They also felt that not providing on-campus or nearby accommodations was a problem due to the condition of the accommodation and the distance refugees had to go to get to campus.

Despite these challenges, upon completing the ENIBA programme, teachers are considered ‘qualified’ and paid more. In terms of being ‘registered’ with the Chadian government, up until 2023, they would not have been

eligible to submit their candidature for civil service. This could be possible with the passing of a new asylum law that gives refugees the legal right to work in the formal market. It has been brought up as a topic for the MOE and is open to further discussion.

ENSA training pathway

For secondary education certification, teachers attend ENSA (also in Abéché). The training is three full academic years, including an internship (ENSA is not condensed like the ENIBA pathway above). After the training, the teachers will have their BAs, so they are qualified to teach in middle and secondary schools. There are five departments where they take classes: Science, Mathematics, History/Geography, French and Arabic. Students can study in Arabic or French. The general training programme (Table 7) includes the following structure:

Year	Topics Covered
Year 1	Psychology, Sociology, History of the Education System
Year 2	Education Administration, Micro-teaching, Curriculum Development, Didactics of Discipline
Year 3	Techniques of Teaching; Ethics; Research; Lesson Planning Seminar The last semester in Year 3 is the internship

Table 7: General training programme structure and contents

The criteria for accepting refugees into ENSA is the same as for accepting Chadians, with one exception. Refugee applicants do not need to take and pass the entrance exam, unlike Chadian applicants. All students—nationals and refugees alike—pass an exam at the end of the programme. For Chadians, if you are under 24 years old, you must pass the exam and pay 50,000 Francs. Adults over 24 do not have to pass the exam, so they pay higher fees (amount unconfirmed). There is no upper age limit. ENSA prioritizes those who pass the exam. They then review the best applications and consider overall academic achievement in previous schooling.

ENSA has only four classrooms for 1000 students (each accommodates 100 students). They temporarily hold classes at other locations, but these are temporary spaces, and the owners can decide not to renew the space at any time. Usually, there is a new group of students every year, and their general policy is for each cohort to be one-third women. The first refugee class graduated in 2021, and the total number of graduates is 105.

Two MOUs were in place to support refugees' access to the ENSA training pathway—one with UNHCR, which started in 2017, and one with JRS. UNHCR proposes the number of students they can support to ENSA (based on their budget), and ENSA either agrees or not. The MOU outlines that rather than paying ENSA directly, UNHCR can pay tuition via micro-projects if ENSA proposes ideas for new construction (e.g. classrooms, buildings), but this has not been the payment modality utilized since the MOU's start. JRS organizes UNHCR's scholarships due to their partnerships. The JRS also have other scholarships through other donors, which can be more generous than the UNHCR scholarships. Students receive the tuition with their scholarship via cash transfer and pay tuition fees directly.

ENSA officials noted that without the MOU agreement that is in place (though currently expired), the school can accept refugees, but on the school's conditions, not UNHCR's. During the discussion, ENSA staff highlighted that there have not been any new refugee students admitted in the past three years, but UNHCR later clarified that 18 refugees have been studying at ENSA with Mixed Movement scholarships³ in 2021-22, 5 of whom graduated, and 13 refugee students continued in 2022-23. UNHCR has an MOU with 13 other universities in

³ The Mixed Movement (MM) Scholarship is a partial scholarship awarded by some UNHCR country operations to support refugee access to higher education and opportunities in their country of asylum. In Chad the scholarship covers university tuition and provides a modest stipend contribution towards lodging, transportation, and living expenses. The scholarship is open to refugees of any background, with preference for students between 18-25 years old who have recently obtained the Chadian Baccalaureate diploma. Depending on the yearly quota and the context, the MM scholarship is sometimes open to Chadian students as well, to promote social cohesion and collaboration between the communities (personal communication, UNHCR regional staff).

Chad (not limited to the education field). If UNHCR does plan to send any more students, one ENSA representative explained that “they have to organize because the capacity at ENSA is limited.” If they take more refugees, it is at the expense of accepting fewer Chadians, a point they made on more than one occasion. Their overall student cap is 1000 due to infrastructure limitations.

The ENIBA and ENSA opportunities are the primary training opportunities currently available as UNHCR and JRS prioritize limited budgets to help refugee teachers earn formal qualifications rather than conduct ad-hoc training for larger groups of teachers that do not lead to formal certification.

Continuous teacher professional development

Graduates from the ENIBA and ENSA programmes should receive continuous teacher professional development (CTPD) and support, but the trainers explained that it is challenging for them to follow up with the refugee teachers (and Chadian teachers) in remote areas. Getting to the camps is hard, and there is a general sense of insecurity once you are there.

After the initial ENIBA training, trainers generally follow up with the teachers between the two summers they engage in the training. The trainers explained that it is challenging to follow up with the refugee teachers (and Chadian teachers) in remote areas. According to the ENIBA trainers, in their contract with JRS, the NGO does not consider trainers’ health or security needs. Trainers either sleep in the camps or at the refugee schools. There used to be convoys available daily so they could go to their base from the schools, but these are no longer available. When they monitor the Chadian teachers, the State pays them a per diem, whereas JRS covers these costs at a lower rate when they monitor the refugee teachers. Trainer compensation was cut in 2016 based on broader public budget cuts called the “16 measures” (IMF, 2016). At this time, JRS reduced the compensation in their contracts to align with the budget cuts. Later, the measure was lifted, but the salary amount JRS paid did not increase.

After the initial ENSA training, evaluation happens two years after graduating. CTPD comes from a pool of inspectors. The inspectors are supposed to visit all teachers and hold CTPD activities for refugee and non-refugee graduates. A team goes to where the teachers are and evaluates their training. According to MENPC, the pool of inspectors observes new teachers and helps to identify the challenges, gaps, and needed improvements. There is one inspector for each discipline. They typically focus on teaching methods, lesson planning, planning management, and design and facilitate additional training support activities based on these needs.

For long-term CTPD, there are two MENPC bodies responsible for the organization and follow-up of training activities: the Centres Départementaux de la Formation Continue d’École Primaire (CDFCEP) and the inspections pédagogiques (UNESCO, 2020). CDFCEP is the MOE branch specializing in teacher training and oversees the École Normales for initial training and departmental training centres for continuous training. The second consists of the inspections pédagogiques, decentralized administrative units of the MOE, that include different inspections for primary and secondary levels. The CDFCEPs and inspections work together to ensure continuous training for teachers.

UNHCR noted that since the schools inside refugee camps are officially recognized as schools by the MOE, the MENPC inspectors hold ‘pedagogical days,’ which are part of the CTPD activities in all public schools. The pedagogical days are refresher courses of what they have already learned. Generally, departmental inspections do not have the funds or logistical resources (i.e. vehicles) to organize regular training for all schools under their supervision, especially those in remote areas. Inspectors for schools inside the refugee camps generally come when UNHCR and partners collaborate with them and provide financial and logistical means. Still, they cannot visit the camps regularly otherwise. In other schools, the PTA may contribute financially to organizing training for inspectors. However, as with the cases above, these trainings do not always happen. An NGO representative explained that this requires regular follow-up: “If you’re not there to tap them [the government], they are sleeping”, and shared that these challenges of providing and funding CTPD also apply to Chadian schools/teachers that are not hosting refugees.

The interviews revealed diverse opinions about the extent to which continuous professional development was provided to refugee teachers. MENPC officials said the pool of inspectors covers refugee and state schools, but it is not their role to go to other provinces regularly. A local contingent of inspectors is responsible for visiting schools and implementing the pedagogical days. Conversely, ENIBA administrators indicated that the CRFC

does continued professional training only for the local schools, not for the refugee schools because it is not planned. According to the administrators, the World Bank funds the continued training, and they do not include refugee schools even though they are classified as state schools. They also do not cover all of the Chadian schools. Their focus is on the new civil servant teachers (fonc onnaires).

Despite these challenges, participants acknowledged that one-off and small-scale initiatives and training have occurred over the past ten years at ENIBA and ENSA, though access is limited, and many teachers of refugees and displaced learners still lack the opportunity to join them (KII, 2022).

Another CTPD is spearheaded primarily through the MENPCs EiE division, which works closely with partners such as UNHCR, UNICEF, JRS, and Humanity & Inclusion at the central level. Each year, the EiE division collaborates with MENPC's office of teacher training, local inspectors, and UNHCR to train teachers of refugees. From 2012 to 2016, they conducted teacher training for Level 1 and Level 2 teachers. UNHCR funded about 1000 teachers to receive training in the South. ECW funded another 300 teachers in the Lake region through UNICEF. ENSA, ENIBA, CFC, and the inspectors are usually responsible for training, but if they go to a refugee zone, the EiE division will go and supervise. As government partners, UNHCR or UNICEF contact the EiE division to say they want to hold a teacher training workshop. The EiE division develops the content and then gives it to the trainers. They have a regular curriculum for these purposes, but they also develop specific themes pending the needs in the local context—e.g., topics related to climate education, psychosocial support, gender equality, cultural adaptation and inclusive education, to name a few. It is unclear if refugee and civil servant teachers can contribute their ideas about what would be most useful in their work to these planning activities. A UNHCR colleague commented that the themes for the training are generally influenced by donor priorities, determined by global agendas and strategic priorities, rather than participatory assessments with the teachers themselves.

Male and female refugee teachers lamented the lack of TPD opportunities and scholarships for teacher education. They explained that there has been little training in the camp in the last year (the training opportunities provided were short, often lasting between 1-3 days). Teachers must travel to Abéché to access TPD and participate in training workshops. However, few teachers have the opportunity to participate in such training (though those who do say the training is beneficial). Teachers described wanting training on ICT and French (the latter was requested to support their learners struggling with the French curriculum) and longer training that lasted three years instead of three days. They shared that five years prior, there had been a project that taught teachers French and English, which was helpful; however, since it ended, there has not been any other language training for teachers. Some teachers advocated for French language training to teach French in the absence of civil servant teachers who either stopped coming to teach in these remote locations or could not get there due to regular teacher strikes held by the civil servant teachers across the country. Strong French language skills would help these teachers fill the gaps, and many were pursuing self-study options to gain these skills.

JRS staff noted that the humanitarian organizations should not be training in the camp since it is the “state’s job and speciality to do continued training,” though there are challenges with the state’s ability to provide this ongoing support.

Academic opportunities and job prospects

The Chadian Government has been accrediting refugee teachers for several years, but it remains unclear if qualified refugee teachers can secure employment as civil servants without Chadian nationality or how they might acquire citizenship. While refugee teachers are finding employment in both public and private schools, it is still difficult for them to achieve permanent positions. The process for refugees to legally work and pursue post-secondary teacher education opportunities outside of a few scholarships is unclear. In 2020, the government passed an initial asylum law, and in 2023, its decree of application was passed. Among other things, the asylum law gives refugees the right to work in the formal labour market, and thus, they could theoretically be eligible for integration into the civil service. However, considering the state’s minimal capacity to integrate even qualified Chadians into the civil service, refugees are likely to be met with resistance to their integration.

Teachers also lamented the dearth of scholarships for teachers to access TPD and upgrade their skills. They expressed frustration that sometimes they apply for opportunities but never hear back from UNHCR or their NGO employer. Teachers also explained that their age can be a barrier to applying to and accessing scholarships

as some scholarships are reserved for recent secondary school graduates, and there is a maximum cut-off age for applying⁴.

Teacher well-being

Teacher well-being “encompasses how teachers feel and function in their jobs” and is highly context-specific (Falk et al., 2019, p. 7). The teacher management and TPD policies and practices for teachers working in refugee and displacement settings contribute positively and negatively to teachers’ overall sense of well-being, as do the larger contextual factors at play in any setting.

The teachers in eastern Chad who participate in the ENIBA and ENSA training programmes face personal and family challenges due to the need to be away from their families and communities during the classes in Abéché. While both JRS and UNHCR have taken steps to alleviate some of these stressors, allowing young children to accompany their mothers and supporting bringing grandparents to help with caregiving, participants still feel the stress of these added responsibilities (St. Arnold and others, 2023).

Kis from ENSA and ENIBA have observed first-hand the financial challenges and overall exhaustion experienced by their refugee students. In terms of finances, the students are not given full scholarships. “The students always ask for more” to help cover expenses. Exacerbating this challenge is the difference in funding levels between JRS-organized scholarships and UNHCR-organized scholarships for students pursuing training at ENSA. Neither gives a full scholarship, but JRS gives more, so the conditions are better for students funded by JRS.

Aside from funding, the trainers and administrators at ENIBA and the ENSA staff shared their observations that refugee teachers often sleep through class, whereas Chadian teachers do not, and this has affected the quality of cohorts passing through the programmes over time. One trainer notes, “When teaching Chadian teachers, if they are sleeping in class, we sanction them, but we are easier on the refugee teachers because they may leave the programme. We treat them differently because we recognize they are not the same as the Chadian teachers. They have psychological issues. They are experiencing floods and mosquitos, among other things. They don’t sleep at night, so we understand why they sleep in class.” The ENIBA trainers speculate that this exhaustion may be partially attributed to the condensed nature of the training for refugees. As they explained, “there [have] eight hours of class per day. This is a heavy day, especially for the older learners and the women.”

For refugee and national teachers, the challenges of teaching large groups of students in overcrowded and under-resourced classrooms cannot be underestimated. Teachers of refugee learners shared that they often engage more in crowd control than teaching (FGD, 2022). Most national teachers who are not from the area struggle to find suitable accommodations, transportation, and a general sense of security while deployed. They are also far from their families and unable to return home regularly due to distance and costs, something that no amount of hardship allowance (even if it were offered consistently) would overcome.

The general state of food insecurity, exacerbated by diminishing WFP funding in eastern Chad, and the need for learners’ families and teachers alike to look for supplementary income to cover basic needs weigh heavily on teachers, who also need to contend with the constant disruptions that movements among learners create for attending school regularly. MENPC and CNARR representatives explained how children often miss the first two months of the school year, as parents bring their children outside the camps where they go to farm during harvest season. The UNHCR Goz Beida staff also noted that students stop coming to school when the World Food Programme experiences funding cuts and cannot fund family ration programmes. These barriers to school attendance further complicate teachers’ efforts to plan their lessons and classroom practices.

A stressor cited by refugee teachers is the lack of consistent and secure training and work opportunities for them and the lack of opportunities for career advancement based on their refugee status (FGD, 2022).

Another challenge that emerged is that teachers felt they had limited opportunities to express their concerns to their NGO employers or with the government (the latter of whom last visited the camp and spoke to teachers about the challenges they faced over two years ago in 2019). When teachers could speak to their NGO

⁴ For academic tertiary scholarships (DAFI, Mixed Movements) the age cutoff is 35 (aligned with UNESCO’s and UNHCR’s tertiary education caps at 35). However, for teacher training at ENIBA, there is no age cutoff.

employees about the challenges they faced, they saw no changes, which they attributed to the NGO's lack of capacity and/or inability to provide teachers with the support they need. Teachers lamented that while their NGO colleagues wrote down their complaints, there was no follow-up, and their challenges remained unaddressed. In some cases, teachers explained that they also shared their challenges with the community; however, these conversations were futile as teachers recognized the impoverishment of the surrounding community.

Despite these challenges, however, in FGDs with teachers of different backgrounds, many teachers, regardless of background, highlighted the responsibility and commitment they felt toward the future generation, which has kept them motivated to continue teaching despite the many challenges. Male and female refugee teachers expressed their desire to give back to their community by instilling knowledge and skills in the younger generation. Teachers and the broader community placed great value on education, mainly because older generations had not had access to school and remained uneducated; this value of education contributed to positive relationships between teachers and their community. Teachers shared how the community respected them and described having good relationships with the parents of their learners.

Implications for Teacher Quality

The steps taken to create pathways for refugee teachers to acquire formal teaching qualifications through the ENIBA and ENSA initiatives are promising. They are even more notable given the Chadian education system's resource constraints. Evidence that these approaches are proving effective can be found in improved student learning outcomes on the school-leaving Bac exams (St. Arnold et al., 2023; KII, 2022). Previously, the pass rate was 20-30 per cent, but now the pass rate is above 50 per cent. ENSA and ENIBA staff noted that once refugees participate in the training, their performance is acceptable and that "some refugee [teachers] are performing better than the Chadians." Yet, other factors can undermine these achievements.

Inadequate compensation

As long as teachers cannot subsist on their salaries, they will continue to be forced to find supplemental incomes elsewhere. Given the region's limited employment and livelihood options, teachers may not leave the profession outright, but it will affect teachers' work. Teachers described how their learners also suffered due to teachers' low salaries because they could not be fully present in their work and give everything to their learners when their salary did not allow them to care for themselves or their families (FGD, 2022).

Insufficient continuous teacher professional development

While the ENIBA and ENSA teacher training opportunities are essential, teachers require CTPD to strengthen the application of their new knowledge and skills in the classroom, to say nothing of the teachers who cannot access these training mechanisms. Students pursuing university degrees who return to teach secondary school in the camps can be better supported to apply their learning in their schools. The APICED representative notes: "Chad is a big country, vast. Domestic funding of the state is not sufficient to do this well." APICED is addressing continued teacher quality by conducting teachers' learning assessments. Even if teachers have acquired the CEFEN, they will be recommended for CTPD if they do not pass the learning assessment. Although international organizations prefer that the government execute CTPD, additional steps may need to be taken to fill the gaps between long absences by inspectors.

Diminishing prospective teacher pipeline

ENIBA trainers have observed that more recent cohorts are not applying what they learned compared to previous cohorts. One trainer believes it is because the refugee teachers are not getting paid enough in the camps to want to apply what they learn. The JRS representative countered this statement by pointing out that the camp's first recruits were the "best" teachers. In later cohorts, they no longer recruited the best quality teachers for the training because they already took them. He further noted that some of the newer teachers at ENIBA only have primary and middle school education. This issue connects with the need to provide ongoing CTPD.

Given that fewer prospective students are choosing to pursue education degrees when they are selected for coveted scholarships, either at the primary or secondary levels, it indicates that more attention needs to be paid to nurturing these opportunities. To ensure a promising pool of future teachers, continued investments in the overall quality of the education system and educational opportunities are needed. Furthermore, attention needs to be paid to bolstering the importance of the teaching profession (including paying livable wages), a global challenge not limited to refugee settings in Chad.

Additional challenges

Beyond access to training, KIs mentioned other factors that impact teacher quality for teachers in refugee and displacement settings. The JRS representative explained how “there are refugee teachers who have been there for 20 years who are not qualified and might not be good teachers, but they are respected in the community and are untouchable. It would be better to replace them with qualified teachers, but JRS cannot do so because those teachers can shape what the community thinks.” This creates a tense dynamic between agencies working in TPD in the camps and the refugee community. Strategies for addressing this dynamic through conflict-sensitive approaches will require careful consideration and multi-partner engagement, including with local community members.

The government EiE division also acknowledged that beyond training, there are not enough teachers for refugees and displaced learners and that they need more money and more partners to impact teacher quality on a larger scale positively.

Implications for the Sustainability of the Teacher Workforce

Impact on workforce sustainability primarily relates to the teacher management issues noted above, particularly access to training, the potential for integration into the Chadian system, and sustainable contracts and salaries. Another element related to sustainability that arose during the interviews was the sustainability of education in the camps.

Sustaining teachers and teaching in the camps

Representatives at ENSA described that to have effective and quality refugee education within the current structure, teachers have to choose to go back to the camps after the training. They note that often, the teachers do not want to go back and that “when recruiting teachers for ENSA, UNHCR should specifically say that they are training teachers to return to the camps.” UNHCR explains that students accessing the ENSA programme with the UNHCR scholarship are doing so through a general tertiary scholarship, so it would be unfair to require ENSA students to return to the camps when tertiary students studying other professions do not have a similar requirement. The JRS-ENSA programme is specifically a teacher training initiative, so it includes a clause in the agreement with their sponsored students that they should return to the camp after their studies to teach.

Considering the teacher well-being factors noted above, ENIBA trainers and administrators explained the challenges of maintaining a sufficient teacher workforce in the camps. One trainer highlighted that community teachers sometimes migrate (men more than women). During FGDs, male refugee teachers shared that they became teachers because there were no other options and no real opportunities to join a profession that earned more money except for working in the gold mines in the north of the country. An ENIBA administrator shared, “With the refugees, we train men and women, but when we go to the camps, it is the women who are still in the classroom.” The issue of livable wages is key here, and the women who remain teachers due to a lack of other opportunities should not be further penalized through low wages. Efforts should be made to retain male teachers as well.

ENIBA trainers also noted the challenges of sustaining a teacher workforce at different education levels. They described, “We teach them here, but when they return, they have a qualification, so they might move to secondary school rather than stay in primary school. There is a brain drain in secondary school, and we need to continue to recruit lower-level teachers for primary school. The primary teachers are also then more qualified

to go to ENSA for secondary education training.” When explaining why this brain drain occurs, the administrator shared that UNHCR pays primary and middle school teachers the same, but the PTAs supplement the middle and secondary teachers at different rates. There is also a cultural factor of higher prestige of secondary teachers than primary teachers. Teachers with the skillsets they developed through ENSA can also often find higher-paying jobs in other industries. Teachers in these scenarios remain in the teaching profession, but the revolving door at the primary education level needs to be addressed.

Cross-border strategies

For teachers in eastern Chad who can access training at ENIBA and ENSA, the government signed an agreement with the Sudanese government, UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNHCR to ensure that certification and equivalency would be recognized when and if Sudanese teachers returned home (Ibid).

Implications for Inclusion of Refugee Teachers into National Systems

Stakeholders largely acknowledged the difficulty of including refugee teachers in the national system, though they also pointed to some examples of how it could and has happened. After the ENSA training, the staff vaguely indicated that some refugee teachers are integrated into the Chadian system. However, the majority of interviews pointed to the complexity of refugees in doing so, as well as how the widespread low socio-economic status and economic challenges in Chad complicate the inclusion process for refugees.

Complexity of inclusion

ENSA, JRS, and APICED representatives all mentioned that refugee teachers can work in Chadian public schools, but to do so as civil servants contracted and paid for by the state, they have to obtain a Chadian identity card. There is also some differentiation between public and private systems in that for private schools, nationality matters less.

There were conflicting opinions on how easy it is for refugees to change their identity from Sudanese to Chadian and to obtain a Chadian identity card, with some saying it is easy to do so and others describing it as a more complicated process, often based on whom you know and who is willing to do a favour. ENSA staff described the process for refugees trying to integrate into a Chadian public school: “They take their file to deposit at the public function office. This could take months or years. The public function office then sends you to a job. They manage all services, not just teachers.”

The question of refugees getting jobs in Chadian public schools is highly complex. Even the Chadians have difficulty getting positions in the public system and have problems getting a good contract. Refugees and Chadians are more likely to get a short-term/per diem contract in private schools than get into public schools. They usually get this by knowing someone working at those schools.

Incorporating refugee teachers into education interventions by agencies like the World Bank can also be challenging, as the World Bank does not always differentiate between refugee and non-refugee teachers. There is an internal process called a refugee window, a specific funding mechanism –when the World Bank can request additional funds to add refugees to a project scope. The government needs to agree that refugees can be included through this refugee window before the World Bank can do so. In regular projects, the World Bank does not differentiate between Chadians and refugees so that refugees may be included – they are not actively excluded – but the World Bank does not track them or target a specific number to ensure they are included. However, through the refugee window, the World Bank can specify a particular number of refugees they want to ensure they include to increase access. The World Bank will also track the number of refugees and Chadians participating in a specific intervention. The World Bank representative has not seen this window applied in Chad, so it is difficult to gauge how included refugees are in World Bank projects.

Economic constraints

In discussing inclusion, ENSA and other agencies acknowledged that many qualified people are not integrated due to the broader economic challenges in Chad. One official noted that “lack of integration is not a discrimination problem. It is that there is a huge unemployment rate in Chad, so if there is a job, people feel like they will give it to the Chadians.” Another administrator from ENSA shared his thoughts that “finding employment in Chad is difficult. Once students graduate, they are in the workforce, but getting a job is hard. They have the qualifications that would enable them to work in or outside of the camp, as the certificate of completion is the equivalent of a certificate of professional license, but legally, it is less complicated to work in the camps. Some teachers also find that the conditions in the camps are better because they pay monthly versus in Abéché they pay hourly.”

As one UNHCR staff stated, “Inclusion is great, but you need to recognize that the state might be broken.” This statement aptly highlights some previously noted teacher management and TPD trends. For example, while the state is supposed to conduct the CTPD training for teachers as during teacher training, , there is a strong likelihood that they won’t, particularly in more remote areas, regardless of whether teachers are refugees or nationals.

JRS staff also reiterated that not all refugees want to be incorporated into the national agenda. They explained that even now, some teachers are resistant to teaching the Chadian curriculum, and in recent years, students have been trying to cross the border to take the Sudanese Baccalaureate exam. He further distinguishes between the Sudanese and Central African refugees in their goal of integration, stating that many Sudanese continue to be reluctant while the Central African refugees, on the other hand, accept the Chadian curriculum and JRS interventions.

Advocacy for inclusion

Several national stakeholders were strong advocates for the inclusion agenda, including advocating for more attention by GPE and others to refugee issues. The APICED representatives advocated internationally and nationally about how agencies “need to talk about sustainability of refugees who have been in the system for many years and need to find a way to let them into the system.”

However, there was also some scepticism among KIs about including refugee teachers, with ENSA staff indicating that refugee teachers are pushing inclusion to leave education: “To integrate into the system, you have to get a nationality and speak French. The objective of the refugees in saying they want French is to get a job and to integrate themselves into the Chadian system for a job. It is not about the quality of education.” Other agencies spoke of inclusion but indicated it is not within their responsibilities or jurisdiction to advocate for it. The JRS representative deflected, saying that advocacy is a high-level conversation and UNHCR’s responsibility.

The Way Forward

Given the collaborative partnership models in Chad, the following recommendations should be pursued jointly to bolster teacher quality and workforce sustainability.

Teacher management

- Create a comprehensive teacher database that accounts for all teacher profiles (not paid through government funding) and their corresponding levels of qualifications and compensation ranges. This information will inform more effective programming, fundraising, and efforts to include refugee teachers in national systems when and where deemed feasible.
 - Partners need to agree on the definition of “qualified” (and or levels of qualifications that meet the national standards) and use it consistently in data collection activities (clearly indicating when teachers have had no exposure to TPD activities).
 - Indicators should include teacher salary/incentive amounts, funding sources, and teacher profiles (national, refugee, IDP status)

- Harmonize teachers' salaries/incentives to mitigate equity issues and bolster the teaching profession's sustainability through salary parity.
 - Increase salaries where possible to acknowledge the responsibilities of the teaching profession.
- Engage in steady advocacy to increase the MOE budget at the central level and the inspector budget at the decentralized local level.
- Engage in advocacy to include qualified refugee teachers in the Chadian civil service (without the need to acquire Chadian nationality and/or with a transparent process for assuming Chadian nationality) while leaving options open for repatriation or onward migration among refugees (all of which would strengthen teacher motivation).
- Explore pooled funding mechanisms through which myriad actors/donors could contribute and plan to harmonize teachers' salaries and ensure longer-term contracts.
 - Donors "need to align themselves to the priority of the country, not the other way" (KII, 2022). Education actors should band together to require donors to cover a certain amount of teacher salaries.
- Collaborate with local communities to agree on appropriate policies and practices for removing ineffective teachers through conflict-sensitive approaches that mitigate community resentment.
 - One recommendation that is being explored is using geolocation on teachers' cell phones to determine if they are in school when they are supposed to be (one strategy to support teacher management).

Teacher professional development

- Continue promising practices of tertiary education programmes that lead to formal teaching qualifications for refugee teachers through ENIBA and ENSA (and relevant institutes in other regions of the country) to strengthen the quality of education for refugee and Chadian learners.
 - Provide sustained attention to these efforts by leveraging humanitarian and development donor support, paying close attention to equity issues (refugee and national teachers, gender, age, years of teaching experience as a reflection of commitment to the profession that should not be discriminated against)
 - Provide additional support to ensure female teachers can access and complete teacher training programmes while continuing their family responsibilities.
- Identify strategies for sustaining CTPD activities by teacher training institutes and school inspectors so that they can provide the coaching and mentoring support required for the successful application and translation of knowledge and skills into the classroom. One participant stated: "If we are not monitoring or training teachers, there is no education system."
 - Provide transportation and secure accommodations for trainers/inspectors that recognize and value their work.
 - Explore models whereby local coaches and mentors can be trained to provide ongoing school-based support.
- Identify opportunities (partnerships with tertiary institutes in other settings) to help teacher training colleges expand their repertoire of knowledge and skills, including access to research, pedagogical approaches, books, and technology.
 - Leverage development donors to support these activities.
 - Leverage the tech industry's interests in refugee populations to support national teacher training systems that benefit trainees and their learners.

Teacher well-being

- Create meaningful opportunities for teachers to engage in social dialogue about their work, voice their concerns, and share their ideas for overcoming challenges.
- Respond to realistic demands/requests (e.g., provide designated badges for all teachers and/or uniforms for female teachers to help secure their status in the community) to help buoy teachers' sense of professional identity.

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