**DISSATISFIED BUT NOWHERE TO GO:**

**TEACHER ATTRITION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN**

 **SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

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***Introduction***

There are two types of teacher attrition or ‘wastage’. Voluntary attrition where teachers leave the profession before the official retirement age (and thus formally resign from their positions) and involuntary attrition where serving teachers either retire (at the officially prescribed age or earlier as a result of illness), die, or are dismissed for misconduct.

It is widely contended that voluntary teacher attrition is unacceptably high in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and that this is a major reason for acute ‘teacher shortages’ in most of the 50 countries in the region. Most recently, UNESCO’s International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030 states in a report on teacher supply that ‘different institutional and individual factors continue to drive chronic teacher shortages in sub-Saharan African countries…The problem is exacerbated by high rates of teacher attrition’ (2021:2). The report attributes the main reasons for this high attrition as being ‘un-meritocratic recruitment, poor working conditions and insufficient teacher support, lack of physical security, and the greater ability of better qualified teachers to move on to greener pastures’. Similarly, in an earlier, much cited World Bank report on secondary school teacher recruiting, retaining and retraining in SSA, Mulkeen et al. state that ‘teacher supply is (further) reduced by a haemorrhage of teachers who leave the profession before retirement age. Contemporary teacher attrition rates are believed to range between 5 and 30 percent in different countries of SSA’ (2010:12). Other articles also refer to the teacher attrition ‘crisis’ and even ‘catastrophe’ with large swathes of teachers ‘abandoning’ the profession (see Mampane 2012; Pitsoe and Machaisa 2012).

This article questions the dominant narrative about high attrition rates among teachers in SSA. It does so by presenting recent estimates of national teacher attrition rates (TAR) for primary school teachers in 30 of the 44 mainland countries in SSA. This analysis shows that TARs are generally quite low and declining in the large majority of countries. It is then argued that the principal reason for low attrition levels, particularly among primary school teachers, is the limited alternative employment opportunities for teachers wishing to exit the profession coupled with high levels of teacher unemployment among teachers who are seeking teaching positions, particularly in public schools (government and grant-aided). The excess supply of teacher graduates from universities and colleges of education/teacher training colleges in relation to the highly constrained fiscal capacity and the overall political commitment of national governments to employ these ‘beginning teachers’ is fuelling a mounting teacher unemployment crisis across the region.

*Article organisation*

The discussion is in four parts. The first section reviews the limited literature on teacher attrition and unemployment in SSA. Section two describes the study methodology and data sources. The main empirical findings are presented in section three. Section four seeks to explain the main reasons for low teacher resignation rates in the region and section five discusses the impact of low teacher attrition on schooling provision.

***2. Literature review***

*2.1 Teacher attrition*

The most recent comprehensive literature review of teacher attrition was published by Macdonald over 20 years ago. It notes that ‘contemporary teacher attrition rates are reported as varying between 5% and 30%’ (1999:837). While the discussion of teacher attrition in SSA is limited to references to TARs in three countries (Liberia 20-30%, Malawi 8% and South Africa 6%), the reviews overall conclusion is that TARs are high in ‘less economically and socially stable countries’ (1999: 837).

*Quantitative research*

Virtually no detailed quantitative research has been undertaken on teacher attrition in SSA. The available evidence is, therefore, patchy and most statements and conclusions about teacher attrition tend to be quite anecdotal. UIS attrition statistics for primary education cover only 14 out of 50 countries and just five countries for secondary education.

Only two substantive studies on teacher attrition rates in SSA as a whole have been conducted during the last 20 years. The earlier mentioned 2007 World Bank report by Mulkeen et al. is based on five country case studies and presents national attrition estimates for primary school teachers based on Ministry of Education annual school surveys. The International Task Force on Teachers for EFA published a report in 2010 entitled ‘Teacher attrition in SSA: The neglected dimension of the teacher supply challenge’ which presents TARs for nine Anglophone countries (five from the Mulkeen report and four from other MoE data), seven of which have relatively small populations.[[1]](#footnote-1) The main conclusion of the report is that ‘many countries in SSA are currently reporting teacher attrition rates which are very low’ (vii). However, this is ‘unlikely to be sustained’ as the current youthful age profiles among teachers increase over time. Very noticeably, there is no detailed analysis of teacher resignations which is the principal focus of commonly expressed concerns about the limited vocational commitment among beginning teachers who regard teaching as being ‘a holding ground’ or ‘revolving door’ while looking for ‘greener pastures’.

 The only detailed national study of primary school teacher turnover (i.e. attrition and school transfers) has been undertaken by Zeitlin who analyses school-level time-series data in Rwanda during the late 2010s. He concludes that ‘rates of teacher turnover are high: annually, 20 percent of teachers separate from their jobs, of which 11 percent exit from the public-sector teaching workforce’ (abstract). However, his own multivariate analysis shows that the bulk of this attrition is accounted for by newly recruited teachers who never take up their appointments and, to a much lesser extent, among teachers with less than one year of service. Attrition rates for more experienced teachers are minimal.

*Teacher requirement projections*

The UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) has published two main sets of global teacher requirement projections during the last 20 years – one in relation to the 2015 Education for All Goals and, most recently, for the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals for education. What is striking about these projections is that, given the paucity of robust country estimates of teacher attrition, they are based on assumed continent-wide teacher attrition rates of 6.5% and 5.0% respectively. In the case of the 2030 projections, primary and secondary school teacher attrition accounts for 62% and 28% respectively of the total number of additional teachers that will need to be recruited between 2016 and 2030 in order to ensure that the SDG enrolment goals are met.

*Qualitative research*

Almost all of the 10 or so published national studies on teacher attrition in SSA are largely qualitative. They focus in particular on ‘teacher intentions’ to leave the profession and present no information on historic rates of attrition (see Aden and Brazeley 2019; Agezo 2010; Boateng 2019; Cobbold and Asamani 2015; Emoja 2016; Kayuni and Tabulasi 2007; Mafora 2013; Sone 2020; Xaba 2003). They all highlight a similar set of factors which account for the high incidence of teachers who report that they intend to quit the profession in the near future, most notably low pay, difficult working conditions especially in remoter, rural schools, and limited career prospects. Nearly all this research is confined to Anglophone Africa in particular Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa.

*2.2 Teacher unemployment*

The article by Adekoye (2019) on teacher unemployment in Zimbabwe during the nearly 30 years of the Mugabe government is the only publication that could be located on this topic in SSA. The discussion is a broadly descriptive account of the impact of the protracted and deep-seated economic crisis in Zimbabwe on the employment prospects of teacher graduates particularly the limited recruitment of teachers to fill rapidly increasing vacancies in schools caused by the mass emigration of teachers to South Africa, Botswana and the UK. However, no estimates of the overall unemployment rate among teachers over time are presented.

By contrast, there have been numerous newspaper articles in most Anglophone countries[[2]](#footnote-2) which report on the mounting challenges faced by new teacher graduates in finding jobs especially in the public sector which are relatively-secure and well paid compared to those in most (low-cost) private schools.

***3. Study methodology***

School census statistics on teacher attrition in Anglophone Africa normally record the number of teaching posts in public schools permanently vacated by teachers for whatever reason. Teachers who resign may leave the profession altogether (occupational attrition) or may become employed as teachers in the private sector (sector attrition). However, no distinction is usually made between these two types of resignations. In practice, because teacher pay is so much lower in private schools in most countries in SSA, the bulk of voluntary departures are occupational attrition. It is also important to distinguish between teacher attrition and turnover. The latter includes both attrition and teacher transfers, promotions and study leave which result in teachers leaving their current schools to work or study elsewhere in the public education system. As will be discussed later, this school-level attrition accounts for the bulk of teacher turnover in most countries.

The study relies on secondary data on attrition rates at the national aggregate level and broken down by type of attrition which could be accessed (mainly on-line) for 30 mainland countries in SSA. The three main sources of this data are the reports of annual school censuses (ASC) published by Ministries of Education, other publications with TAR estimates (including Education Sector Reviews), and the data base of the Unesco Institute of Statistics (UIS) on teacher attrition. Whereas the majority of ASC reports in Anglophone Africa present basic information on TARs, this is rarely the case in Francophone and Lusophone Africa. Consequently, primary reliance is placed on the UIS database and other publications for these countries. Unfortunately, Teacher Service Commissions (or their equivalents) who are responsible for all aspects of the teacher human resource management, do not publish information on teacher recruitment and attrition.

The overall quality of the TAR data is likely to be good. In Anglophone Africa, the primary source is the ASC annual returns which are completed by school principals who have first- hand information on teacher departures. TAR estimates in Francophone Africa generally come directly from the administrative records of ministries of education and public service. It is possible that in the few countries which report exceptionally high TARs this may be because temporary/contract teachers and/or teachers who have transferred schools are included.

***4. Teacher attrition: national incidence, breakdown, and trends***

*4.1 National incidence*

Figure 1 presents the national, unweighted attrition rates for primary school teachers during the mid-late 2010s among the 30 countries in SSA for which data is available. The mean TAR is 4.8% which would appear to substantiate the assumed rate of 5.0% used in the UIS 2030 teacher requirement projections. However, excluding the four countries (Burundi, Namibia, Angola and Guinea) which have exceptionally high reported TARs, the mean TAR declines to 2.8% which is almost the same as the overall median country value of 3.0%. It is also noticeable that the dispersion of country TARs around this median value is quite small with an inter-quartile difference of just 2.6 percentage points.[[3]](#footnote-3) The weighted mean TAR which takes into account the relative size of the teaching force across these countries is 3.3%. Since nearly two-thirds of the Unesco requirement projections for primary school teachers by 2030 are accounted for by teacher attrition, using a TAR of 3.3% instead of 5.0%, reduces total teacher requirements to 4.75 million. This is well over one million fewer teachers than the six million additional teachers that UIS estimates need to be recruited by 2030 in order to meet the SDG education goals.

The mean TAR for secondary school teachers for the 14 countries with available estimates is 7.3% and the median value is 4.4%, both which are around 50% higher than the corresponding figures for primary school teachers (see figure 2). Again, however, excluding the four countries with exceptionally high TARs (Guinea, Niger, Rwanda and Sierra Leone), reduces the mean TAR to 3.7% and the median TAR to 3.4%. The unweighted mean TAR for the entire sample minus the four outliers is 3.6%.

*Attrition breakdown by reason*

Information on the breakdown of teacher attrition by reason is limited to nine Anglophone countries in SSA. This indicates that, for the large majority of these countries, voluntary attrition is very low with resignation rates of less than one percent (see Figure 3)[[4]](#footnote-4). While voluntary attrition does appear to account for the largest share of total attrition in larger population countries in SSA (see table 1), absolute resignation rates are still very low.

There are too few countries with the required data to be able to analyse the relationship between teacher resignation rates and key macroeconomic indicators including GDP per capita, formal sector employment, national and teacher unemployment rates and teacher pay. Looking at national TARs (which include all types of attrition), the only strong positive statistical significant relationship that can be observed is with teacher pay (see Figure 4)[[5]](#footnote-5). The reasons for this are unclear but it may be because the level of teacher pay is a rough proxy for the relative size of the formal employment sector and thus the availability of alternative employment possibilities for teachers. The share of teachers in formal sector employment could also be negatively correlated with voluntary attrition.

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| Table 1: Attrition by reason among primary school teachers in selected countries in SSA (% rounded) |
| Country | Resignation | Death/illness | Dismissed | Retirement | Other |
| Ethiopia | 60 | 9 | 0 | 18 | 14 |
| Malawi | 21 | 20 | 7 | 30 | 22 |
| Namibia | 9 | 11 | 2 | 56 | 22 |
| Swaziland | 19 | 22 | 4 | 56 | 0 |
| Tanzania | 45 | 24 | 24 | 6 | 0 |
| Uganda | 57 | 14 | 3 | 26 | 0 |
| Zambia | 40 | 19 | 12 | 13 | 17 |

Retirement rates among primary school teachers remain very low in most countries in SSA. The age profile of teachers declined appreciably with the mass recruitment of primary school teachers (as part of Universal Primary Education programmes) from the late 1990s which has kept retirement attrition rates at very low levels. Mortality/morbidity and dismissal rates are also very low. It was widely anticipated that the HIV/AIDS epidemic would have a catastrophic impact on teacher mortality. At the height of the epidemic, teacher mortality had increased markedly to between 1.5 and 3.0% in the high prevalence countries. However, the very high projected mortality rates did not materialise in part because the projection models had serious shortcomings but, more significantly, the massive take-up of life-prolonging antiretroviral drugs led to rapid declines in teacher mortality (see Author 2005).

Teacher misbehaviour including absenteeism and sexual harassment and impropriety is reported to be widespread in many countries in SSA. However, dismissal rates are negligible in almost all countries which suggests that the reported levels of misbehaviour are exaggerated and/or that such behaviour is generally tolerated. Mass sackings have been threatened by governments at various times in order to get striking teachers to return to work but these threats rarely result in any action.

*4.2 Attrition patterns*

Virtually no statistical evidence is available on the patterns of teacher attrition in particular with respect to personal characteristics (age/experience, sex, marital status, qualification level, etc.), school level variables (school level, ownership, subject, location etc.) and national variables (pandemics, conflict, economic crisis and other shocks). This is in marked contrast to the very substantial amount of research that has been undertaken on attrition patterns in high-income countries (see, for example, Carver-Thomas and Darling-Hammond 2019; Craig 2017).

The mainly qualitative/anecdotal evidence indicates that TARs are generally higher among males and there is lot of ‘churn’ among beginning teachers. Resignation and dismissal rates are usually higher among temporary/contract teachers and teachers working at private-for-profit schools. Teacher pay in the large majority of private-for-profit schools is generally much lower than in the public sector. In many countries, private school teacher wages are driven to well below national poverty levels by the large ‘labour reserve’ of unemployed teachers. Teachers are prepared to tolerate these poverty wages in the hope that they will eventually be employed in public schools.

Higher TARs among secondary school teachers are probably mainly attributable to the higher marketability of teachers with university degrees compared with primary school teachers nearly all of whom have only teaching certificate and diploma qualifications.

*4.3 Attrition trends*

It is frequently contended (or at least implied) that teacher attrition is worsening over time as teachers become increasingly dissatisfied with their jobs especially where working conditions are particularly poor. However, time series data on primary school teacher attrition shows that national TARs have declined or remained largely unchanged in nearly 70% of the 23 countries where this information is available. This is perhaps not surprising given the deteriorating employment market conditions for teachers, in particular higher unemployment rates both for teachers and other relatively highly educated individuals and the growing mismatch between teacher supply and demand (see below).

The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic is likely to have further reduced voluntary attrition rates among both public and private school teachers as alternative employment opportunities have contracted even further with the accompanying economic crisis in most countries. However, dismissals among teachers at private-for-profit schools increased dramatically as proprietors, faced with an almost complete loss of fee income during protracted school closures, laid-off most of their teachers.

 ***5. Reasons for low resignation rates***

Any analysis of the reasons for low rates of primary school teacher attrition should be based on an in-depth understanding of the structure and functioning of teacher labour markets in each country in SSA. However, research in this key area remains minimal.

*5.1 Teacher employment: an overview*

Teachers account for a very sizeable share of formal sector employment throughout SSA (see figure 5). This is very important for both economic and political reasons. In particular, these high shares of teacher employment limit the relative availability of alternative non-teaching jobs. Sierra Leone is the most extreme case where teachers account for nearly 40% of formal sector employment.

The relative importance of teacher employment is particularly marked in relation to job creation in the formal sector. Table 2 shows that increases in teacher posts during the 2010s accounted for over one-quarter of all new jobs in the formal sector in eight out of the 12 countries for which data is available. In Ghana, for example, 55% of new jobs were in the education sector and 31% in Kenya and Nambia. The political economy implications of such a marked reliance on the education sector for job creation are likely to be considerable (see Author 2021). Just as many governments in SSA rely heavily on teacher training institutions to absorb school leavers into the tertiary education sector, once they have graduated, the (labour intensive) education sector is disproportionately important in creating new, albeit usually quite limited, job opportunities in the economy as a whole. The enormous pressure to recruit new teachers in order to alleviate the ‘youth unemployment crisis’ also tends to crowd out the other essential recurrent and capital expenditures needed to ensure the provision ofcost-effective, quality education in the region.

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| Table 2: Change in teachers in-post as % formalsector employment (‘000 rounded)  |  |
| Country | Teachers | Formal sector | % teachers |  |
| Tanzania | 61 | 1041 | 6 |  |
| Senegal | 29 | 264 | 11 |  |
| Uganda | 52 | 401 | 13 |  |
| Mali | 26 | 139 | 19 |  |
| Niger | 31 | 135 | 23 |  |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 47 | 165 | 29 |  |
| Namibia | 10 | 32 | 31 |  |
| Kenya | 205 | 662 | 31 |  |
| Ghana | 133 | 240 | 55 |  |
| South Africa | 20 | -334 | 100 |  |
| Madagascar | 27 | -7 | 100 |  |
| Gambia | 7 | -21 | 100 |  |
| Notes: From the early 2010s to late 2010s or nearest years available. |  |
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*5.2 Teacher unemployment*

Evidence is patchy but the main consequence of the sizeable mismatch between the (effective) demand and supply of teachers in SSA is high rates of teacher unemployment in the majority of countries, certainly in Anglophone Africa. In Kenya, in 2021, 300,000 out of 755,000 teachers registered with the Teacher Services Commission were looking for teaching jobs. In 2019, 103,000 teachers applied for 10,000 ‘internships’ in government schools. Similar applicant-vacancy ratios are evident in other countries. Around one-third of teachers in Zambia and at least one-quarter in Nigeria and Zimbabwe are unemployed. Recruitment ‘bans’ for all or some categories of teacher graduates has exacerbated this situation in some countries (such as Ghana). Marches and other kinds of demonstrations by teacher graduates are regularly reported upon in many countries. Organisations of unemployed teachers have also begun to spring up (as in Nigeria and Zambia).

*5.3 Teacher effective demand*

In most countries, the main reason for low TARs is that, while many teachers are dissatisfied and even demoralised and express strong intentions to leave, in most countries primary school teachers have very limited alternative employment opportunities either nationally or internationally, and are obliged, therefore, to remain in their jobs. This is the result of the combined interaction of both supply and demand factors. While ‘teacher shortages’ may be high due to the need for new teaching posts and/or to fill large numbers of existing ‘vacant posts’, the limited financial capacity of most governments is such that the overall ‘effective demand’ for teachers is much less.

The international migration of teachers has led to usually relatively short periods of high resignation rates in some countries in SSA. This has been due mainly to acute economic crises and military conflict in countries such as Gambia, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. However, the extent of teacher migration is increasingly limited especially as the teaching labour markets in countries such as Botswana, Ghana and South Africa which, in the past, have relied quite heavily on expatriate teachers from neighbouring countries, have become increasingly saturated with domestically trained teachers. The limited international negotiability of teacher qualifications acquired in SSA countries in Europe and other high-income countries also significantly limits the extent of teacher migration to these regions.

Teacher attrition rates are generally much higher in high-income countries in the North precisely because alternative employment opportunities are available for teachers wishing to leave the profession. The average attrition rate in Europe is 7.1%. It is particularly high in some countries including England (10.2%) and Scandinavia.[[6]](#footnote-6).

*5.4 Teacher supply*

With regard to supply, in most countries in SSA, the output of teacher graduates from universities and colleges of education, far exceeds the fiscal capacity of the state to recruit them all. As a result, the majority of these new teacher graduates in SSA have to wait a long time, sometimes more than five years, before they finally succeed in being recruited as a government teacher.

Very little data (especially time series) on teacher training enrolment trends is available. UIS statistics indicate that education graduates from tertiary education institutions (TEIs) accounted for over one-quarter of all graduates in half of the 22 countries for which some information is available during the last 10 years. Total TEI enrolments have also expanded rapidly since the early 2000s especially with the emergence of private sector universities in many countries. As a consequence, the number of teacher graduates has increased very appreciably in many countries. The annual output of teacher graduates exceeds 200,000 in Ethiopia, Ghana, and South Africa.

Figure 6 shows teacher tertiary education graduates as a percentage of the total number of primary and secondary school teachers in post for 2020 or the latest year available. The degree of over-supply is likely to be most marked where this percentage is over 20%. Table 3 assesses actual teacher recruitment demand (additional posts plus attrition) in relation to teacher supply during the late 2010s. This shows that, among the 17 countries with the necessary data, teacher supply exceeded actual demand by over 50% in five countries and between 10-50% in another five countries.

The over-supply of teacher trainee enrolments is fundamentally a political issue since, given the acute shortage of ‘good’ jobs in the formal sector, governments seek to absorb growing numbers of secondary school leavers in tertiary education institutions. Teacher training offers one of the least-cost options especially at

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|  Table 3: Imputed teacher recruitment (replacements and new posts) and graduate teacher |
| supply from tertiary education institutions, mid-late 2010s |
| Demand> supply | Demand=supply | Supply>demand |  |
| Shortage >-10% | Balanced -10%- +10% | Surplus 10%-50% | >50% |  |
| Malawi | Cameroon | Ethiopia | Botswana |  |
| Zimbabwe | Sierra Leone | Ghana | DRC |  |
|   | South Africa | Mozambique | Eritrea |  |
|   | Swaziland | Namibia | Kenya |  |
|   | Tanzania | Nigeria | Rwanda |  |

colleges of education. Robust educational planning would ensure that teacher trainee enrolments do not seriously exceed the effective demand for teachers. However, given the political pressure to expand enrolments, this is rarely undertaken.

***6. The impact of attrition***

The main finding of this review is that annual attrition rates among primary school teachers working in government schools in SSA are generally quite low and certainly much lower than is assumed by UNESCO and most academic research on this topic. The fact that much of this attrition is among beginning teachers who have barely joined the teaching profession also lessens the impact of teacher attrition.

Low teacher attrition is very important for the overall learning process in schools since staffing stability facilitates the development of a critical mass of teaching skills with teachers having sufficient time to gain the essential teaching competencies through on-the-job learning and more structured professional development activities. At the same time, however, low teacher attrition can have negative consequences when high proportions of teachers are dissatisfied with their jobs as a result of challenging working and living conditions. Being unable to resign and move onto ‘greener pastures’ can further exacerbate teacher dissatisfaction and ultimately lead to demoralisation and even burnout. It is also a major reason why teacher transfer rates (school-level attrition) are so high in many countries in SSA. In Anglophone, teacher transfer rates (certainly until recently)[[7]](#footnote-7), are typically two-four times higher than teacher attrition rates, particularly in rural areas where working and living conditions are particularly difficult. With up to one-quarter of teacher leaving their schools each year, teaching and learning become seriously compromised.

*6.1 Cumulative attrition, vacancies and recruitment*

One of the main reasons why teacher attrition appears to be so high in SSA is because, unlike in Europe and other high-income countries, it can take years for all departing teachers to be replaced with the result that overall vacancy rates are persistently high. It is the case, therefore, that cumulative teacher attrition does result in serious teacher shortages. There are both economic and political reasons for this dysfunctional recruitment process. The on-going acute lack of public resources to replace teachers is a major constraint. With the general reduction in the levels of general budget support by aid donors during the last decade, these financial constraints have become even more acute in some countries with governments having to rely mainly on domestic resources to fund teacher recruitment. In addition, however, the recruitment process for teachers has become politicised in some countries with the result that a disproportionate amount of teacher recruitment frequently occurs immediately before and/or after national elections as incumbent ruling parties seek to garner enough support in order to be re-elected and then come under pressure to implement election promises once in office.

***7. Conclusion***

Two main conclusions can be drawn from this study. Firstly, the main reason for pervasive shortages of teachers in the majority of countries in SSA is not high annual teacher attrition per se but rather the lack of public funding and political commitment in order to ensure that departing teachers are replaced in a timely manner and additional funding is forthcoming (from both domestic and external sources) to fund the new teaching posts that are needed to meet national and international educational goals. And secondly, low teacher attrition can serious consequences when demotivated and demoralised teachers feel ‘trapped’ in their jobs. Once again, this highlights the urgent need to address squarely the poor pay and other working and living conditions which the large majority of teachers in SSA have to endure.

*7.1 Future research*

The overall research effort on teachers and teaching in SSA needs to be intensified. As part of this research effort, detailed studies should be undertaken on the levels, patterns, causes and consequences of teacher attrition in every country which will provide essential information for robust teacher requirement projections, both nationally and for the region as a whole. As noted earlier, a very substantial amount of detailed, high quality research has been undertaken on teacher attrition in high-income countries which can be drawn upon in the design and implementation of these national studies in SSA.

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1. Eritrea, Gambia, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Namibia and Zambia. Tanzania and Uganda are the only countries with populations of more than 15 million. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The exceptions are Malawi, Tanzania, and Sierra Leone. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The lower quartile value is 2.4 (Cameroon) and the upper quartile value is 5.0 (South Africa). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The two countries with much higher resignation rates, Namibia are South Africa, have sizeable proportions of temporary teachers which my well result in over-inflated estimates. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The R-squared coefficient is 0.46 [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. TAR estimates for other OECD countries are not available with the exception of three countries in South America (Brazil 9.0%, Chile 8.2% and Colombia 1.5%). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Decentralisation with localised teacher recruitment has significantly reduced the level of teacher transfers both within and between districts. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)