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What Matters Most for Teacher Deployment?

A case study of teacher preferences in Sierra Leone

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Notes

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Abbreviations and acronyms

NGO	Non-governmental organisation
TC	Teaching certificate
TSC	Teaching Service Commission

1. Introduction

Over the past decade, governments in low- and middle-income countries have heavily invested in the education workforce to accommodate significant enrolment increases. However, these investments have not led to the delivery of quality education for all children. In Sierra Leone, for instance, the ratio of pupil to qualified teacher currently sits at 60:1 (↑Ministry of Basic & Secondary Education, 2021). This ratio is far higher than the government target of 40:1.

Notably, the impact of these investments is often inequitable as governments struggle to attract trained and qualified teachers to work in remote locations. In Sierra Leone, the ratio of pupil to qualified teacher rises from 44:1 for schools in urban centres to 76:1 for schools in rural areas (↑Mackintosh et al., 2020b). In spite of government efforts to redress this imbalance, up to a fifth of teachers fail to take up their assignments in remote locations (↑Mackintosh et al., 2020b). In this context, learners in urban centres consistently outperform their peers in rural areas (↑Leh Wi Lan, 2021).

To unpack this issue, we explored the following question: *What factors shape where teachers want to work in Sierra Leone?* In doing so, we aimed to better understand why the inequitable distribution of teachers persists in Sierra Leone and how the government may resolve this problem.

For this purpose, we conducted semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with 54 teachers and school leaders in Bombali and Kenema districts. In the next phase of the study, we will implement an SMS-based survey with over 500 teachers from across the country to validate our qualitative findings on a national scale.

To date, we have found that a number of factors shaped where teachers want to work in Sierra Leone. These factors include the location of a school, the availability of professional development opportunities, the quality of working conditions, and the provision of monetary incentives. Out of these factors, teachers most frequently highlighted 'school conditions' and 'opportunities for professional development' as their top preferences.

Our results contribute to the literature on teachers' school choice preferences in low- and middle-income countries. Earlier studies show that the location of a school — proximity to a teacher's hometown, distance from previous places of employment, and closeness to medical and banking facilities — significantly impacts where teachers would like to work (↑Bertoni et al., 2018; ↑Bertoni et al., 2019; ↑Boyd et al., 2005; ↑Engel et al., 2014). Notably, school location often correlates with student learning outcomes, enrolment, and the availability of basic working conditions which, in turn, influence the preferences of teachers

(↑Bertoni et al., 2019; ↑Boyd et al., 2011; ↑Bonhomme et al., 2016; ↑Krieg et al., 2016). Separately, income levels shape school choice preferences as teachers may look for work in areas where they can find a second job or in schools with opportunities for rapid career progression (↑Cummings & Noura, 2016; ↑Kadzamira, 2006; ↑Nugroho & Karamperidou, 2021; ↑Turrent, 2012).

In our setting, however, there is a lack of empirical evidence on teachers' school choice preferences. Here, in Sierra Leone, over half of the education workforce does not receive a government salary (↑Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, 2021). At the same time, more than a third of teachers are unqualified (↑Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, 2021). Separately, Sierra Leone has the sixth-lowest proportion of female teachers across the globe (↑Mackintosh et al., 2020c).

As such, we aim to explore if and how findings from the global evidence base hold for Sierra Leone. In doing so, we aim to support the Government of Sierra Leone to generate evidence to inform upcoming teacher deployment reforms.

2. Background

In Sierra Leone, the Teaching Service Commission (TSC) is responsible for *"all matters pertaining to teacher management"* including the recruitment and allocation of teachers (↑Teaching Service Commission, 2020: p. 1). Even though teacher salaries constitute the largest recurrent item in the education sector budget, 58% of the workforce are not on the government payroll (↑Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, 2021; ↑Wright, 2017). The government does not have the funds to pay salaries for all teachers (↑Turrent, 2012). Therefore, teachers who are not receiving a salary from the government are hired by households (defined as families, communities, or individuals) or private institutions or they are volunteer teachers (↑Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, 2021). In this context, the recruitment and allocation of teachers typically involve identifying schools where non-payroll teachers will be formally hired.

Last year, the TSC started by defining the number of teachers allocated per education level and, then, the number of teachers allocated to each district (↑Teaching Service Commission, 2021). Within each district, the TSC allocated teachers to schools with the highest pupil-to-teacher ratio until they filled the district quota. Here, teachers were prioritised for a salaried position based on their:

a. qualifications
b. gender
c. experience
d. subject specialism (↑Teaching Service Commission, 2021).

Through this process, the TSC aimed to deploy staff at underserved parts of the country and move closer to a 40:1 pupil-to-teacher ratio.

As in many other low-income countries, however, the uneven distribution and limited supply of teachers in Sierra Leone prevent learners in rural areas from accessing quality instruction (↑Asim et al., 2017). To improve this situation, the TSC collaborated with the Education Commission[1] and education advisors at Fab Inc[2] to outline the following options for teacher allocation at a primary level (↑Mackintosh et al., 2020a):

- redistributing teachers within chiefdoms from schools with 'surplus' teachers to schools in need;

[1] See: https://educationcommission.org/
[2] See: https://fabinc.co.uk/

- developing a preference-matching model to pair schools in need with the most suitable teachers;
- providing direct incentives to those working in remote schools.

Now, the TSC aims to build evidence to identify the most feasible and cost-effective approach to implement at scale.

3. Methodology

This research was undertaken in Bombali district in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone, and Kenema district in the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone. Between 2019 and 2021, Kenema and Bombali were middle-ranking districts in terms of student performance on the West African Senior School Certificate Exam (↑Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, 2022). The two districts were chosen as they exhibit the highest levels of intra-district variation in the ratio of pupil to payroll teacher.

Within each of these districts, we randomly selected six schools based on the following criteria.

- **Geography:** two urban schools, two peri-urban schools, and two remote schools[3]
- **Number of teachers:** schools with a minimum of two payroll teachers and two non-payroll teachers
- **Gender balance:** schools with a mix of male and female teachers

At each of the selected schools, we aimed to conduct semi-structured interviews and a focus group discussion with the school leader, two payroll teachers, and two non-payroll teachers. Notably, teachers in some of these schools were absent on the day of our visit. As such, we carried out a total of 54 interviews and 11 focus group discussions. Table 1 below summarises the profiles of the research participants.

[3] For the purpose of this study, we classified urban schools as those in a central town or those within a 5 km radius of a central town, peri-urban schools as those within a 5–20 km radius of a central town, and remote schools as those outside of a 20 km radius of a central town.

Table 1. *A summary of the profiles of research participants.*

Teacher characteristics

	Position	Gender		Payroll status		Location			Children	
		Male	Female	Payroll	Non-payroll	Urban	Peri-urban	Rural	Yes	No
Bombali	School leader	3	4	5	2	3	2	2	5	2
	Teacher	8	13	10	11	9	8	4	18	3
Kenema	School leader	4	2	5	1	2	2	2	5	1
	Teacher	12	8	6	14	7	7	6	14	6

Before conducting any interviews or focus group discussions, we reviewed the global literature on teacher preferences and teacher absenteeism in low- and middle-income countries (↑Vijil et al., 2022). Importantly, this literature review informed the development of our research protocols.

During the study, we recorded, transcribed, and translated all interviews and focus group discussions. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in English, Krio, or Mende. To this end, two translators joined the research team to ensure participants could understand and respond to all questions.

After processing this data, we tagged each transcript to highlight the research approach (e.g., semi-structured interview) and the respondent's background (e.g., role, gender, payroll status). All transcripts were then coded thematically. Here, we started with a pre-defined code list that we developed deductively from our initial literature review. During the analysis, we added new codes inductively as we examined the transcripts. Finally, two researchers reviewed the assigned codes to ensure that they were consistently and logically applied.

In the following section, we outline emerging themes from the study.

4. Findings

A number of factors shaped the preferences of the teachers in our sample regarding where they wanted to work. During the study, participants highlighted issues such as monetary incentives, working conditions, location, relationships within and outside the school, and opportunities for professional development.

When asked to identify the factors that have the greatest impact on school preferences, teachers most frequently highlighted working conditions and opportunities for professional development. In doing so, the majority of teachers ranked these factors above location. Importantly, these trends were consistent for teachers of different backgrounds, as shown in Table 2 below.

In the remainder of this section, we examine each of these factors in more detail.

Table 2. *A summary of the profiles of research participants.*

Teacher characteristics

Most important factor shaping teacher school preferences	Gender		Payroll status		Location			Children
	Male	Female	Payroll	Non-payroll	Urban	Peri-urban	Rural	Yes
School conditions	11	8	7	12	8	7	4	14
Professional development and support	8	10	7	11	5	6	7	12
School location	2	3	2	3	2	2	1	5

4.1. Monetary incentives

Monetary incentives appeared to have a strong impact on teacher preferences. In our sample, many teachers reported that being put on payroll or receiving a higher salary would encourage them to relocate to a rural area. In Bombali, for instance, a non-payroll teacher emphasised that:

> **"I will not be struggling here and then move to a more remote place with the same struggle, and I don't know anyone there. So this is what you should first consider: if you're moving a teacher to a new location, they don't know anyone there. It is necessary to have his or her salary running and the basic facilities available. I am willing to move as long as I am on the payroll, even if it is in the far remote communities."**
>
> **– Non-payroll teacher**

At a time when more than half of teachers do not receive a government salary, monetary incentives are critical for those being asked to relocate — especially to areas where they have no pre-existing connections.

For many teachers, however, monetary incentives alone are not sufficient. In urban Kenema, for example, a female teacher stated:

> **"Let the government put things in place for the female teachers. If they are moving us to another location, let there be allowance because I am moving from my place to another place. I have to feed my children and I have to take care of them, give them transport, and give them lunch. I will not just go because I'm going to have a PIN [payroll] code. But, what is behind that PIN code? If there is no other allowance, I will not go."**
>
> **– Female teacher**

Here, factors such as accommodation, transport, school conditions, and the well-being of students mediated the attractiveness of a salaried position or a higher wage.

Moreover, the perceived value of monetary incentives depended in part on the availability of other income-generating opportunities. For instance, a teacher from Makeni commented:

> **"A person with a Bachelor's can be called to work as a tutor, so he can also earn money from there. It is good for such people to be in a big town because he will be marketing himself. He will attract the attention of NGOs even though he is not on payroll. He will also organise extra classes for pupils that are in examination classes. So, there is an avenue for such people to make money."**
>
> **– Teacher in Makeni**

Importantly, many participants believed that non-payroll teachers can better support themselves in urban centres, where they can engage in tutoring and work with non-governmental organisations (NGOs). In contrast, teachers in rural areas only mentioned farming as a potential alternative source of income.

Even though many teachers prioritised professional training over monetary incentives, teachers often access financial support through these courses. In a focus group discussion, a participant from a peri-urban part of Kenema gave the following justification for placing a non-payroll teacher at a school with many training opportunities.

> **"[B]ecause she's not on payroll, the training that she will be doing will support her to also support her family ... [w]hen you went for trainings, there are times they will give you tokens so with that you will use it to support your family."**
>
> **– Participant from a peri-urban school**

In this context, some non-payroll teachers viewed in-service training initiatives as a temporary substitute for a regular salary.

4.2. School conditions

When considering where to work, the teachers in our sample most frequently prioritised school conditions. For this study, school conditions include both the school's physical conditions — access to basic facilities and infrastructure — and the school's working conditions — relationships with other staff, parents, and the community.

For some teachers, the availability of basic amenities — water, toilets, electricity, and solid infrastructure — matters a lot when choosing a school. In this context, a few teachers expressed a desire to relocate to urban centres to access better facilities, more transport options, and a wider range of things to do socially. A teacher in Bombali, for instance, outlined the difference between the conditions in an urban location and a peri-urban location.

> **"When I was in Makeni, I didn't have difficulty with electricity. Like, I don't have to pay to charge my phone, I don't normally walk long distances because I use a motorbike. But, here, you just have to walk because there are no such facilities."**
>
> **– Teacher in Bombali**

In Sierra Leone, the availability of basic infrastructure and amenities influences the willingness of teachers to move to different areas.

Importantly, the majority of teachers ranked relationships within and outside a school as more important than a school's physical conditions. This trend was consistent for both male and female teachers and for teachers in urban, peri-urban, and rural locations. In a remote part of Kenema, for example, a teacher explained that:

> **"It is the good relationship that creates the physical condition, because if you have a good relationship with the community, even if there are not good physical conditions, they will bring it."**
>
> **– Teacher in a remote area in Kenema**

Here, strong and established relationships were viewed as a precursor to improved school facilities and infrastructure.

In general, non-payroll teachers and teachers with children may have a greater need to work in schools with good conditions. A teacher from a remote school in Bombali, for instance, reported that:

> **"If you are not on payroll, and you are in the remote area, you have to find food for your kids. Baby food is very expensive, and you hardly get them in the remote areas, so they will have food problems. And, they will not have better medical facilities … they are important for young children because those villages do not have access to pure water."**
>
> **– Teacher in a remote area in Bombali**

4.3. Opportunities for professional development and support

In our sample, teachers identified the availability of opportunities for training and professional support as an important factor when choosing a school. In

doing so, a few teachers noted that these opportunities had a major impact on whether they would consider relocating.

The majority of teachers expressed a desire for further in-service training to build their pedagogical skills. More specifically, some teachers highlighted the importance of learning circles and peer support from experienced teachers. In Makeni, for instance, a focus group participant explained that:

> **"As a newly qualified teacher with no teaching experience — you know when someone is from the university — they have challenges in teaching unless he is met with trained teachers in the school. So they will motivate you and correct your little mistakes that you will be making."**
>
> **– Focus group participant from Makeni**

In this context, teachers with limited or no experience have the greatest need for professional support. For example, a focus group participant from Bombali described how:

> **"For somebody who is just coming in the classroom, I think he needs some of these things, especially these frequent trainings. You will find it very difficult, especially when you're just from the university, and you don't have such frequent training."**
>
> **– Focus group participant from Bombali**

In turn, more experienced teachers may be able to manage better in schools with less support.

Importantly, teachers associated opportunities for professional development with rapid career progression. A teacher from Makeni, for instance, explained that they wanted additional training as *"the more I will be doing it, the more knowledge I will have."* In particular, teachers demanded training that offered certificates with direct ties to their income. In Bombali, for example, a teacher stated that:

> **"If they said okay, you went for this training, and you performed well on the training, and you got a certificate, and you have been monitored and confirmed that you are doing the work: now, they increase your salary. This will inspire the next person to perform well."**
>
> **–Teacher in Bombali**

Here, the desire of teachers to relocate partly depended on the availability of professional development opportunities that could translate into a salaried position or higher pay.

4.4. School location

The proximity between a school and a teacher's household strongly correlated with reported levels of location satisfaction. Over half of interviewed teachers expressed a preference to work at a school close to their home. In a rural part of Bombali, for instance, a teacher stated that *"if I am relocated to a distance [sic.] school, I will not be happy."* The associated cost of transport reinforced this perspective. A non-payroll teacher from rural Bombali described how they changed schools to save USD 0.60 in bus and taxi fares each day. In Sierra Leone, the distance to school strongly influenced the willingness of teachers to work in different areas.

Pre-existing family commitments underpinned the desire of teachers to stay close to their homes. These commitments included providing sustenance and caregiving. At a school in rural Kenema, for example, a teacher noted that

> **"I am not on payroll, so I engage myself in farming so at the end of the day we will have the farm produce to eat."**
>
> **– Teacher at a rural school in Kenema**

In some schools, teachers prioritised being close to their families over monetary incentives. In Bombali, a teacher explained that:

> **"I [would] prefer to stay [in my current location] as I have close contact with my**

family and I take my children to school. I will not be bored thinking of the salary. I will not be worried with questions like: do my children go to school today?"

– Teacher in Bombali

When considering where to work, teachers often consider familial duties and responsibilities.

In this context, teachers without a family or children may be more prepared to relocate. In urban Kenema, a focus group participant suggested that a teacher with no children could *"simply go [to a remote area] because he has no family with him."* Meanwhile, another teacher advised that those with young families should stay in urban centres, where they can find baby food and medicine for common childhood illnesses. The perceived suitability, by teachers, of work in different locations, depends, in part, on their family situation.

More broadly, the availability of basic amenities and infrastructure impacted the attractiveness of different locations. Here, teachers prioritised clean water, regular electricity, and a stable power supply. At a peri-urban school in Bombali, for instance, a teacher complained that they had to walk long distances to find somewhere to charge their phone. The same teacher, also, recounted that their colleagues in Makeni refused to work outside the city where they would have fewer opportunities to socialise. In Sierra Leone, the uneven distribution of basic amenities affected the willingness of teachers to work in remote areas.

Despite this barrier, some teachers would be prepared to move to a rural school in return for monetary incentives. For example, many non-payroll teachers would relocate if offered a regular salary. In Bombali, a teacher expressed their willingness to move *"close to the Guinea border"* if they were added to the payroll. Similarly, many payroll teachers would work in a remote school if the government raised their salary. A teacher from Makeni, for instance, noted that they *"would prefer to move to the more rural area"* for a higher wage. Separately, teachers asked for other benefits, such as free housing and a hardship allowance. It would appear that a range of financial incentives could increase job uptake in rural parts of Sierra Leone.

Equally, intrinsic motivation strongly influenced the school choice preferences of some teachers. For example, a teacher said that they moved from Freetown to a peri-urban area of Bombali because:

> **"I love teaching in rural areas because I like to impart good knowledge to the pupils. Because most teachers after getting pin codes will move to big towns without doing anything. But again, these kids here deserve a good education also. They want to benefit in the same way others are benefitting in urban areas."**
>
> **– Teacher in a peri-urban area of Bombali**

Notably, two other teachers from the same school shared similar stories. At a time when the Government of Sierra Leone advocates for radical inclusion, a drive to support the most marginalised learners appears to have encouraged teachers to work in hard-to-reach areas.

4.5. Relationships with the community and school

Strong relationships with the community were associated with higher levels of teacher retention at the schools in our sample. In rural Kenema, for instance, a teacher outlined that *"if I have peace with the community, I will be happy and that good relationship will make us, the teachers, stay."* Elsewhere, teachers prioritised strong relationships with the community over monetary incentives. A non-payroll teacher at a peri-urban school in Kenama recounted the following:

> **"I have been in this school for over 10 years now, and I am used to this school. And, I also have a very cordial relationship with the community people and also the children. For any time I am absent from school, they will not be happy. So I don't want to leave the school now, even if they will put me on payroll."**
>
> **–Non-payroll teacher in Kenema**

Importantly, this sentiment was shared by payroll teachers and non-payroll teachers alike.

Meanwhile, some teachers opted to remain at their current school as they felt a sense of duty to their community. A teacher in a peri-urban part of Bombali elaborated that

> **"I prefer to be in the village because the village people need help, and because I was born in this village, so I will prefer to help them."**
>
> **– Teacher in a peri-urban area of Bombali**

Here, opportunities to promote community development seemed to lower attrition rates.

More specifically, a sense of duty to the community appeared to stem from a recognition of local workforce constraints. At a remote school in Bombali, for example, a teacher stated that *"we are promoting the community because if we leave here there is no other teacher."* The decision to continue to work at a school sometimes depended on the availability of other staff. A teacher from a peri-urban area of Bombali noted that:

> **"Even when I am sick, I will still manage to come. So if I leave, how will this school look? I will prefer to stay as long as everything is okay because I want to serve the community. But if there are sufficient teachers, I will go to the school with more facility."**
>
> **– Teacher in a peri-urban area of Bombali**

Notably, the attendance and retention of teachers were partly conditional on local labour conditions.

In turn, an accommodating community environment incentivised teachers to relocate to schools in more remote locations. After moving from Freetown to work in a peri-urban part of Bombali, a teacher explained that

> **"... if you came from afar and those that you met did not like you, then I don't think you would be able to stay there as teachers."**
>
> **– Teacher in a peri-urban area of Bombali**

Here, an accommodating community may provide lodging, encouragement, and fresh food. For instance, another teacher who moved to a peri-urban school in Bombali described how they decided to stay in this region as the community offered free housing to their family. A supportive community seemed to be a necessary precondition for attracting teachers to rural areas.

Beyond the community, school leader support played a major role in retaining staff. This support can come in different forms such as a monthly allowance and guidance and counselling. In Makeni, for example, a non-payroll teacher noted that a regular financial stipend

> **"is what is encouraging us [non-payroll teachers] to be in the school because things are really difficult."**
>
> **– Non-payroll teacher in Makeni**

Equally, non-monetary support proved as important for some teachers. A teacher from a remote school in Bombali recalled that the head teacher

> **"... will not give you money because she does not have [it], but the good talk that she gives you pleases you more than money."**
>
> **– `head teacher in a remote school in Bombali**

Support from school leaders shaped where, and the extent to which, teachers wanted to continue to work.

4.6. School-level demand for teachers

The demand for teachers varied across the schools in our sample. In spite of Sierra Leone's relatively high ratio of pupil to qualified teacher, several school leaders in urban locations noted that they had too many staff members. In Makeni, for instance, a school leader had at least two teachers for each class. By contrast, over two-thirds of schools in remote areas requested more approved teachers. In rural Kenema, for example, a school leader asked for seven new teachers, as many staff members had left after receiving no pay. Notably, this scenario resonated with the experience of other schools in remote areas of Sierra Leone.

When recruiting new teachers, the majority of schools expected candidates to have a professional qualification. For example, 62% of schools in our sample looked for teachers with a teaching certificate (TC), while a further 23% of schools looked for teachers with a higher teaching certificate. In a peri-urban part of Kenema, a school leader explained:

> **"A TC is purely for teaching. You might have a diploma, but you are not supposed to teach. You might have a BSc. or BEd, but you are not a teacher. TC is purely meant for teachers, so if TC is meant for teachers, we need to place a TC person here."**
>
> **– School leader in a peri-urban area of Kenema**

At a time when a large segment of the workforce remains unqualified, most schools placed a premium on candidates with certificates that directly relate to instructional practice.

In addition to approved and qualified staff, schools in rural areas have a need for more experienced teachers. Focus group participants in Bombali, for instance, agreed that those who have taught for many years are especially *"able to make a change"* in remote schools. Meanwhile, a teacher in Kenema elaborated that experienced staff can support the professional development of their peers in rural areas, which tend to have less qualified teachers. Even if teachers do not have the requisite professional qualifications, remote schools can still value the experience that they offer.

Separately, the demand for male and female teachers reflected a demand for a gender-balanced workforce. In our sample, for instance, every school with a higher proportion of male teachers was asking for more female members of staff. Meanwhile, every school with a higher proportion of female teachers was asking for more male members of staff. In a period when Sierra Leone faces a significant gender imbalance in the education workforce, school leaders showed a desire to redress this disparity.

However, the demand for a gender-balanced workforce stemmed in part from perceived gender roles within the school. For example, a male school leader in a rural part of Kenema asserted:

> **"When you have a woman in a school, the school will develop because here in the morning, I am the one who will sweep the classroom and clean them. But, if there is a woman, all those work will be done by her."**
>
> **– Male school leader in a rural area of Kenema**

Equally, female school leaders also reinforced these gender stereotypes. At an urban school in Bombali, a female head teacher stated that

> **"... the male pupils are very difficult to control, so that's why I said I need male teachers so that they will help us."**
>
> **– Female head teacher at urban school in Bombali**

5. Recommendations

Our findings indicate that teacher preferences are not straightforward. Instead, the preferences of teachers depend on many contextual factors and interact with a host of demographic characteristics. Despite these complexities, based on findings from this initial study, the government can take a number of high-level considerations into account when deploying teachers.

1. Collect additional data on the teachers' domestic situations and set-up, such as those that our findings indicate are important to consider. For example, whether a teacher has young children and the location of their family and home.
2. Prioritise teachers working in or willing to relocate to a remote area for a position on the government payroll.
3. Connect teacher deployment to school transport planning, mapping the distance and cost of transport in different locations.
4. Prioritise non-payroll teachers and teachers with children for schools in urban centres and schools with basic amenities.
5. Deploy newly qualified teachers at schools with experienced staff members who can provide professional support.
6. Operationalise linkages between payroll status, professional standards, and the forthcoming teacher professional development framework.
7. Prioritise teachers who have spent less time at their current school for relocation.
8. Use proximity to the home as an indicator for where to allocate teachers in the deployment process.
9. Work with communities to design and implement incentive schemes for teachers who are willing to relocate.
10. Focus on redressing gender imbalances in schools across Sierra Leone.

It is important to note that the first phase of this study was limited to 54 teachers and school leaders in two districts of Sierra Leone. Further research is planned to better understand and validate our findings on teacher preferences and how they relate to outcomes such as job uptake and retention.

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