Refugee Teachers, Pedagogy and Professional Development: The Pursuit of Quality Education in UNRWA, Jordan.

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Abstract

Quality, although detailed as vital, is not clearly defined in refugee education literature. Teacher Professional Development (TPD), largely considered central to quality education, is similarly under-represented and under-researched in these settings. This thesis argues that quality education and TPD should be contextual and participatory in their development.

In this mixed method case study of the United Nations Refugee and Works Agency (UNRWA), pedagogy, composed of ideas/discourse and practice, is used as a framework to consider quality education and TPD. This explores the organisation's Education Reform Strategy (ERS) and the impact of TPD on teachers and their classroom practice. The findings highlight the absence of teacher participation and the limited contextualisation of policy that do not respond to the realities of schools and the community in this refugee setting. The challenging physical and social context is also highlighted as influencing teachers' engagement with TPD and their classroom practices. While some change in teachers' classroom practice can be observed since participation in the SBTD Programme, teachers' pedagogy as ideas/discourse around the use of classroom practices for specific purposes is revealed. A lack of theoretical understanding around the use of more child-centred practice is also highlighted.

Policy and systems discourse that do not interact with teachers' everyday realities have limited influence. The significance of policies that interact with teacher practices, however, demonstrates the need for these to be developed in a participatory way and fully contextualised. Broader implications and conclusions of these findings focus on the Capability Approach, demonstrating that teachers have awareness of training and development needs, even in more complex settings. Teacher identity factors such as gender, tenure and reasons for teaching are also highlighted as considerations necessary for TPD. These findings build on quality education and TPD literature with specific focus on a refugee context.

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Abbreviations

AEO – Area Education Office

CA – Capability Approach

CCP – Child-Centred Practices

CoP – Communities of Practice

CR – Critical Realism

DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo

ECW – Education Cannot Wait

EfA – Education for All

EP – Educational Psychology Course

ERS – Education Reform Strategy 2011–2015

ES – Education Specialist

ESM – Economic Survey Mission

FfA – Framework for Action

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GEMR – Global Education Monitoring Report

HCT – Human Capital Theory

HRA – Human Rights Approach

IE – Institute of Education

INEE – Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies

IRC – International Rescue Committee

LftF – Leading for the Future programme

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals

MLA – Monitoring of Learning Achievement tests

NSDS – National Sustainable Development Strategies

OD process – Organisational Development process

PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment

PCK – Pedagogical Content Knowledge

SBTD Programme – School Based Teacher Development Programme

SDG – Sustainable Development Goal

SJA – Social Justice Approach

SP – School Principal

SQR – School Quality Review

SSU – Strategic Support Unit

ST – School Teacher

TIMSS – Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

TPD – Teacher Professional Development

UNCCP – United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine

UNHCR – United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNRPR – United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees

UNRWA – United Nations Refugee Works and Relief Agency for Refugees in the Near East

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<u>Declaration</u>

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

1. <u>Introduction</u>

There are 68.5 million people forcibly displaced worldwide (UNHCR, 2017:2), leaving their homes due to persecution, conflict or generalised violence. More than half (52%) of this refugee and internally displaced population are children under the age of 18 (Pg.59). Free education is listed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 2015:54) and Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 focuses on the need for quality education, which is also inclusive and equitable (United Nations General Assembly, 2015:19). Furthermore, the 2030 Education Framework for Action details the need for education to be delivered in safe, supportive and secure learning environments free from violence (UNESCO, 2015:9). With this refugee population made up of a large proportion of children under 18, the achievement of this global goal requires significant consideration of education in these contexts (INEE, 2019:4). Although research on achieving access for students is a key focus of refugee education literature, we know little about delivering quality education in these settings. This thesis argues that to achieve the goal of quality education, this must be contextual (responsive and sensitive to the local environment) and participatory (consider the smallest unit of experience, teachers), especially in refugee contexts.

This thesis will use as a case study the United Nations Refugee Works and Relief Agency (UNRWA), who support Palestine Refugees, and their pursuit of quality education. This research will focus on the UNRWA Education Reform Strategy (ERS), the School Based Teacher Development (SBTD) Programme and experiences of teachers who are Palestine Refugees themselves, with the use of pedagogy as a framework for analysis. This case study offers insight into a well-developed and widely delivered teacher professional development (TPD) programme, an example that is not common in this context. This Programme is also made up of many examples of best practice, including the development of support systems, and the fact that it is conducted as a longer term intervention. While unique, this case study shares challenges with other refugee contexts, including unstable funding and challenging social conditions, offering some generalisation to findings around these features.

The existing literature on refugee education is primarily focused on refugee children and youth, with very limited research focusing on teachers and their role in education

(Richardson et al., 2018). Discussions of quality education in these settings are rarely defined with clarity and tend to focus on access of provision (ODI, 2016). Due to these limitations in refugee education literature, sources relating to education delivered in emergencies, and complex and fragile settings are also considered in this thesis, which supports engagement with significant literature, research, perspectives and ideas relevant to the broader context. These fields, however, are also limited in terms of the amount of robust research and literature available (Burde et al., 2015:iv–v). As a result, sources focused on the Global South have also been considered in this thesis, especially in relation to TPD (INEE, 2015:12).

1.1 Education in Refugee Settings

According to UNESCO, education offers great benefits to communities, eradicating poverty and improving health (UNESCO, 2015:27). In refugee settings, further benefits include child protection, normalisation in chaos, coping mechanisms, opportunities for educational change, and transmission of relevant and important messages (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008:640). The Education 2030 Framework for Action for the implementation of SDG 4 (UNESCO, 2015:34) details that in emergency contexts, education 'is immediately protective, providing life-saving knowledge and skills and psychosocial support to those affected by crisis. Education also equips children, youth and adults for a sustainable future, with the skills to prevent disaster, conflict and disease'. Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003) state that education has built-in features that inherently protect children, such as the sense of worth that comes with being called a learner, the growth and development of a social network, as well as adult supervision. In the uncertainty of refugee life, education is also a source of normalcy and psychosocial support. A regular routine and structure can add stability in times of chaos (Bruce, 2001:38) that can benefit the well-being of children. Both Sinclair (2002) and Pigozzi (1999) add that the provision of education can lessen the psychosocial impact of trauma and displacement. In partnership with this normalcy, refugee education can allow children to deal with and be more hopeful for the future. Similarly, children being in education can benefit parents by giving them space and opportunity to deal with daily household needs, and the time to handle the psychosocial challenges they might be struggling with (Sinclair, 2001:7). Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003) also detail that child protection is on a continuum, with child rights violations sitting at one end, and securing government and community respect for children at the other. The provision of education in a safe setting fulfils a

child's rights, but also acts as an enabler, assisting them in accessing other rights and opportunities. The argument for refugee education as a means for child protection is also key in preventing further conflict. Research relating to child soldiers (Save the Children, 2005) shows that when children have the opportunity to attend school, they are less likely to be recruited by militia groups and gangs, further expanding the idea that refugee education provides physical protection and prevention from harm.

Despite the benefits of refugee education, one major challenge facing its delivery is limited funding and the manner this is structured. Refugee education occupies a space between both immediate emergency/humanitarian work and development. This position creates limitations for education in relation to some funding models. The Machel Study in 1996 paved the way in conceptualising the challenges that children in conflict settings face, and highlighted the importance of emergency education initiated immediately and run by educationalists (Sinclair, 2001:15–16). The characterisation of refugee education as a relief activity has resulted in lack of response to child population increases. Unlike healthcare, shelter or water supply in these contexts, the cost of providing education increases, rather than decreases, year on year (Sinclair, 2001:16). Teachers in these settings are often volunteers, receiving little incentive to stay in the job. In-service training is often not acknowledged or recognised. When education is considered as a development activity, however, fair financial benefits can be made to teachers, recognised and certified teacher training can also serve to retain teachers and prevent high turnover (Brown, 2001:144–145; Ring & West, 2015:111–112).

In a strategic review of the changes and developments made in regards to children and conflict, ten years on from the publication of the Machel Study, it is stated that '[d]uring recent years […] education in emergencies has emerged as a structured, institutionalized and priority field in emergencies [and] is now considered a relief intervention that can be both life-saving and life-sustaining […] Education is also now recognized as a sector that can provide continuity across the relief-to-development continuum' (United Nations Children's Fund, 2009: 114–115). Despite this positive movement in conceptualising education in these settings, however, in the time from 2006 to 2009, education represented on average 4.2% of immediate emergency needs, yet it received only 2.3% of the funding available. In 2009, just 31% of emergency education funding

requirements were met (Save the Children, 2010:ix). Although listed as an emergency necessity, education has continued to be underfunded. A new EU policy introduced in 2018, however, increased the share of funding for education in emergencies and protracted crises to 10% of the overall humanitarian aid budget in 2019, compared with 1% in 2015 (UNESCO, 2018:252). While funding is not the only issue challenging the delivery of refugee education, it is a key factor in many of the issues surrounding the provision of quality, which is the focus of this thesis. Financial restrictions to refugee education limit long-term planning and investment in teacher recruitment and their professional development, a central factor in education quality. Recent developments, however, such as the Education Cannot Wait Fund (ODI, 2016), a fund to support predictable multi-year funding for education in these challenging contexts, highlight the importance of this matter on the international education agenda.

1.2 The Need for Quality Education in Refugee Contexts

Voices in international education literature stress the need for broader conceptual understanding and measures for quality education beyond access (Sayed & Ahmed, 2015; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). This is a position highlighted by Davies (2009:8): the 'important message for all Education For All (EFA) efforts can be learned from refugee situations: "Attending school was not enough".' Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) study of refugee and IDP students in Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Ethiopia details that education in these settings had to reach beyond access. Their research showed that student well-being and learning experiences should not be treated as separate issues. Children's hope for the future was based on a combination of academic and social learning, with the quality and relevance of learning being central. They detail that students were keenly aware of when they were and were not learning. Winthrop and Kirk (2008:640) also suggest that the added benefits of refugee education for children, such as normalisation, psychosocial support and protection, could be gained from a number of alternative social institutions. Clearly demonstrating that the provision of educational spaces in refugee settings is not enough, these spaces must also contain quality education where children are learning. Save the Children (2010:17) echo this sentiment: 'Access to ineffective schools […] is not meaningful access. For parents to invest in education […] they have to believe it is worthwhile'. As highlighted by Sabates et al. (2010:13), the perceived quality of education can affect the priority given to education by the household.

Refugees in Za'tari Camp, Jordan, displaced by the ongoing Syrian civil war, have listed poor quality of education as a reason for not attending school (UNICEF, 2014:3). Education considered to be of poor quality is not only an issue for refugees based in camp environments; this also challenges refugees who are living outside of camps, impacting host communities and social cohesion (UNESCO, 2018:73). Education quality in Jordanian government schools has decreased since the arrival of Syrian refugees, challenging their efforts for domestic improvement (Government of Jordan, 2018:55). The effects of this are not only challenging to students, but to community relations and co-existence. Quality education, or the lack thereof, has significant impact on students and their attendance, along with limitation of the associated benefits of education and schooling. Poor quality education can also translate into issues between communities.

1.3 The Importance of Teacher Professional Development in Refugee Education

Community relationships are also central to the recruitment and provision of teachers. Teachers of refugees come from a range of backgrounds. In some settings, refugee children may be entering government-funded schools, which is increasingly encouraged in international policy (UNESCO, 2018:54). These teachers may be from the host communities with few skills to deal with the complex needs that refugee students may present. In other contexts, teachers may be volunteers who have stepped into the role of teacher with trepidation, limited education and no previous training (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). Teachers and their professional development are considered key in the provision of education, a position widely supported by global organisations, including the OECD (Schleicher, 2012) and the Inter Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), which detail professional development as a minimum standard for education (2012, 2015).

In order to support quality education in refugee settings, it is vital to understand how teachers can be best supported in their role to do this. There is limited research, however, focusing on TPD in refugee contexts (Burde et al., 2015; INEE, 2015; Richardson et al., 2018). Work focused on TPD in these contexts predominantly considers programme recommendations, directions and instructions on how to apply findings from other low-income settings (Richardson et al., 2018). This work does not always reflect the complex realities of refugee experiences. In addition, the need for

research considering TPD in refugee contexts is further strengthened by discourses calling for context-specific understandings of quality education (Sayed & Ahmed, 2015; Tikly & Barrett, 2011) and TPD (Avalos, 2011; Johnson, Monk et al., 2000; King, 2018).

1.4 The Importance of Pedagogy

This thesis, supported by a significant body of literature, argues that quality education and TPD should be contextual and participatory. Current international goals and targets focus on input/output goals that do not consider these features in the evaluation and assessment of quality. Pedagogy, the dynamic relationship between learning, teaching and culture, is promoted by Livingston et al. (2017) as a central enabler of 2030 education targets. Pedagogy offers an understanding of the interconnected features of education, which is inherently contextual, and the effective acknowledgement of which requires the participation of stakeholders. The acknowledgement of pedagogy for quality education has been a key feature of international development education literature in recent years (Alexander, 2008; Sayed & Ahmed, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2015).

Alexander, in his seminal work *Culture and Pedagogy*, conducts an international comparison of primary education and understands pedagogy as both act and discourse, 'connecting the apparently self-contained act of teaching with culture, structure and mechanisms of social control' (2001:540). This understanding serves as a valuable framework for analysis, as it offers a qualitative structure connected to the education context. Although classroom practices can be considered, the use of pedagogy shifts measures away from input/output indicators to a contextual qualitative indicator. This is especially important in refugee contexts that are typically more complex. In addition, in a review of effective interventions to improve education in crisis-affected contexts, Burde et al. (2015) distinguished two types of interventions most effective in improving education quality: physical infrastructure, and content and practices. These areas demonstrate the significance of pedagogy, and both ideas/discourse and practice as detailed by Alexander, highlighting the value of considering these two factors together, especially in refugee contexts. The following case study is explored using Alexander's understanding of pedagogy as a framework to consider quality, viewed as being contextual and including participation of stakeholders.

1.5 UNRWA as a Case Study

UNRWA has been selected as a case study to explore quality education in refugee settings. UNRWA developed an Education Reform Strategy (ERS) with the aim of improving education quality. The selection of UNRWA as a case study offers insight into the efforts of the ERS and its impact on education. One element of the reform programmes was the School Based Teacher Development (SBTD) Programme as an in-situ professional development for school teachers. The aim of the Programme was to promote teachers' use of active pedagogical methods and a variety of learner-focused strategies (UNRWA, 2012c). This opportunity offered the chance to identify and explore quality in UNRWA and other potentially generalisable findings on quality, for consideration in other refugee settings, in both host country schools and camp contexts for teachers of refugees. Research was conducted in Jordan, one of the five Fields of UNRWA operations. The following expands on the history of UNRWA, its education provision and the current context in which it functions.

1.6 Palestine Refugees and UNRWA

UNRWA's mandate is to provide services for Palestine Refugees (United Nations General Assembly, 1949). Palestine Refugees are defined as 'persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict'. There are categories of people who are also considered Palestine Refugees beyond this definition, including those displaced in subsequent conflict between Israel/Palestine, including the 1967 war. UNRWA services are available to those meeting this definition, who are registered with UNRWA, need assistance and are living in its area of operations (Gaza and the West Bank, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon). The descendants of Palestine Refugee men, including adopted children, are also eligible for registration, meaning that around five million Palestine refugees are currently eligible for UNRWA services (UNRWA, n.d.-b). It is important to note that not all Palestinian people are Palestine Refugees; this definition is reserved only for those that are registered with UNRWA.

Some believe that UNRWA should be disbanded (Joffe, 2012), facing regular critique and questions over the organisation's relevance and necessity (Middle East Forum, 2018; UN Watch, 2018). One of these reasons is the existence of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), which was commissioned in 1951 to look after the concerns of all refugees relating to the United Nations Convention of the Status of

Refugees. The Refugee Convention states that its content is not relevant to persons receiving support from other UN agencies (this includes UNRWA), and only refers to those receiving support from UNHCR (Abel, 1957:4). The definition of a Palestine Refugee, however, includes those who were refugees as a consequence of conflict in 1967, even though this was after the creation of UNHCR. The UN reviews the UNRWA mandate regularly, and the current mandate is valid until 30 June 2020 (UNRWA, 2018b). The services that UNRWA provide range from relief and development; good health and education, promote economic independence and integration within the host countries. They simultaneously fulfil basic human needs and rights, also identifying them as relief services. They are, however, also financially costly and maintaining these services is a challenge. The UNRWA mandate details that funds for its operations come from donations made by UN member governments (United Nations General Assembly, 1949). This funding is not consistent or guaranteed. During 2015, in the face of extreme regional pressures, UNRWA experienced a major funding crisis (UNRWA, 2015b). A further financial emergency in January 2018 was caused by the US decision to cut their funding to UNRWA by more than $100 million (Irfan, 2018).

1.7 The Right of Return

One of the fundamental issues facing UNRWA and Palestine Refugees is the Right of Return, detailed in the United Nations General Assembly Convention 1948 (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). The Right of Return states that the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP) is mandated to support Palestine Refugees who wish to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours, and prescribes compensation for property loss and damage for those who do not wish to return. The literature highlights the importance of this Right of Return (Al-Husseini & Bocco, 2010; Farah, 2012; Feldman, 2012) to Palestine Refugees. The Economic Survey Mission (ESM) 1949, however, a branch of the UN working alongside the UNCCP, advocated refugee integration into host counties, and economic independence through the opportunity to work 'where they were' in public works, such as irrigation and road construction (Al-Husseini, 2010:7). This was met with great hostility from refugees, as it was perceived to undermine their Right of Return, as well as casting doubt on the willingness of the international community to support the implementation of this right (Bocco, 2010:231).

Palestine Refugees were not the only group concerned about the ESM and economic integration. Host countries similarly challenged these plans, highlighting the potential impact that this might have on the Right of Return. Consequentially, the intentions of regional development and absorption of Palestine Refugees failed. UNRWA's first reports, in 1951, stated that the works it was mandated to do would not be achieved (Al-Husseini, 2010; Waldman, 2014). The challenge to economic integration was founded in the belief of rights. Palestine Refugees have the Right of Return: 'in their petitions and protests to UNRWA, refugees have clearly linked acknowledgement and assistance, tying political claims to relief provision' (Feldman, 2012:401). This cemented UNRWA's need to provide humanitarian relief in the form of food rations, which over the past 60 years has also developed to include health, and social and education services. These have grown and become recognised institutions within the Palestine Refugee community. The Right of Return is a sticking point for change in the experiences of Palestine Refugees and, as a result, has led to investment in education.

1.8 UNRWA and Education
Contrary to the ESM, Palestine Refugees supported the growth of education services even though the intention was to support integration for independence away from UNRWA. Some believe that this was because it was not seen as jeopardising the Right of Return (Bocco, 2010:232). Despite funding challenges, education became the core service provided by UNRWA. This is primarily due to the vision and direction of Dr Davis, who served as director of UNRWA (1959–1963) (Rosenfeld, 2009:298). Education was chosen as a strategic alternative to agricultural development projects aimed at the young refugee generation which was continuing to grow, and has ever since. He saw education that was focused on the emerging modern era as the only way in which Palestine Refugees could advance their circumstances if there was no resolution to the conflict. UNRWA inherited 61 schools, in the form of tents and shacks, from United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR), administered by the Red Cross and other NGOs in 1950. Davis wanted to expand this educational opportunity to more young people in improved and functional spaces. Plans were met with little support or vision, and no declarations by the UN General Assembly were made, nor was there any additional funding for these plans (Rosenfeld, 2009:299). Without additional designated financial support for education, the UNRWA redirected funds from ration relief to

education. Over time, provision of ration relief decreased further, moving the organisation away from welfare to education (Rosenfeld, 2009:303).

Currently, UNRWA's education service supports 493,500 students, of which 49.9% are girls (UNRWA, 2016f). This female attendance is a regional high and the number of girls in education has increased much faster than that of host counties. One suggested reason for this is that the education of girls, followed by teacher training which is also provided by UNRWA, has opened up acceptable employment opportunities for women upon completion of their schooling (Rosenfeld, 2009:305). During the 1970s–1980s, an educational advantage was evident in those who had completed their education. The development of the Gulf region, especially in oil, saw the need for skilled and educated workers, which provided opportunities for Palestine Refugees. Having completed an UNRWA education, many men went to work abroad, earning significant wages and supporting their families through remittances. These events encouraged Palestinian culture to value education highly and further bolstered academic engagement and school attendance (Pg.316).

UNRWA schools have supported this high value of education, which in comparison to those of host countries have a higher level of attainment, as well as being central in the maintenance of Palestinian identity. Teachers have been at the core of this (World Bank, 2013). UNRWA teachers are themselves Palestine Refugees. University graduates are able to attend UNRWA teacher training institutions throughout the region. Originally established in the 1960s, the teacher training course is now at a degree level with a robust selection criteria. This pre-service training is thought to be a key factor in teacher confidence, which has been considered an influence in UNRWA education having an advantage over that of host counties (World Bank, 2014).

Rosenfeld (2009:317) suggested that with wider regional developments and events, which now includes the civil crisis in Syria, UNRWA has not been able to maintain the educational advantage that originally gave Palestine Refugees economic opportunities. She described UNRWA as a springboard from which many Palestine Refugees sought opportunity, which has since not been able to keep up due to inconsistent funding and general development in the region. Similarly, Universilia (2010:35) stated that 'most non

UNRWA stakeholders seem to agree that performance was at its peak in the 1980s, some even went back to the 1970s […] According to some, while many continue to live in the past of UNRWA glories, this quality went down over the years due to the population explosion in the Palestinian camps, which UNRWA was not able to cope with. The large numbers are even harder for UNRWA to cope with today as shown by the crowded classes, not enough desks for students, teachers not being distributed according to the number of students in a class, the two-shifts system which, though for many it has solved the problem of giving more opportunities for Palestinian children to go to school, on the other hand, according to others, this has contributed to the downfall of the quality of education'. Other issues highlight that UNRWA education and its longer term prosperity is also contextual. Knowledge-dominated host country curricula are delivered in schools, where teachers feel pressured by the volume of the content, along with "make or break" exams. In addition, UNRWA provides only basic education. Once students have graduated this stage, Palestine Refugees enter into local schools (except in Lebanon, where high schools are also facilitated by UNRWA). Where students might have had supportive refugee teachers during basic education, it is unlikely that they will continue to have a similar classroom experience and relationships with teachers in schools in the host community; an example of this can be seen between Syrian refugee students and Lebanese teachers (Abu-Amsha, 2014:32).

These challenging conditions and funding environment are widely experienced in other refugee contexts. UNRWA as a case study can, therefore, offer potential generalisability of research findings. The unique UNRWA context, its established history of supporting teachers and the organisation's wide introduction of the SBTD Programme also offers opportunity to explore a TPD programme created for refugee teachers, and capture opportunities to learn in a context where little research has been conducted.

1.9 Research Process Questions
The following research questions consider efforts to improve education quality in UNRWA schools. Pedagogy, based on the understanding of Alexander as being made up of both pedagogy as ideas/discourse and pedagogy as practice has been used as a framework to evaluate UNRWA's pursuit of education quality, with a specific focus on the SBTD Programme. The use of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy builds directly onto the calls for pedagogy to be considered in relation to locally derived

understandings of quality and the need for context-specific measures for global goals (Livingston et al., 2017; Tikly, 2011a). The levels proposed by Alexander (classroom, system and policy, and cultural and societal) offer a robust and comprehensive structure within which to consider context and participation. Furthermore, the application of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy in a refugee context offers the opportunity to consider these levels beyond the frame of nation states in which it was developed (Alexander, 2001). In addition this framework also responds to the practical challenges facing research in complex settings. The context based foundations upon which it is built offers opportunity to fully explore multiple influences in the research setting. Application of other approaches such as the Human Rights or Capabilities Approach, are limited in complex environments where time and security can be challenged. Immersive and longer-term relationships can be limited by time but also the identity of the researcher (Said, 2003), which may be considered closely aligned with distribution of support and decision making. Pedagogy facilitates contextually focused research while providing opportunities around these limitations, which may be caused by researcher positonality. Data collection in a relatively limited amount of time also responded positively to my positionality as informal networks were seen to begin building social expectation and excitement around my school visits. With acknowledgement of my positionality in a complex setting, other elements of the research process also took pragmatic approaches. This included the sample selection formed from English speakers to limit further postionality issues with translators. My previous experiences as a teacher of English in Palestine, however, supported the development of trust and understanding with participants who operate in challenging contexts.

The first research question considers the UNRWA ERS, offering insight into the system and policy level of the organisation and efforts to improve education quality. Following this contextual foundation, the impact of the SBTD Programme on teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse and their classroom practice will be considered. This offers greater detail into the SBTD Programme itself, participant experiences and the impact of the Programme. The use of pedagogy highlights the significance of context in education quality and teacher professional development.

RQ1 – In the case of UNRWA, what has been done to improve education quality through the Education Reform Strategy?

RQ2 – What has been the impact of the SBTD Programme on teacher discourse?

RQ3 – What has been the impact of the SBTD Programme on classroom practice?

Throughout this thesis, education is considered only in terms of basic, primary education. There has been no consideration of secondary or tertiary education. In addition, Technical Vocational Education and Training (TEVT) and alternative provision, while valuable and integral features of education, it has proven impossible to expand the scope of this project in order to consider the provision of these effectively.

1.10 Contribution of Research Findings
The research findings directly build on existing literature focused on pedagogy and quality education, demonstrating the significance of contextualisation and participation in a refugee context. Participants described the changes and developments to the region and the Palestine Refugee experience as major factors influencing their pedagogy as ideas/discourse and practice. These findings offer empirical, methodological and theoretical contributions demonstrating the need to consider participation and contextualisation for quality education.

This research focuses on TPD in refugee settings, responding to a significant absence of literature in this area (Burde et al., 2015; INEE, 2015), offering significant empirical contributions to a currently limited field of research. Consideration of TPD through the lens of pedagogy as ideas/discourse unites a range of literature and research focused on individual aspects of teacher development. Furthermore, the use of pedagogy offered the opportunity to explore TPD in a comprehensive and fully contextualised manner, allowing a broad exploration into teacher experiences. The findings offer insights into more effective practices for TPD and factors that need consideration in the development and implementation of these programmes. They highlight teachers' awareness of their perceived and desired training needs, demonstrating alongside findings focused on teachers' personal identity such as gender and tenure and, the significance of participation. This valuable empirical evidence is able to offer support for education

practitioners. In addition these findings establish theoretical contributions that add greater depth to the understanding of participation in refugee context and application of the Capability Approach (CA).

1.11 Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter of this thesis explores understandings of quality education. The EdQual project (Barrett et al., 2006) offers a structure from which to review this. Funded by DFID, the EdQual project was an effort to support significant research to form a conceptual understanding of quality education. Led by the University of Bristol in partnership with a consortium of international universities, their research clearly shows that the concept of quality globally has shifted over time. Three prominent approaches to quality were evaluated as the most significant: Human Capital Theory, the Human Rights Approach and the Social Justice Approach as part of the Capability Approach. These demonstrate an evolution to a more contextual and process-focused understanding of quality in education (Barrett et al., 2006). The Post Development critique to education is also explored due to its growing discourse in education and discussions of quality. This thesis also argues that contextualisation and participation are central to quality education and especially significant for education in refugee contexts. Exploration and problemisation of these terms is also explored. Significantly the form and function of participation is discussed. Global goals and associated indicators and measures are considered alongside these approaches to quality, showing that these tools of accountability have not developed at the same pace to move beyond input/output measures. Literature published on themes of process and pedagogy, in preparation for Post 2015 (the completion of the Millennium Development Goals – MDGs– time frame) targets and the development of the SDGs, concerning global education goals is investigated (Sayed & Ahmed, 2015; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Building connections between these fields of literature, pedagogy and its potential value in refugee settings is explored, while acknowledging the significance of teachers in these environments. Alexander's understanding of pedagogy, made up of both pedagogy as ideas and pedagogy as practice (2001), provides a framework for analysis in this project. The value of which, in relation to the context for pragmatism in the research field and transferability of findings, is explored. The levels of pedagogy as ideas/discourse detailed by Alexander (2004, 2008, 2015) offer a clear structure to use as a qualitative indicator, while also considering classroom practices. Building on the work of Buckler

(2015) and Tao (2013), who consider the Capability Approach and Critical Realism to offer insights to supporting teachers and their professional development, pedagogy can offer similar opportunity to acknowledge contextually formed beliefs and understandings of quality education. In addition, this is also a unique opportunity to apply Alexander's understandings beyond the traditional nation state, considering a refugee community in a host country.

The second chapter focuses on TPD. To begin with, understanding of what TPD is and current knowledge of its effectiveness are detailed. Following this, theories around teacher learning are explored, charting their development, specifically focusing on the value of Korthagen and Vasalos's (2005) Onion Model of deep learning/core reflection. This model and its relationship to Alexander's understanding of pedagogy, notably the significance of context in TPD, are evaluated. The importance of pedagogy is detailed, highlighting arguments for context and community to be included in order to achieve more effective TPD. Literature is then reviewed using Alexander's layers/levels of pedagogy. The cultural/societal level explores teachers' previous experiences, tenure, community and societal beliefs around education and learning. The system/policy level considers the autonomy of programme content, communities of practice, school leadership and class environments. This process of review clearly unites understandings of quality education as contextual and participatory with effective TPD.

The methodology is discussed in the third chapter of the thesis. The case study approach and the use of mixed methods is rationalised through the course of this chapter. Researcher positionality, ethical considerations and practical measures focused on research in a refugee setting are highlighted and discussed in relation to the UNRWA and Palestine Refugee context. Detailed discussion of research tools is given with reference to their contextual applicability and limitations.

The following three chapters explore the core empirical analysis based on UNRWA ERS documents, in addition to fieldwork in UNRWA schools in Jordan. Firstly, the effort that UNRWA has made to improve education quality is reviewed. This highlights the absence of connections to local understandings of quality education, the limited participation of all stakeholders and, similarly, very broad efforts of contextualisation that were not responsive to Field and school needs. The SBTD Programme and its impact on teacher

pedagogy as ideas/discourse and practice are then explored. Investigation of the system and policy level of pedagogy as ideas/discourse highlights the negative impact of the lack of contextualisation and participation. Factors affecting teacher time were felt to have been ignored by the SBTD Programme's structure and methods. Participants detailed Programme content as repetitive of previous training and not responsive to their desired skill development. Research findings, however, also show that there were some differences in teacher experiences of this, based on the tenure/number of years of teaching experience of the participants. Structural changes to the organisation and school leadership are also detailed as points of concern for some participants; however, the value of teacher communities and peer learning are highlighted as important opportunities and social communities in schools for TPD. The culture and societal level is considered next. Teacher classroom practices collected in the field are considered against a baseline study of classroom practices conducted by UNRWA. Teacher attitudes to more child-centred practices (CCP) and their appropriate use are considered alongside this. Here, the value of more CCP in the classroom is detailed; however, formative experiences and cultural approaches to learning are equally valued in teachers' pedagogy as ideas/discourse. Participants detail how classroom practices are influenced by the surrounding environment (student distractions and lack of motivation) with a focus on more CCP to engage students, and more teacher-centred practices used for learning. Gendered differences in practice between male and female school teachers are identified and highlighted as an area for further research. Wider social factors that impact on teachers, including community attitudes towards education, teacher salary and recruitment motivations are also discussed.

The concluding chapter details the contributions of these findings. Empirical evidence suggests that UNRWA's pursuit of quality has not been fully achieved. Contextualisation was limited without consideration of Field and community settings. It was also felt that the school environment and the reality in which teachers work received little acknowledgment in the ERS and the SBTD Programme. Limited evidence of teacher participation is also considered to have an impact on engagement and the influence of the Programme on teachers and their classroom practices. This case study of TPD in a refugee setting responds directly to calls for research in this context. Methodological contributions are also made by this research project to education and TPD, contexts of

complexity are also explored here. These research findings also contribute to theoretical understanding and application of participation and the CA in refugee contexts. These findings highlight the teachers' ability in a refugee context to detail their desired training needs and professional skills, and the significance of responding to their wishes by engaging stakeholder participation. It is also noted that the need for policy to respond to the challenges teachers face in achieving these desired capabilities must be addressed. The individuality of teachers and the need for further research into differences around gender and tenure in regards to professional development are highlighted, taking into account wider contextual factors. The case study of UNRWA demonstrates the need for further exploration into how the CA is implemented, and suggests that teacher communities of practice may offer a way to achieve this. In addition, the clear connections made between contextualisation and participation in quality education and TPD literature, suggests that this understanding of quality education needs to be extended to include TPD. Limitations of the project are explored, highlighting the absence of investigation at Alexander's classroom level of pedagogy as ideas/discourse. It was also not possible to consider the applicability of teacher learning theories in a refugee context due to limitations of the SBTD Programme material. Broader implications of the research findings are detailed, further strengthening the argument for quality education to be contextual and participatory.

2. Quality Education

This chapter will explore key concepts of quality in development education, as well as the Post Development critique that has a rising influence on discourse. Each of these approaches values differing outcomes and processes to identify quality education, tracing an evolution towards understandings of quality education that are more contextually based. Refugee education policy occupies a difficult space between emergency and development contexts; understandings of quality in refugee education are found to focus on participation of community stakeholders, in addition to prescription of classroom practices, presenting mixed approaches to quality. I argue that contextually relevant education developed alongside stakeholder participation is a necessary feature of quality education, especially in refugee contexts. The challenges that such an approach faces are explored with problematistion of contextualisation and participation.

Alongside global education goals, indicators for measurement and the relationships with funders are investigated. This highlights the absence of quality indicators that consider process, including contextualisation and participation. This chapter builds on calls for the consideration of pedagogy among these global goals and indicators (Alexander, 2008, 2015; Sayed & Ahmed, 2015). The value and relevance of pedagogy to quality education is explored alongside its importance in refugee settings. This also highlights how teachers in these contexts are essential to the realisation of quality. Alexander's work on pedagogy (2004; 2001), comprising both pedagogy as ideas/discourse and practice, directly acknowledges context. The use of this tool to consider education within a refugee context offers insight into quality taking into account contextualisation and participation. The application of pedagogy in a refugee setting is an opportunity to examine quality education in what is a largely under-funded and under-researched field.

2.1 Limitations of Human Capital Theory and Output Measures

Human Capital Theory (HCT) was initially conceived due to the perceived correlation between years in education and economic growth. Developed in the early 1960s, Schultz and Becker advocated that the key to economic development was to increase the education of the workforce as an investment in human capital (Harber, 2014:54). Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was used as an indicator of effective education (Tikly & Barrett, 2011:4), while ideas of quality were not fully explored. Investment choices of education

focused on models that were developed to estimate the rate of return of education at different levels: the elaborate earnings function and short-cut methods (Psacharopoulos, 1981:322–326; Tikly & Barrett, 2011:4). There were many challenges and concerns around these estimates, however, due to the quality of the data in many countries, especially in the Global South (Psacharopoulos, 1981:329). In addition, there have been questions around methodology, sample sizes and range of measures (Aslam & Rawal, 2015:124). Research on school effectiveness conducted by the World Bank and other organisations' lead to measurements of success that were linear in fashion, presuming that inputs automatically lead to measurable outputs (Tikly & Barrett, 2011:4). The screening theory challenges this research and suggests that education does not necessarily make a person more productive (Harber, 2014:55). Linear models also did not consider the costs of students staying in education, such as the loss of potential current income (Wolf, 2002:22). Furthermore, the social benefits of education that impact on health and well-being were not considered (Aslam & Rawal, 2015:113). Some argue that education is not a means to an end (economic growth) and not an end in itself due to educational impacts on health, fertility and mortality (Harber, 2014:55), suggesting other ways of understanding quality education beyond school effectiveness and GDP.

Reflecting on almost 30 years of HCT and models of rate of return, Psacharopoulos and Patrinos show findings that demonstrate gaps between micro- and macro-economic development (2010:118). Countries that had invested heavily on increasing education levels have not always grown as fast as others. This is especially true of countries in Africa, South America and South East Asia. One reason for this might be that successful economies have not grown or developed alongside a country's mission for educational benefits (Wolf, 2002:39). Harber (2014:56) highlights that relatively small urban sectors of the economy cannot absorb all those who are educated unless the economy is also rapidly growing. This can lead to brain drain, where those who are educated migrate for employment opportunities. There has been growth on a micro/private level, where personal wealth grew alongside increased education. For some, this personal wealth may have contributed to an understanding of quality education being linked to financial gain, although at a personal rather than national level. This personal financial growth was especially true of developing countries and primary education, which provided

crucial "catch-up", while in more developed countries higher education gave workers skills for further innovation (Thomas & Burnett, 2015:16). This "catch-up" growth, however, is considered to be of poor quality as there are significant amounts of income inequality, stemming from the availability of education (Pg.19), especially across rural and urban divides, and discrepancies in access to labour markets and the cost benefits of education (Harber, 2014:56). Further reasons for inequity are based on the changing nature of the workplace, with developments in production requiring different types of labour (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2010:111). The singular focus of HCT on economic growth and related models for measurement meant that its social impact and barriers to education had been overlooked (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2010:118). Environmental and contextual issues around social capital and the assumption of education equalling employment were ignored (Harber, 2014:55). Most significantly, Tikly (2011:6–7) highlights a 'one size fits all' linear inputs and outputs approach and similar style indicators, such as over-reliance on standardised testing, which have been treated as a definition of quality rather than an indicator or its measure. This focus on inputs and outputs meant that the process of education and the discourse around it were considered irrelevant.

More recently, appreciation for equality in education and other understandings of quality beyond input and output are seen as responsible for economic growth and the improvement of living standards, as well as positive influences on human, rather than physical, capital (Aslam & Rawal, 2015:124). Others also call for the provision of quality education which reaches more students, for praise in its role in building 'the stock of human capital', as this would raise the level of economic growth (Thomas & Burnett, 2015:21). Both positions highlight the value of education beyond economic growth and the impact of this "added value" on it as well. This begins to shift the understanding of quality of education as related not only to economic growth, but also access and attendance.

2.2 From Output to Process – The Human Rights Approach and Child-Centred Practices

A second Human Rights revolution is detailed by Gready and Ensor (2005:5). The first movement developed the concepts of natural rights/law and the social contract; this second movement, emerging initially in the post Cold War environment, began a shift

towards greater cooperation for the purpose of achieving greater effectiveness, dialogue and the utilisation of the complementary capacities between Human Rights and the field of international development. This led to the integration of socioeconomic goals with empowerment in a new world order (Sano, 2000:751). While there is no universal definition of human rights or rights-based approaches to development (HRA) (Institute of Development Studies, 2010:9), there are five main principles that should be adhered to: the provision of services that are socially or legally guaranteed, advocacy, the inclusion of a handover mechanism allowing rights holders to claim these rights (usually from the state), the use of the PANEL principles of participation, accountability, non-discrimination, empowerment and human rights law, and focus on the root causes of issues such as poverty and its consequences (Gready & Ensor, 2016:457).

Sano (2000:744) explores how the two fields of international development and human rights can be integrated, warning that seeking to achieve full integration would mean that many of their foundations would be lost, as they have evolved from different backgrounds adhering to different practices. These different foundations are one of the main critiques and challenges to the human rights/development synergy, as there is lack of shared language and working practices between development practitioners and lawyers (Gready, 2009:385). The convergent and divergent points between the two fields are detailed by Gready and Ensor (2016:459) and allow appreciation the diversity between human rights and development. Points of convergence include ideas of sequencing, whereby it is predicated that without the fulfilment of basic needs, such as food, citizens will not be interested nor demand civil and political freedoms. The reproduction of structural violence against minorities, such as that linked to the Rwandan genocide is cited as a reason for the convergence between development and human rights to prevent other failures and catastrophes. The convergence of human rights and development in relation to education is linked to the ideas of progress and the natural course of things, where the movement of Education for All, echoes the "progress" seen in Europe. The achievement of human rights in development education has become a dominant discourse (Barrett, 2011:124; Schweisfurth, 2013a; Tikly, 2011:7; Vavrus et al., 2011:34–37). The HRA to education is focused on the realisation of human and child rights, including ensuring access to education for all, especially girls (Harber, 2014b:33). In addition, this responds to many of the issues raised against the HCT, where access to

education was not equal across populations. The focus of the HRA on development and education has tended to focus on the achievement of negative rights, such as challenging barriers to inclusion and participation.

Another point of convergence, however, is linked to alternative approaches to development where freedom and grassroots-led change is considered central to the purposes of education. Largely motivated by Freire (2000) and his work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, learner-centred practices are understood to promote the realisation of rights and emancipation through three dominant methods (democratic learning, cognition and critical thinking). The learning process aims to be democratic in style, where the questioning and exploration of ideas are considered inherently emancipatory, and where human rights are central to classroom practice (Allen, 2013:108). While these can be considered educational aims at the personal level of the student, Vavrus et al. (2011:34–37) highlight that these have also been supported at a national level for the promotion of democracy and change in national and international policy. In Botswana, the USAID-funded Primary Education Improvement Project (1981–1991) was embraced by policymakers to promote democracy and critical engagement between citizens and officials (Tabulawa, 2003), demonstrating another layer of convergence between human rights and development for "progress". Similar efforts in Namibia following independence in 1990 were, however, less successful due to authoritarian traditions involving clan, religious and racial hierarchies, imperial organisations, as well as the military command of liberation movements (Dahlstrom, 1999). Such approaches have been criticised for their political rather than educational purposes (Tabulawa, 2003:22). This, however, also demonstrates that, in a similar manner to the HCT, the HRA to education has both macro influence at the national level and micro impact on individuals and communities.

The active involvement of the learner in these approaches to education also links to theories on the cognition of ideas, especially constructivism. In this process, learning and ideas are built gradually with the student's involvement and are considered to improve learner motivation and support stronger cognitive understanding. For example, learners may start at an early age with the simple understanding that rainbows appear after rain and sun. During high school, this idea is expanded to include physics and the

light spectrum. In addition, the use of learner-centred practices develops skills in critical thinking, debate and empathy among others. These relate to the needs of a constantly developing and evolving knowledge economy (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2010:111; Schweisfurth, 2013a). The cognitive features of these practices, however, support the growth of an effective workforce responsive to developing economies, again echoing the primary discourse of HCT.

These processes in education, which place the student and learner at the centre, are commonly referred to as child-/learner-centred practices (CCP). In the absence of a singular and endorsed definition of child-centred learning, Schweisfurth (2013a:20) conducted a review of policy and practice, and offered a working definition: 'education that is more learner-centred [is] a pedagogical approach which gives learners, and demands from them, a relatively high level of active control over the content and process of learning. What is learnt, and how, are therefore shaped by the learners' needs, capacities and interests'. Powerfully summarising the benefits of the CCP, the Global Education Monitoring Report 2015 (UNESCO, 2015:208) details that this practice 'promotes critical thinking, with teachers expected to help students actively construct knowledge through activities, group work and reflection. It emerged partly from the view, shared by some international organizations and national policy-makers, that such an approach would help promote democracy, civic engagement and economic development – for example, in Botswana (Tabulawa, 2003), Egypt (Ginsburg and Megahed, 2008), Guatemala (DeBaessa et al., 2002), India (Sriprakash, 2010) and Namibia (O'Sullivan, 2004).' These quotes clearly echo the multiple points of convergence between human rights and development in the field of education.

2.3 Tensions in the Application of the HRA – Including Policy Borrowing

One of the main challenges of the HRA is its implementation, namely the processes through which the approach is turned into action. Uvin (2007:pp) argues that the ratification of human rights in the UN Declarations is vague with a '…lot less than meets the eye'. Claiming that the HRA remains rhetoric detached from actors, with little reconceptualisation of NGO practices from service-based to rights-based, he concludes that the NGO sector needs to look within, to ensure that the HRA is functioning internally in order to be able to deliver and support this externally. He also highlights some of the financial costs of participation, which are central to the HRA. Skutnabb-

Kangas (2002) similarly criticises the UN Declarations, specifically the Universal Human Rights Instruments, as rhetoric and not action-orientated. In support of using mother tongues as a medium in education, for example, she details how the ratification of human rights and the amendment of domestic policy mean very little to the implementation of these rights. Blaming these challenges in one field or the other is not possible, as both challenge the foundations of each other. Alston (2005:825) describes this as 'ships passing each other in the night with little awareness that the other is there, and with little if any sustained engagement with one another'. These challenges may well be rooted in another form of convergence between the two fields.

Strategic framing is a key point of convergence between human rights and development. In this case, human rights may not be formally adopted by an NGO, but rights-based issues and campaigns are selected to further their existing agendas. Miller (2010:921) details how Tearfund, an NGO with a Christian foundation is able to use rights-focused talk to extend the Biblical principles of the organisation to a wider support base. She details such approaches as rights-"framed" rather than rights-"based" approaches. One example of this is the way rights are used as a tool to serve the NGO agenda, rather than the driving force of their policy. Piron (2005:28) states that HRA cannot be more than a metaphor until human rights are accepted and the shared values of development partnership are evident. This again clearly demonstrates the importance of process and participation in the HRA (Uvin, 2007:604), also seen in the PANEL principles (Institute of Development Studies, 2010) and the use of human rights to address conflict (Galant & Parlevliet, 2005:116). The challenges to the application of the HRA, with specific focus on the participation element of the PANEL principles, are further explored later in this chapter.

The issues of strategic framing, rights-framed approaches and the critique of HRA as not supporting implementation do not take place in a vacuum. Discourse around policy transfer places these issues within the global framework in which the HRA and policy operate, and highlights the challenge of being labelled as rhetoric void of cultural awareness and participation. These issues in turn also question the HRA's ability to function within the current neoliberal focus on economic growth (Evans, 2005:116), linking a key critique about the ambition of the HRA being unclear or exaggerated

(Gready & Ensor, 2016:463). Policy transfer is a broad concept considered originally by Aristotle, and refers to the process in which knowledge about institutions, policy or delivery systems is used in another sector, or other level of governance. Due in part to the significant changes globalisation has brought about to global institutions and structures, the scope and intensity of policy transfer has increased (Evans, 2004:1).

Exploring the range of ways policy transfer takes place, McDonald (2012:1818) details two different styles. The first is by force, cohesion and imposition (via totalitarian decision-making). For example, policy transfer is required by colonialism or negotiation under the constraints of bilateral agreements with international organisations like the World Bank. The second style is characterised by reflective, intentional practice and purposeful borrowing, which amounts to voluntary adoption due to general influence. Linked to the practices of international aid, policy transfer in relation to the rise of the HRA can, in some cases, be categorised as negotiation under constraint due to the influence of donor countries, which compels recipient states to comply (Evans, 2004:3); however, this does not accurately account for all forms of HRA and policy transfer. The role of international bilateral relationships is prevalent across the literature (King, 1998) and especially evident in the MDG goals focusing on EFA (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014:76–78).

The issue of rhetoric vs effective and authentic HRA action can be seen in education policy. Tikly and Barrett (2011:6), while supportive of EFA and the school's role in providing gender-equal and safe learning spaces, highlight that the HRA has separated children's rights from their contexts. They state that, as schools operate within a specific local socio-cultural context, they need to be responsive to the lived realities of learners within these communities. As a result, support of positive rights, such as learning in the students' mother tongue and relevant curricula have been largely overlooked (Tikly, 2011a). This is of additional concern, since issues including the imposition of dominant languages and narratives have been highlighted by Bush and Saltarelli (2000:11) as a cause of violence in their study of education and ethnic conflict. The HRA, in this case, can be seen as having a selective focus on access, ignoring other supportive rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002:182), and creating poor criteria for considering states' progress towards the achievement of rights. King (1998:3) describes these new trends in

development as remaining at the level of rhetoric rather than implementation, reproducing older patterns of the relationship between donor and recipient.

Concerns over the transfer of policy with a "rights-framed" rather than "rights-based" approach, including more CCP, is raised by Guthrie (2012; Guthrie et al., 2015) and Tabulawa (2003; 2013). Both are vocal critics of these shifts in global and national policy, linking learning and classroom preferences to different epistemologies, which are ignored in policies focused around more CCP. Guthrie states that scientific epistemologies lean more naturally towards learner-centred education, while revelatory epistemologies favour formalism in the classroom, therefore leaning towards teacher-centred learning. To Guthrie, introducing learner-centred policy not only influences the practices, values and beliefs of the teacher, but also the very core of their culture. Guthrie finds support in evidence from Lesotho, where cross-age peer tutoring was considered to have potential negative effects on teachers, who experienced feelings of being sidelined and having their status challenged (Elliott, 2014:35–36). Furthermore, in Botswana, Tabulawa (2013b:71, 2004) shows that children in the classroom actively sought a teacher-focused environment, as a result of their cultural setting and context.

The simplification of pedagogy, the process of teaching, from its full contextual definition is considered to perpetuate an outcome focus, again reproducing older patterns of donor–recipient relationships (King, 1998:3). While the acknowledgement of process in education has been promoted by the use of CCP, linked to Feirie, the processes of teaching involved in delivering these have not been considered fully within HRA. The promotion of "best practice" and policy transfer has continued, creating polarisation between "teacher-centred" and "student-centred" policy and practice. Alexander (2008:2) argued that '...failure properly to engage with pedagogy creates a vacuum into which are sucked a plethora of claims about what constitutes "best practice" in teaching and learning and about the virtues of this or that pedagogical nostrum – group work, activity methods, joyful learning, child-centred teaching, teaching-learning materials (TLMs), personalised learning, interactive teaching and so on. Such claims, often framed by the polarised discourse of "teacher-centred" vs. "student-centred", are rarely discussed, let alone evaluated against hard evidence, with the result that they

rapidly acquire the status of unarguable pedagogical truth and become transmuted into policy'.

A key area for development to transfer this "best practice" policy has been the training of teachers, as discussed by McDonald (2012), who describes how training associated with policy borrowing, like the promotion of more CCP, has not been accompanied by the acknowledgement of culture and context or effective methods for practices to be owned by the "grass roots"/teachers. There is a myriad of examples for this in the history of the introduction of more CCP. While the root of these classroom principles echoes the HRA, implementation has not been sensitive to context and key cultural features in many types of rights, ignoring pedagogy in its fullest form. Sarangapani (Guthrie et al., 2015:649) highlights that, in India, 'the business and complexity of being child-centred is over-simplified and made out to be one of love and play with children, or technologized', without contextual consideration. For many, such approaches to pedagogy explain the difficulty in the effective application of CCP in the developing world. Schweisfurth (2015:261) warns of approaches that prescribe teacher action, and "teacher proof" textbooks that '...deny the contingent nature of pedagogy [...] by packaging learner-centred approaches as though they look the same everywhere, and as though they can be imported wholesale from one context to another'. The focus on "best practice" classroom policy originating in the desired outcomes of more child-centred education, which has links to the HRA, has separated practice from context (Tikly & Barrett, 2011:6).

The issue of policy transfer is further problematised by Schweisfurth (2013a:94), who argues that the child-centred education policy introduced in developing countries has been outcome- rather than process-focused. It has been considered a quick fix to improve education quality and a "magic bullet" (Alexander, 2008:24), the most dangerous of reasons for policy transfer (Phillips & Ochs, 2003:455). As a result, attention has actually shifted away from classroom practice, and teachers/ implementers were blamed for its failure. The wider reality of this on teachers is clearly seen in Nigeria's 2008 National Education Reform. Here, teacher quality was scored out of 5 with no explanation of how this was interpreted or measured. In national literature, quality teaching was defined as the opposite of poor-quality teaching, linked to lack of

qualifications, absenteeism, low status and low motivation (Buckler, 2015:127). Contextualisation and participation are absent from the development of this undefined measure of "teacher quality". Quality, however, is clearly viewed as the responsibility of teachers. Such a measure resembles an input–output approach to education without acknowledgement of the processes involved. The desire for more CCP, which are considered "best practice" supporting quality education with a focus on rights, has been made the responsibility of teachers. At a discourse level, this indicator considers quality; however, any grounded, negotiated and contextual definition is absent. In the Nigerian indicator, teachers are measured as an input rather than in partnership with the classroom process. Ironically, the shift to more inclusive child-centred policies, rooted in rights, was intended to shift attention away from quality as outcome, to quality as process and social justice (Sayed & Ahmed, 2015:334). This shows the further breakdown of the HRA, which encourages the accountability of the state to protect and guarantee rights, the empowerment of citizens and advocacy (Gready & Ensor, 2016:457), in placing responsibility for their achievement on those it is seeking to protect.

Development education interventions in Pakistan, however, clearly demonstrate the value of CCP, in its fullest sense. CCP 'has been observed as creating many benefits: confidence, self-esteem, joyful and effective learning, presentation and social skills amongst the children [...] those aspects of pedagogy that have proved effective for children's learning and recognized as important by teachers, parents and community leaders and which reflect the teachers' cultural values' (Jerrard, 2016:91–92). Here, success in these social HRA-focused quality outcomes, including learning, is achieved because of partnership with the cultural values of teachers, identified through the Capability Approach (CA). This example clearly demonstrates the importance and dependence of quality education, and the effective inclusion of the HRA, on context, as well as the role of teachers, and their participation and that of the community. The full and effective implementation of the HRA, beyond its reduction to a technical instrument, however, has been challenging (Ball, 2005:285). The convergence of human rights and development, with their inherently different foundations, operates within a pre-existing global environment of policy transfer, which has been repeatedly challenged with little engagement of context and participation (McDonald, 2012:1824)

2.4 Building Further on Contextualisation and Participation – The Capability Approach

Sen, an economist, has been a key figure in emerging thought in understanding development beyond singularly focused input/output measures and those focused on economic growth (Sen, 1999a:360). Sen highlights how significant the HRA has become in development discourse, also pointing out the scepticism that exists around the conceptual structure that underlies the discourse, which he considers through a legitimacy, coherence and cultural lens (Sen, 1999a:227–228). The cultural critique and the value of participation are key features in his approach to development, known as the Capability Approach (CA). Sen frames poverty as the serious deprivation of certain basic capabilities, and as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. These freedoms are linked to many other determinants including economic arrangements, and political and civil rights. Development, therefore, requires the removal of "unfreedoms" (Sen, 1999a:3). Some of these unfreedoms, such as political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security, explored in *Development as Freedom* (Sen, 1999a:10), echo features of the HRA.

Capabilities are defined as a set of functionings that a person is able to reach. Consideration is given to the possibility of achieving these capabilities, not just the attainment of functioning. At the core, lies the choice to achieve the desired functionings. Sen uses the example of hunger, where a person can be hungry due to lack of food, or by choice if they are fasting (Sen, 1985:201). This approach prioritises understanding of what people are able to do and what they want to achieve, rather than what they can physically have (Buckler, 2015:126) or the goal of economic capital promoted by the HCT. Therefore, influences and processes that may prevent individuals and communities from achieving their desired functionings/outcomes are challenged (Jerrard, 2016:84). Uvin (2007:601), however, critiques the work of Sen by arguing that these ideas are not a new addition to development discourse but a repackaging of exisiting discourses. He is convinced that the application of the CA by development agencies 'remain[s] committed to little more than improved discourse'. This, in part, is due to Uvin's passion for participation and the action of donor agencies.

Choice and "agency freedom", however, are central features of the CA, namely what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values they regard as

important. Sen highlights that choice is also linked to context, background and the concept of "good" (Sen, 1985:203). He stresses the process of determining these capabilities as the primary end of development and explores participation: '...individuals can effectively shape their own destiny and help each other. They need not be seen as primarily passive recipients of the benefits of cunning development programs' (Sen, 1999a:11). This choice of desired capabilities is a central feature of the debates around the operationalisation of the CA. Sen, however, does not offer any method for communities and individuals to determine capabilities, nor does he identify any concrete capabilities that are vital for well-being (Allen, 2012; Robeyns, 2006a; Tao, 2009). Sen justifies his resistance to the idea that the use of the CA must take a specific form, advocating that a generalist approach can be used in many different ways, leaving it open to the context and information that is available, thus widening its reach (Sen, 1999a:86). The importance of participation and this flexible approach to the CA can clearly be seen in Jerrard, in her work based on Pakistan. She highlights the importance of stakeholders identifying quality (capabilities) for education. While she suggests that quality education is fundamentally linked to school enrolment and attendance, she argues that in the long-term this is dependent on community engagement, while funding and government policy only have a short-term impact: '...[i]f the benefits of the education being offered are not clearly identified and acknowledged by the stakeholders. Even if there are no tuition fees, there are always opportunity and other costs to sending children to school. Poor parents will not utilize their few precious resources for their children's education unless the benefits of doing so are obvious to them' (Jerrard, 2016:83). Stakeholder-defined quality and desired capabilities are absent from HCT approaches, which means that the "net returns" to education are not always attractive for students and their families (Wolf, 2002:22). This is also demonstrated by Dreze & Sen (2002:155–158), who detail that despite economic growth in India, the number of out-of-school children remains high because families are not able to see the benefit of education, as it does not offer the desired quality and capabilities.

Nussbaum (2011) expanded on ideas of freedom to define capabilities, and proposed an operational model with minimum thresholds that need to be achieved. This development and critique are significant to the discussion of CA, marking a shift from Sen's fundamental context and participatory focus on which freedoms and capabilities

are valued. Nussbaum (2011:9–7) details ten minimum thresholds for particular capabilities, including life, bodily health, bodily integrity, emotion and control over one's environment. The listed capabilities are separate components that cannot be satisfied by giving a higher value to one compared to another. Nussbaum's (2011:31) focus is on the protection of areas of freedom that are so central their removal takes away dignity from human life. While Nussbaum is not opposed to participation and contextual adaptations, her focus is on the implementation of policy makers, as her primary emphasis is that the minimum capability threshold must be for governments to raise all citizens above these thresholds (Nussbaum, 2011:97). This connection to government authority is a central difference between Sen and Nussbaum, placing Nussbaum's approach within the discussion of a wider theory of justice rather than an evaluative approach to development and poverty reduction like Sen (Robeyns, 2005:106). The universality of these ten capabilities could be questioned; however, similar capabilities have also been developed to respond to specific contexts, for example urban environments (Field et al., 2017:31).

2.5 Application of the CA in Education

The issue of defining capabilities becomes even more complex in relation to education. Sen and Nussbaum describe how education is an enabling capability, allowing future capabilities to be realised. It is a means to other valuable goods, and the foundation of other future capabilities (Terzi, 2007:31). Nussbaum states that, pedagogically, a capability enabling education cultivates three important capacities: critical self-reflection, conceiving oneself as a citizen of the world, and narrative imagination/empathy (McClure, 2014:278). In addition, she describes the intrinsic values of education itself (Nussbaum, 2004). In general, however, both her writing and work around education is under-theorised, and lack any characterisation between schooling and education (Unterhalter, 2003:10). Commentators and researchers on capabilities have further highlighted the need for education and its associated institutions to support the expansion of human capabilities (Flores-Crespo, 2007:60). Further work by Dreze & Sen (2002:145) raises questions around how a conservative curriculum can be empowering to students.

In relation to education, especially at an institution and policy level, the discussion of participation is further problematised. Walker (2005:106) and Tao (2009:16) cite Saito, who states that, when dealing with children, the focus needs to be on future freedoms, rather than the present. This, however, should not reduce or limit children's present freedoms. When considering the participation of children in human rights, Ruiz-Casares et al. (2017) detail that the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child consider children's participation as not being static, needing to be considered on a continuum. They also highlight arguments that conceptions of childhood and child–adult communication vary across cultures, suggesting that what children's participation will look like in different settings needs to be considered. Despite challenges in youth participation in education, the need for engagement and democratic decision-making in education and the desired capabilities is vital. Walker (2005) highlights the central role of participation for the achievement of valued functionings for inclusion. Similarly, Raynor (2007) concludes that 'education can not be regarded as a basic capability unless it specifically addresses the process of developing the capabilities necessary to live a life one has good reason to value'. Alongside Jerrard (2016), Raynor clearly demonstrates the need for community participation in education planning and policy.

Building on the CA in partnership with work around social justice by Nancy Fraser, Tikly and Barrett (2011) offer another avenue for considering quality education. They present this approach as a framework for thinking about quality education rather than a blueprint. It is a starting point for re-conceptualising quality education with emphasis on the importance of context, which is absent in the HCT and some applications of the HRA. In addition, elements of contextualisation and participation central to the CA are explored in more depth. The Social Justice Approach (SJA) echoes some discourse features of postcolonial and post development critique, which consider the impact of colonialism and the need for development in the Global South (Escobar, 1994; Norberg-Hodge, 2016; Omar, 2012), as they raise attention to the importance of debate at all levels in defining quality education.

The SJA has three fundamental dimensions. Firstly, **inclusion** ensures that resources are distributed according to the situated needs of learners. Previously, diversity had been considered as an obstacle, which large-scale, technology-driven aid could resolve

(McEwan, 2009:108). Through the valuing of diversity in inclusion, fair distribution can deliver context and situated responses according to need. Secondly, **relevance** makes sure that education processes and priorities value and accommodate culture and the surrounding environment. This includes ensuring that curricula are congruent with their context, as well as acknowledging local knowledge for a sustainable and equitable economy (Norberg-Hodge, 2016:52). Thirdly, **representation**, sometimes known as being democratic, is where learning outcomes for education are defined by different socio-cultural groups, especially those who are marginalised. It is a key practice for governance and accountability within education systems (Brown & McCowan, 2018:321). This echoes Escobar (1997:91) in highlighting that development and education have been void of culture and considered as gifts to a target audience rather than being defined by the communities concerned.

These features build upon the achievement of positive rights, such as language preferences, and not just negative rights, which have been the focus of the HRA. Considering Congo as an example, inclusion, relevance and representation are imperative: for those who did not speak the test language at home, the achievement rate in minimum learning for reading was 20% lower than those who did speak the test language at home (UNESCO, 2015:210). This is especially important, as the achievement of threshold maths and literacy are considered as an enabling capability, alongside life skills including disease awareness and prevention (Tikly 2011:11), clearly building context into HRA aims with the CA. The importance of context for quality education is further championed in the research of EdQual, a large-scale research project looking at implementing quality education in low-income countries. As part of this work, Tikly (2011:11–17) suggests that education inputs require a contextualised mix of policy, school and home environments along with other accompanying processes, and the acknowledgement of interactions within each of these environments.

2.6 How Contextual Is the Capability Approach? Further Challenges of Application

While Tikly and Barrett (2011) offer further insight into participation and contextualisation in education, challenges to the application of the CA, especially in refugee settings, at a local and global level are also noteworthy. Robeyns (2003:66) praises the CA for being contextual, as it is responsive to individual differences while

considering wider environments. The CA is not ontologically individualistic like the economically driven HCT and the achievement of individual rights within the HRA. Contextualisation issues, however, remain when considering the identification of capabilities in situations of extreme poverty (Unterhalter, 2003), and barriers to capabilities and functionality (Wollf & De-Shalit, 2007:122), especially in refugee settings with geopolitical barriers (Abu-Zaineh et al., 2018). While there may be issues of identification, it is also important to note that desired capabilities may also change over time. In her work in Tanzania, Buckler (2015:131) found that the functionings teachers valued changed as they engaged in professional development programmes and when they encountered different perspectives.

Operationalisation of the CA, as previously highlighted, is a widely discussed issue. Sen's approach has been criticised as unpractical: 'the multidimensional–context-dependent–counterfactual–normative nature of this approach might prevent it from having practical and operational significance' (Comim, 2001:2). Often, application through the use of ethnographic research and deliberative consultations, like that in an urban refugee project in Delhi, is costly, time consuming and may have questionable reliability and validity (Field et at., 2017:31). Robeyns (2006:352), however, has promoted evaluative functions of the CA in the assessment of individual/personal well-being, policy design and proposals focused on change at a societal level. The CA has been used in a number of different ways in development initiatives, which have primarily focused on the assessment of interventions. The identification of needs and policy critique have all applied different methods and subsequent outcomes due to their divergent purposes (Buckler, 2015; Gladwell, 2009; Jerrard, 2016; Robeyns, 2006a; Tao, 2009, 2014). More recently, Robeyns (2016:15) developed the 'cartwheel view of the capability approach', which can be applied to work considering the CA in a range of fields, thus supporting interdisciplinary use. This, she argues, positions the CA 'not merely as a theory of justice or a perspective on comparative quality of life assessments… [but] capabilitarianism [which] is potentially more wide ranging and powerful'. The core of this argument is shared by all capability theories and accounts, while its outer elements vary between different theories and applications.

While Robeyns (2016) may offer a solution to the application of the CA at a local or project level, there are further issues raised with the CA on a global level. In a similar manner to Uvin (2007), Omar (2012:43) suggests that Sen and the CA have failed to shift development discourses to focus on the development of freedom that is contextually relevant, and that historical, colonial social constructions of development remain. He argues that this is because development discourses inflate these concepts and do not apply them precisely. These narratives echo issues of application around the strategic framing of the HRA and its convergence with development. While there have been advances with the development of the UN Human Development Index (Tikly & Barrett, 2011:8), challenges with data collection and reliability remain, especially in education (Unterhalter & Brighouse, 2007:69–70). An understanding of the authentic application of the CA is difficult to evaluate. Larger scale projects, such as GAGE: Gender and Adolescence Global Evidence, are using capabilities, although it is unclear if the six areas of focus and measurement have been identified by participants (GAGE, 2017). Similarly, critique of an Australian education policy position suggests that the original conception of the CA for social justice in this context was framed 'in terms of human capital, market logic and resource distribution and preference satisfaction' (Gale & Molla, 2015:825). Alkire (2005:116) also highlights how the World Bank refer to capabilities, such as education and health, with freedom vanishing from the CA discourse 'all in the haste to imbue a "popular" term with easily operational content'.

Sayed and Ahmed (2015:332) are interested in how participation happens and is conducted. They state that simply opening up participation is not a solution. The way in which voices in the Global South are heard needs to be considered. Is the global agenda "for" or "with" the marginalised? The CA highlights how the development agenda and the related data collection for accountability must also be participatory, and how the process of accountability to communities is as important as the data collected (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Wagner (2018) builds on the conflict between these contextually focused approaches and generalisable data, suggesting that achieving these two goals simultaneously is 'irreconcilable from a statistical perspective' (223). This suggests that a bottom-up approach to education quality is incompatible with the purpose and methods of global goals, echoing the abovementioned critique of HRA, which sees it as mere rhetoric within the global system.

2.7 Contextualisation and the End of Development

The emerging Post Development critique further problematises the lack of contextualisation in global development and education goals, promoting grassroots and local sources of development direction rather than globally created goals. Neither the CA nor SJA have made the depth of change desired by the Post Development critique, which declares the need for development as a whole to be decentred. A major shift such as this would create dynamic changes in the way that development is viewed, and refocus the understanding of traditional targets, such as countries in Latin America and South East Asia, for development action. Unlike the CA and SJA, which consider alternative approaches to development (Illich, 1997:100), the Post Development critique calls for the end of development and for knowledge to be held by grassroots movements instead of experts (Escobar, 2015). One of the social movements born out of Post Development, Buen Vivir, translates to "good living" although it is argued that this does not fully encapsulate the strength and depth of the term in indigenous languages (Brown & McCowan, 2018:318). Highlighting this, Brown and McCowan (2018:320-321) echo Escobar in stating that in terms of education, fundamental changes need to be made to understandings of its purpose beyond employability, while being aware that education alone cannot bring a new vision. Supporting this movement, other voices in this field suggest that the Post-2015 agenda calls for reassessment of 'McEducation for All' and a shift away from global targets, which are irrelevant to local contexts (Jain, 2013).

Echoing similar critiques to the CA, of offering only theoretical and philosophical frameworks, Rapley (2004:353) highlights that Post Development has a challenge to 'see if it can transcend mere resistance and actually propose alternative development models that are practical and realistic'. Limited resources and publications on Post Development and related movements in English facilitates this critique, despite significant literature in Spanish (Brown & McCowan, 2018:317). There is evidence, however, that the Post Development Approach has gained momentum due to its more practical effect in Latin America reaching beyond previously restricted circles and social movements, creating a resurgence in critical debates on development (Escobar, 2015:455).

The application of the Post Development critique within crisis and emergency settings has yet to be explored in research, however, where immediate humanitarian needs are

found contextualisation for quality education imperative. The next part of the chapter explored context and participation to greater extent then considers the challenges around policy and the purpose of refugee, crisis and emergency education.

2.8 Context and Participation, Including Problematisation

Bringing together this exploration of development approaches, discourses, their relationship and actioning of them in relation to education, the argument of this thesis defines quality education as being participatory and contextual. This understanding of quality education unites the SJA themes of inclusion and relevance, in addition to acknowledging critiques to other approaches, such as the HCT not always being engaged with these broader issues. Participation in this thesis is understood as a process beyond classroom practice. While this does not discount the value of participatory practices in the classroom to engage students and support learning, participation is in relation to a much broader development of education that is democratic and community-defined. This draws on themes of quality education that have evolved with the CA, especially Sen and the SJA. Noh (2017:1107) details the similarities between 'localisation' the adaptation of global ideas to local contexts and 'contextualisation', the process of increasing the fit with contexts. 'Contextualisation', however makes a shift away from the dominant and dichotomous language of globalisation into broader understanding of settings, suitable for this thesis and UNRWA, which makes considerations beyond the nation state to non-governmental organisations.

Contextualisation and participation are also two themes that work closely together. Ensor (2005:255) highlights the significance of culture and how this is contextually embedded in individuals and their identity, stating that 'participation comes closest to acknowledging the need to consider rights in their local context'. Again focusing on the achievement of rights, Brown (1997:58) details that contextualisation is necessary as removing rights from their social contexts can undermine the factors which create the context in which they are respected. Ideally through participation there would be effective contextualisation of policy and action. Due to this thesis giving specific focus to refugee contexts and the case study of UNRWA, the identification of context and contextualisation has been separated to allow for greater consideration of participation in relation to the context.

The PANEL principles, central to the application of the HRA (Gready & Ensor, 2016:457) place participation as a central facet. The importance of which is linked to the achievement of rights, the exclusion from decision making on matter that effect people is a rights violation (Institute of Development Studies, 2010:8). Further supported by Articles 19, 20 and 21 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (DFID, 2000:12). Beyond these legal frameworks, the importance of participation can be seen in research and literature around education (Freire, 2000; Jerrard, 2016; King, 2018; Sriprakash, 2011). Issues around participation and contextualisation, however, echo those highlighted with application of the HRA in relation to depth and scale of application where participation encounters similar accusation of being rhetoric (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002). Participation is shown to be a challenging concept due to an absence of a single understanding; the multiple conceptions of participation as a result offer a range of approaches to practical implementation (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000:52), which Miller et al (2006:35) suggests causes participation to be viewed as a technical fix which is not necessarily relevant to people and communities. Despite participation being grounded in a rights focus The Institute of Development Studies (2010) also describes participation as 'a contemporary 'buzzword' , with ambiguous meanings, and subjected to both good use and abuse'. They detail the concept emerging to prominence in the 1960's-70's where the focus of participation was for social change and empowerment where Freire (2000) was a key figure. Later, however, in the 1980's-90's they detail participation being incorporated as a technical approach, which reduces costs with better implementation of programmes. Cleaver (2001:54-55) similarly shares concern that when participation is used as a managerial process there is limited understanding of how participation can benefit the poor and the wider dynamics of economic and social change. The following will explore some of these challenges around the definition and application of participation and contextualisation. This will also consider education and complex refugee and humanitarian emergency settings.

White (1996:7) explores these issues around participation in greater depth detailing that 'involvement' is not enough. She goes on to define four different forms of participation, their functions and the interests of these approaches. These forms are: Nominal (for the function of display), Instrumental (for the function of means), Representative (for the function of voice) and Transformative (for the function of

means/end). White goes on to explore how these different forms of participation can be used to depoliticise development. The awareness of the range in which participation is implemented can be seen in support documents for NGOs, for example INEE (2012) and Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (2008). The need for participation in the development and management of programmes, for a transformative function is highlighted by the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (2008:21), although this is also detailed as not being the most significant way in which participation is utilised. Rather, the HRA is most commonly considered in line with current programming, in a similar manner to strategic framing. Mosse (2001) considers the role of 'upward' donor relationships and accountability driving the use of participation for internal coherence, rather than use in programme development and accountability. The depth of relationship and similarities between participation and contextualisation is demonstrated again, Noh (2017:116) discusses contextualisation of which a key feature is the connection it has with discourse. She warns that contextualisation is not just about implementation with contextual considerations (such as participation that has a nominal or instrumental form) but fundamentally about discourse change.

Challenges in achieving this form of participation can be seen in donor policy, DFID (2000:17) explored the 'no one approach' narrative to participation where there is not a single way to use it, and discusses the meta positioning of participation and the HRA to hold the state accountable. While DFID detail case studies and examples of the HRA in action, success is shared while detail of participatory methods and work is not comprehensive. Such descriptions of participation further endorse a rhetoric critique. Uvin (2007:604) begins to explore some of the complexities that donors and NGOs encounter with participation, highlighting the impact of participation on the cost of programmes. He builds on some of the issues of participation and the challenges in reaching the hardest to reach, which includes translation costs. Furthermore he raises the issue of the cost to potential participants.

The issue of cost is especially relevant to other key concerns around participation, who participates and how. Miller et al (2006:32-38) detail participation as a process that engages individuals in reflection, inquiry and action, which cannot simply be done to

people. As a result participation must go beyond the concept of interaction with a homogenous group of people but unpack myths and assumptions about stakeholders, instead the broader identity of people needs to be understood and engaged with. With this consideration, giving voice to the most marginalised in the community is therefore possible as power relations within communities can be understood and navigated, allowing full and broad participation (Institute of Development Studies, 2010:9). Similarly to the ideas of contextualisation and its connection to participation, the question of how local or participatory can a programme be, is raised. In Aguilar's (2011:11-12) *Methodological Approach to Local Relevance* details, like participation, the meaning of local is difficult to define. They however use the definition of power to devolve to the lowest unit appropriate for the goal. Aguilar also details local communities as geographic areas unified by common needs. They highlight that this understanding of common need is general and that power structures in these settings cannot be ignored. Cleaver (2001:44) agrees, sharing details of her research in Zimbabwe, the 'community' could not be easily defined as it was made up of many different relationships. She states that 'processes of conflict, and negotiation, inclusion and exclusion are occasionally acknowledged…The 'solidarity' models of community upon which much development intervention is based, may acknowledge social stratification but nevertheless assume some underlying commonality of interest'.

The need to consider the lowest possible unit, every individual with awareness of power structures at play is especially challenging. Access to participation is often a barrier, for example, White (1996:11) details a woman's domestic workload as a challenge that needs to be considered in allowing and supporting them access to participation and that this may come at a cost to them, not just the organisation. This example of women and access demonstrate the significance of barriers, which are accepted and institutional although on an informal, cultural basis. With similar concerns to the post-development critique the colonial or imperialist elements can be absorbed into participation. Mosse (2001:32) explores how participatory planning can be shaped by pre-existing relationships. He uses the example of a patronage-type relationship between a project organisation and tribal villagers, similarly Aguilar (2011:24) states that NGOs do not and can not represent communities, even though may be considered a key point of contact for donors and programme delivery. White (1996:13) again highlights that even though

a programme may be participatory, there are limitations to this by the power structures from the wider society, 'That people do not express other interests does not mean that they do not have them. It simply means that they have no confidence that they can be achieved'. Cleaver (2001:54) calls for a more dynamic vision of 'institutions' and of 'community' that incorporates these complex social networks, power relations and consideration of the excluded, not just the included.

In a similar way to application of the concepts of CA (Omar, 2012; Robeyns, 2006b; Tikly & Barrett, 2011), it remains a challenge to overcome these issues for the fullest application of participation. The key features, however, of the smallest unit, the individual is clear, as well as importance in understanding how the individual is placed in the surrounding culture and the influence this has on them. The non-static nature of participation and culture (Ensor, 2005:265) must also be appreciated at this level. White (1996:10) details how changes in participation may alter over time, she suggest a range of reasons that might influence this, including disillusionment and the increase of successful representative participation leading to transformation of an issue.

The question of who is included and how participation is applied has been explored, another aspect of participation however, is who is conducting, coordinating and supporting the 'intervention'. This is especially of concern to NGOs and programmes of participation that is linked to funding for larger organisations. Fankovits & Earle (2000:14) detail that during an NGO workshop they conducted about the rights based approach funded by Swedish government aid bodies, a major point of concern was the delivery of participation initiatives, raising questions on how internalisation and acceptance of the approach can be developed amongst staff. These concerns suggest that ground staff are responsible for potential failures in participation. Noh (2017:1108), however, proposes that any skills workers may be missing is rooted in the organisation's structure and proximity to the policy. In her study considering Bangladesh the further staff were away from the source of the HRA the more limited the diffusion and internalisation of the concepts. She also raises issue with the discursive power of training sessions, staffing measures and partnerships that are theoretically opposed to the principles of the HRA and participation. Here she clearly places the integration of

HRA (participation) processes as the responsibility of the organisation not the staff members.

This issue of responsibility of participation not being implemented in a manner that has been predetermined also relates and echoes larger issue of scale. This also highlights similarities to the arguments of scope in the HRA (Uvin, 2007). Cornwall & Gaventa (2000:51) demonstrate the need for participation to go beyond the national environment and influence the international structures. They argue that within a neo-liberal paradigm there is no scope for participation to extend beyond using and choosing programmes to making and shaping policy. Also highlighting the potential of participation and questioning the absence of such impacts is White (1996:15), she states with cynicism that, 'The absence of conflict in many supposedly `participatory' programmes is something that should raise our suspicions. Change hurts. Beyond this, the bland front presented by many discussions of participation in development should itself suggest questions. What interests does this `non-politics' serve, and what interests may it be suppressing?'

The deeply political nature of participation and contextualisation is evident when considering education. Shanks (2019) in her work focused on minority education in conflict, with particular focus on Iraq, demonstrates the potential of education. Her research, however, has shown that participation and community voice comes at significant risk to wider societal stability, as different identities are desired in the classroom. This education focused research echoes Cleaver (2001:44) who states that community is not easily defined and also raises the question of how can community participation and demands be valued when they are at odds with security and stability discourses? Especially when Shanks (2019:18) finds that 'repressive education policies and failure to support minority representation are often presented as a denial of rights that leads to assimilation and grievance. Yet the societal security framing of education presents a more nuanced understanding of the impact of denied education rights', including the potential long term suppression by the majority and/or establishment of illegitimate parallel school systems like that in Kosovo. Ensor (2005:259-260) similarly details that in times of threat identity may also be manipulated to mobilise or undermine groups. This again highlights the issue of when participation takes place,

under what circumstances, especially in times on conflict. Navigating participation in such volatile settings is layered with complexity.

The INEE (2012:20), however, present the minimum standard for education in emergency contexts, including conflict and refugee settings detailing participation as a foundational standard. The support documents and guidance around participation in emergency education are comprehensive and offer a grounded appreciation of the concept. This includes problematisation of different forms of participation from symbolic to full participation clearly demonstrating awareness of issues raised by White (1996). Similarly, the depth of consideration around participation is seen in the explanation of purpose, 'Participation facilitates the identification of education issues particular to the local context and ways to address them. In this way, community participation in assessment, planning, implementation, management and monitoring helps to ensure that education responses are appropriate and effective' (INEE, 2012:20), including participants and the community in all stages and levels of the education programming process. This also includes the development of an education plan, 'a shared vision of what the teaching and learning environment might become, described in terms of activities' (INEE, 2012:25). This, however, does not limit the inclusion of language in these guidance notes that suggests instrumental purposes to participation, including purposes to 'strengthen the mobilisation of local resources and support the maintenance of education services in the long term' (INEE, 2012:20).

Similar contrasts in language are seen regarding the depth of inclusion which states the need to be non discriminatory where every member of the community is able to participate (INEE, 2012:23), which can be supported by the development of a committee which describes the inclusion of vulnerable groups as essential. Youth participation while acknowledged as a way to meet their current and future aims has a dominant focus on classroom inclusion where young people 'should be invited to participate in discussions in safe, secure and welcoming environments that reinforce respect for constructive dialogue. Culturally appropriate ways of helping children and youth express themselves can be used, such as art, music and drama' which has a psychosocial focus (INEE, 2012:25-26). Challenges around inclusion and participation of young

people around education have been considered in relation to the CA (Tao, 2013), which encounter similar challenges in this context.

The INEE (2012:20) also detail that participation in these emergency settings can be challenging, 'Full and inclusive participation is often difficult to achieve in emergency situations, but it is important to work towards it'. The degree to which participation can be achieved is difficult to evaluate in such complex circumstances. We can see in Bangladesh, within the Rohingya community, participation in the provision of education which is valued by the community has not been sufficient and a parallel education system reaching their desires has been established (Olney et al., 2019). While an example of community activism, this also poses potential risks to child protection (Davies, 2011; Save the Children, 2013). How to achieve full and meaningful participation in such contexts is challenging with many vulnerable groups unable to participate where there is also identity and cultural challenges present (Shanks, 2019). The INEE clearly shares the need for such participation to be pursued, although how effectively this can be implemented is an obvious issue. These challenges facing education are also encountered in the wider application of participation for humanitarian programmes in line with the Core Humanitarian Standards (CHS). These standards, developed by The Sphere Project, are aimed at all humanitarian actors, including government agencies. The CHS place communication at the centre of participation and detail the need for translated and accessible ways of sharing information to communities (The Sphere Project, 2015:27+29). In addition to communication, openness and transparency are also highlighted in the CHS, which promotes a culture of openness within organisations, especially around decision-making. In a similar manner to the INEE, directions on how to effectually reach all members of the community is not explored comprehensively, however, greater detail on planning with the intentions of participation to gather effective information is offered by other organisations including ALNAP (Bonino et al., 2014:95). They suggest the value of SMS communication and data collection with marginalised groups including women. Although such methods do not present the community ownership promoted by White (1996) and others (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000; Institute of Development Studies, 2010; Miller et al., 2006), demonstrating the challenges facing participation on complex

emergency settings and echoing the wider challenges of participation that have been explored in this section.

2.9 Quality Education in Refugee Contexts

Refugee education concerns both development and humanitarian purposes. This combination adds further challenges to defining the features of quality education in these complex environments. The purpose of refugee education will first be explored, followed by a discussion of quality education discourses in these settings. The absence of a clear purpose of refugee education beyond the achievement of rights demonstrates the need for contextualisation and participation.

The UNHCR defined the purpose of education in refugee camps in the following manner: 'The content of schooling should follow the principle of education for voluntary repatriation, with refugee teachers providing a familiar type of education, using familiar languages of instruction. The content should follow the basic curriculum of the country or areas of origin. If repatriation is delayed, there should be discussions between refugee and host government educationists, regarding the possible introduction of "mixed curriculum" which "faces both ways," incorporating elements of the host country curriculum, where this is substantially different. If return is further delayed or there is considerable local settlement, the host country curriculum may be adopted by mutual consent' (Waters & LeBlanc, 2005:137). The provision of a parallel system for refugee education delivered by humanitarian organisations, however, is no longer seen as sustainable. More recently, objectives in refugee education have shifted to integration into host country systems (UNESCO, 2018:61). The HRA to quality dominates refugee education policy, with attention primarily focused on the fulfilment of rights including peace, equality and understanding across people (1990 World Declaration for Education in Emergencies and Article 29 of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, UNICEF, 1989:9). There are challenges, however, between a global policy framework and local reality. A literature review considering teachers of refugees demonstrates challenges in the application of legal frameworks being integrated into social service policies (Richardson et al., 2018:23). This is also highlighted in the 2018 GEMR, which details that legal frameworks do not necessarily prevent local discrimination (UNESCO, 2018:130). The discussion of quality education for refugees has also been frustrated by

political and funding agendas. As highlighted by Burde et al. (2015:29): 'Quality has received insufficient attention, in part because maintaining distance from controversial curriculum content and pedagogy—areas that are related to the broader role of education as a tool for societal change—helped the aid community depoliticize their work in education'.

Winthrop and Kirk (2008:640) highlight that the achievement of rights offered through refugee education and other associated outcomes, such as normalisation, psychosocial support and protection, could be gained from a number of alternative social institutions, such as community and religious groups. Thus, there needs to be a quality focus to maintain children's attendance in refugee education. Their study of refugee and IDP students in Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Ethiopia revealed that student well-being and their learning experiences should not be treated as separate issues. It was the combination of academic and social learning that gave the children hope for the future, as students were keenly aware of when they were learning and when they were not. The importance of refugee education as a place of learning has also been demonstrated by a Save the Children report focusing on children in countries affected by conflict (2010:17): 'Access to ineffective schools, where little is learned and children are unable to develop their potential, is not meaningful access. For parents to invest in education, especially where the costs are high in terms of school fees or lost labour, they have to believe it is worthwhile'. More recently, data collected in the Za'tari Camp for Syrian Refugees in Jordan found that 9.3% of out-of-school children were not attending because they perceived the quality of education to be poor. Other reasons, echoing the absence of contextualisation, revolved around differences in curriculum (9.6%) and the feeling that education was not important or applicable (7.1%) (UNICEF, 2014:3). Such issues are again highlighted by education services in Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh, where despite agreement to guarantee access to learning, a contextual understanding of quality is absent that is especially related to language use, curriculum and teacher training (Gallano, 2018:18).

The Education Cannot Wait (ECW) fund is designed to transform global education for children affected by crisis. This fund proposes multi-year planning, which goes some way towards challenging short-term funding frameworks, supporting interventions over

a longer period of time (ODI, 2017) in a multi-year structure with joint planning between humanitarian and development actors (UNESCO, 2018:253). This echoes calls raised by Save the Children (2013:22) for 'funding [to] cover both the need to ensure education in humanitarian emergencies as soon as a crisis hits, and long-term development education strategies', alongside the work of Mendenhall (2014) that also demonstrates the need for longer term funding. While ECW proposals (ODI, 2016:30) demonstrate the value that funders place on quality, this is not clearly conceptualised. During consultation, the INEE highlighted the need for clarity of operational definitions such as 'quality education', 'learning outcomes' and 'the most marginalised'. In response, ECW highlighted the need for contextualisation of these terms for each individual crisis as conditions, resources and actors vary. Further policy and frameworks suggest that there is some challenge in doing this. The EWC Results Report 2018 (Education Cannot Wait, 2018) does not specifically define quality and identical indicators are used across contexts.

The INEE is the principal network providing resources and support to those involved in education in emergencies. Their Minimum Standards to providing education in crisis settings (INEE, 2012:2), an operational guide and framework, details the protective nature of education stating that '[q]uality education saves lives by providing physical protection from the dangers and exploitation of a crisis environment'. Linked to this, the INEE highlight other features of education necessary for survival, including landmine safety, HIV education and health awareness. Such statements are allied with the HRA around provision, access and the social protection features of education in refugee settings. The INEE (2012:7)also define quality education as 'education that is available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable [...] by bringing to life the principles of participation, accountability, non-discrimination and legal protection', themes which suggest the value of contextualisation and participation. Community participation is also named as a Foundational Standard (INEE, 2012:19), with discussion of how adaptation to local realities might is supported through consultation with stakeholders (INEE, 2012:11,20–30).

These principles of participation also refer to CCP with an expanded definition of quality, which recognises 'participatory methods and learning processes that respect the dignity

of the learner' (INEE, 2012). Minimum standard descriptors highlight the use of CCP including 'group work, project work, peer education, role-play, telling stories or describing events, games, videos or stories' (INEE, 2010:87). This foundational standard and surrounding discourse of the INEE presents value for both contextualisation and participation. There is some contradiction, however, in seeing these features of quality education alongside prescriptive and specific CCP that may not be suitably responsive to the context, in a similar way to that explored with "best practices".

The example of Cox's Bazaar demonstrates that despite passion for access to education in refugee contexts there is difficultly in achieving contextualisation and quality. The lack of contextualisation and purpose of education for refugee students impacts on attendance and limits the positive social protections that schooling can offer in these settings. While global policy continues to echo an HRA and CCP narrative to education, frameworks on the ground, most significantly that of the INEE, promote contextualisation and participation of refugee communities. This, however, happens alongside the promotion of specific CCP; as a consequence, it is challenging to define the current approach to quality education in refugee contexts. Although there are elements of prescription in refugee education policy, the wider discourses and field reports on refugee education echo the evolution of narratives in international education to support the argument that quality education is contextual and participatory. The following exploration of SDG4 demonstrates how it offers limited additional support for ensuring quality education in refugee settings with the use of indicators that are input/output focused and limited contextualisation.

2.10 Hope for Quality and Contextual Goals with the SDG4
The SDG's aim was to build on the MDGs and their legacy for the reduction of extreme poverty with equitable development and environmental sustainability. While it is considered that the MDGs had significant positive impact, not all goals were met (SDG.Guide, 2015). The SDG also shifted to a broader concept of accountability. Previously, the MDGs did not work in union with each other to address larger challenges or acknowledge the interconnectivity between goals, which Unterhalter (2014b:855) described as vertical barriers. The 17 goals of the SDGs fit together creating a much broader understanding of global accountability (King, 2017:801).

As the post 2015 development agenda emerged, there was academic dialogue and hope for stronger education goals to have a specific and measurable focus linked to concepts of quality beyond the simplified input/output measures seen in the MDGs (Crossley et al., 2017; Sayed & Ahmed, 2015:335). During the development of post MDG goals, Alexander (2015:252) suggested that even if quality concepts, such as a more contextual approach, are more complex than existing measures, these factors could still be considered as indicators that can act as qualitative devices. This would encourage a shift from the previously input/output dominated measures to the use of an interim. Rose (2015) also supported the idea of a gradual development towards final and decisive targets. Originally proposed by Watkins (2014:2253), the suggestion of stepping stone targets and indicators of progress were to achieve equity, vital for quality (Alexander, 2008). By putting the spotlight on specific disadvantaged groups, this also allows for responsive programming with less delay in seeing the success or failure of initiatives. These suggestions sought to acknowledge context for quality education with a more flexible understanding compared to the black and white input/output measures. While these make effort to acknowledge context-relevant understandings of quality, participation is not explored at any length by commentators.

Discourse around quality education and its measures was welcomed by funders (Berry et al., 2015) and highlighted by the Global Education Monitoring Report (GEMR) 2015: 'a discernible shift in emphasis towards quality and learning is likely to become more central to the post-2015 global framework' (UNESCO, 2015:189). Buckler (2015:127), however, highlights inconsistencies in the GEMR narrative around understandings of quality. The GEMR 2005 supported a contextualised understanding of quality, and how societies define and understand the purpose of education, while it also highlighted the goal of improving teacher quality through increased pupil attainment on standardised tests. Concerns over the dominant top-down discourse carried into the Post MDG targets remained. Faul's research (2014:19), exploring the narratives of global policy makers, suggested 'that whatever the formal policy commitments agreed in the post-2015 agenda, narrow definitions of quality and equity will be implemented', such is the dominance of these voices. King (2017) offers further critique on the limitations of participation in the development of the goals. He argues that while significant input from a wide range of stakeholders was given for the creation of the goals, only UN data

agencies were included in the development of indicators. Alexander (2015:253) suggests that this dominance may in part be due to the data selected for use in policy and guidance development. Key documents, specifically the GEMR, employ limited use of thick descriptive qualitative data, while preference is given to large-scale quantitative research projects. As a result, this misses out on capturing nuances and contextual features illuminated by other research sources. The use of a wider range of sources, and particularly quantitative research, would allow for greater community representation, as such work is traditionally small-scale and contextually focused. Exploring the importance of qualitative input further, Sayed & Ahmed (2015:335) citing a conference paper presented by Alexander, highlight that the absence of qualitative measures in the goals and targets 'indicates an as-yet-unresolved challenge in relation to developing targets that incorporate qualitative indicators to meaningfully reflect achievement in learning areas related to responsible global citizenship, peace and sustainable development' (Alexander, 2014). Taking a much broader view, voices of Post Development suggest that North-South, large-scale development movements, like the SDG, are still fixed on the underlying assumption of development as "progress" and economic growth (Gudynas, 2016:724). These assumptions could not be resolved by the acknowledgement and inclusion of a greater range of sources in documents and reports that influence policy.

Despite great hope for a shift, indicators that acknowledge quality education beyond input and output are absent in the post 2015 agenda. SDG4.1 calls for free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education for boys and girls, leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes. Despite the inclusion of relevant learning outcomes, indicators consider minimum proficiency in maths and reading (King, 2017:806–807; United Nations, 2017:5). As a result, quality is focused on attainment. Furthermore, Unterhalter (2014b:854) highlights that an indicator of minimum proficiency only endorses minimum standards; such a target is not aspirational.

Goal SDG4.7, however, is highly aspirational: 'By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non violence, global

citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development' (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). This goal is perceived by some to be un-measurable (Heyneman & Lee, 2016:16) and obstructive due to its broad nature. In addition, it is argued that the vague nature of these goals risks them losing legitimacy and being considered low priority (Sayed & Ahmed, 2015). Such a goal, however, could be argued to demonstrate the very heart of the sustainability agenda (King, 2017:807). Indicators for this HRA-focused goal have an accompanying indicator that assumes desired outcomes (United Nations, 2017:5), ignoring process in education. This linear approach again highlights issues in the way that CCP were approached as a magic bullet to quality and process focused on the classroom without context.

Quality features of "best practice" that promote a focus on processes linked to CCP are echoed in the Framework for Action (FfA) that accompanies SDG4. 'Quality education fosters creativity and knowledge, and ensures the acquisition of the foundational skills of literacy and numeracy as well as analytical, problem-solving and other high-level cognitive, interpersonal and social skills. It also develops the skills, values and attitudes that enable citizens to lead healthy and fulfilled lives, make informed decisions, and respond to local and global challenges through education for sustainable development (ESD) and global citizenship education (GCED)' (UNESCO, 2015:8). These processes, however, remain focused on the micro-level (classroom and students) with macro- (national) levels of influence without acknowledgement of immediate surroundings. Quality here is defined without recognition of context or participation of communities. Continuation of the linear approach to education is also seen in the accompanying narrative of the FfA. Echoing the HCT assumption that input leads to output, '[w]e commit to quality education and to improving learning outcomes, which requires strengthening inputs, processes and evaluation of outcomes and mechanisms to measure progress' (UNESCO, 2015:8). Similarly, the goal and indicator of SDG4.c focusing on teachers, assumes training (at least minimum) is enough to support the achievement of the other goals, especially 4.1 and 4.7. This is especially concerning when Berry et al. (2015:326) highlight that some studies do not link teacher training to student learning. This again brings to the foreground the limitation of input/output style approaches. Dembélé & Lefoka (2007:547) expand on this by stating that teacher

development is often downplayed or ignored in reforms and that the quality of teacher development is dependent on the quality of the learning opportunities they have access to. It is important to note, however, that the FfA acknowledges motivation, deployment and well-resourced education systems as necessary (UNESCO, 2015:33), although such contextual factors are not supported in the current set of indicators. Similarly, Sayed & Ahmed (2015:336) highlight the need for contextualised and clear understanding of pedogogical processes for teachers rather than a naïve reltionship between teaching and learning. Although indicative strategies are detailed in the FfA (UNESCO, 2015:48+55), including the existence of teacher policies and relevant learning outcomes, these are not formal indicators. Similarly, these strategic products should not automatically act as a mirror for measurement without appropriate participation and contextualisation.

The 2015 GEMR highlights some school-level factors that provide an opportunity to consider more contextual and localised aspects of discourse in the pursuit for quality education. This includes 'improved learning materials available to all learners, school time in which teachers and pupils are actively engaged in learning activities, inclusive and relevant curricula […] more welcoming learning environments and better school governance' (UNESCO & United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2015:217). Targets and indicators focusing on school governance, however, remain absent in the SDGs. Indicators for SDG4.7 focus on inclusion of global citizenship and sustainable development in national policies, teacher education and student assessment. While indicators for school governance could fall within national policy, the explicit absence of this is all the more significant. School buildings are targeted in SDG4.a, with indicators focusing on Internet access and making sure the school is a more inclusive and safer place for students (United Nations, 2017:5). These indicators, however, are measured as a proportion of schools with access and adaptation, a numeric outcome indicator. Such indicators do not respond to context or explicitly measure influencing discourse or attendant attitudes, which are key factors of policy implementation. These indicators measure access, not inclusion.

There have been efforts to accommodate national realities and contexts with the development of National Sustainable Development Strategies (NSDS)(United Nations, n.d.). The development of national goals, however, also opens up further critique. While

some argue that these national goals are not localised enough to respond to community discourses and contexts (Tikly, 2011a), others argue that such contextualisation accepts global inequalities (Rose, 2015:292). Wagner (2018:223) claims that focus on the use of local data, along with larger scale generalisable data is irreconcilable with such diverse contexts, further suggesting that the use of global and even national indicators for measuring education quality may be impossible. The need for global goals is also challenged by Post Development voices (Jain, 2013). Critics to Post Development, however, have argued that contextualisation, with a focus on grassroots initiatives has been romanticised due to the simplification of "development", and the underestimation of complex motives, ignoring literature that calls for reform rather than rejection of development institutions (McEwan, 2009:104). Reconciling these perspectives of incompatible global and local measures is challenging. Currently, the SDGs present the dominant view that quality is positioned between the HCT with linear measures and the HRA. While the HRA has some process focus, for example safe spaces and CCP, its indicators are concerned with inputs and assumed outcomes at classroom and national levels.

SDG4 does make reference to quality in terms such as relevant and context-specific, also found in the FfA. In addition, the development of NSDS hints towards some degree of contextualisation and participation. Clarity in its definition, however, is absent, most significantly in the associated indicators. As a result, SDG4 is an outcome and statistics focused goal, rather than one that considers quality to have its foundations in context and participation. Pedagogy, however, applied in its entirety could be used as an indicator of education quality that considers contextualisation and participation. While pedagogy can be simply understood as the method and processes of teaching, the expansion of the term to encompasses wider influences that impact on these methods and processes has credibility and is a key feature of current research(Westbrook et al., 2013). Described as the dynamic relationship between teaching, learning and culture by Livingston et al. (2017:8), the application of pedagogy could support quality education and create a shift away from outcome measurement to more qualitative indicators.

2.11 Pedagogy to Understand Quality, and Use as a Qualitative Indicator
The potential of pedagogy as a qualitative indicator of education quality is discussed, alongside the ability of pedagogy to consider associated processes in delivering

contextual education. Pedagogy can be used as a framework/tool to consider quality education and the processes and barriers to its achievement.

Livingston et al. (2017) support the development of a global framework for pedagogy that allows for contextual adaptation. They offer seven principles for pedagogy, which 'are applicable to learning within broad cultural norms, community and individual contexts' (Pg.13). They highlight the value of pedagogy to SDG4, suggesting that this would require indicators and measurement at a school level, aiding and developing existing observation and support mechanisms to collect these. Most significantly, this understanding of pedagogy emphasises the importance of contextualisation and participation of communities. The value of different perspectives is acknowledged in these proposals and their call for partnership between education stakeholders and the community: 'For example, implementing learner-centred pedagogical approaches in some socio-cultural contexts may appear to challenge the authority vested in the teacher. Valuing a partnership approach between teachers and students may conflict with cultural beliefs and inhibit the realisation of some of the Education 2030 goals. The host community need to be able to collaborate with the learning and training institution. Educational stakeholders and community leaders should ideally develop a trusting, equal partnership characterised by on-going dialogue and a joint vision for achieving the educational targets' (Livingston et al., 2017:18). Pedagogy in its broadest sense supports quality education through the development of a contextual understanding and shared vision of quality. This context-driven approach can also build further on the CA by offering a fuller picture around issues of constraint. Deeper insight into influential processes beyond assumed factors can be considered. Measures, targets and indicators used in global goals and SDG4 have not been able to do this. The linear and input/output approaches of these goals and indicators are not qualitative. The value of the qualitative approach offered by pedagogy is the opportunity to engage with a wider range of impacts and influences, allowing it to be both contextual and contextually responsive. In such a way, insight into constraint is also offered, which can lead to localised and responsive features, which are limited even in the NSDS.

In this manner, pedagogy can explore the many factors and influences in education processes, as seen in the work of Tao and her use of the CA and Critical Realism (CR) in

exploring teacher absenteeism. In relation to the CA she states: 'Although the Capability Approach has allowed us to better understand the functionings that contribute to the types of lives that teachers wish to lead, and how constraint on these can be related to distraction, stress and a lack of concentration, this still does not provide a link beyond anecdotal assumption to behaviours such as absenteeism, rote teaching, or lack of preparation, amongst others. This points to the need for a fuller framework that not only accommodates issues of constrained capabilities, but also illuminates how and to what extent teachers' empirical actions are related to these' (Tao, 2013:8).

In order to overcome these issues of an assumed link between functionings and constraint, Tao used the critical realist theory of causation. This meant that influencing factors, such as the personal characteristics of a teacher, linked to a certain practice are built upon to consider the processes that cause them and explain their deeper, generative mechanisms (2013:8). Pedagogy offers the same opportunities as CR in the identification of deeper teacher beliefs towards learning, cultural and contextual environments, as well as how capabilities may be constrained. In a similar way to the use of CR in Tao's case study, pedagogy can provide 'explicit connections between broader social structures, teachers' values, their contexts, constrained capabilities, and the process in which these combine to produce certain teacher actions' (Tao, 2013:13). In a similar way, Buckler (2015:132) concludes that the achievement of capabilities (in this case, of teachers' professional development in sub-Saharan Africa) is not only linked in a linear manner to resources, but also driven by values, choice and agency (see Figure 1).
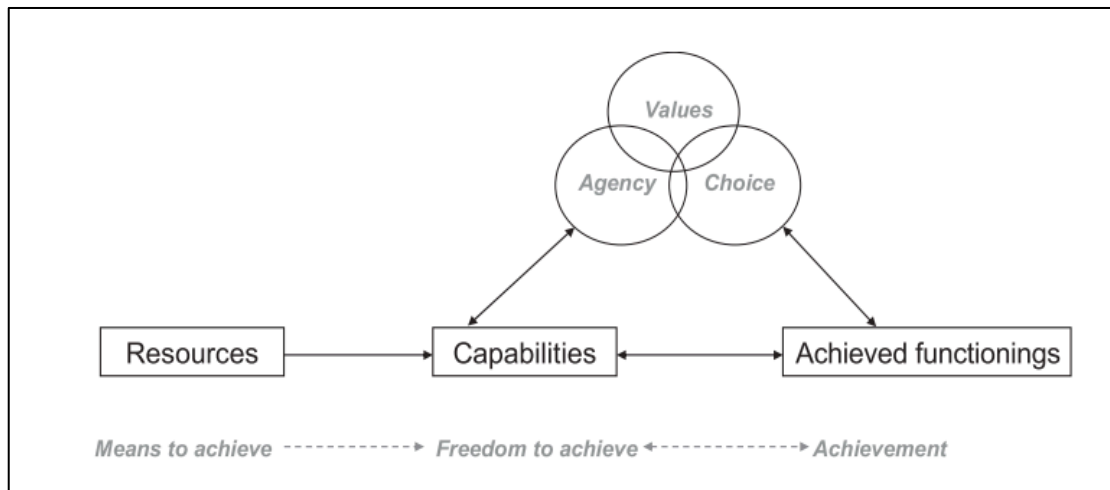
Figure 1 – Buckler's Model of Teachers' Professional Capability (Buckler, 2015:132)

The contextual nature of pedagogy can be utilised as a framework/tool for qualitative assessment, considering wider influences and processes involved in education delivery. This could be in the form of school level indicators for global education goals suggested by Livingston et al. (2017) or with locally derived goals. The work of Tao and Buckler uses CA to consider teachers; in a similar way, pedagogy can explore wider influences and offer responsive opportunities to constraint as a consequence. Pedagogy does not only offer an approach and indicator beyond input/output, but a manner in which to acknowledge multiple factors and processes in education to achieve quality.

2.12 The Value of Pedagogy in Refugee Contexts

Pedagogy, considered in its broadest sense, interacts with culture and context which is particularly significant when referring to quality education in refugee settings. The need for contextualisation in emergency settings can be found in guidelines, research and funding (INEE, 2012; ODI, 2016; INEE, 2010b:13). Examples from Za'atari and Cox's Bazaar also demonstrate the necessity of contextualisation for relevance and maintaining student attendance as a consequence.

Goal 4.1, focusing on minimum learning (academic achievement), and 4.7, touching upon student attitudes (e.g. tolerance), are considered to be key in quality learning in crisis-affected areas (Burde et al., 2015:iv). Without consideration of the complex and pressured context of these crisis settings, however, the relevance and attainment of these goals are questionable. Without the contextualisation of education in refugee settings, student well-being is at risk from irrelevant curricula, lack of cultural relevance

and high drop-out rates (Gallano, 2018; Saltarelli & Bush, 2000; UNICEF, 2014). The consequences which further exacerbate challenges such as child marriage and associations with militia (Save the Children, 2010), which fundamentally challenge the HRA achievement of rights. Similarly, the absence of contextually focused targets and indicators at a global level is reflected in the access and rights-based focus for education in refugee settings, which concentrate on capacity and provision (Government of Jordan, 2018:57–58). While quality and relevance are detailed in this response plan developed for Jordan, they are neither defined nor reference specific contexts and participation in understanding quality.

The absence of measures and indicators for context in the SDGs may be a factor, alongside the political and funding tensions over whether education is a development or humanitarian activity. Challenges around the measurement of SDG4, however, must also be considered. There are limited data sources regarding refugee contexts (UNESCO, 2018:57), which challenges the accurate and fair measurement of these goals. Despite debate that these goals do not have contextual relevance, the absence of accurate refugee inclusion could prevent the development of an fair picture of the overall state of refugee education. Pedagogy offers a qualitative indicator that would overcome many of these larger scale data challenges. Without focus on pedagogy in its fullest, delivering quality education in refugee settings will be limited to an input/output focus, where data can be gathered.

2.13 The Significance of Refugee Teachers and the Argument for Pedagogy

In refugee settings, teachers are repeatedly highlighted as key in the provision of quality education (ODI, 2017). Significantly, this is detailed by the Jordan Response Plan to the Syria Crisis 2018–2020. 'Quality and relevant education has to be delivered to all children and youth. This implies enhancing in-service training opportunities for public school teachers and facilitators as well as setting up ICT–enabled environment for teachers that are better able to provide individuals, specialized support' (Government of Jordan, 2018:57). Here, teachers are considered central in the provision of quality education that is relevant to students. Acknowledgment of pedagogy and the cultural, contextual and wider features which impact upon teaching and learning is vital for the success of this response plan. Host countries for refugees, such as Jordan, face unprecedented challenges in the provision of education for both national citizens and

refugee students. Therefore, the importance of teachers in education for refugees must relate to both teachers who are from refugee communities and those from host countries. Each of these teachers' experience and context is different, which further supports the use of pedagogy as an indicator for quality education. The dynamic relationship between teaching, learning and culture also interacts with teachers' personal beliefs and attitudes. These factors, significant to all teachers, are also important in host community schools trying to navigate social change (Abu-Amsha, 2014:32). Contextual challenges and limitations for both communities are significant in the face of limited resources and pre-service training.

Some host countries will not employ refugees in certain jobs and roles; for example, in Jordan, Syrian and Iraqi refugees are not employed in service or public sector jobs, including teaching (Richardson et al., 2018:39), medical, sales and clerical roles (International Labour Organization, 2014; International Rescue Committee, 2017). This also means that host country teachers are needed to teach in refugee camp schools. The recruitment of these teachers in camp schools allows for the achievement of short-term goals in enrolment and access. Both Jordan and Lebanon have hired new teachers in response to increased student numbers; however, these are predominantly recent graduates with limited to no experience and have been criticised as being unqualified and unable to provide education of desired quality to the community (Culbertson & Constant, 2015:65–66). In 2016, only 88% of Jordanian teachers held Bachelor's degrees (Queen Rania Foundation, 2017b).

In the case of the Za'atari Camp in Jordan, which is largely staffed by "relief" teachers, 'there were many reports of teachers playing games on their phones, eating, drinking, smoking and putting on makeup during class. This gave a poor impression of teachers, and in some cases had a severe impact on teaching and learning: "We go to school and don't learn anything because the teacher always plays on his phone and he doesn't teach us" (12–17yrs boy, drop-out) […] A lack of professionalism from teachers was a major contributor to the belief that the quality of schooling in Za'atari camp was poor, which was in turn an important reason children were not attending school' (The Joint Education Needs Assessment (JENA) Education Sector Working Group, 2014:71). While this classroom behaviour by teachers is unacceptable, it is also important to note that

these new recruit teachers are often paid less than other colleagues recruited through the standard civil service process (Culbertson & Constant, 2015:65–66). In some cases, they are also completely untrained (Human Rights Watch, 2016:6). This is often the case in other host countries, where teacher retention is a challenge due to low pay, as well as precarious working conditions, including lack of gender sensitivity towards female teachers (Gallano, 2018:13). Pedagogy as an indicator has the scope to acknowledge these contextual factors and their influence in the dynamic relationship between teaching, learning and culture.

Jordan and Lebanon are examples of where the quality of education is felt to be compromised by refugees being accepted into host country schools. In many cases, a second shift has been introduced in schools, limiting lesson time for nationals and creating tension and conflict between communities (Government of Jordan, 2018:18). Tensions between host and refugee communities can be seen in the attitudes of teachers, highlighted in the following interview with a Lebanese teacher, conducted for the Education Resilience Approaches Programme (Abu-Amsha, 2014:32): 'The crisis is almost finished in Syria, "Yallah! [Go ahead], go back there, what else are you going to do here [in Lebanon]?" […] Later during the meeting, one school staff suddenly said: "Why don't you bring Syrian teachers to teach Syrian children, they are very different from our students", and the coordinator contradicted her by saying that there is no need for Syrians to come and share the income of Lebanese teachers'. Again, pedagogy as an indicator has the opportunity to acknowledge these contextual factors and their influence and serve as a point to develop relevant interventions.

Teachers of refugees, who are also refugees themselves, often have similar lack of experience that can be challenging, although this is more often due to self-selection. Kirk and Winthrop (2007) highlight that these teachers' identity is often more complex than elsewhere. All the reasons behind teacher motivation or avoidance of this profession cannot be known (Richardson et al., 2018:35); however, necessity and not choice is a key factor in these settings. They are 'spontaneous and tentative teachers', feeling anxious and overwhelmed by entry into this profession (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007:719). As a result, there is often high refugee teacher turnover, linked to the lack of training and professional development opportunities (Mendenhall et al., 2015:155). As such, the

importance of teacher professional development is highlighted to mitigate the challenges of high teacher turnover and the negative impact this can have on students (Mendenhall et al., 2015:122), influencing the dynamic relationships of pedagogy. In order to do so, distance education for teachers has shown to be helpful in refugee and protracted conflict contexts, where travel is not always possible. These methods are also highly cost effective (Burde et al., 2015:21). There are multiple examples of training, however, being conducted in camps by different organisations, schools and funding structures in place (Richardson et al., 2018:50). This could limit the development and influence of the wider context for a cohesive and unified approach to teaching and learning.

This reflection on teachers in refugee settings demonstrates how wider contextual issues influence education quality, echoing the call for pedagogy to be used as a qualitative indicator of education. Teachers directly experience the dynamic relationship between pedagogy and national policy, such as refugee response plans. Attitudes towards refugees and their relative position in and towards these communities are also contextual influences. The limited training teachers receive for their role also impacts on teaching and learning, and plays a key part in pedagogy. For quality education to be delivered it is, therefore, vital that pedagogy is considered, as it makes room for context and its influence over teachers.

Dryden-Peterson (2017) has worked with refugee teachers around the world and describes their centrality in quality education. Furthermore, she demonstrates that their role is fundamentally connected to the context in which they are positioned and the surrounding discourses. 'The praxis of refugee education […] involves deliberation about the nature of knowledge, self-reflection about purposes and aspirations for education, and engagement with politics and power structures. Critically, the processes and outcomes of these deliberations are inherently connected to the relationships between actors – students, teachers, families, UNHCR, national governments, among others' (Pg.22). For quality education to be ensured in refugee settings and beyond, the context in which teachers practise needs to be taken into consideration. Dryden-Peterson highlights context alongside negotiation and participation in understanding quality. Literature on refugee education gives little attention to teachers and their experiences,

their priorities and attitudes. Burde et al., however, argue that 'understanding teachers'
biographies, identities, and attitudes is a pressing concern for supporting teachers and
improving students' learning outcomes' (2015:55).

These urgent understandings are also central themes within teacher professional
development literature that will be explored in the following chapter. Teacher
professional development is globally recognised as key in education quality and has
been highlighted as equally imperative in refugee settings. Teachers are also at the
centre of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy, which considers the dynamic
relationship of teaching, learning and culture (discourse) as directly influencing teachers'
classroom practice. The "self", rooted in culture and experience serves as an opportunity
to respond to the need to understand teachers, as proposed by Burde et al. The following
section will explore pedagogy further, presenting Alexander's understanding and use as
a tool for research into quality education in refugee contexts.

2.14 Pedagogy vs HRA and CA in the Research Context

Pedagogy and its applicability to the education, teacher TPD and refugee contexts have
been explored, there are however additional functions that it is able to offer as a lens for
research analysis. This includes a structure that provides greater detail and
consideration for application of research findings, expanding beyond conceptualisation
of phenomena. However, use of pedagogy over that of HRA and CA frameworks rooted in
participation and contextualisation, which is key to quality education, must also be
considered. In this case study and research context pragmatic decision-making also
supported the use of pedagogy for reasons including time constraints, researcher
positionality and transferability of findings.

Application of the CA as a framework of research has been greatly discussed and
debated as the concept and approach is considered by many to be greatly under
theorised (Omar, 2012; Robeyns, 2006; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Robeyns (2006:355)
details the arguments for exploring both capabilities (functionings a person is able to
reach if desired) and their active functionings, Hollywood et al (2012) and Zimmermann,
(2006) however, discuss the challenges of these measures. Both comment on how
participant functionings are easier to assess and observe, especially in a quantitative

manner, compared to their capabilities and the freedoms they have to make them. Zimmermann (2006:478) details the use of 'achieved beings and doings' and then building a selection of the range of choice available, Hollywood et al (2012:2) however, are concerned that this approach may come with a value bias as to what participants have the right to value when considering functioning. This debate echoes the need for participation in the research process and selection of desired capabilities and fucntionings. Robeyns (2005:205) sets out a process whereby a capabilities list can be developed by participation to prevent selection bias. In this process the method used to develop an initial list, which is then present for discussion, is made explicit and open for critique. For there to be levels of generality amongst individuals and communities, the list needs to be established with a non-reductionist approach and be exhaustive. While Robeyn's process suggests the development of a list of capabilities before participation, Alkire's (2002:225-226) research looking at the impact of three different development projects in Pakistan on capabilities used participation from the outset to explore participant capabilities and functionings. She however highlights the challenge in this as facilitators cannot support this kind of discussion with the use of closed questions, but equally it was not sufficient to ask entirely open questions. Hollywood et al (2012:13-15) also discuss challenges to participation and the use of CA, when considering retrospective events and resultant changes. This was due to peoples desired capabilities changing over time (also see in Buckler, 2015:131) such longitudinal work was not possible in the framework they used, suggesting that the use of predetermined indicators would have been more appropriate than participants trying to identify new capabilities. This case study of UNRWA had a retrospective focus as the SBTD Programme was developed in 2013/2014, delivered over a six month period to school teachers and then field work conducted in 2017. The use of the CA would also encounter the problem of difficulty in retrospective consideration of capabilities and functionings like that of Hollywood et al (2012). Similarly the HRA with its forward looking application through participatory and action research was not fitting with the context and timeline of the SBTD Programme. Participatory research in line with the HRA emerged from a field of practice focused on enabling change through analysis, learning and then acting on it (Institute of Development Studies, 2010:15). During which the aim is to reduce the distance between researcher and participants by both being co-

creators of knowledge/researchers. Again, the potential for local/school/teacher ownership of a future focused project was not within the scope of this project.

In addition to challenges of a retrospective focus to the research, such participatory methods require a significant amount of time in the field in communities and with participants developing longstanding relationships, constructing an understanding of capabilities and plans for future action. Limited time in the field was therefore a significant factor in the scope of the project and the use of research methods were not focused on participation. Research projects that have used the frame of CA in education have been able to spend over a month in the field and with communities (Gladwell, 2009; Jerrard, 2016), time of this length was not available for this project. A further challenge to the use of such methods was my postionality as a researcher. Alkire (2002:225) highlights the importance of researchers fully embracing participatory methods by speaking the local language, wearing similar clothing, respecting religious customs and traditions, warning that without these attitudes accurate data can not be collected. My postionality as a European in a Palestine Refugee environment cannot be underestimated and is further explored in the methodology chapter. It can as a result be anticipated that my postionality could cause some challenges to accuracy of data, like that collected in Guyana where participants anticipated what the researchers were expecting and wanting, and as a result, confirmed these falsely (Alkire, 2002:222).

The transferability of research findings through the use of a HRA lens could be limited by the nature of the Palestine Refugee crisis. UNRWA is mandated by the UN to provide support for Palestine Refugees. This relationship of a designated UN agency separate to the UNHCR which supports other refugees in line with the Refugee Convention is unique (Abel, 1957). This is especially significant in relation to refugee education where there is a well established and historic parallel schooling system in place, rather than an integrated approach which is the current direction of policy (UNESCO, 2018:65). Ratification of an international treaty that includes the right to education does not always translate into national constitutions. Here non-discrimination provisions and other implicit rights also, do not guarantee access to education via local gatekeepers (UNESCO, 2018:130-131). Therefore considering the application and development of human rights law in relation to Palestine Refugees and education occupies a very

different and unique legal space compared to other refugee settings. While the use of HRA lens can offer empirical insights for the Palestine experience, it limits the application of findings in relation to education in other contexts. The significant absence in research and literature in relation to refugee education, especially refugee teachers (INEE, 2015), and the urgent need to respond to this further directed this project towards a classroom emphasis and engagement with pedagogy. In this more focused frame of consideration, findings have been able to offer some generalisability and further application to other refugee contexts.

Pedagogy as a framework while similarly contextually rooted like the CA is able to offer a framework for practical action. CA as used in the work of Buckler (2015) and Tao (2013) considers wider influences on teachers and is contextually based. The framework of pedagogy, especially that of Alexander (2008) which is made up of levels; classroom, system and policy, society and culture (explored further in the next section), however, is able to offer greater relationship to policy. While the CA is able to offer conceptualisation of phenomena related to functionings and capabilities, the framework does not offer theory that can give explanation of these (Robeyns, 2006:353). For example, Buckler's use of the CA (2015) is able to offer an approach which is able to engage with different perceptions of quality teaching. Alexander's pedagogy however, offers a framework where the location of barriers to functionings and capabilities can be identified and offer greater precision in identifying action points. This is especially significant in a field where there is limited research and a need for action is imperative to achieve quality education for all (INEE, 2015).

The selection of pedagogy as a framework for analysis, rather then the HRA or the CA was one of pragmatism in relation to the research context. As well as allowing for greater transferability and practical action points related to policy for research findings. My positionality and limited time available to me in the field meant that there would be limitations and compromises in the full application of the HRA or CA lens in relation to ensuring full participation. In addition to this the need for research insights that support education practitioners and those delivering education in the field further supported the selection of pedagogy. Pedagogy offered a framework to support this, which, similarly to

the HRA and CA, engages with the impact and inter relationship of education to context and participation.

2.15 Understanding Pedagogy Further – Alexander

Alexander has explored the relationship between teaching, learning and culture. These dynamic relationships are made clear in *Culture and Pedagogy* (2001), which considers teaching and learning in a comparative study of primary education across five countries (UK, US, France, India and Russia). In this work, the influence of culture on teachers is clearly visible (2001:4). Alexander identifies teaching as an act (the teacher does x and y), while pedagogy is a relationship between act and discourse (the teacher does x and y because they are influenced by a and b). This understanding of pedagogy links discourse, which is influenced by context, to teachers' practices.

> *...teaching is an act while pedagogy is both act and discourse. Pedagogy encompasses the performance of teaching together with the theories, beliefs, policies and controversies that inform and shape it* [...] *Pedagogy connects the apparently self-contained act of teaching with culture, structure and mechanisms of social control.* (Alexander, 2001:540)

This can be understood in two parts: **pedagogy as ideas**, including the 'knowledge, values, beliefs and justifications' that inform it. This is the discourse around teaching made up of a teacher's core ideas about learners, learning and teaching. These are shaped and modified by context, policy and culture. The second part, **pedagogy as practice,** is the 'observable act' of teaching (Alexander, 2008:29–30). This understanding unites classroom and school processes with context in a binding relationship, which acknowledges the complexity and impossibility of using an input/output measurement for education (Alexander, 2008;2015). Alexander's pedagogy relates the influence of surroundings on teachers and their practices: 'pedagogy is not just a matter of disembodied technique [...] these are not merely the personal predilections of individual teachers, but the shared and/or disputed values of the wider culture' (Alexander, 2008:19). This understanding of pedagogy acknowledges the influence of context on education, and echoes the dominant ideas of quality education promoted by the CA and SJA on the importance of context.

This understanding does not consider education and schooling to be a product of inputs but of processes and interactions between their features and context. There are three levels of pedagogy as ideas/discourse, highlighted by Alexander. These contexts are: the **classroom level**, enabling features including students, learning, teaching and curricula (ways of knowing, understanding and doing); the **system and policy level**, with formalising and legitimising features including school infrastructure, curricula (aims), assessment, national and local policies. Features of this level are commonly considered in teacher professional development, especially leadership and supportive school infrastructure, which will be explored in the following chapter. Finally, the **cultural and societal level** locates features including community and culture, self (identity) and history (Alexander, 2004:11–12; 2008:30, Moon & Leach, 2008:116).

These levels offer a structure to consider quality education. The degree of contextualisation and participation can be investigated through these levels for different stakeholders, for example, students, teachers and the wider community. This is especially significant in responding to the issues around representation raised by Tikly and Barrett in their recent review (2018) of the proposed SJA (2011). They highlighted necessary questions around who represents communities and how they do this to ensure true social justice. This issue is particularly salient in a refugee education environment where there are differences in education policies, legislation and implementation (Richardson et al., 2018:23), and where opportunities for community representation may be limited (Mendenhall et al., 2017:25–26). Furthermore, the levels of pedagogy proposed by Alexander offer clear and practical structure for pedagogy as a qualitative indicator and insights for response, again building on Tao and Buckler (Buckler, 2015; Tao, 2013).

2.16 The Use of Alexander's Pedagogy as a Qualitative Indicator

Pedagogy, as proposed by Alexander, is the missing element of discussion in indicators for quality education (Alexander, 2008; 2015). In a discussion on quality education and EfA, Alexander argues that the EfA aims can be insensitive to cultural imperialism, as indicators are considered universally valid. The use of pedagogy challenges these blanket indicators in acknowledging culture in education, which is vital for student

retention and the achievement of the desired learning outcomes (2008:22). Beyond issues of universal targets, Alexander is also concerned with the existing framework for measuring global goals. In a series of papers, he details how the terms "indicators" and "measures" are used interchangeably, limiting the value of these frameworks. He offers a clearer distinction between *indicators*, which detail whether something is happening and to what extent, and *measures*, which are a procedure, device or unit linked to quality (2008:36; 2015:252). Confusion between these terms has led to the introduction of proxy indicators, whereby pedagogy has been made to fit measures, rather than measures having developed from pedagogy (2008:7). Alexander argues that *indicators* are hugely important as they offer the opportunity to consider ideas that cannot be quantified, and which usually include factors that matter in teaching and learning (2008:7–8, 37; 2015:252).

Alexander adds value in his definition of pedagogy, by proposing it as a way to test frameworks of quality: 'If we combine the two parts of the framework, pedagogy as ideas and pedagogy as practice, we can test quality indicator frameworks not just in terms of which aspects of observable practice they include or, more commonly, exclude […] but how far they register what the research tells us is most central to learning and teaching and therefore ought to be included in an account of quality' (2008:33). Alexander's understanding of pedagogy can also be used as a structure to consider quality education. He suggests involving teachers in the exploration of pedagogy and pedagogical quality as a way forward for education quality: 'both the debate about quality and its pursuit in the classroom would be immeasurably enhanced if teachers and students were empowered to participate in it rather than merely enact versions of "quality" handed down from above' (2008:44). The structured levels of classroom, policy and culture are able to explore contextualisation and representation, engaging voices of teachers and the community. These are features and processes of quality that cannot be captured with the use of current global indicators. The use of pedagogy in this way builds upon the work of Alexander and integrates it within the CA and SJA approaches to education.

2.17 The Use of Alexander's Pedagogy in Refugee Settings
National contexts were instrumental in the development of Alexander's pedagogy; therefore, its use is especially significant in refugee settings. The investigation of refugee

contexts, especially across borders, offers the opportunity to explore the impact of organisations and aid on education as proxy states, host countries and the cultural history of these communities. In *Culture and Pedagogy*, Alexander (2001:6) aims for the theoretical goal to develop a coherent account of pedagogy that embraces teaching and the values that inform it alongside given cultures and contexts. The state is detailed as one of these macro-levels of discussion. The absence of State/Nation in its traditional form in refugee settings offers an opportunity to apply Alexander's understanding of pedagogy and examine its application beyond its previous boundaries.

The consideration of contextualisation and participation is especially significant in relation to social control, and specifically the constraints in refugee settings. Alexander explores culture, power and social control with reference to Bourdieu and Giroux, who suggest that a moderate approach to state power and control is necessary. They warn that teaching may not necessarily lead to the clear descriptions and outcomes of theories (2001:166). While not explicitly seeking insight into forms of social control, this is an opportunity to consider state-like factors, most significantly policy in a refugee context. A host country curriculum is delivered in a Palestine Refugee context; however, a specific UN Agency to support this community, UNRWA, is in place. Both host country and organisation constitute parts of "state", which are navigated by teachers alongside their personal and community identities and culture as Palestine Refugees.

The INEE review of what works to improve access, quality of learning (which relates to both academic achievement and attitudes) and well-being in crisis-affected contexts, identified a theory of change with two types of intervention (Burde et al., 2015:10). One of them focuses on the **physical infrastructure** of schools, as well as managerial and administration processes. The second focuses on **content and practices** within the classroom, including cognitive and psychological processes, educational content and pedagogy. In a similar manner to Alexander, these interventions connect discourse (some features of pedagogy as ideas) and practice. Therefore, the use of this understanding of pedagogy offers the opportunity to consider the interaction between these features and potentially influence future refugee education interventions.

2.18 Another Approach to Pedagogy – Bernstein

Alexander's understanding of pedagogy has been selected as a framework of analysis for this research project. Other definitions of pedagogy, however, should not be ignored due to their significance to understanding quality education. Bernstein proposes both visible (**performance**) and invisible (**competence**) pedagogy approaches (1990), bearing some similarity to Alexander's practice and ideas/discourse. He highlights how pedagogy is shaped by what is appropriate in the view of the acquirer, and makes a distinction between formal (**institutional pedagogy**, conducted on specific sites, state, religious, communal by accredited providers) and informal (**segmental pedagogy**, face-to-face every day experience from informal providers) pedagogy (2000:78).

Language and communication have been the main frames for the development of Bernstein's work, which builds upon theorists such as Bourdieu and Passerson who worked on education and social control, offering an Anglo-Saxon variant to their work (Alexander, 2001:165). His work has predominantly focused on class and social contexts in relation to social power. While fundamentally contextual and linked to identities, this relationship with class and social power does not feel appropriate for application in refugee contexts, where humanitarian need is prevalent and other understandings are available. Bernstein, however, offers a framework of re-contextualisation regularly explored with postcolonial understandings of quality education (Smail, 2018) focusing on how educational discourses shift (Sriprakash, 2011). Here, Bernstein suggests that 'pedagogic discourse is constructed by a recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourses to constitute its own order. In this sense, pedagogic discourse can never be identified with any of the discourses it has recontextualised' (2000:33). This approach could offer assistance in understanding contextualisation and also participation in terms of quality. Alexander's framework of levels of pedagogy as ideas/discourse, however, has a close partnership with literature focusing on teacher professional development. The significance of teachers, their engagement with context and pedagogy, as explored earlier, further justifies the use of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy. While Bernstein offers a broad and far-reaching appreciation of context, the levels proposed by Alexander also offer a clear framework for analysis in relation to teacher professional development.

2.19 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the argument for quality education to be founded on contextualisation and participation. Which builds up on the HRA, CA and SJA to development and education. The critical analysis of key development discourses on education has demonstrated a series of challenges faced by teachers in refugee settings. Exploration of SDG4 has evidenced the dominance of input/output indicators and has pointed to the absence of contextualisation and participation at the global level. There has also been problematisation of contextualisation and participation, exploring the challenges these face in relation to their form, function and application in complex emergency settings. Pedagogy has been presented as an alternative indicator for quality education due to its acknowledgement of contextual influences. Alexander's understanding of pedagogy offers a framework/tool to consider pedagogy as a qualitative indicator.

3. Teacher Professional Development and Influencing Factors

Teachers are considered key in the pursuit of quality (Ring & West, 2015:115). This centrality means that the OECD also emphasises the significance of teacher professional development (TPD) (Schleicher, 2012:39). Due to the high value of teachers in achieving quality education, there is a need to understand TPD and the contexts in which they practise (Timperley, 2008:6). Pedagogy, as described by Alexander (2001:540), comprises two parts forming a relationship between act and discourse (the teacher does x and y because they are influenced by a and b). This understanding can also be considered as a framework/tool to explore TPD, as well as quality education. Pedagogy suggests that quality education is contextual, and that policy and systems have an impact on the dynamic relationship between teachers and their classroom practices. TPD is often part of these policy and systems, exposing a direct relationship with quality education. As a result, TPD has a substantial impact on pedagogy as ideas/discourse, and its exploration allows for a more effective picture of quality education to be developed. While TPD is considered vital for the delivery of quality education (Desimone, 2009:183; Schleicher, 2011:24–26), there is lack of research that considers the way in which it interacts with the differing understandings of quality education. Literature around the necessary conditions for effective TPD touches on ideas of participation and contextualisation; however it does not reflect on or interact with in depth with the understandings of quality education explored in the previous chapter.

This chapter will explore understandings of TPD, models of teacher learning in relation to quality education and the need for this to be contextual and participatory. Korthagen and Vasalos's (2004) Onion Model focuses on the role of reflection and has a similar approach to Alexander's pedagogy as ideas/discourse. In a similar way to its appreciation of context, pedagogy responds to understandings of learning that are non linear. As a result, pedagogy is argued to be important to quality in TPD, in addition to quality education. Alexander's (2008) levels of pedagogy as ideas/discourse are used to explore key features of TPD, which influence changes in teachers' classroom practice. This includes teacher identity and contextual influences in the school and beyond, with clear links to the argument for contextualisation and participation. Reviewing TPD with the use of pedagogy as ideas/discourse allows for a deeper insight into the pursuit of quality education.

3.1 What Is Teacher Professional Development?

TPD is defined by Guskey (2002:381) as a systematic effort to bring change to teachers' classroom practices, their attitudes, beliefs and ultimately the learning outcomes of students. TPD is considered a vital aspect of education by OECD (Schleicher, 2011). Burns and Lawrie for the INEE demonstrate that research over the past decade shows that there is no single factor greater than teachers in student learning (2015:5). TPD can also have a positive impact on the school climate, co-operation between teachers and their overall job satisfaction (Schleicher, 2011:24–26; Westbrook et al., 2013:64)

Conceptualisation of TPD has changed over time echoing developments in theories of teacher learning. This follows a shift from one-off events, such as workshops, to more situated and broader interventions (Desimone, 2009:182). Stevenson, cited by Mitchell (2013:33), considers TPD as being completed during initial training. Mitchell, however, raises concerns around the ambiguity of TPD, challenging Stevenson's understanding as simplistic, an argument that is especially relevant in refugee contexts where pre-service training is not always guaranteed. Drives to reach EfA targets have meant that teachers often enter the profession with little education and training (Villegas-Reimers, 2003:51). As a consequence, TPD, also known as in-service training, has played a vital role in providing support for these unqualified teachers.

3.2 Effective Teacher Professional Development Is Contextual and Participatory

Research conducted in Europe and North America has concluded that in order to be effective, TPD needs to be targeted (including subject specification (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017:5)), well structured, hands-on and sustained over time (Darling-Hammond & Richardson, 2009; Guskey, 2002:388; Pedder & Opfer, 2010; Schleicher, 2011, Desimone, 2009:184). Similarly, in Global South contexts, longer term approaches that are embedded in classroom practice are evidenced as being effective. In a review of teacher development and support interventions of Save the Children, Hardman (2011) highlights the value of cluster groups that included ongoing training and on-site feedback, as well as opportunities to share experiences with other teachers. In Guatemala, this approach led to teachers having more confidence and greater skill in managing multi-grade classrooms and facilitating group work. In a holistic, contextualised environment Dyer et al. (2004), researching TPD in India, concluded that similar cluster-based resource centres, using local knowledge, where teachers solved

problems together, were effective. They also found, however, that a pervasive idea among teachers was that education quality lies in the hands of administrators and authorities. These feelings are echoed by others concerned that TPD programmes are often too focused on what teachers do physically in the classroom and the lack of relationship with their contexts (Dyer et al., 2004; Evans, 2011:865; Schweisfurth, 2013b). In the case of Ethiopia, Akalu (2016:181–182) considers this as a result of many programmes being nationally mandated to implement government policies rather than aiming at teachers' personal growth and learning. These findings suggest that TPD is most effective when it is long-term and contextually relevant, echoing ideas of quality education that are similar to the Capability Approach (CA) and the Social Justice Approach (SJA).

Evaluative research papers do not explore *why* these methods are effective (Wayne et al., 2008:469). Focus is traditionally on *what* has been effective. Buckler (2015) and Tao (2009, 2013, 2014), however, explore some mechanisms involved in why factors related to teachers' behaviours and practices may or may not be effective with the use of CA and Critical Realism (CR). Desimore (2009:183) suggests that looking at the critical features of TPD (including active learning, coherence, duration and collective participation), rather than the type (for example, workshop or study group) should be part of a framework for measuring impact, which similarly goes some way towards addressing the gaps highlighted by Wayne et al. (2008). Furthermore, literature on effective TPD in refugee settings is relatively scant, most of this material highlights the lack of resources and other challenges, similar to the Global South (Ring & West, 2015:112). While the INEE has produced guidelines for effective TPD in crisis settings (2015:9), these have been developed from an online symposium triangulated with research findings in such settings, where possible. While this offers valuable insight into TPD in these contexts, there is still absence of robust research literature in these more complex environments. What evidence there is, however, suggests that effective TPD is context-based, responds to the teachers' environment and is participatory with emphasis on local cluster groups where teachers work together.

3.3 Teacher Learning Theories and Professional Development

Understanding teacher learning is vital for the full appreciation of the foundations on which approaches to TPD have been built. The following critical discussion of existing literature offers a background to the foundations that underpin TPD. The majority of teacher learning models and theories, however, have been developed in the Global North, where systems of professionalisation and pre-service training are more present than in refugee settings. These and other key contextual differences mean that deep exploration into models of teacher learning is not appropriate for this research project. Still, this section will briefly explore some of these models and the key themes they present in the evolution of teacher learning and TPD. Korthagen (2017) with *Professional Development 1.0 and 2.0* offers a valuable framework to do this. This exploration, coupled with the levels of pedagogy as ideas/discourse, further highlights the importance of contextualisation and participation in TPD. It is also important to note the varied terminology and slight differences of definitions used throughout the literature. While this can offer nuanced insights into research, it can be challenging to navigate. An example is the language around communities of learning and critical colleagueship (Desimone, 2009:185), for which I use the term communities of practice.

Initial theories of teacher learning focused on the knowledge of teaching, where theory learnt by teachers was expected to be translated into classroom practice. These ideas were rooted in psychotherapeutic models of effecting change (Guskey, 2002:382). This process aimed at impacting teachers' beliefs about teaching and the desirability of certain actions by equipping them with the knowledge of "favourable" practices, which were then presumed to change teachers' classroom practices. Korthagen (2017:388) groups these approaches together as *Professional Development 1.0.* Programmes based on these ideas have been met with little commitment from teachers and limited impact on classroom practices (Guskey, 2002:383; Korthagen, 2017:388). Although teachers may be involved in the planning and needs assessments, thought to harness teacher commitment, Guskey (2002:383) highlights that there is still limited impact on their classroom practice. This approach proposes a linear input/output model of learning and assumes that teachers put into practice what they are told. There is no consideration of context and its influence on teacher learning or the implementation of "favourable"

classroom practices. The approach here is similar to that of Human Capital Theory (HCT), where the provision is "one size fits all".

Hoekstra et al. (2009:665) challenge the assumption that behavioural change causes an alteration in cognition and teachers' core beliefs. Guskey (2002:383-384) suggests a model that connects teachers' change in attitude or practice as a consequence of seeing improvements in student learning. He has called this *Model of Teacher Change*, where teachers gain evidence that the practice has an influence on students. 'The crucial point is that it is not the professional development per se, but the experience of successful implementation that changes teachers' attitudes and beliefs. They believe it works because they have seen it work, and that experience shapes their attitudes and beliefs'. This is a more context-focused approach, considering teachers' work in their regular environments. The participation of teachers in defining their learning, however, is not evident. The change in beliefs and attitudes, as argued by Hoekstra et al. (2009:665), is more complex and non-linear compared to that presented in Guskey's model.

The value of situated, contextual learning is articulated in the Cognitive Psychological Perspective proposed by Kwakman (2003), who suggests that teacher learning does not simply happen through the transfer of knowledge, but in environments where teachers are able to take charge of their own learning. 'Active learning' literature reviewed by Desimone (2009:184), while assuming many forms, also supports learning which is interactive with teacher realities and goes beyond the simple transfer of knowledge. This proposes a similar understanding of learning with more CCP, where context and pre-existing beliefs heavily influence the learning process (Schweisfurth, 2013a:150). Approaches where TPD is more practice-focused and situated in the workplace are called *Professional Development 2.0* by Korthagen (2017:388). Examples include university teacher education programmes and school partnerships. The development of alternative "on the job" routes into the teaching profession also echo these changes.

The absence of direct theory, however, is a concern raised about these more practice-focused perspectives to teacher learning (Korthagen, 2017:388). Timperley (2008:11) highlights that 'without a thorough understanding of the theory, teachers are apt to believe they are teaching in ways consistent with the promoted practice when in fact the

relationship between theory and practice is actually very superficial—and any changes they make have little impact on student outcomes'. Hoekstra et al. (2009:665+673) found that both practice and theoretical knowledge learning are conducive to change. This, however, only happens when knowledge focuses on the meaning and value of teaching practices, in line with student learning aims. These perspectives build on a non-linear approach to teacher learning and TPD, where an input is not sufficient or guaranteed to lead to a desired or effective output. Darvin and Norton (2015:44), however, highlight a potential issue with such learning theories. When considering the work of Blommaert, who focuses on ideology, they show that agents (teachers) act within a spectrum of consent and dissent. What might appear to be agreement/use of a teaching practice, can be performed without subscription to the belief or ideology that the action reflects. This could be called compliance with expected or required norms and highlights the significance of Alexander's pedagogy, where policy and system have a relationship with teacher practice.

Wallace (1991:13) ties together ideas of cognitive and behavioural change with reflection, suggesting that teachers utilise the practice and modelling of new techniques as 'experiential knowledge', and theory and research as 'received knowledge'. As a result, it is suggested that the TPD environment needs to provide optimum quantity and quality reflection for the teachers on their practices. Korthagen (2017:388) highlights that shifts in understanding teacher learning and reflection have been strengthened 'with the aid of pedagogical tools such as portfolios or reflective log-books', where teachers are able to consider and evaluate their practice and corresponding discourse. Such approaches highlight refection as a participatory process for teachers. Building on the model of reflection teacher change proposed by Guskey, Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002:951+962) name reflection in their model of teacher development. Their model is distinctly non-linear in shape, and domains are mediated by reflection and enactment. The 'change environment' highlights context, which can impinge on or support teachers' reflection and professional growth.

The importance and value of reflection on teacher learning and practice is also highlighted by Avalos (1998), who states that reflection is necessary for a teacher's voice to be heard and their vision to be operationalised. This also suggests, along with Clarke

and Hollingsworth (2002), that reflection is a necessary component to supporting teachers in their professional development. Avalos also states, however, that reflection has little impact if it is unaided or not supported by additional resources (1998:261). Similarly, the need for confrontation, challenge and support in reflection was highlighted by Day (Mitchell, 2013:392). O'Sullivan's (2004) work in the Global South, however, stresses that the depth of teacher learning may also be limited due to the lack of reflective skills. Her study showed how, for teachers, reflection on their classroom practice and performance felt counter-cultural. Teachers would ask for "the answers" and struggled to identify specific features of the lesson that were successful or more challenging. Similar experiences have been recorded in Myanmar (Hardman et al., 2014:18), with the suggestion that reflective practice should be introduced during pre-service training. The development of reflection skills at this earlier stage could help exploration of teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning, a discourse that links to pedagogy. The significance of Alexander's pedagogy and context in TPD is illustrated here, as the levels in pedagogy as ideas/discourse aid in the identification of where mechanisms for reflection are supportive or limiting. As seen above, this could be due to absent support from others or a deeper cultural reason. Pedagogy responds to these challenges and in a similar way to CR, as suggested by Tao (2013), highlighting where challenges lie, rather than assuming causation by correlation.

Korthagen and Vasalos explore meaning-oriented reflection, also known as core reflection, conceptualising these ideas in their Onion Model (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – The Onion Model for Multi-Level Reflection

The onion model
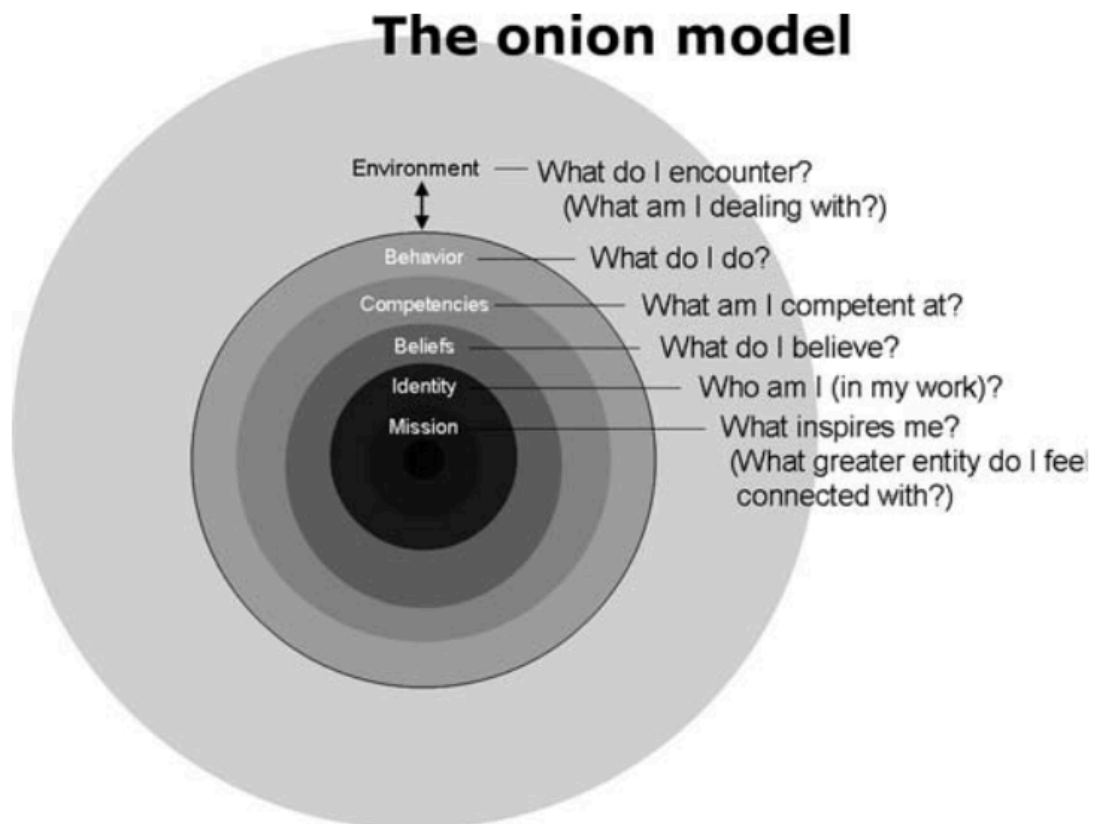
– The Environment – considers teachers' experience when dealing with the outside world, for example, one particular pupil, classroom setting, curriculum, school culture, the political arena. This level relates to everything outside of the teachers themselves.

– Behaviour – reflection may focus on effective or less effective teacher practice in relation with the environment, as well as on future practice.

– Competencies – teachers can only do what they are able; a change in practice elicits the question of competency.

– Beliefs – teacher beliefs or assumptions, for example, a teacher's belief about students' attention span or motivation.

– Professional Identity – this questions a teacher's idea of their professional role or what kind of teacher they strive to be. It also includes self-limiting concepts, such as passion for a subject that limits engagement with students.

– Mission – in some literature this is referred to as a 'level of spirituality', asking questions of what inspires and gives significance to life and work (Korthagen, 2009:197; Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005:53).

This multi-layered understanding of learning and TPD demonstrates a fully contextual and embedded model, acknowledging influencing factors for and on teachers. The foundation of the model is linked to the movement of positive psychology, which emphasises focus on nurturing and building on what teachers do best, not just focusing on features that are broken or in deficit (Korthagen, 2017:396). This focus goes far deeper than learning theories of *Professional Development 1.0* and the 'Model of Teacher Change' (Guskey, 2002). The Onion Model presents a holistic and participatory approach, with teachers as beings rather than implementers, who are a key component in teaching practices and not a target point to change. It also builds on later understandings of learning in *Professional Development 2.0,* in context with reflection, leading to *Professional Development 3.0,* which connects professional and personal aspects of learning (Korthagen, 2017:400). The journey of these models of TPD echoes approaches to quality education, from models focused on input/output to emphasising contextualisation, relevance and participation.

The Onion Model also highlights the value of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy in considering TPD. It clearly considers features of 'pedagogy as ideas' (the classroom, system and policy, culture and society levels) as influential on teacher learning. This model, however, is presented and used through a singular and personal lens, for example identity, teacher belief and how the environment is personally experienced. Alexander's (2008:19) levels predominantly engage with the wider cultural context. 'The self' and early experiences are considered to be part of ideas which locate teaching within culture and society (2004:12). The inclusion of features from the Onion Model, however, especially mission, identity and beliefs, into Alexander's pedagogy as ideas in the level of culture and society is especially helpful in refugee settings. In particular, mission and identity are salient for refugees who are teachers.

3.4 The Need for Pedagogy as Ideas/Discourse in Teacher Professional Development

Echoing the use of pedagogy as a qualitative indicator for quality education and engagement with wider and contextual factors, its use to explore TPD allows for full engagement with influences highlighted in these more complex models of teacher learning. Alexander's understanding of pedagogy, especially at the level of culture and society, builds further on Korthagen and Vasalos' (2005) Onion Model, offering

increased opportunity to engage with the impact of and relationships between factors influencing TPD and quality education.

The consideration of TPD using the lens of pedagogy is also supported by academic calls for more contextualised approaches. Peddler and Offer (2011:377) highlight requests for more complex conceptualisations of TPD, as the majority of writings on the topic focus on specific activities, processes or programs in isolation from the teaching and learning environments. This echoes the work of Beeby in South East Asia, who asks specifically under what conditions innovations work, with which teachers, and for what purposes (Beeby, 1966:93) (although he is significantly criticised for his focus on 'progressive teaching' (King, 2018:18)). Beauchamp and Thomas (2017:186) also state that 'we must then try to incorporate what we know about the contexts and communities and their influence on the shaping of teacher identities into our teacher education programmes.' This sentiment is shared with Johnson et al. (2000), who call for ecologically based research on TPD. The need for context in TPD is similarly highlighted by King (2018:18). When discussing policy borrowing, she suggests that education and training gaps between teachers from the origin of innovation and its destination is a critical consideration. As further stated by Avalos (2011:17): 'The particular way in which background contextual factors interact with learning needs varies depending on the traditions […] policy environments and school conditions of a particular country. The starting point of teachers engaging in professional development in the Namibian study may not be relevant to teachers in Canada or The Netherlands'. Importance must be given to the understanding that context is an active influence on teachers and TPD.

Literature around effective TPD considers influencing factors, including teachers' personal identities, attitudes and core beliefs along with numerous other contextual features. Many of these are also detailed in pedagogy as ideas/discourse, although the literature tends to focus on single features. They have not been considered together through the wider lens of pedagogy. The following sections will explore these influencing factors on TPD, which will be reviewed through two of the three levels proposed by Alexander (2004:11–12, 2008:30): **Cultural/Societal level** (ideas which locate teaching) and **System/Policy level** (ideas which formalise and legitimise teaching). This structure is especially helpful, placing factors into discernible structures

or areas of analysis. The **Classroom level** (ideas which enable teaching), explored by Alexander, is not fully explored here or elsewhere within the thesis. This level focuses on a large number of features including students (motivation, needs and differences), approaches to learning, assessment and teacher lesson planning. Context-relevant aspects, such as psycho-social support, would be valuable and are appropriate to the classroom level; however, research opportunities are limited by challenges to appropriate access to refugee students and other ethical considerations. Despite this, during data analysis, some aspects of the classroom level are included in teacher reflections on the culture and community that they work in. In addition, some aspects such as planning, execution and evaluation are considered by participants. Classroom observations are explored in later chapters of this thesis, which are focused on teacher action and serve as a point to consider the challenges in classroom practices from the UNRWA Baseline Survey. They do not intend to fully explore the depth and breath of Alexander's model of pedagogy at the Classroom level.

The following sections are not exhortative but reflective of literature which deals with research based in the Global South and/or emergency and conflict contexts, supported further when possible with the use of the INEE guidelines for quality TPD in crisis settings (INEE, 2015). The use of this literature offers greater insight into contexts with some degree of similarity to refugee contexts, which is not widely researched. There is limited material, however, that focuses on teacher identity and belief in relation to TPD in the Global South. There is also an absence of longitudinal research on this field (Westbrook et al., 2013:3), possibly due to methodological challenges in relation to longer term research and funding being supported by specific interventions, for example UNICEF (Hardman et al., 2014).

<u>Cultural/Societal level</u>
<u>**3.5 Teacher Identity and Belief**</u>
At the core of teacher identity are fundamental beliefs about education, its purpose, teaching and learning. These are considered central in the Onion Model (Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005) and feature in Alexander's pedagogy as ideas/discourse (2004, 2008). These beliefs are also at the very root of classroom practices. Girardet (2017:5) details that beliefs are often seen as precursors to behaviour, reflected in teachers' practice and drive their actions. This position is echoed by Avalos (2011:17) and termed as a feature

that moderates teachers' practice by Minor & Hochberg (2016:4), even if it is not precisely known how.

The significant range of understanding and definitions used in teacher belief research also means that the term "teacher identity" is used here with the aim of describing attitudes that impact teachers' classroom practice. Lasky's (2005:901) identification of vulnerability as a feature of teacher identity highlights that teacher belief is interpreted this topic and analysed it in a range of ways. These include teachers' personal narratives, including motivation, age and experience, as well as wider, contextual features that impact teachers, for example community perspectives on education and salary. Teacher identity, however, is more often linked to attributes that are thought to influence attitudes, such as age and experience (Day, 2002; Mockler, 2013:42). Teacher belief considers teachers' attitudes through the broadest and most nuanced lenses. For example, research by Newman Thomas (2013) looked at fundamental attitudes to the purpose of education, while others look at teacher reports of self-efficacy (Wyatt, 2014) and motivations (Han & Yin, 2016). Pillen et al., (2013:87) list influences on teacher professional identity that can be divided into two categories: firstly, elements that relate to the person/teacher, for example learning history and prior experience, and secondly, those that relate to others, for example, the professional context, colleges and attitudes towards education. Pedagogy as ideas/discourse with its multiple levels can acknowledge this breadth in the individual level of the teacher, as well as in relationship with context.

While there is no single definition of teacher belief, most research identifies the non-static and constantly evolving nature of teacher attitudes (Day, 2002:689; Pillen et al., 2013:87). Darvin and Norton (2015:43) cite the work of Blommaert, who states that ideology [belief] 'should not be understood as a static [...] but as a complex, layered space where ideational, behavioural, and institutional aspects interact and sometimes contradict one another'. The following sections will explore key features of teacher identity and belief. This will build a deeper understanding of the ideas that locate teaching and learning for teachers at a personal level, as well as a culture and society level.

3.6 Teacher Experiences as a Student

Desimone (2009:184) highlights coherence, the degree that teacher learning is consistent with and close to teachers' knowledge and beliefs, in their core conceptual framework for TPD, demonstrating the significance of teacher belief and its impact on TPD. Reflecting on this in an Indian context, Brinkmann (2015:355) states that 'a teacher's personal experiences also shape her beliefs: both her previous schooling and training received, as well as her informal family and daily life experiences, all of which reinforce certain values and thereby perpetuate certain pedagogical practices.'

Lee and Schallert (2016:72) highlight research on pre-service teacher learning showing that teachers' prior beliefs are critical in determining how much knowledge they acquire and how they interpret it. Walkington (2005:57) cites Mayer's presentation at the Australian Association for Research in Education (1999) who highlighted that 'the experiences that shape [student teachers'] beliefs about teaching are probably far removed from the realities of teachers' work. They are, however, providing a basis that influences how they perceive the learning to teach'. Although these are specifically pre-service experiences, they show that closely held teacher beliefs (often developed outside of their teaching experiences in the classroom) and the influence of these on learning and classroom practice can also impact TPD.

Phipps and Borg (2009:388) found through exploration of teachers' beliefs and practice that aspects of a teacher's belief that are personally experienced impact a teacher's practice the most. Beliefs that are theoretically embraced and even those that a teacher may strongly identify with, will not be held as tightly or with the same level of conviction as those grounded in experience ("core" beliefs). Phipps and Borg suggest that when core and peripheral beliefs differ, peripheral beliefs will not necessarily be reflected in practice. Others, such as Day et al. (2005:571), also suggest that there is a central fixed core of beliefs surrounded by a more flexible and adaptable set. Expanding on this, Girardet (2017:10) uses the work of Swan to illustrate that deeply entrenched and unquestioned beliefs are difficult to change, and often become stronger, while beliefs that are more vague and not as well thought out, facilitate the construction of adaptive beliefs, which is also suggested by Cantu (2001:28). Scotland (2014:42), however, reflecting on teachers of English in Qatar suggests that core beliefs are able to change

and translate to changed practices, although this may take a significant period of time. Timperley (2008:15) also highlights that these teacher changes can take time, but also stresses that while time is a factor, it is the challenge to teachers' belief and support in this process of tension between beliefs that is necessary. The relationship between teacher belief and practice is also to be considered. In the example of education reform in India, Brinkmann found that without foundational knowledge or skills (competence, Korthagen et al., 2008) to implement belief, classroom practice was adversely affected (Brinkmann, 2015:354; Burde et al., 2015).

3.7 Teacher Tenure

The influence of age and experience on teachers' belief is also a factor in TPD. In his work focusing on teacher identity and educational reform in the UK, Day (2002:687) shows that teachers who are newer to the profession are more positive about educational reforms, and consider pedagogy/practice as a key focus. Teachers with more years of experience, however, are more critical of reforms and identify more with their role in the classroom. Similarly, in Lebanon, Nabhani et al. (2012:444) looked at teachers' attitudes to TPD and found that those who were newer to teaching had a more positive attitude compared to those who had been teaching for a longer period of time. Reio (2005:991), who reviewed material through the lens of emotion and teacher identity, highlights research on teachers in times of cultural change, Hargreaves (1994), which found that 'young, early-career teachers are enthusiastic and energetic, and part of an adaptable-to-change generation […] Conversely, late-career teachers are decidedly less enthusiastic and energetic […] and both resistant and resilient to unwanted change'. Day & Gu (2010:47) echo the idea of teacher professional life phases, finding six of these, despite participants all facing different personal challenges. Barrett (2008:505–506) reports similar results in Tanzanian teachers and suggests that innovation should respect teachers' construct of identity. Consistent with the calls for TPD to be discourse sensitive, Reio suggests that 'change interventionists should be aware of this situation and design change efforts to align more closely with teacher age, career stage and generation situational realities'.

Fessler (1995:187), however, suggests that while the idea of teacher career cycles, in reference to his own work, which could be viewed as linear, highlights that teachers may move in and out of career phases in response to environmental influences at both a

personal and organisational level. This perspective clearly demonstrates the significance of teacher tenure, in conjunction with and consideration of other influences in the pedagogy as idea/discourse surrounding teachers. Both research and policy struggles to engage with these features in considerable depth. Barrett details that 'the challenge for researchers is to represent the changing collective identity of a large and diverse occupational group in a way that is useful at the policy-level without essentialising teachers' collective identity' (2008:496).

3.8 Wider Contextual Influences – Community and Culture

Alexander argues that only considering teachers' personal beliefs is insufficient (2008:19), as they cannot be understood without acknowledgement of what shapes these beliefs, which also impacts teacher learning. He describes culture as a pervasive shaper of education and educational realities and argues that it cannot be ignored (2001). This includes family, local attitudes and expectations which shape learner outlooks, values and customs which shape society's view of itself, the world and education (2008:30). This relationship between culture and pedagogical practice is explored by Vavrus (2009:310) through the experiences of pre-service teacher training in Tanzania. A promising student, whose written work showed clear understanding of more child-centred pedagogy, when observed, did not use these methods. While the student teacher had conceptual understanding of practices, they did not have the cultural framework in which they could place their knowledge and methods learnt during their training. In response, she calls for 'a contingent pedagogy that adapts to the material conditions of teaching, the local traditions of teaching, and the cultural politics of teaching in Africa, and beyond', similar to findings from a TPD pilot programme conducted by Hardman et al. (2015). In this project, TPD was situated and connected to teacher discourse that included cultural understandings and expectations of teaching and learning. This project responds to challenges encountered by the HRA and "best practices" in education, where CCP have not been integrated into teacher practice due to lack of cultural reference and relevance (Dyer et al., 2004; Schweisfurth, 2011). Integrating ideas relevant to local culture and understandings of teaching and learning in this project suggests that these aims can be met. This, however, lies within contextual TPD.

Beyond the immediate sphere of the school, Teleshaliyev (2013), in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, showed that competing Soviet and Western ideas and wider societal responses to teachers and education impacted on teachers' personal and professional identity/beliefs. Education policy was driven by Western ideals and influence, while Soviet ideals remained. For teachers, community values and socialisation had greater priority than new education policy. Here, society and culture was more significant than policy, suggesting that Alexander's levels may have different degrees of influence on teachers. Engagement with community and culture at a policy level can, however, offer opportunities. The case of UNRWA demonstrates that because teachers and students both share refugee experiences, teachers have useful insights into their students' lives and challenges. This means that teachers are able to support them in culturally appropriate ways (World Bank, 2013:18) and fulfils teachers' sense of mission for the Palestinian cause (Shabaneh, 2012). Both teachers and students, in this case, are supported within their contextually formed needs. There is a very limited volume of work, however, focusing on teachers in crisis settings and the influence of these environments on their TPD and classroom practice. Consideration of these complex contexts on TPD is increasingly acknowledged, with the INEE recommending that TPD should also help teachers deal with crisis and conflict both at a personal and professional level. It is suggested that through this they can also better support their students (INEE, 2015:47–50). In an effort to support teachers in such precarious environments, the IRC's Healing Classrooms initiative, equips teachers to manage their own anxieties and concerns, as well as respond to those of their students (INEE, 2015:47).

System/Policy Level
3.9 Teacher Participation
As raised in a significant amount of literature, the degree of participation teachers have over content, development and implementation of TPD is a major influence on engagement and effectiveness. Nir and Bogler (2008:379–380) show that teacher satisfaction with their TPD is greater when they have influence over its content, and argue for teacher participation. Teachers want programmes that relate to their work needs and expectations (King, 2016:587). Evidence from South African schools in the post-apartheid period echo this and show that teacher involvement in TPD was vital for schemes to respond to teacher needs (Mokhele & Jita, 2010:1765). In Ethiopia, when

teachers were not involved in the planning process, their motivation and commitment to teaching faded (Gemeda et al., 2014:84). Nabhani et al. (2012:446+447) found that teachers' lack of involvement in the decision-making process led to feelings of resentment towards TPD in Lebanon. Teachers' lack of participation and the 'external school agendas' implemented caused demotivation, compounded by an already heavy workload and other pressures. These examples demonstrate that the distance between TPD content and programme decision-making can create a negative cyclical relationship with teachers. While TPD is part of a wider school and policy context, its relationship to teachers needs to be acknowledged due to its impact on pedagogy as ideas/discourse and, subsequently, teacher learning and practice. Echoing this, the INEE (2015:39) guide for quality TPD recommends 'focus on teachers in fragile contexts – as professionals, learners and individuals'. The INEE emphasise the importance of learning as context-appropriate, being sensitive to the teachers' needs, as identified by the teachers themselves. These ideas clearly support teacher participation in the creation of TPD.

Some commentators, such as Evans (2011), however, hold the opinion that teachers may not be best placed to determine the direction of their own development, as they may not have the vision to take in the bigger picture around their classroom and working lives. The inevitability of teacher opposition to TPD is also stated, as teachers are not able to recognise "better" practices than those held previously. This echoes ideas by Guskey (2002) that only once change is experienced and benefits observed will teachers form new attitudes and beliefs. Nevertheless, Evans (2011:866) also states that teachers' understanding of the practicalities of their contexts should be acknowledged as with out them, policy may be based on an oversimplified understanding of the environment. This suggests that contextualisation and teacher participation in development is key for TPD.

Literature around the creation of TPD echoes the diversity of teacher learning theories, which present a range of opinions on how TPD should be developed and implemented. The deficit approach focuses on overcoming teachers' weaknesses, similar to learning theories, which are part of the *Professional Development 1.0* (Korthagen, 2017) and does not include teacher participation. Mitchell (2013:395+398) highlights how this is demoralising for teachers and also fosters a feeling of privatism and "closed doors". while also emphasising the proven failure of this approach to support teacher learning.

The idea of an 'implementation bridge' is reviewed by King (2016:578), which helps teachers gradually engage with new practices while maintaining effective aspects of existing practices. While this is not participation with freedom around the desired practices and skills of teachers, this approach supports contextualisation and echoes *Professional Development 2.0.* The Healing Classrooms initiative by the IRC is delivered in areas of conflict and tension. This initiative uses an approach that builds on the current roles of teachers and possible developments to issues identified by teachers, along with context-specific strategies that are used to ensure quality learning. Rather than promoting "good pedagogy", assuming that the teachers' current pedagogy is poor (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007:720), this builds upon existing teachers' beliefs and discourses to develop the practice of teaching in the classroom. Here, teacher participation is fundamental and is an example of a CA-style intervention for TPD. Teacher participation in TPD is a key connector to quality education. Quality education and its different understandings position teachers as implementers or co-creators. The HCT approach would consider *Professional Development 1.0* as effective for quality education. If quality education, however, is defined with participation and contextualisation as central, TPD should then echo these values and use teacher participation as a foundation. This, in turn, should influence the selection of teacher learning models, TPD methods and content.

The importance of teacher participation in TPD is also directly linked to motivation. Self Determination Theory, of which Cognitive Evaluation Theory (CET) is a sub-field, suggests that "internal" motivation, one's own drive to a certain action or behaviour, sits on a scale. At the opposite end of this scale are external factors and motivations, such as deadlines, rewards and surveillance. In their research on teacher motivation in relation to TPD in South Africa, Heystek and Terhoven (2017:630) defined 'extrinsic' motivation as TPD which is considered to be a means to an end. "Intrinsic" motivation, however, relates to a teacher's willingness to engage with TPD for its own sake, and is linked to teacher autonomy. This closely relates to the work by Williams and Burden (1997), also cited by Han & Yin (2016:3), who state that there is an initial motivation in the reasons for deciding to do something. Sustaining motivation is then the effort to follow through. This sustaining motivation is what has traditionally been missing in the introduction of more CCP, which have failed to be integrated fully into teachers' classroom practice.

Sustaining motivation for change is more easily found when participation is included in TPD. The example of teacher-prepared worksheets in Hebron demonstrates this: 'There is often a keen sense of purpose, driven by an excitement that comes with the satisfaction of developing imaginative and creative solutions to problems [...] one can understand why teachers will tend to be more motivated if they are using self-learning worksheets which they themselves designed and produced, than if these are provided as part of a ready-made package' (Sultana, 2006:78).

Teacher motivation in TPD may also be linked to the reasons why teachers take up this role. These are significant features of both the Onion Model and Alexanders' pedagogy, which considers self and identity (2008). Research on this topic is scarce, although personal biography has been included in research focusing on teacher identity, for example Barrett when exploring différance (change and continuity in teacher identity, and differences between individuals and sub-occupational groups, 2008:497). Methodological challenges may be a reason for this. Such research is best-suited to longitudinal study, which could investigate how teacher motivations change and develop over time. Day and Gu (2010:49–52), however, have adapted the critical incident technique to explore teacher experiences and critical influences through their tenure.

Participation in the development of TPD is valued by teachers. It is motivating for teachers and recommended by the INEE (2015:44). This can be experienced differently among teachers, however, especially in relation to the degree of autonomy in participation. Hoekstra et al. (2009:293) show that some teachers may seek feedback, discuss practice with likeminded teachers, experiment and conduct meaning-orientated reflection, regardless of specific TPD programmes. Others, however, may be challenged by the absence of specific direction of more autonomous programmes. Kalleberg also stresses worker individuality when considering satisfaction and dissatisfaction (Garrett, 1999:4). Acknowledgement of individuality further highlights the personal features of pedagogy as ideas/discourse; however, this also problematises participation, questioning how individual TPD can be shaped when scale and achievement of global goals are central to education policy.

3.10 Communities of Practice

Some degree of scale can be achieved within networks of collaboration among teachers. Such learning is linked to models of social constructivism, the sociology of knowledge concerned with the relationship between human thought and the social context within which it arises (Berger & Luckmann, 1967:16). Here, there is an opportunity for learning in the work environment with exposure to other people with different experiences and knowledge (Smylie, 1995:103). The creation of environments where deliberate and spontaneous learning can occur in the workplace, is commonly known as "professional learning communities" or "communities of practice" (CoP) (Mitchell, 2013:396). Such communities are found to be sources of effective TPD (Stoll et al., 2006). While situated in a place of work, this differs to *Professional Development 2.0* which predominantly focused on workplace relationships with institutions. CoP are made up of teachers and other professionals working together in their specific context.

One of the key constituents for effective CoP and TPD is a safe community. One of the foundations for this, highlighted by Dooner et al. (2008:564), is the need for a shared perspective. Trust is imperative in CoP, as teachers need to feel safe sharing and disclosing the concerns and challenges they face (Krečič & Ivanuš Grmek, 2008:66). Disclosure 'provides a basis for inquiry and reflection into teachers' own practices, allowing teachers to take risks, solve problems, and attend to dilemmas in their practice' (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017:10). Vescio et al. (2008:89) and others (Supovitz, 2002; Teleshaliyev, 2013), however, state that congeniality, trust and even collaboration are not enough for learning to occur, detailing that these features are not the goal of the relationships but the process through which learning occurs. As seen in the schools which were part of Jurasaite-Harbison & Rex's (2010:272) ethnographic research in different national settings (including post-Soviet Lithuania and the USA), such relationships were not viewed as opportunities to learn from each other. The formation of CoP may seek to develop these relationships, but the aim of improved student learning and classroom quality is necessary for effective learning to occur (Timperley, 2008:19; Vescio et al., 2008:89). This mission was one of the key successes of the Escuela Nueva programme, which focused on action research in Latin America (Colbert & Arboleda, 2016:391).

Even though collaboration may be effective in influencing some features of pedagogy as discourse/ideas, this does not always have an impact on classroom practice. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the IRC introduced teacher-learning circles, where teachers could discuss with each other, feed back on their classroom experiences and be part of a continuous training and coaching group. Qualitative feedback suggests that teachers did not feel entirely comfortable with implementing new techniques, which in turn may have led to hesitation and, as a consequence, student uncertainty in the classroom (Torrente et al., 2015:78). Teachers' lack of experience and vulnerabilities in using new methods of engagement can impact student learning, echoing the Onion Model (Korthagen, 2004), where competency and self-efficacy are necessary conditions for teacher practice. This example further strengthens the need for TPD to be considered through the lens of pedagogy, made up of both ideas/discourse and practice. Again, this also demonstrates that input/output measures are not effective, and that the existence of CoP does not automatically lead to action and change. Dooner et al. (2008:564) highlight that there has been a lot of research on the formation of CoP and the necessary conditions for their successful establishment, but little work looking at how these groups change and develop over time. This is especially significant, as teacher identity changes over time, influenced by tenure as well as personal circumstances.

Contextual factors are also vital for consideration, especially in a refugee setting with increased physical vulnerabilities. The significance of context is demonstrated by Abusrewel (2014:172) when reviewing teacher experiences in post-war Libya. It was reported that there was little opportunity for interaction between teachers, who were also often isolated. When teachers did work together, however, the newly qualified English teachers she interviewed developed the skills needed for surviving in such a complex environment, which reduced tensions and encouraged involvement and interaction with other teachers. Research focused on Hebron and the educational responses to conflict between Israel and Palestine in 2001 (Second Intifada) showed similar results (Sultana, 2006:73). Teachers also reported 'that they were more likely to discuss their work with colleagues, to share ideas for improved professional practice, and to make connections between curricular areas in the preparation of their self-learning materials'. The conflict triggered an increase in teacher collaboration due to increased decentralisation and greater local control of education. Teachers who "owned"

their project had high levels of motivation and professional pride that supported the continued success of the innovative practices they were using (Sultana, 2006). This was in partnership with a clear vision and sense of mission that was also supported by school leadership and UNICEF funding.

School structures and contextual history are factors influencing teachers' relationship to TPD, again showing the value of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy. Brinkmann (2015:343) states that 'individual beliefs are influenced by culture and [are] constantly reinforced by other members of this culture', suggesting that CoP may not always be effective, especially if its purposes are dictated by external forces. Such contexts have a strong influence on less experienced teachers, as 'the socialising role of the school context is [...] known as a crucial factor in how teachers learn' (Korthagen, 2017:390). In addition, Nir and Bogler (2008:379) suggest that in environments where teachers do not already collaborate, TPD that replicates a teacher-student relationship is preferred. A one-to-one relationship with a development "leader" or a very small group would be preferable over a larger peer setting with many teachers. In larger group settings, people might not be as willing to share their individual classroom experiences and issues. Sandholtz and Scribner (2006:1108) found similar results when they reviewed TPD in the USA. In their research, the sharing of class test and attainment scores among teachers was a source of pressure that potentially worked against the intended aim of teacher partnership. Many school structures and policies around TPD are fundamentally linked to school leadership, as well as larger policy directives.

3.11 Leadership
The formation and responsibility of systems and policy are linked to school leadership. Clausen et al. (2009:451) state in their research on the foundation of a CoP in Canada, that the head teacher was a major factor in the formation and initial vision of the initiative. They supported opportunities for learning through the rearrangement of timetables to support communication among teachers. Head teachers play a significant role in the management of the working environment and teachers' relationship with it. The role of the head teacher is especially important in creating an environment supportive of and committed to TPD across the school.

Bredeson (2000:398) states that depending on the school leader TPD can take different forms, including timetable changes, the "releasing" of teachers from the classroom, assessing the impact of TPD and its outcomes, and the direct delivery of development opportunities. The INEE (2015:74+77) support actions that lead to collaboration between teachers, stating that this support is a vital part of school infrastructure: 'It must be carefully planned, nurtured and supported (with dedicated time, space, resources and access to expertise)'. In the case of CoPs in the DRC, the irregularity of meetings meant that relationships were strained and that there were low rates of participation. Setting time aside for these activities is not enough; this must be regular and be fully endorsed. Similarly, research focusing on two teachers from Pakistan shows that allocating time for teacher reflection is not sufficient for change. The practice of reflection needs to be endorsed by the wider school system, and a culture of open-mindedness must be present in the school management (Ashraf & Rarieya, 2008). Observing classroom change and development is a slow process; this pace can be a barrier for school leadership when investing in TPD. The impact of the leadership's attitude to TPD can also be seen in Wang et al. (2017:8). They highlighted differences between Chinese rural and urban schools' approaches to TPD, looking at the schools' management and differences in measuring teacher performance. Rural schools measured teachers on students' final grades, while urban schools only counted this as part of the teachers' performance evaluation, alongside routine instructional work. These different approaches impacted the way in which teachers participated in TPD.

Hallinger et al. (2017:14) highlight that school leaders who participate in TPD with their teachers, model collaboration and congeniality, demonstrating the importance of "our" learning as a school body. Similarly, Timperley (2008:23) states that the leadership's participation in TPD allows them to develop the understanding of the conditions they need to create in order to support teachers. Hallinger et al. (2017) also suggest that the involvement of teachers in school decision-making, such as budget allocation, is significant in developing teacher agency and creates trust necessary for teacher collaboration. The INEE (2015:117+120) also advocate for building instructional leadership, and equipping leadership with skills to facilitate training and management skills. This is especially important in complex settings where factors such as hierarchical beliefs and dysfunctional systems often exacerbate negative influences. Leadership is

not limited to school principals but also includes support systems, and in particular teacher trainers. The INEE (2015:83+103) recommend investing in high-quality teacher trainers, who are involved in the ongoing support of teachers. If these teacher trainers were assessed to a designated standard and regularly monitored, there would be improved expectations and targets placed on them. Such trainers are able to provide ongoing support to teachers, which is needed to enable effective teacher collaboration (INEE, 2015:69). The inclusion of wider capacity building initiatives for TPD at a school- and area-level in Tanzania, proved to have positive effects for teachers (Hardman et al., 2015). This further demonstrates the significance of policy and systems on TPD and the need for their consideration in broader measurements of quality education.

3.12 Class Environment
The school and classroom environment also has a significant impact on pedagogy as ideas/discourse and TPD. Heystek and Terhoven (2017:637) found that in South Africa 'many teachers at underperforming schools buckle under the pressures of poor infrastructure, lack of resources, ill-disciplined students and poverty'. Darling-Hammond et al. (2017:21) acknowledge the significance of financial constraints and suggest that teachers are 'given strategies during PD [professional development] to proactively address possible obstacles as they arise'. In the work of van Veen et al. (2005) conducted in the Netherlands, "David", a teacher who claimed to support strongly the reformed practices, did little to implement them. His environment included time constraints, lack of resources and an increased workload, all of which were influencing factors challenging his desired classroom practice. Phipps and Borg (2009:381) also argue that the teaching environment dictates the use of pedagogical tools rather than the teachers' attitude, highlighting the significance of the physical context in which teachers operate.

Research in Cambodia shows similar separation between teacher belief and practice; while teachers strongly support CCP, their actions do not reflect this. Song (2015:343) suggests that 'improving teachers' expertise through professional development programs produces less than satisfactory results since teachers find nowhere they can use the new skills. These efforts will not be effective unless they are accompanied by measures to remove constraints at teachers' workplace. Decreasing the number of students in each class and hiring assistant teachers to help share classroom burden are some promising solutions to help teachers adopt the new pedagogy more effectively'.

Mohammad (2004:122) highlights that 'due to the practical constraints, teachers may put a layer of "new practice" on top of their traditional practice in response to what they learn from in-service education'. These conditions of teacher practice could also have an effect on pedagogy as ideas/discourse: 'This may prohibit them from acknowledging their inner resistance. This conflict might result in a tension of living between two practices, thereby extending the gap between theory and practice instead of closing it'. This echoes Guskey's theory that teacher practice informs and changes teacher belief, albeit only at a superficial level. The limitation from the environment on enacting teacher beliefs highlights the importance of contextualisation in TPD, demonstrating the need to support it in a way that is responsive to and can be enacted by teachers in often limited and challenging classroom environments.

The effect of limited environments also impacts on the well-being of teachers and their participation in TPD. Kwakman (2003) proposes a link between stress and learning, suggesting that in a stressed environment teacher learning is less likely to take place. This highlights the need for schools to have an infrastructure that supports teacher learning, echoing previous ideas on school leadership, including facilitating teachers to have time away from the classroom, as well as a reduction of workload. Heavy workloads were an issue raised by teachers in Lebanon and Ethiopia, where teachers felt there was no time left in their schedule to participate in TPD or implement classroom changes (Gemeda et al., 2014; Nabhani & Bahous, 2010; Nabhani et al., 2012; Phipps & Borg, 2009). It is widely accepted that curriculum pressures and the impact of "make or break" exams mediate the extent to which teachers are able to act in accordance with their beliefs about teaching and learning (Borg & Al-Busaidi, 2012; Phipps & Borg, 2009), and their ability to strengthen student learning beyond the textbook (Sabella & Crossouard, 2017:4).

Contextual factors such as these are also of significance to teacher motivation. Herzburg (1968:57) describes dissatisfaction in the workplace which is caused by lack of 'hygiene' (including salary, relationship with peers, policy and administration). While teachers may have high intrinsic motivation, hygiene conditions, including decent salary levels, need to be met before 'higher-order' needs, such as recognition and responsibility, offer teachers any satisfaction or motivation. This is linked to Maslow's Theory of Needs

(1943). Research on TPD, learning and motivation is based on the assumption that these basic needs are already met (Crehan, 2016:16). In many developing country contexts and refugee settings this is not the case (Gemeda et al., 2014; Teleshaliyev, 2013). Large-scale research conducted in Indonesia, however, suggests that an increase in salaries leads to some increases in satisfaction (less complaints of financial stress and fewer teachers with second jobs), but has no impact on teachers upgrading their skills, increasing classroom effort or improvements in student learning (de Ree et al., 2017:24–25). This further demonstrates the interconnected relationship between TPD and quality education, highlighting that pedagogy is a valuable tool in exploring both areas, as traditional input/output measures cannot capture the breadth of influences.

3.13 Conclusion

The use of pedagogy as ideas/discourse in partnership with the Onion Model has allowed an insight into quality education through the experience of teachers and their TPD. Cultural and societal levels of pedagogy as ideas/discourse have pointed at teacher identity, i.e. their formative experiences, tenure and wider social and cultural influences, as having a bearing on the way in which teachers interact with TPD. The system/policy level also influences teachers' ability to practise their beliefs, and considers effective environments for TPD. Pedagogy as ideas/discourse unites this literature to highlight themes of participation and context as being significant in TPD. It also demonstrates that the evolution of teacher learning models and ideas of quality TPD echo that of quality education discourses. Quality education must extend to embrace approaches to TPD. The importance of this can be seen in conjunction with pedagogy as ideas/discourse, where the system and policy level includes TPD policy. This review begins to offer depth to the ideas of contextualisation and participation that also need to be considered in TPD processes and policy. Fullan & Hargreaves (1992:6) highlight this in their exploration of TPD and educational change: 'our overarching conclusion is that teacher development must be conceptualized much more thoroughly than it has been. Its relationship to educational change is not just a matter of better implementation of selected innovations (although it includes this) but more basically a change in the teaching profession [...] teacher development is thus tantamount to transforming educational institutions'. With this foundational understanding of TPD and the features that are part of and influence pedagogy as ideas/discourse, the following chapter will explore the methods used in the case study of UNRWA and its efforts to improve education quality.

4. Methodology

In addition to answering the research questions, it is vital that the selected research methods appreciate the contexts in which education and refugee research sit. Methodology literature focused on refugee research is limited; therefore, conflict and post-conflict literature is included as it reflects participant vulnerability and more challenging contexts. Crossley and Vulliamy (1997) state that, traditionally, education research has been focused on investigating large samples. While these are supposedly generalisable, teachers have found that this research is separated from the realities of their classrooms. This thesis, focusing on teachers, explores research questions that are rooted in practical experiences. In-depth studies, such as this project, are considered to have special relevance in Global South contexts, as they are sensitive to local settings. This chapter will explore the methods used in this case study along side researcher positionality and ethical considerations that have been taken into account throughout the whole planning, data collection, analysis and write up process

4.1 International Education and Research Methods

International education research predominantly comprises smaller scale case studies in developing world contexts. Schweisfurth and Phillips (2014:48) consider this research as 'a particular educational phenomenon being examined through a lens which brings an international perspective to the study'. As a consequence, this is implicitly comparative. An international education researcher will likely be working across cultures and be influenced by their experiences and perspectives on education. Culture must be acknowledged as an integral feature of pedagogy and the teaching process. Therefore, awareness and appreciation of culture needs to be part of the research process. Its absence means that teaching can be reduced to measurable behaviours, used as indicators (Dyer et al., 2004). While these might be able to show differences between countries, once behaviour and culture have been separated these indicators may have limited explanatory power (Alexander, 2001:266). This idea from Alexander's understanding of pedagogy (2001) is echoed by Schweisfurth and Phillips (2014:147), who suggest that the 'main take home message from these comparative studies of pedagogy concerns the nature of the relationship between culture and pedagogy'. They also ask if pedagogy is entirely context-dependent or if there are some universal themes. Acknowledging that culture has influence on both researcher and participant is of great significance in data collection and analysis. The following questions are key: to what

degree is the researcher familiar with the cultural setting of the research? How different is it to the researcher's home culture? Is the researcher interculturally highly skilled? To what degree does the researcher approach the subject from a monocultural perspective and to what degree from a comparative perspective?

There is also need to question how educational research is approached. Acknowledging the relationships involved in teaching, the approach, methods and analysis used in education research are in question. Alexander (2001:275) considers: 'if teaching is a science, it makes sense to research it scientifically. If it is an art, it makes sense to apply [...] the procedure and criteria for artistic appraisal'. Further examination of the science **of** teaching and the science **in** teaching is necessary. This questions if research is seeking to understand the cumulative knowledge about teaching and learning in general from which teachers draw (of/theory), or the way in which individual teachers in classrooms act and make decisions (in/practice). The distinction between theory and practice impacts on the selection of research tools and any methodological decisions, and highlights the importance of clearly defined research questions.

4.2 Refugee Contexts and Research – Being Pragmatic

Jacobsen and Landau (2003:188) highlight the need for methodological rigour in refugee settings. They deatil that most refugee research has the aim and intention of influencing government and agency responses and the effectiveness of interventions by seeking to explain the behaviour, impact and problems of those who have been displaced. In these research publications, methods and tools are not discussed in detail. This creates a siutation where there is little debate of 'normative assumptions, data-collection techniques, conclusions and recommendations, [as] most refugee-centred research faces little criticism of its methods'. Exploration of research methods, tools and decisions will also assist academic growth in the methodological debate in refugee research (Maglio & Pherali, 2019), and will increase academic rigour for policy-focused publications. Research in complex and dynamic settings, however, poses methodological challenges which I have approached in a pragmatic manner and is also responsive to my postionality.

Control groups or even a "general" base experience for the environment, as it is constantly in a state of flux, potentially limit the impact of research outcomes. Due to the

lack of blueprints and transferable plans that can be applied in these settings, Barakat et al. (2002) suggest a composite approach. Different methodological tools are selected based upon the context and the research objective. The use of case study, and mixed methods within this, responds to the absence of a control or comparison group, which are also ethically challenging in these contexts (Stern & de Roquemaurel, 2017). Interviews, focus groups and observations allowed for value and consideration of the context and participants within this. By maintaining the school and classroom as the research site meant that my impact on the participants and community in daily lives and routines was limited.

Furthermore, refugee education research is predominantly focused on camp based participants and their experiences. Employing ethnographic methods and being embedded in the community, including an extended period of research in the field is logistically challenging and causes potential ethical issues. While UNRWA camps, stand unique to these more modern developments which echo those of gated communities, the same issues arise. Practically, staying and living for any period of time within the refugee community, is not possible. Those who are not official residents of the camp are often accommodated in nearby compounds or commute on a daily basis from nearby cities (Khasandi-Telewa, 2007:106). Even if possible to reside within a Palestine Refugee community in Jordan, doing this as a single woman would not be considered respectable by the community. Staying with a host family would also potentially cause issues around legitimacy and positionality. This is seen in the scenario of Sam, detailed by Potter & Apentiik (2011:3) who stays with a local family to find that association with this family, due to their notoriety, positions him in a challenging situation. These challenges further support the methods selected for this research project, rather than one focused on ethnography. Although ethnography would offer the opportunity for deep contextual exploration these logistical and practical issues along with my positonaliy as a visible outsider would be insurmountable.

The majority of research on refugee education when conducted by those beyond NGOs or for evaluation purposes, negotiate access to schools through a gatekeeper, Gladwell (2009) Relief International, Khasandi-Telewa (2007) Windle Trust and Olney et al (2019) via local researchers. The practicalities of negotiating and being granted this

access can also limit the amount of time in the field. In the case of this research project a limited period of two weeks was available before the start of exam preparation and Ramadan. While this was relatively short, this length of time was also advantageous to my positionality as a European (outsider) and visitor to schools. Through well connected social networks, participants were becoming 'ready' for me as word spread around my visits. Further time in the field could have limited the authenticity of some participants as the sense of my visit as an 'event' was beginning to occur, shifting the research process away from the participants by being focused on the researcher. Longer time in the field would also have developed the expectation amongst the community that I would be visiting all 175 UNRWA schools in Jordan, an impossible task.

Barakat et al. (2002) detail the advantages of an orientation phase in the field where access, logistical preparation and initial appraisals can be made. Without fully appreciating the context and unpicking the variables of the surroundings, both ethical and methodological issues can arise. I was in Jordan for three and a half months as an intern at UNRWA HQ, developing deeper understanding of the schools, their situations and the experience of Palestine Refugees while in the process of securing access to schools. I believe that this orientation period supported my understanding of participant responses when internal UNRWA mechanisms were referenced, which I would not have been able to contextualise without this. This avoided impact of construct validity detailed by Jacobsen and Landau (2003) in which interview questions could miss key facets of a concept, as its influence in the setting had not been acknowledged.

The high cost of living in Jordan is an issue related in part to the large number of refugees seeking safety in Jordan from the impacts of regional conflict (World Bank, 2019). My research budget was not large enough to support the hiring of a translator for interviews and focus groups. This meant that the sample was minimised to participants that were fluent in English. This way I could conduct interviews and focus groups without translation. While this limited the potential number of participants, I do not believe that the sample and its potentially generalisable findings were compromised as a result of this. The UNRWA Baseline Study (UNRWA, 2014a:24) highlights that findings were not influenced by the different subject lessons observed. Similarly when other subject lessons were observed in this research project, Maths and Science, the same

practices used in similar manners observed in English lessons. While participants made reference to their subject, English, the system and policy, culture and society themes explored were beyond subject specific features and raised attention to issues experienced by others within the school community. Furthermore the role of interpreters is complex as their own positionality, especially around issues of class and income (Mackenzie et al., 2007:304), can significantly influence relationships and rapport built between researcher and participant (Temple & Edwards, 2008). Securing an interpreter who was positioned in a manner considerate to the Palestine Refugee community, which in itself is highly structured would also have been a significant challenge. This pragmatic approach to sample selection responds to challenges of the field and also limitations in research funding for this area.

Responding to contextual challenges of research in refugee setting and the selection of pragmatic solutions to these also included the selection of Alexander's pedagogy as a theoretical and analytical framework. The HRA or CA as a framework would have supported engagement with the wider community and, significantly, students. Participatory methods promoted by these approaches, such as action research (Walker, 2005), community picture taking and discussion used by Jerrard (2016), are reflective of the key principles of participation and relevance. Limited time conducting fieldwork, which was predominantly school based meant that the use of such methods was not possible and would not have been extensive enough to engage the number of participants compared to the use of other methods. The use of Alexander's pedagogy, however, offers very practical and precise areas for consideration of findings of a case study approach. The structure of levels offered by Alexander has meant that findings, and recommendations can be considered within relatively specific and action orientated areas. As a result this offers a practical framework for reflection and consideration of findings by education programmers in the field, further widening the impact of this research, in an area that is significantly under researched.

The following sections will further explore methodological selection and processes, researcher postionality, ethics in the field and data analysis.

4.3 Case Study

The case study method was used, as it offers appreciation of local and contextual factors. Yin (2003b:2) states that the 'case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as individual life cycles, organisational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change and international relations and the maturation of industries'. The use of case studies in education research can 'enhance our understanding of contexts, communities and individuals' (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2012:3). This is favoured over the use of statistical and random controls that assume a universally applicable model of research that can ignore the complexity of education settings. Statistical controls also pose the risk of disempowering those central in the education process by failing to recognise value in the range of ways issues can be explored (Alexander, 2001; Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2012). The importance of contextualisation is reiterated by literature on TPD (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2017; Beeby, 1966; Johnson et al., 2000; King, 2018), further highlighting the value of the case study approach for this research.

4.4 Case Study Selection

When selecting a case study there is need for specific reasoning and justification for the investigation (Yin, 2003a:10). Since the creation of UNRWA in 1950, there has been gradual development in the provision of basic education for Palestine Refugees. The organisation's long-standing history supports its selection as the case study. UNRWA education services have an established teacher training and support unit, a feature which is not consistent to many other refugee education programmes (Gallano, 2018). The use of UNRWA as a case study, however, provides an opportunity to consider the SBTD Programme in conjunction with the wider factors at play and the associated pedagogy as ideas/discourse, understanding the context before assuming the possibility of "policy transfer". Contextual issues with generalisability must be appreciated, although the lack of current research in the field needs be addressed. Therefore, the INEE (2015:151) states that research which may not fit into the broadly defined, although narrowly interpreted understanding of fragile contexts should not be discounted. The funding structure of UNRWA, however, which is neither fixed nor offers long-term financial stability mirrors the situation facing other refugee contexts.

The selection of UNRWA is also justified for ethical reasons. After more than 60 years of displacement, Palestine Refugees in the region have a three-generation history. The long-term experience, while still causing vulnerabilities, also means that this refugee population have adapted to their complex status. This is not the case for more recent refugee experiences, where the initial trauma of displacement is still significant (Basheti, Qunaibi & Malas, 2015). UNRWA has five Fields of operation, Gaza, the West Bank (Occupied Palestinian Territories), Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. While context is central to the argument for quality, Jordan offers the most generalisable environment with the most stable context, and with the possible reflection of findings on other refugee populations from Iraq and Syria that it hosts (UNHCR, 2018). These refugee populations in Jordan are of significant size. The Iraqi number 63,024 and the Syrian, 659,593 people with 80% of these populations living outside of camp settlements (Queen Rania Foundation, 2017a). With such large populations outside of camp settings, children attend host country schools. As such, this case study in Jordan can offer insight on a national level into how host schools support teachers and refugee populations (Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 2016).

Other UNRWA Fields, however, are limited in this opportunity. Syria has been engaged in civil conflict for many years, restricting UNRWA operations. As a consequence of conflict in Syria and in addition to historical political instability, Lebanon is experiencing a period of acute emergency and relief. They, therefore, do not provide an environment for valuable research in terms of generalisability. Gaza and the West Bank form unique settings due to the Israeli blockade and occupation. The selection of UNRWA and the School Based Teacher Development (SBTD) Programme offers valuable insight into TPD in refugee settings. The SBTD programme has many features supported by the INEE (2015). This case study offers the opportunity to explore TPD and respond to the absence of literature on teachers in these contexts (Richardson et al., 2018). In addition, the UNRWA Education Reform Strategy (ERS) (UNRWA, 2011a) was partnered with a comprehensive baseline study of classroom practices completed in 2014, and provides a rich source of relevant data for comparison and evaluation.

There is difficulty in labelling this project as a specific type of case study; however, alignment with the following definitions gives a clear aim and purpose. Yin (2003a:5)

details a descriptive case study as one that 'presents a complete description of a phenomenon within its context'. This thesis will do this with the ERS and SBTD Programme. Further, a representative case study captures the circumstances and conditions of an everyday, common situation that is informative about the experiences of the average person or institution (Yin, 2003b:41). This case study will detail the everyday attitudes and actions of UNRWA teachers' experience of the SBTD Programme, It will provide a complete description of a phenomenon within its context, while also having evaluative features. An evaluative case study 'is concerned at how well things worked, an issue that is central to much policy-related and organisational investigation. In order to carry out evaluation, information is needed about both process and outcomes and qualitative research contributes to both' (Ritchie et al., 2013:31).

4.5 Case Study and Mixed Methods

This case study used both quantitative and qualitative data. Collecting both types of data was important, as it extended the range of evidence and was also able to qualify other sources. Cross-referencing in this way ensured internal validity, namely the extent to which the findings are accurate or credible. This is commonly achieved through methodological triangulation of data from two or more instruments or perspectives (Gillham, 2000:86). The triangulation process brings together different perspectives, where each perspective is testing, adding to or validating the other (Cohen et al., 2006:114). This can make up for 'methodological blind spots' of the other methods and thus provide a fuller picture. The mixing of research methods is seen as complementary, as viewing research questions through different lenses is part of a social researcher's methods toolkit (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2012; Ritchie et al., 2013). Wyatt (2014:177) emphasises the value of triangulation of self-report items and other observational evidence, using the example of novice teachers who overestimate their levels of self-confidence when completing surveys. Data collected from an un-triangulated survey makes contestable claims. The mixing of methods, however, plays a significant role in legitimising results and evaluating the impact of the presence of the researcher. Mixed method data does not always offer certainty, but rather the ability to gain a fuller picture (Ritchie et al., 2013:41).

The roots and function of different methods and tools, however, opens debate around mixed methods and their value. There is the view that proposes that the ontological and

epistemological stances of different research methods are not compatible (Mauthner et al., 2002:139–140). This position questions the wisdom of divorcing methods from their philosophical foundations, and raises concern that mixing methods from competing paradigms produces data which may be difficult to reconcile, leading to lack of analytical clarity (Ritchie et al., 2013:20). Ontology questions the foundations of reality. Within this field, some positions and discussions take the perspective that there is no single conception of the social world, so the purpose of triangulation is futile (Cohen et al., 2006:120). Meanwhile the epistemological critique, focusing on what can be known and how it can be known, suggests that all methods have to specify the type of data that they yield. As a result, these methods are unlikely to generate concordant evidence. The core of this debate is similar to the questions Alexander (2001:275) raises about what teaching and learning is, if teaching is a science, what scientific methods need to be used, if teaching is an art, and whether different methods need to be used. Therefore, the position established on the foundations of reality and knowledge has direct correlation to the methods used in research. The relationship between pedagogy as ideas/discourse and practice in regard to education quality requires the need for mixed methods. Pedagogy spans both the idea of teaching as an art and teaching as a science (Alexander, 2001). In relation to the classroom practice of teachers, objectivism is the key epistemological position. Quantitative data will be collected via classroom observations, the reality of which can best be measured with the scientific method (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2012:66). Simultaneously, constructivism is the base for exploring pedagogy as ideas/discourse. In this approach, the social world of the participants is explored, focusing on their meaning and interpretations (Ritchie et al., 2013:12). These understandings are best collected using qualitative methodologies (Cantu, 2001:27). With these approaches, which are sometimes considered as opposites, there is hope that the complexity of pedagogy and its many relationships can be acknowledged.

Heath et al. (2010:5) used mixed methods to explore TPD in science teaching. They explored teacher belief focusing on teacher self-efficacy of classroom tasks. They found difficulty in selecting tools for the research design, although there are many individual instruments (survey/observation/interview) they were designed to measure different classroom outcomes. This meant that the choice of instruments required careful examination to make sure that they all addressed similar themes. Guthrie (2012:91)

identifies that there are significant differences in the data collected through observation and interviews. In the examples, observation results showed little application of the qualitative data that had been collected through interviews with teachers. It is important to note the reflection of Heath et al. (2010:5), who also observed that change in belief comes before change in practice. This means that teachers will often talk about change before it is implemented in the classroom, highlighting that TPD is an ongoing and systematic process, difficult to capture in non-longitudinal research (Pajares, 1992:328).

Whilst important to acknowledge ontological and epistemological differences, there is also the view that being strictly bound to the theoretical origins of approach may limit the ability to select and implement the most appropriate research design and tools to fully answer the posed research question. A pragmatic argument, therefore, suggests 'that the researcher's task is to resolve those practical and ethical problems which prevent them from applying the most appropriate methods of collecting data (Scott, 2007:4). This opinion can also be understood as a Critical Realist approach, where external reality is diverse and the aim of research is to consider reality in all its depth and complexity (Ritchie et al., 2013:22). This is the approach used in this research.

4.6 UNRWA as a Gatekeeper, Sample Selection and Description

UNRWA acted as a gatekeeper, granting approval to conduct data collection and access to research participants. I approached UNRWA Head of Education in October 2016 about this research project, alongside the potential value of its results to global knowledge of refugee TPD. Mutual benefit and interests aimed to 'dim exploitation and hidden power structures' (Widding, 2012:431). It was positively received and agreed that an internship period would be completed at HQ Amman during which final approval for data collection would be granted. Through service as an intern at UNRWA (January to mid April 2017), I was able to develop the necessary relationships and final approval from the Head of Education to conduct this research. Karthwohl, (2004:254) describes this as a time in which the research conveys 'I can be trusted'. This opportunity also allowed me to build a rounded picture of the organisation and the education service. During this internship period I was based in the School Empowerment and Teacher Development Unit. This work included writing conference reports for funders and distribution to Fields, compiling feedback from conference workshops around the Quality Assurance Framework, redrafting and formatting the matrix that has been

developed as part of this project. In the final two weeks of April 2017, I conducted fieldwork and data collection for this research project. This window of opportunity was relatively small due to *Tawjihi* (final exams) and the start of Ramadan in May of that year and the pressures of these events on teachers. Ideally I would have liked this period to be longer, however, due to intense diary commitment and international travel, securing final approval from the Head of Education took some time. Due to internship work being in the HQ Office in Amman, away from schools, participants understood my position being an independent researcher. When conducting research, this independence was reiterated during the process of gaining consent and informing participants of confidentiality. I made efforts to further demonstrate this by attending schools solo and with the majority of journeys to and from schools made in private taxis. However my postionality, especially as a European, and the potential impact of this is considered further in this chapter.

I liaised with an UNRWA Education Specialist who is an Arabic speaker to arrange visits, coordinate access and planning with schools. Purposive sampling was used; a method that allows researchers to select participants with features or behaviours that will better inform the focus of the investigation (Krathwohl, 2004:172). In this case study, the objective was school teachers' participation in the SBTD Programme. This ensured relevance to the research aims. Within this key criteria, there was also enough diversity so that the research themes could be fully explored (Ritchie et al., 2013:113). The sample area of North Amman was selected, as this was the area where the SBTD programme was first rolled out, therefore leaving the longest legacy. The majority of schools were eager to participate. Some schools, however, were concerned about interruptions to class time. On confirmation that there would be limited interruptions and the focus of the research was on teachers, they were willing to participate. This range of attitudes suggests that there was limited bias in the schools selected, but that they were representative of an assortment of school cultures and attitudes.

The schools, while all in North Amman were randomly selected covering seven distinct different neighbourhoods. These included camp [School based in official UNRWA camps (UNRWA, 2016)] and non-camp communities (UNRWA Schools within the host community), Table 1. Schools were also single sex, which is traditional throughout the

whole region. In UNRWA Schools, male teachers only work in boy's schools and vice versa.

Table 1 – Participant School Locations

School Location	Total number of schools visited	Number of girls schools	Number of boys schools
Camp	6	5	1
Non Camp	10	5	5
Total	16	10	6

While there are technical differences in the definitions of these locations, the school buildings and infrastructure did not demonstrate any significant differences. Schools in both locations were found in a range of different positions to the community, at the edge of settlements, seemingly at the far edge (S12, S4, S13, S14,), and also in the central hub. Those in camps locations, however, were visibly closer to other UNRWA services, for example camp offices or medical centres (S2, S3, S5). Those in non-camp settings were nearer to shops and business areas (S8, S10, S11, S15), although this not always the case (S7, S16). When arriving at schools, I always had to leave enough time to get lost. Taxi divers often asked community members for directions to schools. These people did not always know where they were, with the shift patterns, multiple schools in the communities and with them being named by numbers, this is understandable. In addition, the need to direct taxis to locations is not unusual within the country context and necessary even in Downtown Amman. Although applications such as Google Maps was helpful in the context of Jordan in general, UNRWA schools are not accurately or consistently detailed on these maps. Similarly, StreetView data is not recorded for these communities, as is the case in other established camp/slum settings (Bonnett, 2017:217). Schools, however, were always identifiable from the exterior where

'UNWRA blue' was painted on doors, gates, drainpipes, windows and sometimes accompanied with a flagpole and the UNRWA flag. The school surroundings, neighbouring streets and directly outside the gate were often covered in rubbish, in one case what appeared to be an open drain needed to be crossed (S3) where there were fly tipping of which used nappies were visible. On one schools visit when I was slightly earlier than expected students were seen picking litter from the playground under supervision of the School Principal (S12), it was unclear if this was a daily duty or for my benefit. Another School Principal, however, details how they had tried to work with the community and speaking to shopkeepers to stop rubbish being abandoned around their school (S6).

The complexity of context was also observed within the school environment. In one boy's school, I witnessed a fight between students, that had to be broken up by teachers (S15). When this happened I had to spend time understanding this event and my own positionality to it. In the moment I was shocked about seeing such overt violence within a school setting, although, understanding the culture of hospitality and pride that I was in, I also made the conscious decision not to draw greater attention to the event with further questioning of why the fight had happened at school. I made this decision to avoid discomfort and what I thought might cause a defensive attitude to my presence, as I was about to enter a focus group. Further reflection on violence in schools reminded me of fights in my own secondary school happening occasionally, and the increased attacks on teachers reported in the UK media (Adams, 2019), I considered the event 'bad timing' rather than a regular event. Violence in the community and towards teachers, however, was brought up by participants as an issue that they were having to manage (ST2S3, ST1S15). This incident, along with other participant's reflections on increasing violence within the community (ES1+2), which is also impacting students, schools and teachers', suggests that rather than being occasional, such events are a common occurrence.

Most schools were purpose built for education and occupied by two separate schools, a morning (7:30am – 12:30pm) and afternoon (12:30pm – 4:30pm) shift. Schools, while managed by different leadership teams, each had their own offices while teachers used the same classrooms as their counterpart shifts. In general these classrooms were of a

reasonable size, although with classes of up to 40 students they did feel cramped with multiple students sharing desks. Desks were both arranged in groups and in more traditional rows. While there was some diversity here, it was often the case that these desks had 'fixed benches' which limited students movement and effective group working. It was also observed that plastic 'outdoor' furniture was used in class, which did not always appear to be stable or suitable for the classroom. The vast majority of the schools visited did not have IT resources integrated into the classroom, when needed, classes were moved to the room with the 'data show', projector and screen, sometimes an interactive white board, quite often this room was also a library. This movement often caused confusion amongst students, taking away from class learning time and, due to infrequency of use, teachers often struggled to troubleshoot issues with technology.

A general state of disrepair was observed in most schools, regardless of location, windows between corridors and classrooms were sometimes missing, external windows did not always close, doors did not close fully or properly. Toilets could be smelt in the corridor and on one occasion when a staff toilet was visited, it was overflowing. The most significant difference between schools and their infrastructure was to those that had been converted from residential properties. While teachers made comparisons about class sizes, which were substantially smaller, approximately more than half the size (14 students) of those in purpose built schools, conditions were very cramped with desks in rows, all students had to move to allow another to demonstrate at the front of the class. These converted schools did not always have playgrounds/school yard. Although, these were not always visible in purpose built schools either. Some differences were observed between girls and boys schools. In general, girl's schools had more colourful classroom displays in classrooms and corridors than those in boy's schools. However, graffiti and damage to school walls was seen in both sexes.

Participant School Teachers were predominantly teachers of English. This was for logistical reasons as I am not a fluent Arabic speaker and classroom observations in non English lessons would have gleaned limited data. Although, maths and science were observed in some schools where opportunity allowed. In a similar way to the UNRWA Baseline Study of Classroom Practices (UNRWA, 2014a) there was no significant difference between subject matter and practices used. Again, some School Teachers of

other subjects joined focus group discussions, however, they were all fluent in English. The language requirement may have limited participation of some teachers who might have wanted to take part in the research, however, this pragmatic approach was also adopted due to the challenges and cost of translators.

These teachers had a wide range of years experience, some were within their first few years of teaching, others had over 25 years experience in the classroom. The majority had permanent contracts as teachers for UNRWA, who when they started teaching completed the Educational Psychology (EP) course (pre-service training). Those usually with fewer years experience, however, were 'Daily Paid' which would best be described as supply teaching, the majority, although not all, had also completed this EP course.

Table 2 – Number of Focus Group Participants and Year's Experience

Number of Years Teaching Experience	Total number of participants	Total of Female School Teachers	Total of Male School Teachers
4 years	2	-	2
5 years	2	-	2
6 years	3	2	1
7 years	1	-	1
8 years	2	2	-
9 years	2	-	2
10 years	6	4	2
11 years	2	1	1
14 years	5	4	1
15 years	2	2	-
16 years	3	3	-
17 years	2	1	1
18 years	2	2	-
20 years	2	1	1
23 years	1	-	1
24 years	2	2	-
25 years	2	1	1
26 years	1	1	-
Unknown	6	4	2
	48	30	18

It is possible that School Principals selected or encouraged specific teachers to participate in their position as comprehensive gatekeepers who have a specific remit and long standing relationship with potential participants (Emmel et al., 2007) . These School Teachers may have been considered "better" or "favoured" by School Principals (Ritchie et al., 2013:126). Due to timetable restrictions, however, the limited number of

English language teachers and other staff absences, the ability to engineer situations would be difficult. As a result, the impact of selection bias on the data collected is limited. Observation and interview data, while broad and diverse, contained no significant outliers with similar themes in the interviews and observations witnessed throughout the whole dataset. Ritchie at al. (2013:90) highlight that there is need to 'ensure that the gatekeeper is not unfairly excluding some people from the opportunity to participate and that no direct or indirect pressure is put on the person to participate'. To ensure I responded to this, participants were given comprehensive information about the purpose of the research, the relationship between the researcher and the gatekeeper, the agreement of confidentiality, as well as what was required of the participants. Such understandings are also integral to the process of gaining consent. When reaching the school it was usual I would meet and interview the School Principal, observe lessons and then conduct a focus group at the end of the school day between shifts. I visited schools for their whole shift, which also meant that my presence was known to most people within the school and were able to be involved in the focus groups at the end of the day.

4.7 Researcher Relationship to Context and Participants

Miller (2004:220) outlines the need for greater discussion and detail of method in research. Specifically, he explores relationships with refugee participants that include 'frontstage' (observed behaviours) and 'backstage' layers (less idealised depiction of community including strengths and challenges). He argues that the depth of trust relationships with participants varies and thus produces different data. As a result, for the reader to assess the validity of the data, the relationships and methods of research must be included in the methodology and analysis of the papers (Pg.226). Full methodological disclosure is therefore, not only necessary for academic rigour but also vital to acknowledge ethical challenges in complex settings. Disclosure of postionality to context is therefore an important element of methodology and analysis. My positionality as a researcher would have impacted on my exposure of these 'frontstage' and 'backstage' layers. As a result knowledge gained from the field can only ever be partial and based on what participants have allowed the researcher access to. Sultana (2007:382-3) also highlights that because this knowledge is produced through fieldwork it cannot be neutral. The process of research itself embodies power relations between researcher and participants, '...embedded within broader social relations and

development processes that place me and my respondents in different locations'. Acknowledgement of this and my relationship with context and participants is further explored.

4.7.1 Researcher Positonality and Reflexivity
Positionality is defined by the Sage Encyclopaedia for Action Research (Coghlan & Brydon-miller, 2015) as 'the stance or positioning of the researcher in relation to the social and political context of the study—the community, the organization or the participant group', which impacts every stage of the research process from writing interview questions (Barakat, et al, 2002), interaction with participants (Thorstensson Dávila, 2014) and data analysis (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014:93). A researcher's position to context and participants are often defined by race, ethnicity, class, gender, religion, marital status and other non-demographic characteristics, including the researcher's worldview (Potter & Apentiik, 2011:2). In regard to many of these features I stood in a very different position to the communities and participants that I was conducting field work in. One of these key features is that I am European, born and raised in a Christian rather than Muslim culture and have not experienced displacement and life with the consequences of this.

With the understanding of insider and outsider relationships (Coghlan & Brydon-miller, 2015), these factors clearly place me as an outsider to the context and participants in which I was conducting research. However the dichotomy of the in and out understanding of positionality is increasingly challenged. The experiences of Weiner-Levy , Abu Rabia Queder (2012) and Sultana (2007) demonstrate the complexity of human experience and positionality. Sultana (2007:379), a Bangladeshi returning to this country to conduct development research around water and contention found that while an 'insider' to the culture in Bangladesh, her positionality was far more complex. She stood out as different to the communities in which she was conducting research, class, education, hierarchy and even physical appearance with short hair, lead to a moment in the research process where she was treated as an 'outsider'. Similarly Pearletter Louisy (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1997:212) highlights her challenges with research in her native St Lucia. Her position as an 'insider' with focus on a very specific industry in a small community, in which she had previously worked impacted her research method choice, choosing documentary and archival sources as participants tended to gloss over details

with the assumption that 'you already know'. Weiner-Levy & Abu Rabia Queder (2012) further explore these complexities. Weiner-Levey, a Jew, conducing research in Durze communities amongst women who had been to university found that although an 'outsider', a shared experience of university and experiences beyond the community allowed for moments of recognition with participants as an insider. While this was not amongst the community as a whole, these shared experiences united participant and researcher where others within the community could not empathise or relate. As a woman from the Bedouin community in Israel Abu Rabia Queder could be assumed as an insider while working within this community. She however found that like Sultana there were significant differences between context, participant and research, which created an outsider relationship. In this case Abu Rabia Queder attended a Jewish school, attended university and had access to broader experiences to participants, which further lead her to question how much of an insider she was to the Bedouin community, even though she could navigate language and understand the subtext of many phrases and word choices participants used.

These examples highlight that postionality is much more nuanced than crude definitions of insider and outsider. While I use these terms to give some common understanding and language in what are complex human interactions, my experience echoes that of those discussed above. I found that I was able to be positioned as both an insider and outsider. While my European background was a key element of my postionality in the research context, my experiences as a teacher and a women, when with female participants, allowed me to explore other facets, the internal worlds (Weiner-Levy & Abu Rabia Queder, 2012:1161), of participant experiences. In these moments there was a feeling of acceptance of an insider, to some degree, which will always be limited by my European background.

Reflexivity is an essential element of postionality and is a vital process in which the researcher brings further awareness of assumptions, biases and values that the researcher brings with them (Denscombe, 2014:88). This allows for objectivity, necessary for neutralising possible perceptions my background and experience have formed (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014:94). I approached this context having challenged many of my opinions and inferences through the practice of reflexivity, this was central

around my attitude towards classroom practice, what I considered good and poor practice, along with my expectations of what I may see having already been aware of teaching in the region. This allowed for objectivity, necessary for neutralising possible perceptions my background and experience have formed. It is however, important to note that some items can only be challenged in the field, for example, my encounter of violence in schools discussed earlier in this chapter. Reflextivity is sometimes referred to as 'empathic neutrality' (Ritchie et al., 2013:22), which acknowledges that research is value-mediated and attempts to take into account any bias that may impact field work. Reflextivity, however, is also not just an internal process but one which takes place on the wider context and how others may construct identity (Sultana, 2007). This again highlighting the significance of postionality of the researcher.

Oikonomidoy and Wiest (2015) consider reflexivity to be a two-way, with researchers constantly "checking" themselves, but also being prepared to be checked/scanned by participants. They suggest that allowing the participants to ask questions about who the researcher is. This was a key feature of the process in which participants explored my posiotnality and determine which elements we could create connections through. My positionality as a woman was a feature that felt central to the research process and relationship with participants. The region is traditionally patriarchal with women generally being less visible in public spaces. I was very aware of this male dominated environment and had previously experienced being followed in the street, a close female friend had also been subject to inappropriate behaviour from a male colleague. While these experiences influenced my actions in the wider community and city of Amman, I was also aware of how this environment, my relationship to the context and how this may impact relationships with participants.

I was conscious that in some situations, with women, sharing the same gender reduced social distance between myself and participants (Ahmed et al, 2011:469). The feeling of closeness or less social distance was felt in some girls' schools, where I felt a level of acceptance into the community of school teachers, which felt like being welcomed in the "sisterhood". In this environment I felt very much part of the 'gang' where personal issues such as marital issues, children and marriage was discussed and as analysis shows, were also issues very much part of their experiences as school teachers and their

engagement with the SBTD Programme. I was however acutely aware that while there was a feeling of acceptance in these girls' schools and with female participants there was still very obvious difference and outsider qualities that I possessed.

Participants often wanted to know about my personal circumstances including martial status and my appearance. I had pre-empted many of these questions and had prepared responses to them. In anticipation of them, however, I wondered if such questions were the case of 'the chicken and the egg', which came first? Again, from previous experiences in the region I was aware that I was slimmer than average and was identified by my physical build. I regularly took with me and sat on a cushion when conducting focus groups which were often in empty classrooms around tables on hard wooden benches. Female teachers would laugh when I explained that this was because of the hard seats and my 'bony bottom'. I was also using this comment as a tool to create a more relaxed environment, informal and casual relationship with participants by demonstrating my humour and being able to be self-deprecating. There were often comments around food and making sure I 'get bigger', these were light in tone and lead to laughter amongst us all. In these situations I identified and highlighted my outsider characteristics. While my aim was to create a relaxed environment, I was also able to acknowledge difference in our experiences of being women, even if this was at a superficial physical level.

While fun could be had around my appearance and acknowledgement of it, my positonality as a European, far greater freedom of movement and cultural background clearly positioned me as an outsider. I wondered, however, if by use of humour around my appearance I had created a relaxed environment where these questions were more likely to be asked than otherwise. When conducting this research, as a women in her late 20's, being unmarried participants often presented a response of pity and hope that I would get married soon. The role of these questions as a trust building exercise is further detailed by Oikonomidoy and Wiest (2015:7) which means that 'both the researcher and the respondents were able to pick and choose from their multi-layered identities to find the trait that would help the matching and identify compatibility'. This echoes the spectrum of insider/outsider experiences of Weiner-Levy & Abu Rabia Queder (2012).

While shared womanhood, helped create some connections and understanding, there were still differences between our experiences and cultural backgrounds which impacted on the way participants considered me in relation to their context and vice versa. These cultural and geographic differences will be further explored. Despite this, however, the open relationships experienced with female participants created by some aspects of my position were clearly evident when comparing experiences with male participants. I was concerned if by exploiting womanhood to offer some compatibility with female participants I would be manipulating the research process and potentially influencing the data that was collected. I have been able to reconcile this, however, knowing that the gender difference is so deeply structural that I would never be able to engage in the same way with both genders.

In male environments I was not able to jest about my appearance. While I was made to feel welcome and tried to create a similar environment, which was comfortable, the warmness and sense of sharing a deeper experience was not felt with male participants. The nature of the patriarchal context potentially positioned me as a 'threat', however, any hostility that I did feel in these boys' schools soon dispelled when I was able to demonstrate further features of my positionality which shifted from threat to comrade.

Being a teacher allowed some participants, including male teachers to engage with me as an insider. Being a teacher is another feature of my positionality which demonstrates that the binary insider/outsider boundaries are limited when trying to understand positionality. Weiner-Levy & Abu Rabia Queder (2012:1153) explain how this black and white, colonial concept only engages with external features of positionality and shifts attention away from the internal world of participants and their experiences. I believe that being a teacher is one of these key internal experiences that enabled me to engage with the context and participants on some levels as an insider. When identifying myself to participants, as a teacher of English with experience in the region, I felt that this influenced the way in which participants spoke in focus groups and interviews. When participants discussed their teaching practices and why they used certain practices or not, it was clear that their responses were unscripted, genuine and in a tone that sought understanding. These responses were quite significantly distant from the 'official line'. While these could be justified by my position as an outsider and a potential source of

development support (Potter & Apentiik, 2011:6) teachers' discourse was at odds with that of HQ and published UNRWA documents. School Teachers repeatedly detailed how they felt abandoned and ignored, forced to do things by a system which they did not feel supported them. Such responses also clearly demonstrated participants comfort and trust in me as an independent researcher, unaffiliated to UNRWA. My positionality as fellow teacher offered participants an opportunity to discuss these issues with someone that understood. Quite often participants would conclude a phrase or position with, *you know?*. My own experience has given me some insight and understanding into context, technical understandings of the classroom and challenges. At these times it felt like an outsider becoming an insider (Weiner-Levy & Abu Rabia Queder, 2012:1164), this though is not a constant state.

To be clear on this positionality, however, I was also confirmed and checked understandings when this happened, I cannot assume to know, or have shared their classroom experiences. These differences were evident when participants discussed the surrounding context and influences in their schools. The life and limitations that accompanied status as Palestine Refugees and the extreme poverty that is experienced, that I do not share, clearly places me as an outsider. Participant explanations also did not have the assumption of shared experiences, for example, cultural taboo of divorce was explained along with the impact that this has on students.

While I could have detailed knowledge of the region and conflict these understandings could only ever be understood at a surface level. Primarily, I am not a refugee, and more specifically not a Palestine Refugee from these communities in Jordan. Research conducted by those from cultures and communities which they are researching, however, is also not as easily navigated as being accepted as an insider. While there are obvious benefits around cultural understandings, especially in the nuance that this holds (Adb. Razak, 2005), there are still quite often structural separations that cannot be overcome, especially in relation to class and education (Sultana, 2007).

My experiences in East Jerusalem/Palestine, however, were of great interest to participants who asked questions about what Palestine was really like and how it compares to Jordan. Conscious that such questions were complex and inextricably

linked to my positionality, I navigated these moments by describing the honour I felt having been able to live there. I was acutely aware that many of these participants have not and will not have the opportunity to stay in their 'homeland'. Such conversations added an additional facet to my postionality, which certainly placed me as separate and an outsider to participant experiences, they were, however, also experiences which participants had great interest in and held close.

My cultural and ethnic background was central to these most obvious refugee and travel differences and also present a complex history in which my positionality is found. As a European, my identity is linked to those of colonialism and Orientalists (Said, 2003:3). This historic legacy is also demonstrated in the current day with the largest donor to UNRWA being the EU (UNRWA, 2019a) and executive leadership being non Arab (UNRWA, 2019b). My positionality and navigation of this aspect of my identity was encountered in several ways. My presence in schools was obvious; I stood out physically as a guest as well as causing disruption to the normal running of the school's day, although limited could not go unnoticed. Word of my visits spread through the communities, on one occasions a participants told me, '*x said you were cute, but you are cuter than they say!*'. My visits were being shared and were seen as an 'event', I imagine that my status a foreigner was very much responsible for this. While this was always friendly I was conscious of any issues that this may have caused. When there were questions about other teachers that I had met I maintained confidentiality and anonymity and made broad statements about speaking to lots of teachers and was careful not to disclose any details. My positionality was clearly demonstrated with further questioning. Sometimes participants would ask which school was best and if theirs was better. Again I answered by stressing that this research project is not about judging schools, but hearing experiences about being a teacher in this setting and the SBTD Programme. These questions however demonstrate that my positionality as a European presented me as a judge of the schools and their quality. Some teachers also asked for feedback on their lesson after an observation, again, I referred to the aim of the research project and that I was not in a position where I could comment. In these moments, my background positioned me to be viewed as and advisor or guide rather than neutral observer, even though I practiced reflexivity on my own expectations,

experiences, thoughts and attitudes to classroom practices. Such questions clearly positioned me in a place of difference and distance from participants.

There were also moments when it felt like I had further, accidentally, built on and developed this position as different, onlooker and potentially orientalist. In girls' schools there were sometimes examples of traditional Palestinian embroidery motifs and patterns displayed on the walls. I would show my interest in them, which also served as an icebreaker, creating a common focus and discussion point. As a craft lover I was able to engage with discussions about colour and techniques. I greatly enjoyed these conversations, which further built on my interest in embroidery and craft as resistance (Kamel Kawar, 2011) as well as developing my own techniques. With awareness that participants could feel such romanticism for craft as an orientalist gaze (Said, 2003:206). I placed my frame of reference in these conversations with my Nana who taught me how to sew and stitch. My effort in doing this was to limit my position as an 'admirer' of the 'nice craft' but rather as a person who had a shared interest. On several occasions, however, I was presented with stitched items when I left, including books marks and hairbands. These moments felt very uncomfortable on my part, it was unclear that such gifts were shared from a position that celebrated shared interest, pride in sharing heritage and culture or as a way of 'respecting' a guest like that of a dignitary. From the conversations shared I feel and hope reasons were for former, although my positonality as a visitor from a disappointing colonial history in these exchanges cannot be ignored.

The act of gift giving due to my positonality could potentially have been linked to the impact of donors, who are predominantly 'western'. My background could therefore be understood as shared with these donors. When this ethnicity is shared with the researcher, the issue of being perceived to be donors needs to be considered, especially when there is a long history of their involvement in a community (Potter & Apentiik, 2011:5), of which there is with the funding of UNRWA. Potter and Apentiik suggest that this position may lead to participants offering exaggerated responses, which could be both positive or negative, to outsiders with the hope of bringing more development/funding to their context. Similarly Crossley and Watson, (2003:37) detail that states and government officials participating in research projects may present impact and portray results better than the reality to impress funders and foreign

investors to promote future funding. The disparity I encountered between participants at HQ and those in the field may be due to my postitionality, however, it may also be linked to their own postitionality to the SBTD Programme and their different positions to its development. Nevertheless, I felt challenged when teachers shared a range of issues that they had against UNRWA. In these moments, I felt that trust might be lost if I did not share or fully sympathise with their views, as there as a sense of shared idenity as teachers. Managing these moments, I sought to empathise with participants, checking and clarifying their feelings to understand fully where these were positioned in their beliefs and experiences. This discrepancy between participants and document sources will be further explored in the analysis of results. While there are clear internal challenges within UNRWA, my own positionality on this matter of being European and my consequential relationship with context and participants remains.

I was acutely aware of the challenge that I may encounter from my background and a detached experience of conflict in the region, where my own interests are not personally rooted. As a European I have no experience of war and conflict so close to home and often with very personal and tragic connections. I was concerned about "taking sides" in the Israel/Palestine conflict and expected questions about my opinion of Israel and thoughts about the ongoing conflict. I was never asked, however, about my thoughts and opinions on these matters. My positionality in relation to the conflict was very clear, in that I was an outsider to the effects of it, however it felt like some participants used this for seduction. Seduction, as used by Robben (1995:83), details how the researcher can be led astray by the participant: 'I have chosen the word seduction to describe those personal defences and social strategies because it means literally 'to be led astray from an intended course'. Seduction is used here exclusively in its neutral meaning of being led astray unawares […] I prefer seduction to other terms, such as concealment, manipulation, or deception that carry negative overtones and suggest dishonesty or malintent. Seduction can be intentional but also unconscious and can be compared to the ways in which filmmakers, stage directors, artists, or writers succeed in totally absorbing the attention of their audiences'. This was acutely experienced with one participant's description of the Israeli Occupation of Palestine. It sometimes felt that participants used interviews as an opportunity to share details about the history of the Palestine Refugees. While important, this was not the purpose of the research. This

meant that I had to remind participants that this research is looking at their experiences as teachers and the SBTD Programme. At this point and throughout the research project, the power relationship between participant and myself was one that was constantly considered and acknowledged.

In the past I have worn a *kufia,* traditional Palestinian scarf and symbol of the liberation movement in a similar way to Swedenburg (1989), for personal safety, so I would not be misidentified as a Settler in East Jerusalem. When I was not wearing the scarf, in Jerusalem, I had stones thrown at me, was threatened and spat at. I chose not to wear the *kufia* as I was equally aware that this may have lead to a more political focus for conversations, rather than one focused on the classroom and teaching which was the grounding and purpose of the research project. While I made the active decision that not to wear this scarf in Jordan and during fieldwork, I wondered weather this action, however, encouraged seduction described above, as a political position could not be easily attributed or assumed by this simple action.

My further positionality in relation to UNRWA also needs to be acknowledged. As a PhD student conducting research I was reliant on UNRWA as gatekeeper for access to schools and participants. In this case I was again the outsider, although my time as an intern at the organisation was able to position me as an insider and helped secure this access. This position shifted again, once access to schools was granted and I began fieldwork, here the position of outsider resumed. I made sure to also maintain physical distance from HQ as well as writing and reviewing my field notes at home and clearly identifying this research as independent from UNRWA.

4.7.2 Further Relationship with Participants

Similarly, relationships built with participants and how they developed also needed to be constantly reflected upon. Researchers use a range of social skills to develop rapport and an effective dynamic with participants; trust is vital for the success of data collection and research. Value and respect for the participant are imperative in developing solid foundations of practice. Oikonomidoy and Wiest (2015:8) give an example of how they developed trust and respect with research participants: 'During interviews, we ask for explanation and examples that reflect active listening to participant comments, and we

make encouraging/affirmative comments that do not always imply that we understand or can relate to participants, but simply that we value them and are interested in their experiences and perspective'. These were practices I used during interviews and which proved effective for checking meaning and data validity and also for building positive relationships with participants. Checking understanding and demonstrating a valued relationship was also important to consider in focus groups. The perception of favoured relationships in this setting was something I was conscious about. The formation of a relationship with some group members may alienate the researcher from others, distorting the quality of data (Gillham, 2000:53).

4.8 Consent, Confidentiality and Anonymity

The navigation of consent, confidentiality and anonymity are complex facets of establishing and then maintaining good ethical research that warrants considerable reflection. These key principles are also part of data collection, data analysis and the presentation of results. While consent was sought from participants and information about the research shared, it was also vital that the participants' questions were also discussed. In a study looking at consent for medical research, it was shown that participants did not always fully understand the research, despite signing informed consent forms. As a result, 'this poses an utmost responsibility on the researcher, who needs to be aware that some informational demands may remain open and not be covered by the signature of informed consent' (Alby, Zucchermaglio & Fatigante, 2014:73). This was managed by viewing informed consent as a continuing process with participants, rather than a one-off event (Plankey-Videla, 2012).

Confidentiality and anonymity are important aspects of the research process. From what appears to be a cynical position, van den Hoonaard (2003:143) suggests that it is very easy to 'strip' data of the names of research subjects. They suggest that doing so is one of the easiest ethical procedures for the researcher, stating that it is simple to erase or replace a name. Although the individual as the source of data may not be revealed, the effort of ensuring anonymity is fundamentally undermined by the participant signing an informed consent form, even when it is securely stored by the researcher. Hamid (2010:269), reflecting on fieldwork experiences in Bangladesh, suggests that 'Western ethical principles are not applicable to the social contexts of the developing world', where concepts of privacy may be different. In an example presented by Hamid,

interviews conducted in 'private spaces' were also public spaces within the home, due to physical (limited screening in the house) and cultural factors (interview as a community event). Acknowledgement of cultural differences to confidentiality and anonymity meant that when discussing this project with participants and pursuing informed consent greater awareness of tact was employed. Participants, however, were often enthusiastic to be part of this research and were not concerned with anonymity. Despite participant openness, I maintained and continue to maintain participant confidentiality and anonymity, which is vital for good ethical research. I assigned numbers to schools and teachers and then randomised them. In order to eliminate further all ability to identify schools, gendered pronouns from quotes have been removed and replaced. Quotes identifying males and females are only used when related to a gendered point of analysis and where other identification features have been removed.

Malin (2003:22) reflects on her experience where she: 'conscientiously abided by the ethical tenets of informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, disguising the identities of both the teachers and the schools [...] I believe that I may have compromised my ethical responsibility to one teacher [...] claims of anonymity "ring hollow" because, with the close relationships developed, the long term stay and then the richness of description in the findings, it is easy for some insiders, including the main players, to recognise each other and themselves'. When considering risk and harm, ethical guidelines direct researchers to cause as little harm as possible to the participant (BERA, 2018). Where physical or immediate emotional harm may not have been caused, precautions still need to be in place to make sure that participants are not morally harmed. A moral failing would be to see participants only as a data source and not as people, a risk that may be experienced at any stage including write up and presentation of findings (Schrag, 2009:140). It is important to acknowledge this despite alignment to procedural processes of confidentiality. Malin was in participant schools regularly over a series of years. I was limited to a single shift in each school, meaning that harm from these deeper relationships and identification flags were less of a risk.

4.9 Contextual Considerations with Consent, Confidentiality and Anonymity

The complexity within a refugee setting adds further dimensions of consideration to consent, confidentiality and anonymity. Mackenzie et al. (2007:302-303) write about the challenges of refugee research. 'The right to autonomy entitles persons to the social,

political and economic protections that enable them to exercise these capacities for self-determination. In some refugee settings such protections will be absent and refugees' rights to autonomy severely curtailed'. In addition, the lives of refugees are often under the control of others limiting their opportunity to exercise autonomy. Achieving fully informed consent is, therefore, a difficult process in refugee settings. Mackenzie et al. (2007) propose a method that creates a dynamic and negotiated ethical agreement between the community and the researcher. The use of an iterative approach through a process of negotiation that is ongoing throughout the duration of the research project leads to consent and secure ethical agreements. Such agreements are flexible and adaptable. As research plans change and develop, this is likely to enhance confidence in both researcher and participants. This method was not necessary in this project as teachers were being observed for a single lesson, rather than whole communities being observed over a period of time. In addition, the protracted nature of the Palestine Refugee experience has meant that there has been integration into the wider Jordanian community over the past 60 years. The multi-stranded UNRWA services also mean that teachers are able to practise higher levels of autonomy and have enhanced resilience compared to some other refugee contexts (World Bank, 2013:23).

There was need, however, to consider other potential ethical challenges in the researcher-participant relationship. While "do no harm" is a focus of research guidelines, questions over the researcher's role and responsibility for the participants beyond the research methods are rarely explored. Vanderstaay (2005:406) details his experience in relation to research participants, how a young offender and his family found themselves in compromising situations. He consequently began to question if researchers have responsibility for the wider well-being of participants. While the research itself might not cause harm, if the surrounding environment causes harm what is the researcher's role? Is the "not my fault" approach taken?. This consideration is vital in the complex refugee settings, where surrounding potential harm to participants is evident. Goodhand (2000:13) notes the importance of anticipating potential ethical dilemmas and challenges, suggesting that 'researchers are most likely to "do harm" when they do not anticipate likely ethical challenges'. I felt prepared to make thoughtful decisions in the field. From previous experiences in Palestine, I was conscious that I could be used as a tool to "get out" of their current situation. This was often in the form of questions

regarding help and support to access training opportunities, scholarships and employment abroad (Sacco, 2001:28). When such situations arose, I was prepared with responses that did not compromise my research integrity or patronise the participants. I would suggest that they speak to their School Principals, who have a better idea than myself of what opportunities may be available.

4.10 Researcher Emotional and Physical Well-being

Research in refugee settings contains both physical and emotional hazards (Haer & Becher, 2012). Meyer (2007) describes his experience of violence in Nicaragua and, like Goodhand (2000), suggests preparation for protecting one's personal well-being. Planning for unanticipated and extreme happenings, including "what if" scenarios, is an important aspect of fieldwork preparation: 'Preparing the intellectual knowledge before entering the field will allow it to be better combined with the emotions a researcher may feel after an incident occurs. It is difficult to not let emotions take over after a frightening incident in the field' (Meyer 2007:69). Emotional risks can also be managed by preparation. Research can often be isolating; therefore, developing coping mechanisms can help manage potential depression and other emotions (Lee-Treweek & Linkogle, 2000:103). Supportive friendships and regular contact with family were important to me in the field, in addition to keeping physically active as part of a running club.

Physical well-being was another feature to consider in the field. For travel purposes, a High Level Risk Assessment (Travel Risk Assessment Form, n.d.) was prepared for ethical clearance by the University of York and for insurance purposes. This included many aspects, such as ensuring significant distance from the Jordanian border with Syria, awareness of poor-quality water and cultural sensitivities including dress code. I was acutely aware of my vulnerability as a woman in a male-dominated environment and behaved in a reserved manner (for example, not engaging in personal conversation with taxi drivers, wearing long clothing and a wedding ring).

Research Tools
4.11 Document Review

In order to answer the research question *In the case of UNRWA, what has been done to improve education quality through the Education Reform?*, a document review was conducted. This review evaluated UNRWA ERS policy documents and other relevant publications focusing on UNRWA's education services. Relevant documents were

identified through hand searching of the UNRWA publication database. These sources, which linked to other key documents beyond this portal, were then found online. While in the Field some relevant internal documents were also offered by UNRWA HQ. Document review is particularly helpful, as it has the ability to encompass a broad time span, while still being exact (often containing names and relevant references) (Denscombe, 2014:226). This method is also unobtrusive, allowing for effective use of participants' time during interviews, as key themes had already been identified for exploration. Document sources can be reviewed repeatedly at different stages of the research process, enabling validity of outcomes and themes (Yin, 2003b:86). Publicly available records, however, may reflect discourse in a way that is considered socially acceptable when it was created and tend to offer outlooks that meet public expectations (Denscombe, 2003:215). This is an issue closely related to the biased selectivity of documents that might not be fully comprehensive, or in some cases access to all documents might be deliberately blocked (Yin, 2003b:86).

4.12 Interviews
Interviews with participants of the SBTD Programme were conducted and then analysed to assess its impact on teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse and practice. Guthrie (2011:91) states that interviews can 'provide key data about student and teacher perceptions and attitudes to the classroom and its processes'. One-to-one and semi structured interviews are helpful in the exploration of feeling or attitudes, where in a semi structured form there is scope to 'probe' for more detailed responses and seek clarification (Gray, 2018:379). Although, it is important to highlight 'that respondents are prone to misrepresent classroom behaviour because of social pressure' (Guthrie, 2011:92),. Classroom behaviour is not the only topic that could be misrepresented due to social pressure. Transaction is a situation in which the participant has their own agenda and/or goals for taking part in the research. For example, they may consider the researcher as a gateway to knowledge, access or privilege (Ritchie at al., 2013:85). The participant's honesty and/or the impact of the researcher cannot be fully accounted for; however, there are opportunities for checking and triangulation with other tools.

Respondent validation during data collection and initial analysis was a valuable way to confirm meaning, and check understanding and the responses from the participant. Presenting a verbal synopsis at the end of an interview and checking that key points

were correct with the participant was a way of doing this. Participants were given the opportunity to request and review a copy of the transcript and preliminary analysis to confirm or reject the conclusions made. This method of validity, however, also comes with the awareness that participants have the potential to self-edit and amend transcripts in a manner desirable to them and there may be difficulty in resolving a disagreement (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2012:136), although this did not happen during this project. The value of member checks is praised by DeCino and Waalkes (2018:9), as they offer 'unique encounters with countless outcomes', also suggesting that when differences in meaning arise, this could be due to epistemological disagreement. Exploring and discussing this with participants creates an equitable relationship, as member checks should be seen as more than mechanical procedures for data accuracy.

Interviews were conducted in English; however, when School Principals felt that their English was weak they were often supported by a deputy or other English speaker. These language supporters were selected by the participants and the importance of confidentially and accuracy was verbally agreed by all present at these times. The role of the interpreter in research has traditionally been ignored (Temple, 2002:853) because of the general opinion that conversation flows through, rather than with the interpreter (Temple & Edwards, 2008:5). Best practice guides in healthcare take into account the interpreter's gender, age, sexuality or ethnicity, in relationship to the patient and the impact these might have. Here, there is some acknowledgement of cultural difference that might exist. The nuances of language and meaning, however, also have potentially significant impact on research findings (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014:95). Culture and context determines the classification that a participant might place on human experience, which also influences participant metaphor use and its translation (Al-Amer et al. 2016:155). There is also the impossible challenge of achieving a literal translation of meaning across languages, as there is no single meaning of words (Temple & Edwards, 2008:2). Those giving language support to the School Principals came from similar backgrounds to the interviewees: university-educated Palestinian Refugees living in Jordan. This background provided an accurate interpretation based on language. While in any relationship there is unseen power discrepancy, the relationships witnessed between language supporters and participants were positive, demonstrating both

comfort and trust with each other. This could be seen in the sharing of histories and reminiscing.

4.12 Focus Groups

Time limitations and the need to cause as little disruption to the normal school day as possible favoured the use of focus groups. These are helpful in gathering participants' attitudes and views (Ritchie et al., 2013:56) and also explore their depth and breadth. They were conducted at each school with teachers who had participated in a lesson observation (for this research), other English teachers and additional subject teachers who wanted to participate. Cohen et al. (2006:288) highlight that group size has an impact on inter-group dynamics. When groups are too large, the focus of the group interview can be hard to manage. These focus groups were usually conducted over the break period and attended on average by 3–4 teachers, which I felt was an appropriate number of participants.

The position of the researcher as a facilitator on the periphery of the group also means that focus groups are 'not to infer but to understand, not to generalize but to determine the range, not to make statements about the population but to provide insights into how people perceived a situation' (Krueger & Casey, 2014:66). In a similar fashion to one-to-one interviews, ethical procedures need to be followed. Consent needs to be sought from participants, with full understanding of the research aims and focus. Guaranteeing confidentiality and true informed consent of participants within the group can be challenging (Parker & Tritter, 2006:29; Ritchie et al., 2013:233), especially when there might be intergroup hierarchy and history. For example, 'teachers may be prone to report conformity with an official policy from the fear of feeding back to head teachers and inspectors resulting in negative professional reports on them' (Guthrie, 2011:92). Gillham (2000:78) describes such group dynamics as a potentially 'powerful distorting force'.

Diversity in a group, if managed effectively can have positive effects. Diversity in the group can allow for a wide range of view points to be expressed, although this can only happen if participants feel comfortable. A group with limited diversity may offer repetitive responses (Gray, 2018:465). The selection and composition of focus groups is an important consideration. Interviewing a pre-existing group can pose the danger of

shared assumptions, with meaning and understanding not fully elaborated and taken for granted. Where there were experiences of group memory (Ritchie et al., 2013:233), I was able to request clarification to develop my understanding. These groups can provide a safe setting, where participants feel confident enough to share experiences that might not be the case with a group of strangers. The pre-existing trust between participants was positive and differing views and experiences were openly shared. Nonetheless, at the same time, for focus groups to be dynamic spaces and offer authentic responses, speakers' opinions need to be heard for the first time (Parker & Tritter, 2006:29).

4.14 Analysis of Qualitative Data

The analysis of qualitative data can be challenging when there are large quantities to navigate and manage. I personally transcribed all interviews and focus groups, which were conducted for this research project. The time this took and the process of handing and working with the recording of these sessions meant that I was able to develop an intimacy with the data (Tessier, 2012:456). I transcribed recordings alongside the review of field notes to support consideration of the context in which it was collected and detailed features such as laughter in the recording. These field notes also provided a source of on-going analysis and reflection during the data collection process (Rubin & Rubin, 2012:2). During this transcription phase I wrote extensive notes on the contents and notable quotes, one of these which still stands out is '*it's like asking teachers to drive a car, when then they already drive a lorry.*'

Parker & Tritter (2006) highlight that during the analysis of focus groups in particular there is a lot to consider. In this space a huge amount of qualitative data is collected both at a group and individual level. Unlike one-to-one interviews, this can be difficult to clarify and verify after the event. They therefore argue that the group's session should be analysed as a whole, and participants who may experience a shifting of opinion midway through the discussion must, therefore, be reviewed in context. In the case of this research project similar themes and experiences were clear across all participants, for example, all participants felt there was limited time available in the school day for them to engage with the SBTD Programme. However there was diversity within the groups, which offered opportunity to explore differences in School Teachers based on years of teaching experience. These individual experiences were part of, although

separate from the group, however there no change in opinions which allowed these two individual and group positions to be explored in focus groups.

The similar experiences across all the participants allowed for key ideas shared by participants to be coded using a thematic approach, where substantive statements were categorised and coded (Gillham, 2000:71; Ritchie et al., 2013:271). This process involved descriptive coding of the salient points, from which I was able to see categories that could be combined to reduce the overall number of codes (Karthwohl, 2004:308), through a process of 'review and refine' (Gray, 2018:686). These codes represented corresponding ideas built on a detailed picture across the whole dataset during abstraction and interpretation (Ritchie et al., 2013:284). While there is software available such as Nvivo I carried out this process by hand. The vertical layout of Nvivo did not support accessibility for me, so I created large colour coded tables, which allowed me to operate across on the horizontal, not just down the data set. These tables were then printed which allowed me to work across the data and manage it physically in a much larger space than a computer screen.

The three levels of Alexander's pedagogy as ideas/discourse were also used to structure the data analysis process. Once themes had been clearly identified I considered the position they held in relation to Alexander's pedagogy. This structure was able to support the data, theoretical foundations of the research and provide a framework for exploring these further. I considered other ways to structure analysis, however the interconnected nature of themes and findings created confusion, this stage is detailed as 'explore and play' by Grey (2018:686). Themes of policy and society were very clear while community and culture were evident. Sorting them into distinctive areas, however, was more challenging due to their convergent nature, an issue also detailed by Alexander (2008). A key example of this is teacher tenure, while this was linked to the structure of the SBTD Programme; the very nature of teachers' years and experience is highly personal, positioning it in a different level. I have disclosed the complexity in this process and flagged these areas during analysis, giving explanation of why they are analysed in relation to the specific level. The aim of this has also been to detail and explore the extension of the results beyond the UNRWA case study (Gray, 2018:688)

4.15 Classroom Observation

Observation is a tool that has multiple purposes and methodological uses. These span from being embedded in a setting conducting covalent ethnography to structured and detached observations for specific actions (Robson & McCartan, 2016:320). Due to the influence of pedagogy as ideas/discourse on practice, the discussion around observation and ethnography in education research is of importance. Alexander (2001:271) highlights the position of observation in educational research as between policy application and holistic narratives: 'Ethnography of course, offers holistic narratives, but those are of little interest to policy-makers because they are deemed to have failed the essential policy criteria of generalizability'. Great value can be found, however, on the application of these research methods. Buckler (2011:249) highlights that 'it is clear that small-scale, ethnographic studies of teachers in rural areas do not provide answers for policy makers that can be applied universally across a country or region. What they can do, however, is provide insights into how policy, and the data collection that informs it, might be better designed to meet the needs of teachers'.

This research attempts to bridge holistic, culturally sensitive research and practical generalisability. Guthrie (2011:97) states that there is need for 'classroom observation and for the studies to start incorporating ethnographic findings about the broader cultural contexts and their epistemologies and paradigms'. Observers, however, can influence the situation that is being observed, and the observer may be selective in what is seen and what is recorded (Gillham, 2000:47; Robson & McCartan, 2016:320).

Permission and consent for classroom observations was sought from the teacher, as it is their actions that are being observed. It was still important, however, that those in the class knew why an observer was present and who they were. Teachers often introduced me to the class and explained that I was observing them, the teacher, and not the students. It is more difficult to gain clear consent when observing the wider environment and context. Due to these challenges, this observational research did not use full ethnographic immersion, but gathered a broad understanding of the context. Descriptions of the learning environment and classrooms were recorded, including the physical environment, along with the spatial arrangements of objects (Crossley &

Vulliamy, 1997:95) and wall displays. "Witnessing", however, is a type of observation which is fallible and selective (Gillham, 2000:47).

This research used classroom observation tools based on those used by UNRWA in a baseline study of teaching quality in 2014: a 'timeline observation of classroom practices' and the 'frequency observation of teaching and learning behaviours' (UNRWA, 2014a). These tools had been piloted for the baseline study of UNRWA classroom practices, meaning that they were workable and developed for the specific context. Developing similar tools that were effective would have been very difficult due to limited access to schools and time in the field. In addition, this offered opportunity for direct comparison between datasets. The observation tools contained two additional descriptors, which were included in UNRWA's own review following the baseline study of classroom practices (to be published).

The use of structured observation helped remove bias, and record the observed actions with low interference. Such tools also support the collection of reliable and replicable data, as they can be conducted and verified by other observers (Gillham, 2000; Guthrie, 2011). Awareness of bias, however, is still important even in this detached observation. Robson & McCartan (2016) state that observing an environment can be difficult, as personal interest areas, experiences and expectations can affect what is noticed and observed. Taking this into account, the five-minute snapshot in this timeline observation schedule, helps to distribute attention widely and evenly throughout the whole lesson, rather than only at points of action of researcher interest. Despite this, increased familiarity or instrumentation with the observation categories may lead to subtle differences in the ways in which category definitions are interpreted over time. This is also referred to as observer drift. Reliability of the data can still be confirmed by inter-observer agreement with multiple observers and data cross-checked between them (Yin, 2003b:93), although having multiple observers in the classroom may have a greater impact. Through the process of habituation, the observer and their presence in the classroom is often no longer noticed, as they become a "normal" feature (Robson & McCartan, 2016:334), something which is more difficult to achieve with multiple observers. Clear descriptors of each practice offer reliability in their use and application.

The baseline tools are developed to investigate the variety of instructions and draw upon the typical three-part structure of a teaching exchange: the *initiation*, a teacher question, the student *response* and then the *follow-up* move. This structure can be opened up to allow for a more child-centred form of teaching (UNRWA, 2014a:15). The observation tools use descriptors that can help evaluate the degree to which more CCP are used. For example, both student pair/group work and chorus responses are measured, as are the teachers' use of open and closed questions. The SBTD Programme aims were to transform classroom practices and encourage the use of more CCP. Data collected from the baseline survey is published and accessible, offering the results in a breakdown by UNRWA Field areas. This allowed for the data collected in this project to be compared to the Jordan Field results of the baseline. Comparison can be made between classroom practices of 2013 and 2017, supporting enquiry into the impact of the SBTD Programme on teachers' classroom practice. Although the SBTD Programme was initially introduced in 2012 (UNRWA, 2012c), there were delays (approximately a year) in teacher engagement with the programme. This delay means that data from 2013 can still be considered as a pre-intervention baseline. The baseline data from Jordan was collected from 96 classroom observations made up of eight observations in 12 schools (UNRWA, 2014a:19). Grades 3 and 5 were observed in the subjects of Arabic, English, Maths and Science (four observations per subject). Although the baseline comprised mixed subjects, the baseline survey showed that 'the underlying pedagogy varied little according to the subject being taught, with teachers using the same patterns of interaction, regardless of subject content and language medium of instruction' (UNRWA, 2014a:24). Therefore, it could be used for discussion alongside the data collected in this project.

The nature of the timeline observation schedule was to record dominant practices within a five-minute period of observation. Multiple practices could be recorded in the same five-minute period, as long as they were significant to the class. The amount of time (in minutes) practices were used within the 40-minute lesson is not possible to measure using this style of observation; therefore, when calculating the percentage of the lesson time dedicated to each practice, the frequency of practices was used. The percentage of lesson time a practice is used could, as a consequence also be understood as the percentage of overall classroom practices.

The frequency observation schedule of teaching and learning behaviours was used in the baseline survey of classroom practice. The report, however, does not offer data that can be used in making comparisons between this project and the baseline. Despite this, the observation tool provided greater depth and insight into the quality of teacher-student interactions, allowing the frequency of use in the timeline observation to be better understood. The tool used a Likert Scale, adapted from the baseline which used the scale 1–4. The scale 0–3 was found to be easier to use, as 0 represented a never observed behaviour (UNRWA, 2014a:16). Following an observation, supported with the time line observation and notes from the lesson, there was reflection on practices and interactions between students and teachers and a score was given.

Table 3 – Likert Scale

Likert Scale	
0	Behaviour never observed
1	Behaviour rarely observed (i.e. once or twice)
2	Behaviour occasionally observed (i.e. 4 or 5 times)
3	Behaviour consistently observed

4.16 Analysis of Quantitative Data

One of the key stages in the analysis of the quantitative classroom observation data collected was to acknowledge the context in which it was collected. Due to the need to seek consent and arrange logistics, participant awareness of observations before my visits must be considered, and some of them may have been "prepared". There was excitement from some teachers to have their lessons observed and "show off" their classes, which is potentially linked to a strong cultural value towards hospitality (Shryock, 2004:37) and a desire to make a good impression. This experience was shared with observations conducted by Universilia in UNRWA schools (Universilia Management

Group, 2010:7). The impact of any preparation on data, however, was limited. There were strong patterns across all observations and interviews with minimal "outlying" data. This suggests that although there may have been lesson preparation or staging, there was little impact on results, as similar practices across teachers were observed.

Lessons were expected to be 40-minutes long, like that of the average school day. In a total of 31 observations, however, 19 were under 40 minutes, nine ended on time and three were over 40 minutes (Table 4).

Table 4 – Length of Observed Lessons (mins)

Lesson length (mins)	Number of Observations
<40	19
40	9
>40	3
Total	31

Lessons that ended early were sometimes concluded by the teacher saying 'That is everything' or, on other occasions, by another teacher's desire for the observer to attend their lesson. Both reflect situations different to the everyday routine and the impact of my presence as an observer. When the lesson ended early, it was noted. Unlike the UNRWA baseline study (UNRWA, 2014a:24) I did not record the remaining lesson time as 'students off task'. Marking students as 'off task' would have impacted on the data and presented practices that were not fully reflective of the influence of the observer or the overall lesson. Percentage of lesson time/frequency of overall practices, are therefore representative of the lesson time observed.

I transcribed classroom observations into excel which allowed me to explore these numbers further and investigate patterns with greater ease. In the first instance I created graphs of classroom practice use for each observation. This gave me the opportunity to easily compare practice frequency between observations, while the time line schedule records built detail into when and how these practise were used. Collecting observations into an overall quantity also enabled comparison of the data collected in this research project against the baseline. While this can not be considered a

like for like comparison as sample selection, sizes, sites and participants are different, it does provide insight into how teacher classroom practices may have changed and developed since they participated in and completed the SBTD Programme. It offers a valuable insight into changes and can act as a quazi baseline, which is regularly absent from teacher professional development research (Westbrook et al., 2013:44) and especially refugee education research.

Further analysis of the collected data considered gender, showing some differences in practices between male and female teachers. School locations, camp [School based in official UNRWA camps (UNRWA, 2016)] and non-camp (UNRWA Schools within the host community) were also compared. There were no notable differences, however, in classroom practices between the locations. The sample size and gendered schools visited in camp locations may have been an influence. Exploration into geographic and surrounding conditions is insightful, especially as differences in teaching practices between urban and rural schools have been found around the world, including India (Moore, 2018) and China (Wang et al., 2017). The opportunity of exploring camp and non-camp settings could have offered additional contextual perspectives. When analysing these differences, especially in the teaching and learning behaviours observations, I used standard deviation. While this proved useful in demonstrating difference between the classroom practices and behaviours of gender, the spread of practice use within the genders was still influencing the way in which these differences could be easily shared and communicated. Different practices of use between genders then become a helpful analysis and communication too as this concept is more easily understood to a wider audience. Again this analysis of practices echo the pragmatic approach to appreciation of context, response to the research challenges in these settings and consideration of how research can be most effectively communicated and impactful to a field where there is currently little other fieldwork.

5. What has UNRWA Done to Improve Education Quality?

This chapter will explore the purpose of the UNRWA Education Reform Strategy (ERS), and its relationship to global policies and quality education, highlighting challenges UNRWA face. This will be followed by an overview of the ERS and one of its key programmes, the School Based Teacher Development (SBTD) Programme.

UNRWA position their understanding of quality within international standards and the Capability Approach (CA). Participation and contextualisation, key features of the CA and quality education, are shown to lack depth in their application. Exploration of participant understandings of quality alongside that of the ERS highlights the limited significance of policy on teachers' pedagogy as ideas/discourse. Items, however, that directly relate to the teaching and practical delivery of services in schools, and the absence of contextualisation in the ERS has led to hostility between UNRWA HQ and those at the school level.

5.1 Purpose of the UNRWA Education Reform Strategy

Declining performance across UNRWA services led to the introduction of the Organisational Development (OD) process, established with the aim of strengthening and sustaining the Agency's capacity to manage and deliver high-quality services. Decline was linked to over-crowding, being under-resourced and with poor infrastructure, leaving reconstruction and staff development needs unmet (UNRWA, 2006:1). Education throughout the Middle East region has also experienced a decline in TIMSS and PISA scores, although UNRWA consistently outperforms host countries (World Bank, 2014:iii). Specifically reflective of education delivered by UNRWA was a decrease in the results of the Monitoring of Learning Achievement tests (MLA) (UNRWA, 2011a:v), an UNRWA-administered test which is unified across all Fields of operation. Parents also complained of poor school infrastructure that does not support the increased student population, lack of technology and over-burdened teachers, all of which impact on teaching standards (Universilia Management Group, 2010:35). In addition, some fields reported very low continuation (survival) rates of students progressing to Grade 9 (Universilia Management Group, 2010:ii), a significant indicator of education quality (Save the Children, 2010).

The OD process led to a more strategic focus on the delivery of UNRWA Programmes, reflecting a coherent approach to human development (UNRWA, 2006:10). While being context-relevant with a flexible approach and a measured tolerance for risk, emphasis was placed on results-based management and budgeting, accountability and streamlined processes (UNRWA, 2011b:5). Following changes to organisational structures, the UNRWA Sustaining Change Agenda (UNRWA, 2011b) was established to respond to the integration of results over the longer term. Integrated into these development agendas were programme reviews conducted across services (UNRWA, 2011a:iv). The education review was conducted by the Universilia Management Group who presented The Quality of Education in UNRWA report (Universilia Management Group, 2010).

5.2 The Challenge of Quality – Relevant Understandings and Indicators
The Universilia report clearly identifies the challenging space of UNRWA's work. They highlight that a global understanding of minimum quality and international standards beyond basic indicators is lacking. The report details some funder preferences for physical items, such as buildings, desks and books that can be easily measured. It raises, however, issues of "messy" elements which involve relative values, such as curricula and teacher training (Universilia Management Group, 2010:4–5). Universilia engage with the challenges of quality measures, specifically the arguments made for contextual understandings of quality, which are similarly raised by the CA and the SJA narratives. Universilia (2010:4) suggest the need for a degree of consensus on the dimensions of quality by key stakeholders, highlighting the importance of community participation.

Universilia (2010:5) draw on MDGs and EFA goals as normative standards to suggest universal standards, although it problematises these in the UNRWA context. UNRWA is very close to achieving universal primary education; therefore, such goals are only partially useful. The adverse context of Palestine Refugees is also incomparable to schools in host countries. At the same time, however, Universilia (2010:5) suggests that students, under UN protection, should experience a higher standard than the local norm. Despite this, the use of normative standards related to a host country may not be suitable in the refugee or UNRWA context.

UNRWA, although unique in its mandate, encounters similar challenges as other refugee contexts, where education serves both humanitarian and development purposes, with

limited funding. Universilia (2010:14) emphasise that while working in chronic crisis, the UNRWA mandate also focuses on the full potential of human development, a concept that has evolved from Sen and the CA, suggesting that UNRWA should focus beyond the INEE minimum standards. While the INEE offer minimum standards, UNRWA have detailed a desire for quality education beyond them, with a longer term perspective. Universilia (2010:14) identify that current quality frameworks do not support UNRWA's aims, which are more aligned with those of a development agency and, therefore, need additional quality frameworks. These, however, are not explicitly detailed or explored, predominantly due to the need for stakeholder-defined understandings of quality (Universilia Management Group, 2010:4).

The lack of a clear and unified definition of quality education, both at a global level and within UNRWA, has had impact on the use of measures of quality and the relevant data it collected. Universilia (2010:i) detail that data collected for reports was often inappropriate, unnecessary and costly to collect. The report (Universilia Management Group, 2010:19). also shares how UNRWA was invested in developing indicators to manage and record performance, which at the time of the report concerned four different reporting systems. Universilia (2010:17) proposed a framework (based on the Government of Ontario) that focuses on context, inputs, processes and results (output and outcomes). While these four areas also include inputs and outputs, the acknowledgement of context and processes begin to engage with contextual understandings of quality and pedagogy, as proposed by Alexander. Collating existing indicators into this framework, Universilia (2010:20) highlight the lack of available indicators for context (for example, acceptance of refugees by the host government) and processes, most significantly school culture (for example, unified vision and support for learning). Universilia (2010:9) acknowledge the value of both quantitative and qualitative indicators, as used by UNRWA for the School Quality Review (SQR); however, this is only done at school level. Additional issues with the context concern the five diverse fields in which it operates (Universilia Management Group, 2010:21), although, Universilia (2010:19) do state that: 'UNRWA is on the right track, and now needs to simplify the indicators and finish the job. The main thing standing in the way are the differing values and understanding of quality of the different people involved in developing the system'.

These multiple understandings of quality clearly suggest the need for participation in developing a unified vision, which all of UNRWA and its stakeholders can support (Universilia Management Group, 2010:5+54), as well as rigorous contextualisation. The report highlights that 'many internationals within UNRWA come from traditions that differ from those of Palestine refugees, so it is natural for these two groups to approach education quality differently […] In any consideration of quality, it is useful to ask the question, "What implicit tradition underlies the views being expressed."' (Universilia Management Group, 2010:10). To this end, Universilia do not suggest a definition of quality education, but stress the need for this to be developed alongside the communities and populations it serves. This echoes the significance of participation and representation, where learning outcomes are defined by the community and are relevant, making sure that education accommodates culture and educational priorities. This perspective echoes the narrative of the SJA proposed by Tikly & Barrett (2011), and supports the CA.

The Universilia report (Universilia Management Group, 2010) clearly problematises the issue of quality education and the lack of relevant indicators at a global level. The report also highlights challenges in relation to the refugee context in which UNRWA operates. Universilia (2010:17) highlight the need for the development of a unified understanding of quality that includes stakeholders and community participation. They also suggest a framework for quality that considers context and process. The report acted as a springboard for the development of the ERS 2011–2015 (UNRWA, 2011a:41). This reform also sought to respond to the contextual issues of increased youth unemployment and instability in the region, which has had significant socio-economic impact for Palestine Refugees (Pg.v). It is stated that the ERS was an imperative and not an option (Pg.vii).

5.3 The Education Reform Strategy – Overview

The ERS took an integrated approach with 'eight interrelated strands from governance frameworks, to teachers and their development, curriculum enrichment and support, inclusive of education, with all aspects underpinned and supported by research and an effective Agency wide Education Management Information System' (UNRWA, 2011a:44). These aspects span the range of necessary functions, rather than singular aspects, which

elsewhere has led large-scale education reforms to fail. Some of these far-reaching features, such as curriculum (Saltarelli & Bush, 2000), good governance (INEE, 2015:117) and inclusivity (EfA) (UNESCO, 2018:169) are highlighted by education reviews and practice guidelines as supporting quality education.

Figure 3 – Education Department Reform Structure (UNRWA, 2011a:63)
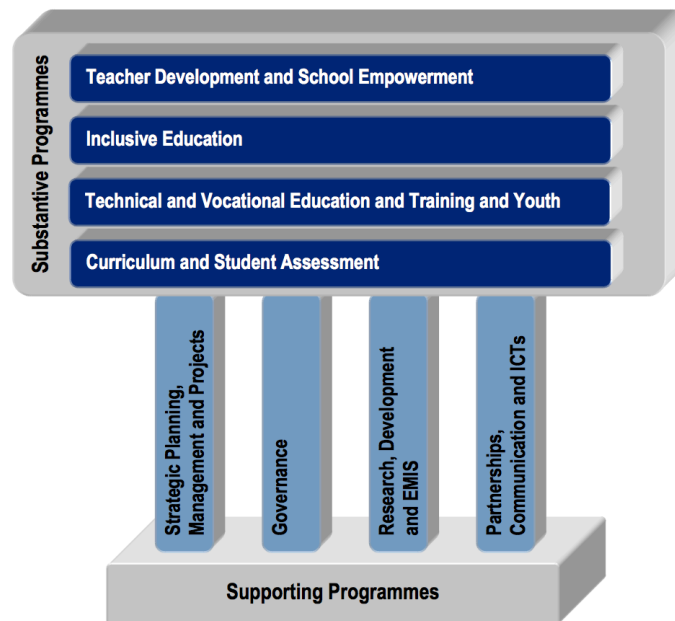
The aim of this structure, with supportive and substantive programmes, was to build support systematically for decentralisation, noting that effective decentralisation is dependent on a balance of centralised and decentralised functions. The corresponding unit for each ERS objective delivers the programmes focused on a specific outcome:

1.1 Professional, qualified and motivated teaching force and empowered schools in place

1.2 Equal access for all children to quality education regardless of gender, abilities, disabilities, impairments, health conditions and socio-economic status assured

1.3 Relevant and quality Technical Vocational Education and Training structures/programmes in place

1.4 Curricula to support a holistic approach to learning and personal development strengthened

1.5 Evidence-based policy making and informed decision-making at all levels in place

1.6 Effective educational governance system at all levels in place

1.7 Education Programme planning management strengthened

1.8 Partnerships, communication and use of education ICTs strengthened (UNRWA, 2011a:ix)

Leading for the Future (LftF), part of the School Development and Empowerment Unit, was a year-long programme developed for School Leadership to advance effective school management skills, strategic direction and capacity at a school level through distance learning, self-reflection and group sessions (UNRWA, 2012b). Such practices, which support instructional leadership, are endorsed by the INEE (2015:117). The LftF Programme also supports contextualisation: 'Head Teachers and Principals will become members of a community of like-minded learners, peers who will also be engaging and involving staff in developing strategic plans customised to the needs of their students and their local contexts' (UNRWA, 2012:2).

Other features of the ERS included greater professionalisation of the staff body (UNRWA, 2011a:47) with the development of a Teacher Policy (UNRWA, 2013l), again echoing INEE recommendations (2015:39). Upon completion of the SBTD Programme, and with ten years of experience, school teachers were eligible for promotion to Grade 11 from Grade 10 and this was understood as a motivating factor in SBTD participation (HQ). The only participant School Teacher (ST) who discussed the Teacher Policy, however, correlated this upgrade to actions taken by the Teacher Union (ST1S15). Further details of the UNRWA Education Strategy Reform can be found in Appendix 1.

5.4. The School Based Teacher Development (SBTD) Programme – Overview

The transformation of classroom practices was a fundamental feature of the ERS; the SBTD Programme was one of the flagship vehicles to achieve this (UNRWA, 2016b:1) along with other programmes, including Inclusive Education and the Human Rights Tool Kit. Poor exam results and a decrease in the MLA results (Universilia Management Group, 2010:ii) were linked to the continued use of teacher-centred classroom practices that were felt not to support the needs of all learners (UNRWA, 2011a:47). The SBTD Programme was focused on changing classroom practices away from those considered negative to education quality. UNRWA detailed support for this shift in a wide range of literature considering effective teaching and learning practices, including in high- to middle- and low-income settings. Findings show that a more interactive pedagogy

impacts on both the students' learning and the teachers' approach towards their students and professional development (UNRWA, 2014a:9–10).

As a result, the main aim of the SBTD Programme was to influence the teaching and learning practices of STs, with objectives that focus on the use of CCP by school teachers:

– develop an understanding of the personal and collective professional development processes
– ensure that teachers use active pedagogical methods in educationally engaging classroom environments
– promote the use of a variety of learner-focused assessment strategies, including formative and summative approaches
– build a repertoire of teaching strategies to enable the effective teaching of literacy and numeracy
– create an understanding of the contemporary inclusion agenda and develop classroom and school strategies and practices to meet diverse needs
– be fully aware of the importance of engaging parents in their child's education, and implement strategies to do this in order to raise achievement
(UNRWA, 2013j:6)

The SBTD Programme targeted STs of Grades 1–6. A second SBTD II Programme was introduced in 2015. This focused on subject-specific material for teachers of Maths, Arabic, Science and English, for Grades 7–12. Both developed with the help of open and distance learning consultants (HQ), the SBTD is a form of 'situated learning', 'which builds on evidence about the importance of context' (UNRWA, 2013j:3). The importance of contextual learning is highlighted in TPD theory (Korthagen, 2017; Ramani, 1987). This style enabled STs 'to learn as they worked, i.e. in situ, trying out new ideas on a day-to-day basis' (UNRWA, 2016b:2). The Programme was structured around six modules. Each module details a clear focus and outcome, which included active pedagogies, assessment, parent participation and inclusive education approaches. Each of these contains four units which begins with an introduction to the topic, also detailing the intended outcomes. The content of the units is in an accessible style, with the use of simple language and clear explanations, while still referencing research and the reasons

for these approaches (HQ). Case studies and activities allow teachers to reflect, plan, practise and reflect again on the topic, their classroom practice and student responses. A final summary section at the end of each unit concludes and consolidates the topic and learning aims. The Programme material also came with a CD, which contained a video focused on each unit.

An accompanying Programme Notebook provides the STs with space to record reflections, practices and progress during the Programme. A week (two weeks for double units) was allocated for STs to read the Programme material, complete activities and write reflections in their Notebook. Completion of these activities, along with reflections, built the School Teachers Portfolio, combined with group sessions and classroom visits from their School Principal (SP) and Education Specialist (ES) on separate occasions. The Programme was introduced to the whole school according to geographical area, meaning that all participants in the area were completing it at the same time. Sharing the process of the SBTD Programme is thought to encourage supportive communities to develop within the teaching body (Mitchell, 2013; Wenger, 1998). The SBTD unit and Handbook materials suggest that teachers work together and discuss their experiences with each other. Support sessions were also delivered on a monthly basis, focusing on the current unit of work. These support sessions were led alternatively by the SP (in school) and the ES (out of school, with STs from other schools). Tools for these sessions, including multimedia resources, were developed for the SPs and ESs (UNRWA, 2013h). These sessions were to provide an opportunity for STs to come together as a group, share ideas and discuss issues in relation to the unit in a facilitated environment. This is highlighted by Mitchell (2013:392) as vital for effective reflective practice. The Programme lasts six months, and a graduation/accreditation is awarded upon successful completion of a Portfolio

Figure 4 – School Based Teacher Development Programme
(UNRWA, 2013j:26)
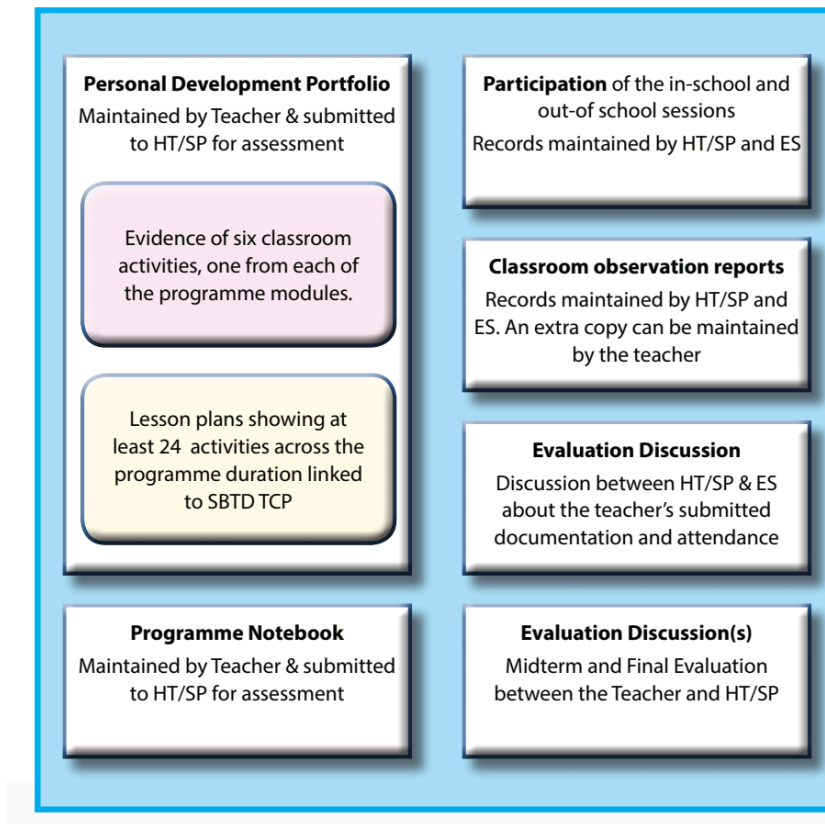
The role of SPs and ESs was also clearly laid out, and supporting material supplied in a Handbook (UNRWA, 2013i). One of their key roles was conducting classroom observations to review a specific aspect of the unit and provide opportunity for feedback and reflection to STs. In addition to this, one-to-one sessions provided an opportunity for the progress of STs to be reviewed in a supportive manner at the middle and end of the Programme.

5.5 Using the Capability Approach

The desire for human development and associated CA are explored as key features to UNRWA's ideas of quality education, alongside international goals. Participation in the ERS by the Palestine Refugee community, however, and specifically by SPs and STs, has been very limited. The resulting range of definitions of quality education highlight the lack of a unified approach to education amongst field-based stakeholders and the limited influence of policy on these participants.

The ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:v) was situated within the global goals and ideals around the provision of education quality. In 2011, this was centred around the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EfA), predominantly focused around access and provision (Alexander, 2008:250). Quality was a quantitative measure, where process-oriented ideas, including contextualisation and participation, were largely absent (Buckler, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2013a). While engaging with these global goals, the ERS UNRWA also positioned themselves within the CA to quality education. This included detailing the direction and motivations of education as 'a means to realising greater human development and potential […] in line with the ideas expressed in the Capabilities Approach' (UNRWA, 2011a:45), which echoes the overall focus of the UNRWA mission for human development:

> *For every Palestine refugee to enjoy the best possible standards of human development especially attaining his or her full potential individually and as a family and community member; being an active and productive participant in socio-economic and cultural life and feeling assured that his or her rights are being defended, protected and preserved.* (Source: MTS, 2010:9). (UNRWA, 2011a:44–45)

The advantages of the CA are discussed in the ERS. Citing Vaughen (2007), three key areas are highlighted: firstly, how CA offers a holistic understanding of well-being; secondly, valuing agency and the ability of individuals to choose and exercise autonomy; and thirdly, recognition of the environment in which individuals are able to convert resources to functionings (UNRWA, 2011a:45). These advantages are echoed in the narratives of capability-focused discourse and research (Hart, 2012:276; McClure, 2014:477). Most significantly, the CA acknowledges context and its influence, as well as the participation of individuals and communities in choosing and exercising their autonomy. UNRWA describes quality education to be 'in line with the Capabilities Approach. The emphasis here is on the development of a child's potential in the broadest sense of human development. The classroom will thus be seen as a place to question, challenge, experiment and collaborate and the school as a safe and stimulating centre of excellence and community participation' (UNRWA, 2011a:30). Such focus on the classroom and school for application of the CA, without reference to context could be

considered not to represent fully the aims of the approach, praised for its consideration of wider environments (Robeyns, 2003:66). The creation of the classroom boundary also echoes critiques to "best practice" that only emphasise teacher actions in the classroom, while ignoring the wider context and pedagogy, focusing on the use of more CCP and viewing teachers as implementers (Brinkmann, 2015; Dyer et al., 2004; Schweisfurth, 2015).

5.6 Limited Participation in the Development of a Definition of Quality Education
The aims of a quality education system were defined as:

> *An UNRWA education system which develops the full potential of Palestine refugees to enable them to be confident, innovative, questioning, thoughtful, tolerant and open minded, upholding human values and religious tolerance, proud of their Palestinian identity, and contributing positively to the development of their society and the global community*. (Source: Quality Education Retreat March, 2010; Dead Sea Strategic Retreat Workshop, June 2010). (UNRWA, 2011a:45)

This definition of quality education was developed at a workshop with key stakeholders from all Fields, including Deputy Directors, Chiefs of Education, Heads of EDCs, Deans of ESFs and other representatives from Field and Area levels, as well as from Human Resources and PCSU, HQ (Amman) (UNRWA, 2011a:iii). While participatory, this is limited relative to all those involved in the delivery of UNRWA education. Although the Universilia report recommended stakeholder participation that considers the context and community of each Field (Universilia Management Group, 2010:15), there is no evidence of efforts to include the voices of ESs, SPs, STs and, significantly, parents and the Palestine Refugee community. The ERS's desired focus on relevance and responsivity to context (UNRWA, 2011a:41) would suggest the need to consult those beyond the immediate influence of UNRWA HQ, including those delivering education in schools including teachers, as well as parents.

The degree of participation and collaboration for effective use of the CA is a central critique of the approach (Comim, 2001:2-3). Sen, foundational to the CA, desires public discussion, democratic understanding and acceptance of selected capabilities (Allen, 2012:429), while another key voice, Nussbaum, details ten minimum thresholds for

particular capabilities (Hart, 2012:277). In a similar manner to minimum thresholds, MLA tests demonstrate numeracy and literacy skills (UNRWA, 2016b), echoing the understanding that such skills are foundational to additional capabilities and functionings (Hart, 2012:276; McClure, 2014:477). The pursuit of collaboration and democratic acceptance of selected capabilities, however, is at the root of Sen's approach to CA and the SJA understanding of quality education (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). This has not been seen as a feature of the ERS in its application of the CA. The ERS acknowledges that there are challenges with:

> *the differing perceptions, needs and values of the staff and the complexity of the environments they are accountable to in the refugee community of which they themselves are members, the host countries within which they live and work, and the UNRWA educational operational structures at Field level and HQ.* (UNRWA, 2011a:44)

This diversity, however, the challenges it poses, and how to create a deeply representative ERS with the CA is not detailed. STs complained of not being involved in the reform process and described a sense of alienation from the UNRWA HQ in Amman (ST2S2, ST1S10):

> [Programmes are] *from other countries, from the government of other countries, we think that the countries that give UNRWA money, ask them to implement these courses so as to complete on giving UNRWA money.* **(ST4S6)**

This teacher clearly describes frustration, believing that the ERS was a condition of funding. Their response raises several points. It suggests that they did not feel that the ERS responded to their context, but that programmes were from other countries with little relevance to their situation as Palestine Refugees. This links to issues around limited participation and the significance of contextualisation for the ERS. In addition, these comments closely relate to the power and influence of funding, echoing voices of post-development and postcolonial critiques (Escobar, 2015) to international and development education and its political purposes, as highlighted by Tabulawa (2003:22).

Acknowledgment of the refugee context, in which UNRWA operates, must also be made. While the CA is considered to be effective in achieving human development and applicable to refugee education (Gladwell, 2009), there is absence of method in its application, especially with young people (McClure, 2014:478; Tao, 2009:13). There is also lack of an established method for large-scale use of the CA, which is likely to be resource-heavy in terms of time and cost. The absence of teacher voices in the development of the ERS could be a consequence of these contextual challenges, which also include extreme poverty and multiple Fields of operation. Such barriers potentially limit the participants' identification of desired capabilities (Field et al., 2017:31; Hart, 2012:279; Unterhalter, 2012). Furthermore, it is important to note that the achievement of capabilities in these settings can be significantly restricted due to the contextual and geopolitical barriers refugees face (Abu-Zaineh et al., 2018). These challenges to individual autonomy and the identification of desired capabilities, however, point towards the significance of community participation in capability development and contextualisation in an open dialogue similar to that suggested by Sen.

The absence of teacher participation is hugely significant. Teachers are repeatedly considered central to the delivery of quality education (Ring & West, 2015:115), especially so in refugee contexts (Dryden-Peterson, 2017) where they negotiate and navigate challenging environments. In Alexander's view, teachers hold important roles within the community. They are central to the translation of the surrounding culture and key influencers in classroom education (2008:19). ST participation in the creation of a definition for quality education would have supported the development of one echoing social and cultural understandings and desires of education. Such a definition would have offered a broader understanding rooted in the community, more so than one formed by those who have close working relationships with UNRWA HQ. The absence of teacher voices potentially limits the relevance of the quality education definition, the ERS and associated programmes, and engagement with them. Teacher participation is a key factor in effective engagement with and motivation for TPD (Gemeda et al., 2014; Nabhani et al., 2012; Nir & Bogler, 2008). I suggest that the ERS and SBTD Programme are no different.

5.7 Different Understandings of Quality

The understanding of quality education developed and included in the ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:45) appears to have had limited traction in the Field and with research participants. Document review, including the Education Reform Final Report (UNRWA, 2016b), found limited use of a definition of quality education. The foreword of the SBTD Teacher (UNRWA, 2013j:iii) and School Principal (UNRWA, 2013i:iii) Handbooks detail a vision of quality; however, it does not explore the capabilities described in the ERS.

> *The vision of the Education Reform is to realise the potential of each and every UNRWA student, for themselves as individuals and to enable them to contribute fully to their local community and to the wider regional and global communities.*

The ERS highlights the need, detailed by Universilia, for a shared vision of quality education, which is described as vital in a decentralised system focused on collaboration rather than command (UNRWA, 2011a:31). The language of the policy itself, however, suggests a clear distinction between the document and teachers, where participation is not detailed but compliance is promoted.

> *The process of developing this Reform Strategy thus reflects the key principles of change management processes. In the context of lessons learned from the Organisational Development Plan, principally for a shared understanding of the need for change and a consistent, explicit statement of a future vision and ongoing communication with all stakeholders. For refugees and host governments this vision should be conveyed in a clear statement on the provision of services and assurance of quality.* **For staff and managers, it will relate also to what is expected from them and how the organization will support them in the realization of these expectations.** (UNRWA, 2011a:43)' (emphasis mine)

Participant understanding of quality education demonstrated a range of definitions rather than a united common perspective. The quality education definitions included in the ERS were not widely shared amongst other stakeholders. STs, who are at the frontline of education delivery and considered to have a significant influence over its

quality (UNESCO, 2014:186), did not share the "official" UNRWA vision of quality education.

Participants presented two main understandings of quality. One focused on the achievement of high grades and success in the *Towjihi* examinations.

> *Quality education* [is] *achievement of our pupil, for curriculum for performance of my staff* **(SPS11)**

The other focused on children leaving school as rounded individuals, with transferable skills and passion for lifelong learning. This was shared by the majority of STs (ST2S12) and is more aligned to the ERS, although missing indicative features. Some STs described an education that fostered love of learning beyond school (ST3S14), which was not solely quantified in grades and marks for university access (ST2S14), but also applied and transferable to life (ST1S4). Details of specific capabilities, and the positive impact on society and the global community, however, were not considered. Focus was predominantly on the impact of education on individual students.

A process-focused understanding of quality education was also shared by some STs (ST2S4), where emphasis was placed on facilitating rather than leading or "teaching" learning (ST2S16). The following ST offered clear examples of teaching practices, such as role play, as the constituents of quality education.

> [Quality education is] [t]*eaching through role play, playing that is more efficient than traditional way, by using the sketch* […] *by playing, by using real objects*. **(ST3S2)**

While the focus was on process and teacher practice, the purpose or impact of such practices was absent from discussion, as was any link to the development of capabilities or learning outcomes. Only in one case were specific English Language objectives stated (ST2S11). These comments present a narrow view of CCP, suggesting that participants had a restricted understanding of quality. In this way, reference to specific teaching practices suggests the influence of quality understandings linked to the HRA and "best

practice", which tended to focus on the actions of teachers without referring these to context (Dyer et al., 2004; Schweisfurth, 2013b; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). This teacher clearly describes practices, without reference to their outcomes, suggesting a disconnected understanding of quality education. This, however, could also be a result of the SBTD Programme promoting specific practices for quality. This further highlights the importance of exploration of the relationship between quality education approaches and TPD.

One SP stated that, in their opinion, quality education is about being equitable, and specifically highlighted the inclusion of learning differences and knowing students' needs. While this understanding echoes human development and the CA in its broadest sense, they did not engage with outcomes promoted in the UNRWA definition:

> [A] *fish cannot climb a tree and a monkey cannot swim therefore we must know the need of every student.* **(SPS3)**

It is important to note that some participants' understanding of quality reached beyond their internal beliefs, into the physical reality of the school environment, demonstrating the importance of context (ST1S15). SPs highlighted their lack of resources when discussing quality education. When asked, 'What do you think quality education is?' responses more accurately answered 'What do you need in order to deliver quality education?' (SPS4, SPS3, SPS9):

> *Quality education needs a lot of things, you must have a good building, you must have a lot of facilities, most of schools do not have in winter heating, the students were very, very cold.* **(SPS15)**

The role of SPs and their operational understanding is reflected in these responses on quality education. Teaching practices inside the classroom were absent from their answers; instead, they focused on school facilities and other challenges facing staff. Some STs highlighted these issues as barriers to their implementation of more CCP, as explored further in the following chapters. Significantly, the description of school and classroom environments as barriers to quality education clearly demonstrates the value

of Alexander's (2008) pedagogy as ideas/discourse on teachers' classroom practice. This shows that while context can influence teachers' understandings of quality, it also influences the practice of their beliefs. These physical issues cannot be "covered up" by certain classroom practices, but act to influence them, highlighting the importance of the physical environment to education.

Participant responses demonstrate the range of different understandings within a sample of frontline educationalists, from classroom processes to adaptability to students. Within a larger sample and the whole UNRWA Education Service, it is likely that an even larger range of opinion exists, challenging the idea of a shared vision of quality education of Palestine Refugees.

These multiple versions of quality education at school level cannot be solely linked to the absence of participation by STs in the development of the ERS. Communication and establishment of the policy through a decentralised system may also play a part. Participant responses to quality education definitions, however, demonstrate the limited influence that this policy has in their working lives, and the absence of a full understanding of "what is expected from them". This is likely to be influenced by the limited distribution of the definition. In conjunction with Alexander's pedagogy, however, this suggests that a UNRWA definition of quality education may not be a significant influence in their practice. A key question is raised from this exploration: if there had been greater participation in the development of the ERS and quality education definition, would these have had more influence on teachers? The following section attempts to explore this, showing that policy which directly influences teachers' experience of teaching, not their ideas and beliefs, is most significant to them.

5.8 Contextualisation – What Is Sufficient?

Acknowledgement of the challenging context of UNRWA's work is evident throughout the ERS (UNRWA, 2011a) and other associated documents (Universilia Management Group, 2010; UNRWA, 2016b, 2016a). The ERS and Universilia highlight the challenges of education in the region which 'can be seen to impose some constraints on the UNRWA education programme [...] often described as overloaded and exam-oriented – and the resultant teaching methodology and ethos of schooling' (UNRWA, 2011a). Universilia (2010:ii) states that 'the tradition throughout the region of using subject specialist

teachers rather than class teachers above the grade 3 level [...] reinforces the emphasis on teaching subjects and teaching based on the excessive regime of formalized examinations'. Beyond the school systems, issues of severe youth unemployment, the impact of the global financial crisis and its effect on Palestine Refugees in relation to returning workers, decreased remittances and reduced donor aid are also detailed. Regional influences, including the continued instability of Iraq, are cited as having an impact on host countries (UNRWA, 2011a:iv). Since 2011, the ongoing Syrian Civil War has created additional strain and complexity in host countries' national structures, as well as displacing some Palestine Refugees. In this environment, UNRWA education aims to be 'responsive to the needs of the Palestine Refugees systems in the 21st century' (UNRWA, 2011a:41).

A feeling of contradiction, however, emerges between a desire for contextually responsive education and some features of the ERS, specifically the introduction of 'international standards and good practice' (UNRWA, 2011a:1–2). Although not inherently negative or worthless, Universilia critiqued the degree to which these offer quality education frameworks for UNRWA. Other commentators also challenge the ability of these goals to offer context-focused education (Alexander, 2015; Sayed & Ahmed, 2015; Tikly, 2011). Although the ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:42) highlights the necessity for quality education to be contextually responsive, it also states that it cannot conduct major structural change. The ERS programmes present a global perspective on quality, rather than being developed from understandings derived from those within the Palestine Refugee community, including STs.

The ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:3-7)acknowledges the situation of Palestine Refugees in the broadest terms, considering economic and employment level data from the host countries. The UNRWA mandate supports the promotion of the Palestinian identity, in part fulfilled with curriculum enhancement to include features of Palestinian culture. Universilia, however, highlight the need for a more nuanced contextual understanding for each Field and community: 'we believe that context is a determining aspect of quality, and that one cannot fully understand quality within UNRWA schools unless the analysis is well-grounded in the context of each field and community' (Universilia Management Group, 2010:15). This is especially significant as the Perceptional Survey, a survey of

stakeholders' perceptions of the UNRWA Education Service collected by UNRWA in 2015, suggests that contextual differences exist in Field-based stakeholders. Looking specifically at teacher practices, there was little difference between Fields in the statistical mean of perceptions towards teaching practices overall. There were, however, 'meaningful' differences on sub-scale questions about specific practices. Although the report suggests this is due to lack of shared understanding of these practices (UNRWA, 2015b:23), differences may be rooted in different values being placed on these practices, and ideas of quality being more nuanced at a local level. This suggests that contextualisation needs to be considered at a more local level. The range of UNRWA school locations in Fields also suggests the need for contextualisation. In the case of Jordan, some Palestine Refugee communities are located in city suburbs, some in more rural locations and others within dedicated Palestine Refugee camps. Each of these environments offers different opportunities and limitations to Palestine Refugees and potentially influences their relationship to education and their desired capabilities and functionings.

Since 2009, Field offices have had an increased role and greater responsibilities for the implementation of programme activities (UNRWA, 2011a:16). The Universilia report highlights that further capacity building is necessary in this decentralised system and that this can be expensive; however, it also notes that without investments decentralisation can have negative impacts (Universilia Management Group, 2010:53). Commitment to a more decentralised system is a key feature of the ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:62-63), where the focus is on systematic capacity building. A major feature of the ERS was the development of Strategic Support Units (SSUs) in each Field (UNRWA, 2013k:10): 'the Quality Assurance Unit (QAU), the Assessment Unit (AU), and the Professional Development and Curriculum Unit (PDCU)' (UNRWA, 2016b:6). Each of these looks after assigned programmes; for example, implementation of the Quality Assurance Framework, MLA testing and TPD. The development of strategic coherence alongside recognising contextualising factors is one of the main aims of the Field, providing support in the contextualisation of generic templates, including the SBTD Programme, for contextually appropriate implementation (UNRWA, 2011a:48). Participants, however, suggested that while focus has been on strategic coherence (explored in the following chapter), the SBTD Programme did not support any of their

situated needs, participation and completion of the programme was not flexible, and it included methods that added further challenges to their workload. Funding issues delayed the development of SSUs (UNRWA, 2016b:6), suggesting that financial challenges were also a factor in limiting contextualisation. The need for strategic direction from the UNRWA Education Department to Fields during decentralisation was considered necessary by Universilia, due to Field positions focusing on repeating programmes that have not worked for all students (Universilia Management Group, 2010:31). The Field, SSUs and School Leadership, however, may have struggled to implement and support contextualisation to the degree necessary if they had a different vision than that described above for the ERS. Where responsibility lies for issues with decentralisation and contextualisation is difficult to determine.

The absence of community adaptations and local stakeholder participation may also be a result of the challenging context. UNRWA provide services for five million people and face an increasingly difficult funding situation, with austerity measures introduced following a funding crisis in 2015 (UNRWA, 2016b:2). The challenges of planning and delivering effective services to a growing client base with increasingly limited resources cannot be underestimated. Support for community-focused contextualisation of the ERS could be costly and create multiple frameworks for donor reporting. Livingston et al. (2017:21–23), however, suggest a range of indicators that already exist, which could support the process of monitoring pedagogy, including UNICEF's Rights-Respecting and Child Friendly Schools index and the Teaching and Learning International Survey that focuses on teachers. SQRs completed by UNRWA schools could be consulted to support deeper contextualisation, as well as reporting (Universilia Management Group, 2010:27).

The ERS itself demonstrates limited prioritisation for contextualisation and participation, with responsibility for contextualisation being developed at the Field level (UNRWA, 2011a:62). With UNRWA HQ aware of the challenges Fields have had with decentralisation, should more focus on contextualisation be the responsibility of the ERS? Although the regional education system, complex challenges in communities, and limited funding may make contextualisation problematic, potential tools and systems were not fully utilised to develop a contextual approach to the ERS and the SBTD Programme. Contextualisation in the ERS was limited to the refugee experience in the

broadest sense despite Universilia and UNRWA research highlighting the significance of Field and community contexts. The impact of limited participation and contextualisation for the creation of policy that feels appropriate, is evident in the often difficult relationship between UNRWA HQ and the Fields.

5.9 Tensions Between UNRWA HQ and Fields
The relationship and tensions between the Education Department and the Fields' decentralisation is detailed in the Universilia report (Universilia Management Group, 2010:28), with reference to previous interventions:

> *In these efforts to support continuous improvement, many in the fields have been critical of the role of the Education Department in Headquarters in supporting them* […] *Fields do not feel that headquarters is relevant or helpful to their needs for improvement.*

Participants continued to describe tensions and issues of relevance between themselves and Headquarters. SPs detailed the need for challenges to be overcome in order to provide quality education. STs also detailed how they struggled to implement the reform programmes, specifically the SBTD Programme, in these challenging settings, explored further in the following chapters.

> *We don't like the SBTD Programme* […] *Don't say in your bad circumstances you should be ideal like this. UNRWA should give me ideal circumstances and then ask me to be ideal, don't push me to do things that I can't, things that are over my ability.* **(ST1S2)**

The perceived lack of care by the Education Department for the wider context and working environment of STs relates directly to the lack of relevance reported by Universilia (2010:28,58). Participants highlighted this with specific reference to the SBTD Programme. This participant suggests that content was transplanted from another context and was not relatable to the environment in which STs were working and teaching,

take the SBTD Programme as a model, they just borrow things from other world, I don't know from where, they just impose it on us. **(ST1S10)**

The absence of contextualisation beyond the refugee context to the local and situated level of teachers and their working lives is evident, although Field based voices were sought through the development process. Open and distance learning experts, teacher development consultants, and writers alongside Education Department leadership in a series of workshops made the first key contribution to the development of the Programme. Further specialist knowledge was also included when needed and available, for example Inclusive Education. Education Department leadership, and the heads of units involved, are also predominantly Palestine Refugees and were involved in this process. This approach to development is detailed as being motivated by the desire for material that directly related to the refugee context and enhanced Palestine Refugee identity. The initial blueprint of the SBTD Programme was then developed further with Educational Chiefs in each Field, Deputy Chiefs, Area Education Officers and ESs, who focused on the content and the "how to" of the programme. Field teams and the staff working within these more localised areas could have involved STs (HQ). Despite this, a lack of participation was felt by STs:

> *I think they should sit with the teachers, I think that the ones who prepared this they didn't do this with most of the teachers in UNRWA. If they sit with teachers they will know what kind of activities that teachers need more in that area.*
> **(ST2+ST3S3)**

This participant clearly demonstrates that teachers felt no involvement in the development of the ERS or the content of the associated programmes. Although there was participation of the Field leadership, including Educational Chiefs, their Deputies and officers, these staff members would already work closely with UNRWA HQ and possibly share a similar policy level discourse/day-to-day experience.

The feeling of limited participation and influence over TPD content was a significant barrier to teacher engagement with the ERS and SBTD Programme, as highlighted in research by Gemeda et al. (2014) and Nabhani et al. (2012), leading to resentment.

UNRWA, however, saw efforts as 'very inclusive' while also describing some of these challenges from the Fields in the Education Reform Progress Report: 'Wide-ranging, broad support for the Education Reform is in place. However, notwithstanding a very inclusive process used for the development of all programmatic strands of the reform, there was some resistance' (UNRWA, 2014b:6–7). The teachers' union's (ASU) response to the ERS and formal consultation as part of the Teacher Policy included a number of strikes. In October 2012, 'due to union concerns, there was a delay of one calendar year in the rolling out of some of the flagship programmes' (UNRWA, 2016b:3), until an agreement was reached on the Teacher Policy (UNRWA, 2014b:6–7). Understanding the reasons and impact of this "strike" is challenging. STs presented this action as a success (ST1S10), although they detailed experiencing force in their participation in the SBTD Programme after this period (SPS6, SPS3, SPS1, STS2, SPS2). Although this action could sound controversial, it is not unique to UNRWA. The introduction of similar reforms in Vietnam saw the publication of a series of critical opinion editorials in a well-known online educational newspaper, which led to the issue of reform being debated at the national government level (Le, 2018:13).

What this demonstrates is different understandings of inclusivity and participation, as well as who the key stakeholders are. UNRWA HQ understood participation to be in existence, counter to teachers' experience. Although STs presented some coherence to UNRWA definitions of quality, the ERS had little influence on their understanding of quality education. Other aspects of the ERS and associated programmes had more significant influence in STs' pedagogy of ideas/discourse. These included features more closely related to their experience and day-to-day work, such as expectations and lack of contextualisation, rather than particular beliefs on quality education. This highlights the value of Alexander's pedagogy as ideas/discourse to explore quality education. The policy and system level can be understood to have differing impacts. Some elements of policy, those related to meta-narratives of quality education, are shown to have little influence on UNRWA teachers. Other features, however, specifically those that impact on the working lives of teachers, have much larger influence on their pedagogy of ideas/discourse.

5.10 How Has the UNRWA Education Reform Strategy Improved Education Quality?

Despite the obvious challenges to quality education that have been raised, namely limited participation and contextualisation, the ERS and associated programmes have had an impact on UNRWA Education. This can be seen in measures of student attainment and associated indicators.

Most significantly, this includes MLA results. The MLA, a unified survey conducted in all Fields and schools, measures students' attainment in Grades 4 and 8 on Maths and Arabic, as well as 'performance in cognitive domains, higher order thinking skills and overall equity of student learning outcomes' (UNRWA, 2015a:4). The 2016 MLA results, against the 2013 baseline, show '(i) an increase in the proportion of students achieving at, or above, their grade level and with regard to almost all Content Domains and Cognitive Levels; and (ii) notable progress in the equity of students' learning outcomes, with a lessening of the "gap" between high achievers and low achievers, through reducing the percentage of students in the lowest performance level' (UNRWA, 2018a:34). There was also significant improvement in Grade 8 Mathematics and Grade 4 Arabic, although to a lesser extent. Results were more mixed in relation to Grade 4 Mathematics and Grade 8 Arabic (UNRWA, 2018a:39). While there have been improvements in these MLA results, the UNRWA 2017 Annual Report also suggests that the stagnation of Grade 4 Maths results can be attributed to the test itself (UNRWA, 2018a:39). Further breakdown of the comparison with the 2013 MLA baseline is not published for review; as a result, gender, Field and school location variables cannot be explored here.

The test is designed and delivered in UNRWA schools and could be considered contextually relevant, as it is not compared or measured against a global goal. While this is promising, however, the MLA data is a numeric, quantitative indicator that measures performance in cognitive domains, although there are some measures of gender gaps (UNRWA, 2016c:70). This numeric approach echoes concerns around the style and form of indicators discussed in relation to global goals (Alexander, 2015). This output focus is also evident in the indicators for the ERS, measured in percentages and US Dollars (UNRWA, 2016b), with an absence of qualitative indicators. The MLA and the Education Reform Final Report do not measure the processes in education, where

contextualisation and participation have been demonstrated as significant. The Final Report comments on relationships with other UNRWA departments and external partners, but not the involvement or participation of teachers and the wider Palestine Refugee community.

Some contextualisation, however, can be seen with the establishment of SSUs. SSUs have been developed for the aim of Fields' to respond to data and research findings which support areas and schools in a timely manner (UNRWA, n.d.-c), although, there has been delay and challenges in their establishment (UNRWA, 2016b:6). SSUs seek to provide a local and contextualised response to delivering school support. This is imperative for a local Field response to data, as the time taken for UNRWA HQ to produce documents and reports is long, limiting the ability for effective response to issues found in the results. For example, data collected from the 2013 MLA was not published until January 2015.,How effective these SSUs can be, however, in supporting local responses when the ERS is not fully reflective of context or participatory in defining quality education is unknown.

5.11 Conclusion
The ERS, the dominant force in improving education for Palestine Refugees, presents a mixed understanding of quality education and, consequently, has limited impact in this respect. The ERS acknowledges global goals and aims for a framework of quality education, referencing the MDGs and EfA (UNRWA, 2011a:v). Simultaneously, it details the UNRWA (2011a:45)mission for human development and an education quality in line with the CA. While themes of participation and contextualisation are evident in policy narrative, the depth to which they have been implemented is limited. Elements of the ERS suggest that Field staff, including STs, are only considered as implementers of policy, and not as co-creators (UNRWA, 2011a:43). Similarly, decentralisation does not appear to have successfully supported contextualisation. Sriprakash (2011:7) describes: 'All too often, policy and research discourse positions teachers as agents of social change, as implementers of programme directives, without consideration of the ways in which teachers are differently positioned in their work and lives, positions that are sometimes at odds with reform ideals'. While not at outright odds with the UNRWA definition of quality education, STs did not feel included in the development of the ERS or associated programmes and echoed this sentiment. STs described the ERS policy as disconnected

from their realties. Although there was participation of high-level Field staff, these are mainly removed from the everyday reality of UNRWA classrooms.

UNRWA operates within a challenging international funding environment and refugee context. The challenges of this in developing a clear understanding of quality education are raised by Universilia, who highlight the lack of a comprehensive framework to support quality refugee education (Universilia Management Group, 2010:14). UNRWA however, position themselves as following the CA. Findings here suggest that the CA has not been applied in a way that would echo Sen's ideals, which highly valued democratic and community decision-making (Walker, 2005:106). There was limited participation of community-based stakeholders in the development of a shared understanding of quality education and the desired outcomes from this. Linear input/output measures of impact are used for the evaluation of quality development, with student attainment in the MLA as a key measure, while qualitative indicators are absent. In addition, there was non-localised application of the ERS. The complex nature of the CA, however, should be considered, as it could also be argued that the ERS does support goals of the CA with the provision of education as a 'gateway capability' (McClure, 2014:478), in a similar way to Nussbaum's minimum thresholds (2011). It could also be argued that the CA has not been fully explored or developed for application in a refugee context, where there are additional barriers to freedom and the functioning of desired capabilities, already evident in areas of extreme poverty (Abu-Zaineh et al., 2018, Field et al., 2017:31; Hart, 2012:279; Unterhalter, 2012, Wollf & De-Shalit, 2007:122). In addition, the use of CA in education is also challenging, with debates around the degree of participation from children (Tao, 2009:16, Walker, 2005:106). Other attempts to use the CA to guide policy, specifically in Australia, has led to its application echoing other narratives with an input/output approach (Gale & Molla, 2015). The discursive application of the CA in such policy suggests the need for more robust tools for its application. In the case of UNRWA, this could have taken place through quick, cost-effective methods utilising decentralised networks to support wider community participation and contextualisation. This would also be supported more widely if there was a shift in the international education goals, acknowledging pedagogy as contextual. This may encourage greater value being placed on qualitative approaches to measuring impact, as well as deeper application of participation and contextualisation.

The ERS has had little influence on participants' pedagogy as ideas/discourse in relation to ideas of quality. Teachers demonstrated a range of definitions of quality that were not fully unified to that detailed in the ERS. Participants presented multiple understandings with no reference to learning outcomes or the development of capabilities. While there were similarities in a holistic approach to education, these were not connected to key features detailed by UNRWA on the development of functionings, nor to the community and global impact of these. In addition, some STs focused their understanding of quality on specific classroom practices. Some aspects of the ERS caused powerful responses, specifically the associated programmes. Complaints were focused on the lack of contextualisation to the teachers' work environments. Although the broad Palestine Refugee experience was acknowledged in the ERS, this was only in the broadest terms at a regional and national level (UNRWA, 2011a:3–5). The context of communities and schools was not scrutinised, with responsibility for this being decentralised. Interventions also appear to have been implemented identically, regardless of Field and local community contexts, potentially due to failed decentralisation. This is despite such contextualisation being detailed as vital in the 'spring board' evaluation by Universilia and the ERS (Universilia Management Group, 2010:15; UNRWA, 2011a:41), alongside concerns for the effectiveness of decentralisation (UNRWA, 2011a:62). Participant statements, such as 'from another world' show similar experiences to those detailed by Crossley et al. in Fiji, where 'participants also argued that policy reform was partly driven by international trends and the national desire to remain comparable with other nations without due contextualisation taking place' (2017:883).

The consideration of Alexander's pedagogy as ideas/discourse at the policy and system level with regards to the ERS has been able to offer insight into understanding some of the influencing factors on education. Findings here have clearly shown that policy features at this level that directly impact teachers' working lives are more influential on teachers than policy positions and narratives, such as a shared definition of quality education. Research conducted in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan similarly showed the greater significance of community values and deeply held beliefs in education than those promoted by reform policy (Teleshaliyev, 2013). In the case of UNRWA, however, associated programmes that interacted directly with teachers' working lives impacted

negatively, creating conflict with HQ. This suggests that the priority for contextualisation and participation needs to be focused on associated programmes of reform. Although the ERS made reference to these, it did not offer a sense of deep commitment to such principles of quality. Without full commitment in strategy/policy, which lays the foundations for associated programmes, how can quality education be delivered and supported? The following chapter will explore this possibility in consideration of the impact of the SBTD Programme on teachers' pedagogy as ideas/practice.

6. What is the Impact of the SBTD Programme on Teacher Practice and Pedagogy as Ideas/Discourse? – System and Policy Level

This chapter will consider the impact of the SBTD Programme on teacher practice and pedagogy as ideas/discourse at a system and policy level, where detailed by Alexander core ideas around learners, learning and teaching are legitimised with reference to policy and infrastructure. More specifically, this considers the policy and shape of the SBTD Programme. The findings identify impact on teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse, and similarly these ideas impact on the effectiveness of the SBTD Programme. Repetitive content that did not acknowledge teacher needs caused frustration and anger amongst the teaching body. In addition, issues around school infrastructure and leadership also created predominantly negative feelings among teachers. The SBTD Programme also impacted school systems creating further time pressures within an already challenging working day, demonstrating that features of quality education, namely contextualisation and participation, were absent. The significance of these features in TPD is further highlighted.

Elements of teacher emotions, such as frustration and anger could be explored at the level of culture and society that includes ideas around self and teacher identity. However, compulsory participation, force and obligation causing these emotions related to the SBTD Programme, these issues therefore are considered at the system and policy level. The strong emotions detailed by participants also suggested an undermining of teachers' understandings of their own professionalism. Reference to literature on teacher professionalism and professional expectations of UNRWA teachers would have been appropriate; however, the relevance of these theories are limited in a refugee setting, as literature is traditionally focused on the Global North. For example, Crehan (2016:16), who explored teacher career models highlights that many are based on the assumption that salaries meet basic needs. The INEE (2015) highlights the need for professionalisation of refugee teachers; however, this is predominantly focused on supportive policies rather than specific expectations placed on teachers. As a result, analysis is focused on teacher emotions towards current/lack of systems of support, rather than viewed through the lens of professionalism in general.

So Much To Do, So Little Time
6.1 Multiple ERS Programmes and Short Time Span – Limited Impact
One dominant feature of the ERS described by participants was the volume of work
necessary to be completed alongside busy daily schedules, which were already stretched.
All participants, STs, SPs and ESs, described further strains on time due to the multiple
programmes and projects of the ERS. SPs described feeling that they were doing
multiple jobs (SPS2, SPS16, SPS1), detailing how they were wearing up to 'seven
different hats' (SPS15) or had different roles in their job. They complained that the
multiple programmes introduced as part of the ERS meant that they could not commit
their attention to any of them.

> *A lot of programmes* […] *our problem is all these programmes were adopted at the
> same time, at the same time* […] *Cram, **they cram everything** […] so each unit
> adopted a project and they all applied it at the same time* […] *it's a burden, only a
> burden, not enjoyable. Three units were applied at the same time, SBTD, the Human
> Rights Project and Inclusive Learning Project and that was a burden on us because
> we had to attend to each teacher, they had to attend the three projects every month
> and that was a big burden on them* […] *they say that if they* [UNRWA HQ] *gave time
> for us to apply the project and then see that feedback of the project and then
> afterwards make it part of our practices and then afterwards apply another one.*
> **(SPS12)** (Emphasis mine)

Consequently, some STs complained that they were not able to complete the
programmes to the standard that they desired:

> *We did the best we could, but it wasn't always up to standards.* **(ST2S9)**

While the programmes were viewed with some positivity (SPS2, SPS16, ST1S1, SPS1),
the context created by the ERS was a barrier to STs' full engagement with each. The ERS
did not acknowledge the influence of school contexts on associated programmes, or how
the programmes further influenced these contexts. Participants suggested that if each
ERS programme was rolled out and introduced to schools sequentially, rather than all at
once, this would also have allowed for reflection from HQ on the effectiveness of each
programme. As a result, lessons could be learned, used and considered for the next

programme (SPS12, SPS9). Additionally, it is important to note that STs felt the content of the different ERS programmes, namely Human Rights, Inclusive Education and the SBTD Programmes, was repetitive (ST3S10, ST3S6). This added to further frustration that TPD content was not new and engaging, similar to feelings towards the Educational Psychology (EP) Course and the SBTD Programme, further explored in this chapter.

Extending the implementation period of the SBTD Programme was a suggestion made by STs and SPs. They felt that allowing more time for the Programme, between two and three years rather than six months, meant that STs would have a greater amount of time to develop, gain confidence in and embed practices before having to focus on the next unit or module (ST4S6, SPS8, SPS7, ST1S4, SPS6, SPS5, SPS10). Programmes spanning years is also suggested by Timperley (2008:15), who states that 'it typically takes one to two years for teachers to understand how existing beliefs and practices are different from those being promoted, to build the required pedagogical content knowledge, and to change practice'. Timperley also highlights, however, that time alone is not sufficient for change.

6.2 No Time in the School Day for the SBTD Programme

There was a predominant feeling of very little time available to STs during and beyond their working day; the SBTD Programme was another 'burden' (SPS7, SPS13, ST1S12). STs shared how they taught around five lessons during their shift (AM/PM), averaging 25–27 classes a week. In addition, they also covered classes for absent STs. These time pressures, alongside home-based responsibilities left little time for STs to manage a standard workload, including lesson planning (ST1S1, ST1S2, ST1S15). Some STs complained that they did not have enough time during the day to get a drink or pray (SPS6).

SPs had similar pressures and struggled to release STs for attendance to group sessions, as part of the SBTD Programme.

> *It was difficult to let seven teachers at least, for each major* [subject] *to go and join the support session delivered by the Education Specialists outside of the school, it confuses the school on those days.* **(SPS9)**

Despite this there was a dominant positive attitude towards the group sessions that were part of the SBTD Programme from STs (ST1+2S12, ST3S1, ST2+3S3, ST1S11, ST1S16). However when these took place the STs workday was extended by 3–4 hours causing them to be exhausted and tired (ST1S3, ST2S11, ST4S8, ST1S2). While some STs suggested that holding these group sessions during the holidays or over the weekend would have been easier (ST2S3, ST4S8), not all supported this idea, as their personal time would be further interrupted (ST1+3S2).

Group sessions were focused on the module which the STs were reading, practising and writing their reflective portfolios on at the time. Despite the overall feeling of group sessions being positive, some felt them to be repetitive (ST3S3, ST2S13) and a waste of time (ST2S16, ST215). One SP suggested rearranging the order of the SBTD Programme to limit this feeling of wasted time. They proposed that support sessions should be conducted at the beginning, rather than the middle of each module. This way, content could feel newer and less repetitive, although they also admitted that this might limit the material that STs could share in a group session, not having implemented or put into practice the course content (SPS10).

6.3 Time Pressures Impacted on Teachers' Personal Reflection
The limited free time available to STs also presented them with challenges for the completion of activities and reflective portfolios. After the completion of an activity, STs were to reflect on their experiences: what went well, what could have been better, and how they would implement these practices again. With existing workloads there was limited time available, and these reflections were considered a further constraint on the little time left (ST2S6). STs complained of spending hours completing reflective paperwork (ST1S10). In addition, the common opinion was that the reflective questions were not engaging and repetitive in nature (ST4S3, ST2S11). As a result of these issues, some STs detailed how they skipped parts of the Programme (ST1S16). Others shared how they did not fully remember the practices from one unit to the next, which was a result of the rapid implementation framework of the SBTD Programme (ST2S3).

Participant STs were part of the first wave to complete the SBTD Programme. They shared that other cohorts copied reflective practice sections from Facebook groups (ST2S5, ST2S10). SPs detailed how they tried to limit copying by initially reading all

reflective work, setting this expectation to discourage STs from copying each other (SPS3). SPs as well as STs, however, felt pressured and overwhelmed with these reflective portfolios and also suggested that limiting this feature would be better (ST4+2S6, SPS12, SPS1, ST3S5).

Some STs, although few, were really encouraging of and in support of the reflective practice, acknowledging its benefits, although they were still hostile towards the written portfolio.

> *We like to think, just to think is something excellent, but to think and write is something that is tiring, boring, we don't have a lot of time.* **(ST2S11)**

The time-consuming nature of the written portfolio was a major barrier to ST engagement with reflective practice. It is unclear, however, how far issues with the written portfolio were linked to time, the written form or reflection itself. Few STs spoke positively about reflective practice in general, which could be linked to lack of skill or the opportunity to develop the practice of reflection. The problem of limited teacher preparation is highlighted by Universilia (Universilia Management Group, 2010:26). Similar challenges to teacher reflection due to lack of pre-service training are seen in other research (Ashraf & Rarieya, 2008; Hardman et al., 2014; O'Sullivan, 2004). There were some positive comments from participants about communities of practice (CoP), however, which include elements of reflective practice.

Contextual issues around time and the written portfolio also link to the Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002) model of TPD. Their model firmly places reflection within a larger context, beyond the individual teacher, that can both impinge and support teachers' professional growth. If the SBTD Programme considered the context in schools, including the average school day, the limited time available to STs to engage with such activities could have been acknowledged.

6.4 Pressured Curricula and Limited Contextualisation of the SBTD Programme

Beyond the ERS and the SBTD Programme, further time pressures were experienced with the knowledge-heavy curriculum delivered in schools. The curriculum, with its intense focus on examinations (Universilia Management Group, 2010:ii), was detailed as

posing significant pressure on school teachers' time. There was acknowledgement of the regional educational landscape and the content-heavy curricula within the ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:43). The challenge of this context is noted as a potential barrier to more CCP because 'teachers already feel burdened by what is generally perceived as an excessive amount of subject content' (UNRWA, 2011a:30). STs and SPs stressed that the volume of material that students need to cover in class is very hard to achieve and adds additional burden on both STs and students (ST2S13, ST1S2, ST2S12, SPS4). It was clear that STs' priority was on delivering the volume of material needed, rather than the method of delivery.

The ERS stated that '[t]eacher training will need to emphasise new ways of interacting with "content". That is through an emphasis on skills development and understanding and the coverage of content to be integrated into this' (UNRWA, 2011a:30). The SBTD Programme sought to include ways in which STs could use more CCP in their classrooms. Examples include the use of mind maps when introducing topics (UNRWA, 2013d:9+15), the knowledge of local geography in placing theories to practice, and group work and its different applications (UNRWA, 2013g:20). These ideas were partnered with case studies and activities, which aimed to provide some opportunity for contextualisation (HQ1). The ability of the SBTD Programme to achieve a clear relationship with practices and curricula, however, is limited. STs deliver the curricula of each Field/host country (five different curricula), while only one SBTD Programme was developed. Furthermore, the SBTD Programme focusing on Grades 1–6 had a generalist approach, rather than focusing on specific subjects, which would have echoed the manner in which schools operate with greater subject specialism in lower grades although, subject-specific material (Maths, Arabic, English and Science) was later introduced as part of the SBTD II Programme for Grades 6 and above. Darling-Hammond et al. (2017:12) highlight the importance of TPD material that works in conjunction with model curricula and classroom materials in raising student attainment. The unified Programme delivered across all five Fields of UNRWA operation meant that there was not specific support for STs in interacting with curriculum content. The sheer volume of material that STs have to deliver means that suggestions for classroom practices and case studies offer some context, but no specific support in relation to their own curricula. The SBTD Programme

approach to curriculum pressures was not as responsive or contextualised as necessary to support teachers to a significant degree.

In addition, due to the time pressures in rolling out the SBTD Programme, there was no pilot testing (HQ) of the Programme material in a target setting. Pre-testing of SBTD modules was conducted with the Education Department seeking feedback from Fields. This process, however, was focused on the functions of the material, rather than content and the practices it promoted (e.g. the language of the material being easy to understand, ideas for case studies, well-explained activities) (UNRWA, 2013a). The narrow focus of this pre-testing also means that the Programme relationship to a curriculum was not explored during testing. Similar to evaluating the degree of participation in the development of the ERS and the quality education definition, the extent of ST participation is unclear. The general and unified approach of the SBTD Programme, however, suggests that there is little connection with curricula delivered in the Field, a connection that is a known factor in effective TPD programmes.

The ERS and the SBTD Programme added additional pressure onto participants' pedagogy of ideas/discourse regardless of their roles. Time was already felt to be a limited resource prior to the ERS and Programme, with large workloads to be completed during the school day and a content-heavy curriculum. Time is referred to as a major challenge to TPD (Gemeda et al., 2014; INEE, 2015; Reio, 2005). Leadership is known to have some responsibility for creating environments in which time is available for STs to participate fully in TPD (Bredeson, 2000; Clausen et al., 2009; INEE, 2015). In this case, school leadership was not fully responsible for time limitations, as the externally imposed ERS and SBTD Programme deadlines created time scarcity for all participants. It is not possible to detail the potential effects of allowing a greater length of time to participate in the SBTD Programme. It can be assumed, however, from participant comments and teacher learning literature (Kwakman, 2003) that pressured environments may not be optimal for supporting change in teacher beliefs around teaching and learning. Greater participation and contextualisation of the ERS and SBTD Programme at a school level could have identified time pressures and developed appropriate responses for their management.

SBTD Programme – Lack of Participation Leads to Frustrations
6.5 Nothing New – Repetition of Educational Psychology Course

STs expressed clear frustration in what they considered as the repetitive nature of the SBTD Programme, with similar questions appearing in the reflective portfolio and group sessions. This repetitiveness was also linked to participants detailing how the Programme lacked new material and how it felt very similar to their pre-service training. The SBTD Programme's limited engagement with teachers' existing ideas/discourse, especially around perceived training needs, meant that, to a large extent, the content of the Programme had negative impact on teachers, challenging their identity as professionals (INEE, 2015:39). Although the SBTD Handbook for STs clearly states that 'you are not learning something totally new. Instead, you are learning to reflect on your own experience so far and think how you could extend and develop your teaching strategies' (UNRWA, 2013j:10), teachers desired new material and skills. Reflection is also explored in Module One of the SBTD Programme, including a brief introduction to theory with ideas and diagrams showing reflection *in* action and reflection *on* action (UNRWA, 2013d:38–53). Still, rather than reflection on action/practices that STs felt were part of their classrooms already, there was desire for new material.

While some changes in STs' classroom practices, such as greater frequency of some more CCP compared to the baseline study of classroom practices conducted by UNRWA in 2014, the SBTD Programme was not considered as the point at which their attitudes towards more CCP occurred. All participants stressed that the content of SBTD was not new and that STs were using these practices before its introduction. STs complained that the SBTD Programme material was very similar to the Educational Psychology (EP) Course, completed as part of their initial training. The EP course is led by the UNRWA Institute of Education (IE) and is an in-service training course that UNRWA STs (UNRWA, 2011a:39) complete when starting work at the Agency. STs detailed this as the key resource for learning about CCP. As a consequence, STs felt that the SBTD Programme was undermining their professionalism. STs saw value in their initial training, the EP Course, because as graduates of various subjects their university education had not equipped them with teaching skills (ST1S1). They found, however, that the SBTD Programme was repeating the same initial content. In addition to the EP Course, STs referred to other TPD schemes that they had been part of during their time as teachers. Some STs cited the introduction of a more communicative English Language curriculum

using the workbooks Petra and Action Pack, which predated the SBTD Programmes, as the point when their beliefs and classroom practices changed.

> *I started teaching Petra, it was communicative approach so we had to start accepting the active methods, how students interact with each other. Then came Action Pack which is more active, we had many training courses.* **(ST4S3)**

One ST with postgraduate education commented that their studies impacted on their teaching beliefs, making them understand the need to use more CCP (ST2S7). Workshops, seminars and training courses were listed with great pride and details were given on how they apply these to their roles, specifically as English teachers, and that the content was new to them (ST3S1, ST4S4, ST2S8, STS5, ST1S7), something they felt the SBTD Programme did not provide. Participants used powerful language when discussing this, including phrases such as 'very angry' (ST4S3).

Some STs, however, described ways in which the SBTD Programme had impacted on their classroom practices. For example, one ST reported increased frequency in their use of more CCP (ST2S8). Another discussed how they made much greater effort to include all students in lessons, with special focus on those with additional learning needs (ST1S4). Others highlighted specific practices that they had re-embraced and strengthened as a result of the SBTD Programme.

> *Sometimes when you read you learn something or you refresh your memory it gives you some tips or some steps* […] *Story maps were very great I benefited from that one, I used to do it, but not in a formal way with step* […] *We used to do it randomly. In the course that we take* [SBTD Programme] *they taught us how to do it in a better way.* **(ST2S3)**

It is important to note that STs referred to the Programme as a refresher and reminder of these practices, meaning that they were aware of these more CCP, but that SBTD encouraged them to use them more frequently. One SP commented that the repetition of these more CCP stresses to teachers the importance of using them, and not just being aware of them (SPS3). Another ST shared that seeing the impact of CCP encouraged

them to continue using them (ST1S5). This potentially had an influence in changing their core beliefs. They stated that seeing students have fun is encouraging, making them want to use these practices. While this experience echoes Guskey's (2002) teacher learning theory, where belief is influenced by seeing the impact of practices, this is still limited to 'students having fun', with no theoretical depth or relationship to learning and capabilities. The majority of participants suggested no change to their pedagogy as ideas/discourse around teaching practices and learning due to the SBTD Programme. To the contrary, they experienced frustration with its similarity to previous TPD content.

The SBTD Teachers Handbook clearly states that the Programme was not intended to teach or learn new things, but serve as a tool for STs' reflection. The significance of reflection for teacher learning is also highlighted in TPD literature (Hardman et al., 2014; Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005; Wallace, 1991).

> *This Open and Distance Learning (ODL) programme will actively engage you in your studying through the questions, activities and case studies that encourage reflection on what you do as a teacher. The studying focuses on educational professional issues, rather than traditional subjects. This means that you are not learning something totally new. Instead, you are learning to reflect on your own experience so far and think how you could extend and develop your teaching strategies. This should make it less like studying and more like having a professional conversation with another teacher.* (UNRWA, 2013j:10)

The cause of STs' feelings of frustration with the SBTD Programme content, like that of the written portfolio, could be due to an absence in the understanding of reflective practice. The time challenges related to reflective practice, especially the written portfolio in addition to pre-service and cultural barriers to meaningful reflective practice, may also be a factor. STs' resentment to the Programme's 'repetitive' content, however, demonstrates that they are eager to learn and explore new things. STs were able to articulate the areas in which they wanted to develop and skills that they wanted to learn for their specific context: support for students with additional learning needs, managing larger classes and learning how to use technology. If the SBTD Programme had been developed in a more participatory manner, the desire shared by STs for new

learning, that was also linked to their self-identified needs, could have been addressed. Dominant in the mind of teachers, however, was the repetition of the EP course, which as a result presented the SBTD Programme in a similar manner to teacher learning in *Professional Development 1.0*, namely an approach that focused on favourable practices without contextual awareness but, instead, a focus on the desirability of certain practices, an approach which is considered ineffective (Korthagen, 2017:388). STs felt that they were already delivering these practices and, if not, they were able to detail the reasons why (usually contextual challenges, explored later in this and the following chapter). The SBTD Programme challenged STs existing practice, an experience that was obviously painful and frustrating. With greater participation of STs in the development of the SBTD programme content, there would have been greater levels of satisfaction (Nir & Bogler, 2008:380) and potentially motivation (Nabhani et al., 2012:447).

6.6 Students With Additional Learning Needs – Teacher Desires to Feel Competent

STs reported how they did not feel adequately equipped to deal with students with additional learning needs. Repeatedly, STs shared how they struggled to engage students with lower attainment in their class. During classroom observations, there was little to no visible engagement of the ST with specific students and there was no material available that had been adapted for students' different needs. In one classroom observation, the ST stated that the job of handing out glue sticks was the role of a student with lower attainment so that they could feel included in the class (S6Ob1). Supporting those with higher attainment was also a desire for STs, but again they did not feel adequately trained (ST1S12). Another ST echoed these challenges, while expressing that the SBTD Programme encouraged them but did not give them any tools to support students with specific needs in their class (Module Five, Inclusive Approach to Teaching and Learning (UNRWA, 2013b)) and that this was not enough for them to feel fully trained:

> *We are not trained to deal with the special cases honestly we are not trained, even if you want to involve students, as teachers we are not trained.* **(ST2S13)**

Despite the ERS containing specific Inclusive Education components, materials and programmes for STs, they still felt under-trained and unprepared in supporting diverse learning needs. There is feeling among STs that they do not have adequate skills to deal

with special learning needs, or that the skills they have are not enough to feel confident. Therefore, there is little more than piecemeal inclusion, linking to Korthagen's Onion Model of multi-layered learning; without competency, or the feeling of it, teachers cannot perform the practice/behaviour (2009:197). The Universilia Report highlights that during classroom observations efforts were made for inclusion, although without substantial leadership it would be difficult to achieve this aspect of the UNRWA mission (Universilia Management Group, 2010:25). While Inclusive Education programmes were part of the ERS, the absence of capabilities felt by STs may also be reflective of larger contextual challenges, as highlighted by Universilia.

6.7 Teachers Wanted to Manage their Physical Environment Better

STs viewed the physical environment in their schools as a challenge to the full implementation of more CCP, as promoted by the SBTD Programme. The issue of crowded classrooms was raised in almost every school visited. Even small schools with fewer students in each class were in buildings adapted from family homes and rooms were cramped. Spaces in these buildings were so small that students had to move from their seats to allow other students to demonstrate at the front of the class. In other schools, while rooms were larger, there were often over 40 students in the class, with limited desk space for each student. Most STs described the large numbers of students per class as a challenge in implementing many of the practices included in the SBTD. It was common for groupwork to include as many as seven students (S11Ob1, S8Ob2, S5Ob1). As a result, there was often very limited desk space and sometimes only a single worksheet was distributed to a group (S15Ob2), limiting the opportunity for all students to participate. This is despite Module 2 Units 6–7 discussing the advantages of groupwork and asking teachers to reflect on instruction giving, and how groups with 6+ students are not always effective (UNRWA, 2013g:21).

Usually, rooms were set up with desks in lines and columns (S15Ob1, S16Ob1&2, S7Ob1&2, S10Ob3, S2Ob1&2, S6Ob1, S1Ob1). On occasion, rooms were set up with large tables; however, it was more often desks with benches fixed to them, which meant that students were squashed or scrambling over the desk to conduct group work (S4Ob2, S3Ob1, S15Ob2, S10Ob2). These physical issues can account for the teaching and learning behaviour, 'arranges classrooms to facilitate learning' being measured at 0.81 (Likert scale, 0 – Behaviour never observed, 3 – Behaviour consistently observed).

Further explanation for this, is that STs move from classroom to classroom for every lesson. The time taken to rearrange furniture is time away from learning; therefore, classroom arrangements are not made and in some cases there is no physical space to make any changes.

Repeatedly, STs stated:

> *It's not easy to implement cooperative learning or teaching in UNRWA its difficult because of the numbers of students in the classrooms* [...] *You would find 50 students sitting next to each other, sometimes you would find three or four students sitting in one desk. It's difficult'.* **(ST1S1)**

Some STs called for TPD that equipped them with skills to manage classrooms with large numbers of students.

> *I think that if we had more training on managing bigger classes it would have been better* [...] *we were never trained, we were never prepared for this situation, it's better if we were trained in managing bigger classes* **(ST3S5)**

While there was a feeling among STs that information on managing larger classes was absent, the SBTD Programme material states: 'The evidence suggests that it is possible, even with large classes, to develop more active approaches to learning' (UNRWA, 2013d:2+10) and suggests the use of pair work in large classes where space may be an issue. There is little support, however, on how STs can do this. The SBTD Programme material is focused on what, rather than how, and does not offer specific instructions in these challenging physical settings. Case studies gave insight; however, this does not appear to be direct enough for STs, especially considering other challenges on their time and interaction with the SBTD material.

Group sessions, classroom observation feedback and communities of practice provided opportunity to explore physical challenges in more depth. Group Session 1, Part 2 – *Ways of learning in the classroom* prepares facilitators for STs' negative responses to some features presented in the videos shown in the session (e.g. groupwork). The

support material suggests that the facilitator emphasises that 'they are not expected to do this overnight' and say that there are ways of planning and organising work to make these practices easier to manage (UNRWA, 2013h:4). While this approach feels empathetic and accepting of the challenging conditions STs work in, there is an absence of detail on how to achieve effective implementation of such practices.

6.8 Technology Training Is Needed for Teachers

STs' perceived development needs of more technological training was also demonstrated in classroom observations. While they enjoyed engaging with technology and using it in their lessons, its link to the learning aims and outcomes of the class were not always very clear. In one classroom observation, the ST's use of the interactive white board for material that could have been presented on a regular white board. Technical issues were encountered when using the "interactive" format, encroaching into learning time for students (S11Ob1). While technology may have been favoured by STs to show their skills to the observer, they did not have the familiarisation necessary with the equipment for it to be used effectively, nor the skills to troubleshoot issues. Using and setting up technical or electronic equipment was also an issue in other observations when there were listening tasks on audio or showing a video to introduce the lesson or theme to students (S3Ob2, S8Ob2, S3Ob2). An SP also commented that along with the lack of technology, there was also an absence in training to maintain and use it (SPS3). Another organisation delivering TPD programmes in Jordan reflected that the online components of their programme did not receive positive attendance, completion or feedback. This was thought to be because of participants' limited access to home computers and lack of confidence with technology, even though Facebook and WhatsApp are very popular mobile phone applications (Personal conversation). This echoes STs' challenge in using equipment, and also their desire to develop these skills.

Often, when STs want to use technology (for example TVs, laptops and projectors) different classrooms had to be booked, or the class had to move rooms during lesson time as only certain rooms had the technology (S11Ob2, S6Ob1, S12Ob1). STs shared that if they had easier access to these resources, they would use them more, especially because they saw value in them for keeping the class engaged and excited about the subject (ST4S8, ST4S3).

6.9 The SBTD Programme Not Appreciative of Context

Participants' self-identified training needs responded to their contextual limitations. In a similar manner, STs detailed ways in which the SBTD Programme was not appreciative of this environment. Frustration with the Programme content as being repetitive was further strengthened by STs' feeling of contextual matters not being acknowledged. Significantly, this included focus on a general rather than specialised classroom teacher, the challenging physical environment and the state of disrepair of school buildings, again, showing that pedagogy as ideas/discourse can also have a reciprocal relationship with TPD. When context, the school and associated structures, which are part of pedagogy as ideas/discourse, are not appreciated, teacher attitudes towards TPD are negatively impacted.

There was a dominant feeling that the Programme material was best suited to generalist class teachers, and not to those who taught specific subjects, which is the traditional approach in the Arabian school systems (Universilia Management Group, 2010:29). Teachers of younger ages, however, are more generalist and in the same classroom with the same students throughout their shift. These general, rather than subject teachers are able to use the SBTD Programme content to support the building of class routines (UNRWA, 2013g:16–19), displays (UNRWA, 2013d:29–37) and the creation of classroom resources and learning aids (UNRWA, 2013b:44–45). These generalist STs do not encounter the same time and physical challenges caused by moving around the school that subject-specific STs face. This is especially challenging to STs when the SBTD Programme material did not seem to acknowledge this reality.

> *We are like Bedouin, we don't actually know where to put our stuff sometimes we lose it sometimes we forget, you know because we have two shifts* […] *you have to share everything with the other shift, this is a very big problem, we need more space, a space, a zone for us to work* […] *We have half of our stuff at home. You have to bring it every day.* **(ST2S3)**

Echoing the need for contextual pedagogy and relationship to the wider teacher discourse (Alexander, 2008; INEE, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2011; Westbrook et al., 2013), case studies used throughout the SBTD Programme material were intended to provide

an opportunity for STs to reflect and consider their own classrooms and practices. Although there was pre-testing of the SBTD material that included questions on the appropriateness of case studies for the UNRWA context (UNRWA, 2013a), there were mixed feeling amongst STs as to how reflective these were of their school contexts. Some STs' feelings were that these case studies were not contextual and that the classroom environments were different to those that they worked in (ST2S7, ST2S14, ST2S8). Others, however, shared more positive experiences of the case studies and felt that they were reflective of their own classrooms, providing them with ideas that they could use or adapt for their own practice, although these STs did not offer specific examples (ST1S13, ST3S1, ST2+3S1, ST1S11, SP13, SP14). While case studies were in general considered useful and to a degree reflective of the environment, STs also shared other significant issues with their surroundings and resources.

One ST detailed how they personally buy paper and glue for use in their classes further emphasising the general lack of teaching resources (ST3S10). It was also observed on visits that the infrastructure of the schools was generally poor. Windows often did not close, allowing playground noise and cold temperatures into the classroom. Climate control or heating was commonly lacking, which meant that during observations students were seen wearing winter coats in class. Doors sometimes did not close properly and only closed with chairs or tables being moved in front (S4Ob2, S9Ob1). When bathrooms were visited, they were dirty and overflowing (S14). These practical challenges faced by STs on a daily basis impact upon their sense of professional identity and further fuel a feeling of the SBTD Programme as being from 'another world' (ST1S10). The SBTD Programme material suggested that using the playground and pair work in classrooms were options when space is limited (UNRWA, 2013d:29). It was felt, however, that acknowledgement of the school context did not go far enough to equip and support STs to the degree needed. Both STs and SPs shared the need for improved resources and contexts with real passion and powerful language. Both stressed that getting the best out of the SBTD Programme and being able to implement the practices in a manner that UNRWA desired, meant that contextual change was also needed (ST2S8, ST1S2, ST1S4, ST3S15, ST3S1).

Before you tell teachers to do anything you must make them feel comfortable, comfortable, the environment must be good. **(SPS3)**

The dissatisfaction shared by STs in relation to their work environment echoes research around job satisfaction and motivation. Crehan highlights the work of Herzberg (1968), sharing that factors relating to the working environment can create dissatisfaction amongst employees, which appears to be the case for the SP above. Herzberg, however, in some cases also relates motivation with job satisfaction that includes the feeling of recognition, responsibility and growth (Crehan, 2016:9). In the SBTD Programme, however, participants did not positively share these feelings. This is in part due to the limited contextualisation and participation participants had in the development of the Programme. As STs have detailed, their perceived needs were not recognised, repetitive content caused anger and frustration and could be seen to limit their feelings of responsibility. The SBTD Programme could have responded to teacher context and equip them with tools to navigate their challenging contexts. Rather, it increased exasperation and frustration with their settings, which was not felt to be acknowledged as the significant challenge that it was.

6.10 Powerlessness and Frustration in Non Flexible System

SBTD Programme features, notably the written portfolio, and content were intense sources of frustration to participants. These feelings were also shared with the structure and policy surrounding the Programme, which required compulsory participation and afforded little flexibility to nuanced circumstances. Such fixed policy boundaries impacted teachers' attitudes, especially those with more years of experience, towards their engagement with the SBTD Programme.

A feeling of hostility was referenced by Universilia (2010:28,53) between Schools and the HQ-based Education Department. This too was seen in relation to the implementation of the ERS programmes. SPs described the compulsory nature of the SBTD Programme, where choice in participation was not an option.

They [STs] *engaged because by force, UNRWA has forced everyone to engage.* **(SPS3)**

Another SP, when describing the force that they and STs experienced, gave a grand physical demonstration of emphasis, underlining 'had to' with hand gestures (SPS2). The frustration of having to participate in and complete the ERS programmes reduced some STs' participation to simply completing the required documentation for the programme.

> *We are obliged to finish no matter, if we already implement it or not, just for the documentation because the principal is obliged to see the work finished.* **(ST3S6)**

In addition to a generalised sense of force and mandatory participation, STs expressed frustration with the criteria by which the SBTD Programmes were introduced. All STs teaching any class in Grades 1–6 had to participate in SBTD 1. STs that taught Maths, Arabic, English and Science from Grade 6 upwards had to participate in SBTD II (introduced after SBTD 1). STs who had a single class in these grade ranges had to participate in the relevant SBTD Programme. This ST describes that because of the way the timetable was organised they had to complete both SBTD 1 and SBTD II Programmes, while the same timetable meant that a colleague did not complete either.

> *If I'm teaching sixth grade I should take it* [SBTD 1]*, the other year I am teaching the seventh grade so I should take the second one* [SBTD II] *and my mate who didn't take first one shouldn't take it because now she teaches the youngest. So it's not fair, it's not equal. It's not good for the teachers I take one and two and the other didn't take part in it.* **(SP1S2)**

If schools consider the SBTD Programme a necessary act of compliance, associated internal motivation may be poor (Heystek & Terhoven, 2017:30). As a consequence, the impact of this TPD programme on STs' classroom practices and long-term change may be limited due to little sustained motivation (Han & Yin, 2016:3). Although it is also important to note that Timperley (2008:16) shares evidence that suggests that 'prior commitment does not guarantee greater engagement, and both voluntary and mandatory teacher participation have co-occurred with positive and negative outcomes for students'.

Low motivation and the feeling of necessary compliance may also have influenced the development of a compartmentalised approach to the SBTD Programme (and potentially other programmes). This would go some way towards explaining what this SP suggests is a chasm between regular routine and SBTD Programme 'events', such as a classroom observation.

> *This was also **special for the students to go and attend lessons for the SBTD**, they would say we enjoyed this lesson very much **we hope that these lessons will be all year long**.* **(SPS12)** Emphasis mine

In a similar way, frustration towards the bureaucratic style around the SBTD Programme documentation was described.

> *I did a class about the environment and I took the students to the yard and they make a treasure hunt, it was an excellent class. When I came back I showed the papers to the head teacher, they said, 'Where are the photos? You should have photos'.* **(ST3S10)**

The force and lack of choice in participation in the SBTD Programme can be seen to impact on the ways in which STs approached participation. This is observed when teachers, in ensuring that necessary criteria were met, adopted a compartmentalised approach, simply ticking off the activities. This was similarly seen with the written portfolio where there was the suggestion of copying, making sure that items are completed regardless of the manner this was done.

6.11 Frustration of Compulsory Participation Felt Differently according to Teachers' Tenure and Experience

The tenure and years of teaching experience held by STs was also considered to be a factor that limited ST engagement with the SBTD Programme. STs who had many years of experience expressed a feeling of being undermined and not treated like a professional. Participants described the SBTD Programme as being best suited for newly qualified teachers. Classroom observations, however, showed a mixed use of both more teacher and more CCP by STs regardless of tenure, supporting suggestions that ST individuality and personal contexts are more significant variables than tenure. This

exploration of tenure could have been made alongside teacher identities at the level of society and culture in Alexander's understanding of pedagogy. Compulsory participation, however, and the absence of flexibility relate teacher tenure more closely with ideas on a system and policy level, rather than on a personal one.

In a similar way to reflection, the purpose of the Programme is detailed in the SBTD material to engage with each teacher individually:

> *The teachers participating in this programme have a variety of backgrounds and experience. Some of you have taught for many years, others have more recently become teachers. Some of you may already be confident with some of the approaches and activities that this course considers, and it will be important for you to share this experience with other teachers. Remember the age-old saying 'the best way to learn is to teach'. But even the most experienced teacher can refine and improve his/her practice. It is hoped that the ideas presented here, even if you are familiar with them, will stimulate you to do this.* (UNRWA, 2013d:2)

Regardless of the participants' years of teaching experience, it is believed that the SBTD Programme could serve to develop their practice in a much more individual way than a cascade model of TPD (UNRWA, 2011a, 2013c).

There was a negative feeling amongst all STs about the SBTD Programme content. This ST, who has been teaching for 26 years, felt like the Programme did not respect the fact that they were already qualified, had previously completed the EP Course and had been teaching for this length of time.

> *Most of these strategies we do them already, but they just give you an obligatory programme you have to pass* [...] *I am doing it already so why do I have to take it as a programme* [...] *Like we are not qualified enough, we are very qualified! Why do they give us this type of programme? (ST)*

Another ST with over 20 years of experience described the SBTD Programme as being taught how to drive a car, when you can already drive a lorry (ST). Frustrations with the

SBTD Programme were not limited to STs with 20+ years of teaching experience. STs with less teaching experience (ten years and less) expressed similar complaints.

> *You feel frustrated, you have to listen to the same things, again* **(ST)**

> *All of the teachers, very angry because of this course, they do it, they are highly experienced, many teachers here have a long experience in teaching and feel this takes them back to the past* **(ST)**

While there were significant frustrations, however, STs' with fewer years of experience (0–10 years) reported that the SBTD Programme gave them the opportunity to learn and reflect on new techniques that they were not familiar with.

> *I learnt some skills, how to deal with the students in groups and how to deal with their thinking according to the materials* […] *so, it was like a revelation to me it's been fun doing it* […]*For me they were new, in the classroom before SBTD I used to be stiff, my style was lecture style it was boring to students. **(ST)***

Other STs with only a few years of teaching experience suggested that they started using more CCP with the SBTD Programme (ST, ST). These STs saw the SBTD Programme as an opportunity to gain professional experience. They said that they lacked 'experience' during their initial pre-service training (ST), similar to other newly qualified teachers (Abusrewel, 2014), as also highlighted by the Universilia review (Universilia Management Group, 2010:26). The term 'experience' could also be understood as confidence and self-efficacy, which are often considered variables in whether teachers use more CCP (Braund et al., 2013; Heath at al., 2010). This, therefore, suggests that STs with more years of experience have increased confidence compared to new teachers, and are likely to use more CCP. While the SBTD Programme was felt to be repetitive and frustrating to all STs, it served to develop confidence in the use of more CCP for those with fewer years of experience.

Echoing this was the general attitude that the SBTD Programme was better suited for STs with fewer years of teaching experience (ST1+3S15, ST3S1, ST1S13, ST2S3, SPS9, SPS15, SPS7, SPS14);

> *I think it is an excellent course, for someone who does not know anything about teaching* […] *it is excellent for newly appointed teachers, or for teachers following the EP* **(ST1S10)**

These findings echo other research showing that teachers with more years of experience have a more negative attitude towards reform programmes and participation in TPD compared to less experienced teachers (Nabhani et al., 2012:444). In addition, there is also a corrolation between less experienced teachers and being more pedagogy-focused (Day, 2002:687; Lai, 2010:622). Some SPs further confirmed this and identified a general pattern amongst STs with more years of experience. They found that such STs did not see the need to participate in the SBTD Programme since they already had skills (SPS8, SPS3, SPS7). One SP, however, shared that they observed the opposite trend in participation. Personal reasons were detailed, including childcare and home-based responsibilities to explain the limited engagement of ST with less experience who were also typically younger (SPS12). Opposite patterns of greater engagement in the SBTD Programme by typically older teachers with more years of experience was explained by personal drive and commitment to UNRWA and the mission that they shared for Palestine Refugees (SPS14, SPS7, SPS13. ST1+2S15, ST1S7). This commitment to the Palestine Refugee mission echoes findings explored in the following chapter. Although these perceived patterns linked to the experience of STs, SPs stated that teachers' attitudes towards engagement and approach to TPD was personal, with no clear pattern (SPS5, SPS1, SPS14, SP11, SP7). In the same way, one ST explained how there were those who wanted to be part of the SBTD Programme and those who did not.

> *If you are a teacher who likes to use more methods, strategies you can find anything on the Internet and implement it in your class and if you are a teacher who does not want to work, a thousand SBTDs cannot make them work.* **(ST2S6)**

Similarly, Hoekstra et al. quote Richardson and Placier who in a review of teacher learning found that some teachers change and others do not regardless of the context (2009:280).

6.12 School Teacher Tenure and Classroom Practice – No Clear Relationship

Expanding on this difference between teacher tenure, classroom observations show mixed use of practices regardless of teacher tenure. This range of classroom practices suggests a similar conclusion to the one above, that individuality rather than tenure impact on teacher engagement with TPD. This conclusion, however, assumes a direct impact, in an input/output manner, to engagement with TPD and change in classroom practices. Additional evidence suggests that other pedagogy as idea/discourse factors, such as large class sizes, and beliefs around student engagement vs learning also influence teachers' use of certain classroom practices. Additionally, this does not engage with qualitative responses, which highlight some value of the SBTD Programme to STs with fewer years of teaching experience.

While STs with 21–25 years' experience spent 19.6% of the lesson time using 'Teacher explanation/ Q & A' they also spent 17.6% of the lesson using 'group work' and 27.5% of the lesson on 'demonstrating to the class' (Table 5). Similar patterns (i.e. the use of both more CCP and more teacher-centred practices) can be seen among all STs, as explored further in the following chapter. Other patterns, however, echo research highlighted by Lee & Schallert (2016:72), where pre-service teachers shift their attention from class control to student learning, as they develop and grow in their teaching experiences. This can be seen in the differences in 'classroom management' and 'students off task' between STs with 0–10 years of teaching experience and those with more (Table 5). STs with fewer years of experience (0–10 years) spent 5.3% of the lesson time 'managing the class' with 6.4% of the lesson with 'students off task', compared to teachers with more experience (21–25 years), who did not have any 'students off task' and only needed to use 'classroom management' 3.9% of the lesson time.

Table 5 – School Teacher Practices – Years of Teaching Experience – % of Lesson Time

<table>
<tr><th colspan="7">School Teacher Practices – Years of Teaching Experience
% of Lesson Time</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>Overall</th><th>0–10 years of experience</th><th>11–15 years of experience</th><th>16–20 years of experience</th><th>21–25 years of experience</th><th>Jordan baseline survey</th></tr>
<tr><td>Teacher explanation / Q & A</td><td>14.7%</td><td>18.2%</td><td>11.2%</td><td>12.0%</td><td>19.6%</td><td>20.0%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Students working in pairs/groups</td><td>13.7%</td><td>11.2%</td><td>16.4%</td><td>12.8%</td><td>17.6%</td><td>3.9%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Students demonstrating to class</td><td>19.5%</td><td>15.5%</td><td>22.4%</td><td>19.7%</td><td>27.5%</td><td>5.1%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Class management</td><td>3.5%</td><td>5.3%</td><td>2.6%</td><td>0.9%</td><td>3.9%</td><td>11.0%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Students off-task</td><td>3.9%</td><td>6.4%</td><td>3.3%</td><td>3.4%</td><td>0.0%</td><td>2.6%</td></tr>
</table>

This sample size, however, is relatively small (Table 6). Only four teachers with 21–25 years of experience were observed. There were 12 observations of STs with 0–10 years of experience. There is also double the number of male STs with fewer years of experience than there are female. The sample size limits the ability to discern any patterns around tenure and practice in relation to the SBTD Programme. The use of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy, however, also allows for the valuable consideration of contributing factors raised by STs and their experiences of the SBTD Programme. Qualitative data has been able to capture teacher experience, which otherwise would not be considered in an input/output measure.

Table 6 – School Teacher Observations and Years of Experience

	0–10 years of experience	11–15 years of experience	16–20 years of experience	21–25 years of experience	Overall number of observations
School Teacher Observations and Years of Experience					
Female	4	7	6	2	19
Male	8	1	1	2	12
Total	12	8	7	4	31

Leadership
6.13 School Principals Offered Varying Degrees of Support

The role of school leadership is clearly detailed in TPD literature. Motivating factors linked to job satisfaction are often influenced by the school environment and created by the schools' leadership, especially the SP (Bredeson, 2000:398; Clausen et al., 2009:451; Wang et al., 2017:8). Some participant SPs shared their personal passion and value for their own development and that of STs. Most SPs had been working in UNRWA for 21–40 years, with many having more than ten years of experience in the role of SP (Table 7).

Table 7 – School Principal Years of Experience

Number of years of experience of participant School Principals (including time as School Teacher)							
	11–15 years	16–20 years	21–25 years	26–30 years	31–35 years	36–40 years	Total
Number of School Principals	2	1	5	2	1	5	16

The SPs who spoke more positively towards their personal learning and about TPD programmes they had participated in were predominantly those with fewer years of experience. For many, their professional development included LftF, an UNRWA programme for SPs to support strategic direction within the school and ESs in their Strategic Support Units. Participation in this programme echoes recommendations from the INEE in building instructional leadership at all levels of the educational system (INEE, 2015:117–127).

SPs described the introduction of the SBTD Programme as challenging. They detailed the pressure they experienced from their Area Education Office (AEO) in ensuring roll out and ST participation in the Programme. The language used by SPs was negative, strong and powerful (SPS3, SPS2, SPS1, SPS6). In general, STs also took on a negative attitude toward compliance. There were a few SPs, however, who approached the programme positively and attempted to share it with participating STs in the following way:

> *I just introduce it in a calm way and because my teachers see I am relaxed they don't feel that they are pushed, I am just relaxed, everything will be done* […] *there is no need to push people hard.* **(SPS14)**

This language was distinctly different, positive and optimistic. One SP shared how they also took into account their STs' experience and adapted the way they worked with the programme to support each individual ST.

> *The teachers who have more experience than the others, we give a simple training, communication was simple. We do not always visit them in their class, but the others* [with less experience] *have more from us.* **(SPS11)**

Acts of discretion like this, made by SPs, demonstrates the managerial response to ST frustrations with the SBTD Programme, respecting their professional experience that many felt was absent (ST2+4S3). It demonstrates 'managerial autonomy support', i.e. managers acknowledging their employees' perspectives, then displaying positive work-related attitudes (Gagné & Deci, 2005:345). This was also seen inversely by STs, who often acknowledged the equally large workload and 'burdens' faced by SPs and,

therefore, managed their own expectations of support during the SBTD programme (ST2S3, ST2S6). It was observed that where SPs were more supportive of the SBTD Programme, STs also spoke more positively of it and acknowledged the challenging context their leadership also experienced. This supportive approach of SPs was desired, as the ERS stated that '[a] generic "Template" for implementing SBTD will guide Fields in determining the most appropriate implementation model for their context. There will be a much greater emphasis on these cadres mentoring and coaching teachers rather than "supervising" or cascading training' (UNRWA, 2011a:48). The limited degree to which this adaptive approach was seen in the sample, however, may be due to the wider environment of the ERS and its compulsory nature.

One SP detailed that their commitment to STs' classrooms practice continued after the SBTD Programme was completed. They called on ESs to come every month and run 'refresher' sessions, as well as reviewing STs' lesson plans on a weekly basis and conducting classroom observations with the deputy SP. The leadership then gave written feedback to STs in the form of reports (SPS4). STs, however, did not always report a positive or supportive environment. Some STs suggested that their SPs were not helpful. While there was little verbal confirmation of this, silent actions such as eye rolling and tutting confirmed this absence of support (ST1+2S16). The lack of explicit verbal comments on this matter could be due to cultural norms and respect for leadership. In one school, however, the SP was described as very critical, not encouraging, and also not fully aware of all the aspects of the SBTD Programme (ST1+3S10). The same SP was described as not supporting more CCP and encouraging memorisation of vocabulary for testing, which STs disagreed with.

> *They asked us to prepare a sheet of all the vocabulary for the second semester and bring it and make a photocopy for each pupil to memorise it by heart, then they are going to make a dictation for them. Do you think that the fourth grade are going to memorise 70–100 words, just once? Does it work? It doesn't work at all!* […] *To force students to memorise by heart and then next week they will forget for sure.*
> **(ST3S10)**

STs who are not supported by their school leadership are limited in the extent to which they can demonstrate development (Dayoub & Bashiruddin, 2012:604) and practise their beliefs, as experienced by the ST above.

The 16 participant SPs presented a range of leadership approaches to the SBTD Programme. This small sample size and the cultural environment limit confident conclusions about the role of school leadership in relation to the impact of the SBTD Programme in teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse. Individual examples presented here, however, echo research about limitations linked to leadership approaches, for example leadership style (Bredeson, 2000) and how success is measured (Wang et al., 2017).

6.14 Education Specialists Generally Disliked

New support structures as part of the ERS introduced complex inter-personal environments within which STs had to work. The support cadre, SPs, ESs and other staff in the Field and AEOs were detailed in the ERS as having significant roles in the realisation of the Reform and quality education (UNRWA, 2011a:44, 2013e:iii). SPs and ESs had specific roles in the SBTD Programme that included conducting classroom observations of teachers and hosting group sessions.

ESs, however, were described with overwhelming negativity by STs. The ERS led to a rapid increase in the number of ESs, which was not received positively by a lot of STs. STs believed that these new ESs could not provide additional skills or knowledge. STs commented that they often felt more qualified and more experienced than the ESs supporting the programme (ST1S10):

> *Do you know there is a wrong policy, we are talking about an Agency a wrong policy, a bad policy, for example I am now a teacher, if I had the opportunity to be a supervisor tomorrow I will be a supervisor and I will come and visit my mates tell them I am now a supervisor, I want to see your work in class, ok, so the supervisors don't have qualifications more than or better than what I have. So why they are supervising me? What will they give me or what will they provide me in different ways in teaching?* **(ST2S2)**

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These feelings might also contain traces of jealousy. "Promotions" to ES were linked to a higher salary and were often considered the result of exploitation of family connections, *wasta* (ST1S2). Regardless of the truth of these comments, the impact of these attitudes challenge ESs as professionals and may have impacted on STs' attitude towards the SBTD programme, especially aspects that were delivered or supported by ESs. Similar concerns were also shared by other ESs, who highlighted their worry about the quality of support these newly promoted ESs (which they estimate at 70% of the total) are offering STs.

> *There is a problem, the education specialists who should give support to the teachers are new, most of them are new, they do not have significant experience in supervising staff, giving service to the teachers, so they have to read the material and then they go to the teachers and support them so I think their work is not as good quality in comparison with the old staff.* **(ES1)**

The support and training of these teachers is also of significance in INEE recommendations (INEE, 2015:103) for TPD. The ESs completed LftF which was aimed at developing education leadership (UNRWA, 2012b). In addition, the SBTD Programme provided material and handbooks for use by the Support Cadre (UNRWA, 2013i). Exploring the effectiveness and impact of this training is not within the scope of this project. Further research into support and training for teacher educators, however, would be a valuable addition in this field, especially within a refugee context.

Furthermore, ESs did not always share the subject knowledge of the STs that they were supporting. A former Science teacher may have also been supporting English and Geography teachers (although this was not the case in SBTD II, which was subject-specific). As a result, STs felt that the support they received did not match their degree of professionalism, knowledge or skills, further challenging their personal identity as professionals (ST1+2S3). STs also highlighted the same absence of subject-specific skills in SPs (ST4S6). Subject-specific ESs, however, remained available to schools throughout the period of the SBTD Programme and continue to work with schools. The overall aims of the SBTD programme did not include introducing subject-specific practices, but considered general practices and pedagogies (HQ). These issues, however, challenged

STs' identity as professionals with specific skills sets, which the content of the SBTD Programme and the support cadre failed to value.

6.15 Classroom Observations by the Support Cadre – Found to be Supportive although also Focused on Compliance

One of the most significant functions of the support cadre was to support the SBTD Programme with conducting classroom observations, which again offered a range of experiences and perspectives from participants. On the whole, this was one of the more positively reported features of the SBTD Programme; however, it also took on an obligatory and tick-box approach that may have limited the sustainability of promoted classroom practices.

The following ST shared a negative experience towards classroom observations, where they experienced a lack of encouragement from their SP:

> *Says only the negative points, or points of weakness, they did not encourage, they didn't encourage us at all* […] *Every lesson the Head Teacher came to see, they criticise us and they say, you have this point of weakness, you have this point of weakness, why they don't give us a kind of motivation.* **(ST1S10)**

It was reported by one ST that the ES only observed ten minutes of the lesson (ST1S12). As a result, the ST felt undervalued and that their work was not respected. Although the experience of partial observation was not reported by anyone else, ESs were supporting a large number of STs (80–100 STs) through the programme (ES1+2). With such a large number of STs to support it would not be surprising if other STs beyond this sample experienced something similar.

While there were some challenging experiences by STs, positive value and attitudes towards classroom observations were shared by others (ST3S6, ST3S5). STs described classroom observations as a great support (ST1S7), an opportunity for learning (ST1S3) and in the eyes of one SP, as motivating (SPS12). This was especially the case when advice and suggestions offered by observers were practical and could be applied, but also encouraging. Peer-to-peer classroom observations and discussion encouraged in the SBTD Programme material (UNRWA, 2013d:51–53, 2013e:33) were also praised by

STs (ST4S8); however, with the reiteration that these types of observations had also taken place prior to the SBTD Programme. STs stressed that the programme still offered nothing new, in both its content and method (ST2S2, ST1S7, ST3S15, ST2S3).

Classroom observations were included in the INEE recommendations on effective quality TPD as key in providing teachers with ongoing support (INEE, 2015:83–99). Observations in the SBTD Programme, however, do not appear to have influenced teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse around beliefs on learning and the value of practices. Rather, the focus on completion of and compliance to the SBTD Programme influenced the way in which teachers interacted with these observations. STs' comments on classroom observations suggested that the way in which they engaged with them were focused on compliance rather than reflective practice. One ST was concerned that the class observation (regular classes are 40-minutes long) was not long enough to 'show' to the observer all the techniques that they knew (ST1S7). Another ST listed more CCP that they knew the observers were 'looking for' (ST1S4). One ST gave a bold description of how they would use 'more than one of the SBTD methods' during the lesson observation (ST3S5). In addition, STs described how students performed well and enjoyed lessons when observers were in their class. Examples that highlight classroom observations conducted as part of the SBTD programme were not reflective of regular classes.

> *Students like it when head teachers observe* [...] *I think students wanted to show the Head Teacher that they are good learners, so they participated more, interacted more, even the good students helped weaker students.* **(ST3S5)**

This "performance" of observations could in part be related to the manner in which classroom observations were conducted. Before the observation, the ST had a meeting with the observer (SP or ES) and, using classroom observations material from the SBTD Programme, selected specific classroom practices that would be observed. Reflective questions and feedback were asked and given after. Similar behaviour was observed in Malawi where, during classroom observations, teacher practices felt contrived and overly intricate (Mtika & Gates, 2010:400). In Kenya, Ochieng' Ong'ondo & Borg (2011:523) detail that 'observed lessons thus became plastic (i.e. artificial)

performances motivated by fear of and designed to please supervisors'. Determining the impact of classroom observations and associated feedback on teachers, and specifically their classroom practice, is limited. The dominant focus on compliance, however, and challenges to reflection detailed by STs throughout the whole SBTD Programme suggest that this may have been limited.

6.16 Teachers Found Peer Support the Most Productive

The system and policy features of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy had an impact on STs in how they could engage with the SBTD content, most significantly the additional time pressures created by the ERS and the SBTD Programme. The Programme also negatively impacted on teacher attitudes and feelings especially around content and the repetitive nature of the training, as well as the lack of opportunity to develop their desired skills. None of these related challenges and emotions, however, appears to have influenced the social capital within schools and the more collegial aspects of the SBTD Programme, including the development of communities of practice (CoP) in group sessions and networks within their own school.

STs praised peer-to-peer learning, in the form of CoP, 'where people feel confident with each other and where newcomers can gain the help of more experienced members' (UNRWA, 2013d:39), as being the most effective and beneficial style of learning in the SBTD programme. Some STs, predominantly female, shared positive experiences and highlighted the value of group sessions that gave them opportunities to learn from others (ST2S11, ST2S7, ST2S9, ST2S13, ST2S12, ST1S4). Some claimed that the group sessions, and the CoP that developed, were 'better' than the whole of the SBTD Programme.

> *We discuss things together, I think asking an experienced teacher like **x**, this is better than reading the whole of the SBTD 1 course. Or to ask a teacher like **y** here because they are more experienced than me.* **(ST1S1)**

While formal "group sessions", as practised during the SBTD Programme, might not have been a common occurrence before, learning from each other was a feature that STs declared was important to them. While they embraced this feature of the SBTD Programme, there was equal frustration, as such CoP were considered a 'normal' part of

their regular practice rather than a new source for TPD. STs repeatedly stressed, often with frustration, that these learning environments had always existed and were not a new addition introduced by the SBTD programme (ST1+2+4S3),

> Yes yes, before SBTD […] *always, always, talking about, maybe take help from **x**. It's more benefit for us than SBTD.* **(ST1S4)**

STs accepted more structured CoP with a more positive attitude than other parts of the SBTD Programme, such as the reflective portfolio. The pre-existence of these communities may have been an influence in this positive attitude towards group sessions. It could be questioned, however, if these environments were a source of learning and TPD, in addition to providing a social and supportive network. While this ST suggests that there was learning in their professional community, it is important to note that collaboration is not enough for learning to occur, but there must be a shared aim to these interactions (Supovitz, 2002; Teleshaliyev, 2013; Vescio et al., 2008). Gathering together does not necessarily create a productive outcome or impact on teacher discourse and practice. Furthermore, the INEE highlight the need for goal-setting in peer coaching relationships (INEE, 2015:89).

STs did not detail any difference in the value they placed on group sessions conducted by SPs in school or the ESs out of their school environment. Different styles in delivery of the content, however, were noticed. There were complaints of the group sessions being facilitated in an 'old style' with an absence of more CCP (ST1+2S16). There was also a report of other group sessions, involving group work, that were favoured by STs (ST4S8). UNRWA has created guides and support materials for use by SPs and ESs to deliver these sessions (UNRWA, 2013h); however, their use seems to have been selective. Similar absence of learner/CCP being used in TPD and teacher education is noted and highlighted as a barrier to teacher implementation of these methods (INEE, 2015:103; Mtika & Gates, 2010:399).

These CoP have also led to more peer-to-peer support and focused discussion (ST2S11) compared to before the Programme. As a result, some STs described how the structure of group sessions within the SBTD programme widened their interactions and learning

with teachers from other subjects. This is a factor that may have led to changes in teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse and practice.

> *The collaboration between the teachers in different specialities* [...] *I can ask them about certain things, if I have science problems, maths, sometimes English, they can teach me and give me the best way to teach the students and use concepts that are very difficult and they might ask me to make it simple for them for their experience.* **(ST2S12)**

While the physical environment and working contexts were not satisfactory to STs, which they also felt hindered their classroom practice, positive social capital within schools facilitated group work, peer-to-peer learning and CoPs. Many STs celebrated positive working relationships with others. This echoes other research into the value of social networks and the collective nature of Arab culture, which in uncertain conditions also has protective factors for well-being (Veronese et al., 2018:24). None of the participants commented on negative or challenging relationships between other STs and it was common that the teaching body was described as a family, and colleagues as friends:

> *We have a very friendly environment in this school and we talk, cooperate with each other and help out when it is necessary* [...] *we are more than colleagues in the same school we are friends.* **(ST1S7)**

While such informal and collegial relationships may not necessarily lead to learning (Patrick et al., 2010:281), it has been found that they are enhancing, especially in early-career school teachers (Korthagen, 2017:390–1).

There is little research investigating how learning communities develop over time, while there is a significant body of research into the necessary conditions for their creation (Krečič & Grmek, 2008; Sztajn et al., 2007). Dooner et al. (2008:564) highlight the importance of shared perspectives, but that maintaining them consistently over time is no doubt difficult especially in challenging conditions (Abusrewel, 2014). SPs described how those who showed initial resistance to the SBTD programme when it was first

introduced became more invested in it, and described STs as enjoying the programme more as it progressed (SPS12, SPS3, SPS9, SPS6, SPS14). An ES understood this as the 'less motivated' STs seeing their colleagues succeeding in implementing these more CCP. This then encouraged the 'less motivated' STs to reflect on their own practices and participate more actively in CoPs (ES1). This change in ST attitudes may be linked to ideas around motivation and self-efficacy. It is thought that teachers with high levels of self-efficacy beliefs are more likely to be able to create the conditions for and to promote interpersonal networks that nourish and sustain their work satisfaction (Caprara et al., 2006:485). The belief and attitude that the SBTD Programme content was not new and that STs were already using these more CCP could have supported these feelings of efficacy in those who were 'more motivated', impacting on the CoPs. This environment, where there was feeling of self–efficacy among STs, could also have served as a catalyst for the intrinsic motivation of others. Crehan (2016:40) details that the fulfilment of competence, as well as relatedness, is necessary for enhancing intrinsic motivation. The 'repetitive' content of the SBTD Programme may have served as a motivator for some STs who felt competent (Caprara et al., 2006:485), while for others their feeling of competency might have been challenged (ST2S8, ST4S3, ST1S5, ST3S1, ST2S3, SPS3). There may be connections with increasing motivation amongst the teaching body as a consequence of CoP. Research shows that dominant beliefs from peers can be influential on other teachers (Hoekstraet al., 2009:292), which in some cases has led to teachers' reluctance to use more CCP (Mtika & Gates, 2010:401; Rahman et al., 2006:28). Identifying the specific impacts of CoP, however is not within the scope of this thesis.

Most significantly, CoPs offer contextual support, where there is opportunity to work with and learn from other teachers in similar situations. This contextualisation along with the existing social capital between STs was considered to provide valuable opportunities for participants.

6.17 Conclusion
The dominant theme throughout the policy and system level of pedagogy as ideas/discourse is that the ERS and SBTD Programme were a source of additional challenge and pressure on participants, including school leadership. This pressure compounded existing difficulties with the availability of time. The shape and form of the SBTD Programme, including content, were also points of contention for participants.

Although the purpose of the SBTD Programme was to build on existing classroom practices, there was great desire among STs to learn new skills, the absence of which created negative attitudes toward to Programme. These feelings were further compounded by forced participation.

Greater contextualisation and participation in the development of the SBTD Programme could have addressed many of the issues that participants presented. It was widely felt that the Programme content was repetitive of the EP Course that STs complete when they start working for UNRWA causing significant frustration. Despite this, however, there were some qualitative differences to the perceived value of this repetition based on teacher tenure. STs were able to articulate clearly their perceived training needs, learning how to manage large classrooms, responding to additional learning needs and using technology in their classes. While some of these themes were highlighted by the Programme, participants did not feel that they were supported in developing competence in these areas. King, reflecting on TPD in Ireland, states that '[i]ssues may arise within the school context where a mismatch exists between teachers' individual PD needs and those of the school or department [in this case UNRWA HQ][...] Effectively, this renders teachers as "technicians carrying out someone else's policy" (Priestley et al. 2011, 269) rather than being active, creative, self-directed participants in their own professional learning' (King, 2016:578). These reflections are clearly seen in UNRWA, where carrying out an imposed policy was also felt by teachers to be forceful and inflexible to their circumstances and experience. In a similar way, Buckler (2015:131), during their work in Uganda, found that there were different definitions and understandings of teacher quality. The government/employer understood teachers to be of lower quality to what the teachers considered themselves. This idea of quality is linked to imposed definitions, rather than those developed through participation. Similarly, the SBTD Programme detailed changes needed to teachers' classroom practice; however, these practices were not fully aligned to teachers, their contexts and how they desired to achieve this, in a similar way to the ERS.

One of the issues compounded by the SBTD Programme's lack of contextualisation was linked to the burden of time pressures. With large workloads, as well as an intense knowledge-driven curriculum, STs' main priorities were around delivering the volume

of material needed rather than the method of delivery. This is reminiscent of 'David' in the Netherlands, who was limited by contextual factors in enacting reform policy (Reio, 2005:387). The lack of contextualisation had significant impact on teacher reflection. The ERS and the SBTD Programme created a working environment, which was 'crammed' with multiple programmes and requirements for each. Time pressures along with finding the opportunity and space for reflection were very difficult for STs, challenging their investment in the Programme (Ashraf & Rarieya, 2008). This led to reports of some teachers in other Programme cohorts copying reflective material from one another. This research supports that, with limited time, teachers felt that they could not fully participate in TPD (Gemeda et al., 2014; Nabhani & Bahous, 2010; Nabhani et al., 2012; Phipps & Borg, 2009). While time was an obvious barrier to reflection, the structure of the written reflective portfolio and notebooks may have also limited effective reflection. The opportunity for setting personal goals and targets in reflective practice is present, but what is missing is the challenge or support from others. Reflection alone is not sufficient (Mitchell, 2013:392), although there was support provided to STs with classroom observations and CoPs. The absence of ST reflective skills, similar to the findings of O'Sullivan (2004) in Namibia, may have also been a factor for these UNRWA teachers, as their initial training may not have included this professional practice. The impact of the SBTD Programme on STs pedagogy as ideas/discourse at the system and policy level, however, practically and emotionally limited the opportunity and willingness for reflection.

The compliance detailed by participants in relation to aspects of the SBTD Programme, such as classroom observations, challenge ST commitment and passion for long-term change to their pedagogy as ideas/discourse. Very specific parameters and short-term goals of the observations may have further encouraged an attitude of compliance, subsequently narrowly framing future actions of the STs (Biestaet al., 2015:636–637). These parameters also limit the longevity and continued use of more CCP beyond the period of the official SBTD Programme. Findings from teachers' experience of reflection and the SBTD Programme echo O'Sullivan's (2004b:6) concerns about observation and the need for literature and research to examine the observation process. Such work will also need to acknowledge interaction with context and pedagogy as ideas/discourse (Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005). Sriprakash (2011:26) details that in India 'bureaucratic

structure and inspectorial culture within which the teachers' classroom practices took place were seen to impinge on the teacher's pedagogic decision making. Teachers' work was positioned through managerial concerns about accountability and regulation over and above the development of, and reflection on, pedagogic strategies', which also appears to be the case with the SBTD Programme.

The impact of structural changes created by the ERS with the development of additional ES roles appears to have been underestimated. STs expressed dislike towards ESs who were part of the Support Cadres for the SBTD Programme. While much of this emotion from STs was focused on sudden promotion, there was concern about the lack of experience and skill from more experienced ESs. This issue echoes the Universilia review (2010:30+31), which highlights that while more CCP can be supported in large classrooms and more complex physical environments, supervisors (ESs) 'do not understand the concept [active learning] deeply, nor do many stakeholders in the UNRWA context support it'. This concern was also raised by an ST in reference to some of the expectations of their SPs. Although ESs completed LftF, Universilia acknowledges difficulties for stakeholders, who have not experienced these practices as students, suggesting that change in these discourses could take significant time, while more teacher-centred methods automatically become a default position. Supporting this concern, Scotland (2014) states that change in teacher belief and practice takes considerable time. Furthermore, STs expressed their desire for subject-specific support. Experts who know the curriculum content, and which teaching practices make a difference to students is highlighted by Timperley (2008:20), who also warns that without this it is possible for TPD to have an adverse effect on teacher practice and student attainment. Others also cite the importance of subject-specific support in TPD (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017; Desimone, 2009; Ochieng' Ong'ondo & Borg, 2011).

The SBTD Programme was an ambitious feature of the ERS. The impact and sustainable change from TPD is explored by Elliott (2014:36), who questions whether sustained and coherent support for teachers is achievable when programmes are up-scaled. Elements of these findings from SPs and ESs suggest that supporting STs through the SBTD Programme was also a significant amount of work for them. SPs suggested that while they had seen changes in STs' classroom practice, they questioned the depth and

longevity of these practices when the SBTD Programme had concluded, stating that STs' use of more CCP was not sustained and that they reverted to 'the old ways' (SPS13). Only one SP stated that they continued conducting classroom observations following the official end of the SBTD Programme (SPS4). This is despite continuous classroom review being encouraged in other aspects of the ERS, significantly LftF, and is shown to be a key factor in student attainment (Mcaleavy et al., 2018:20). Continuing TPD was also encouraged throughout the SBTD Programme, with Module One, Unit 4, *Developing Professional Knowledge, Skills and Understanding* (UNRWA, 2013d:38–52) and Module Six, Units 23–24, *Professional Development and Moving Forward* (UNRWA, 2013e:29–45). These participant reflections on the long-term impact of the SBTD Programme, however, are directly linked to the discussion of impact that the Programme had on pedagogy as practice/discourse at a system and policy level and the attitude of compliance. Completion of the SBTD Programme was met with relief from extra burden and forced participation.

Positive impacts of the SBTD Programme on the system and policy level of pedagogy of ideas/discourse should not be overlooked. The Programme had influence on existing teacher networks and CoPs, supporting those already in existence to take on a more formal structure and approach to peer learning. These CoPs were praised by STs as the most beneficial aspects of the SBTD Programme. Social capital between teachers, which was already of significant value, was further expanded. ESs and STs reported on how the SBTD Programme participants developed Facebook and WhatsApp groups to share learning (ES2). These were groups set up independently from UNRWA and the SBTD Programme Support Cadre, demonstrating the personal value teachers placed on these networks. There were also comments, however, that copying of reflective work was conducted via these Facebook groups (ST1S10, ST2S2, ST1S5). Despite this, a professional network beyond a teacher's school is seen as a vital discourse community (Tytler et al., 2011:877) and online networks can support the formation of social capital (Bergviken Rensfeldtet al., 2018:242). Facebook and WhatsApp forums for teachers have been considered to impact teacher practice in the Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya (Hall-chen et al., 2018:40) and for similar mobile applications for action research in Tanzania (Juma et al., 2017:732). The value that STs placed on CoPs further highlights the significance of TPD being contextualised and participatory. Teachers were able to

gain context-specific support and work in groups that clearly valued equal participation, as also seen in the Teachers for Teachers project with peer mentors in Kenya (Mendenhall, et al., 2017:8).

The value in the use of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy as a framework/tool to explore quality education is clearly demonstrated in this chapter with consideration of both qualitative and quantitative sources. The SBTD Programme was not fully contextually aware of the reality teachers faced within their existing pedagogy as ideas/discourse at a system and policy level. Therefore, the content, shape and structure of the programme caused great frustration and even more pressure at this level. With full consideration of pedagogy as ideas/discourse in the development of the SBTD Programme this could have been avoided, and instead been part of creating a positive learning environment and supporting teachers to develop their desired classroom practices in their effort to deliver quality education.

7. What Is the Impact of the SBTD Programme on Teacher Practice and Pedagogy as Ideas/Discourse? – Cultural and Societal Level

This chapter will explore the impact of the SBTD Programme through the lens of pedagogy at the level of culture and society. Investigating the classroom level, which includes student learning and curriculum has not been possible in this project. The cultural and societal level of pedagogy as ideas/discourse, however, connects some of these aspects together. Participant responses clearly identify an overlap of many features of these levels. STs often detailed challenges with students that are directly linked to the community and Palestine Refugee context. Key examples relate to student motivation and limited attention in the classroom, as well as the use of certain classroom practices. These are considered at a cultural and societal level, as they closely relate to teachers' internal beliefs influencing teacher practice. Findings relating to the curriculum could have also been explored as part of a wider influence from policy and systems in the broader Arab region and the host country curriculum, however, they are considered here due to the links participants made with their beliefs around learning. Hence, there is need to acknowledge the close relationship between the levels of pedagogy as practice/ideas. This interactive relationship between levels further highlights the importance of context and the consideration of pedagogy in delivering quality education.

Classroom Practice
7.1 Some Changes in School Teacher Classroom Practices

Building on participant discussion on changes in classroom practice explored qualitatively in the previous chapter, observations of STs show that there were some changes in the use of classroom practices between the UNRWA baseline study of classroom practices (UNRWA, 2014a) and this research conducted in early 2017. There was an overall theme of decreased use of teacher-centred classroom practices, and an increase in the use of more CCP. Most significantly, there was a decrease of 11.5% of lesson time spent with the 'Teacher writing on the chalk/whiteboard' (15.4% of the lesson time in the baseline down to 3.9%). Similarly 'Teacher explanation' decreased by 5.3% points. Of equal significance is the increased frequency of more CCP. The largest change was in STs using 'Student demonstration to the class'. This practice increased by 14.4% of lesson time, from 5.1% in the baseline survey to 19.5%. Students working in pairs/groups also increased from 3.9% of lesson time to 13.7% (increase of 9.8% points).

The comparative increase in actions such as handing out materials 'classroom administration' (8.4% points more of lesson time) compared to the baseline, could be a direct result of similar comparative increases in the use of 'group work', which also requires more instruction and organisation of the students. Observations, however, showed that during 'classroom administration' STs did not always convey instructions that were easy to understand or comprehensive, leading to some students becoming disengaged and off task (S11Ob2, S10Ob3). As a consequence, there was also an increase of students being 'off task': this was 1.3% points more (3.9% of lesson time), compared to the baseline. It is important to note, however, that there was a handful of "outlaying" observations related to instruction giving. These STs gave comprehensive instructions and time allowances to students, which were not observed in other classes. The difference between these STs and others are that they had taken part in additional training, including courses delivered by The British Council or international exchanges. Such practices were not observed in STs who had not been part of these programmes, despite completion of the SBTD Programme. It is also important to note a decrease in class time spent by STs managing students (behaviour-focused). In the baseline, 11% of class time was spent by STs 'managing students'. This decreased by 7.5%, points to only 3.5% of class time. It must be noted that the nature of observation and there being an observer may have had an impact on student behaviour.

Despite an increase in the use of more CCP, the use of more teacher-centred practices remained prevalent. For example, 'Teacher explanation' made up 20% of lesson time in the baseline; while this was 5.3% points lower (14.7% of lesson time in these observations) the practice still remains to a notable degree (Table 8). This echoes literature that highlights the lack of full integration of more CCP into Global South classrooms (Schweisfurth, 2015); contextually based explanations of why this may be the case in UNRWA schools in Jordan are explored further throughout this chapter.

Table 8 – Teacher Explanation / Q & A and Review of Lesson Topics – Timeline Observation

Teacher Explanation / Q & A and Review of Lesson Topics – Timeline Observation											
	Teacher Explanation / Q & A Observation time slot – minutes										
	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	36–40	41–45	46–50	**Overall**
Observation	18.1%	12.0%	16.4%	18.1%	13.1%	15.4%	9.3%	4.3%	20.0%	100%	14.7%
Jordan Baseline Survey (UNRWA, 2014a:29)	23.2%	21.3%	22.5%	21.2%	19.9%	18.7%	19.2%	14.1%	–	–	20.0%
	Review of the Lesson Topic Observation time slot – minutes										
	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	36–40	41–45	46–50	**Overall**
Observation	19.4%	8.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	21.7%	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%
Jordan Baseline Survey (UNRWA, 2014a:29)	7.1%	3.8%	2.6%	4.0%	2.5%	4.2%	5.1%	9.0%	–	–	4.8%

'Teacher explanation' also continued to be implemented in a similar fashion and at a similar time during the lessons as the baseline, most notably in introducing a topic and starting the lesson (Table 8). Although STs shared how they considered more CCP as helpful in linking different parts of the lesson (ST2S11), this was not extensively observed. In one observation, mind mapping was used to introduce the topic, The Dead Sea. The lesson began with the ST using a mind map to gather students' thoughts and ideas about what they already knew about The Dead Sea (S2Obs1). In general, more teacher-centred focus was used to begin classes, for example in a 7th Grade class linked to the Seven Wonders of the World the ST began the lesson by saying 'remember x, y and

z…' (S6Ob1). Rather than asking a question and gathering student feedback, the lesson started with teacher explanation. The SBTD Programme included content on lesson introductions and ways of introducing information using practices other than teacher explanation (UNRWA, 2013d:13); however, these observations suggest that STs did not use these practices widely. Sometimes, STs wrote lesson objectives on the board (S4Ob2, S16Ob2, S8Ob1+3, S2Ob1, S14Ob1); however, the explanation and sharing of these objectives to students were not common (1.06 overall using a Likert scale (Table 8).

Table 9 – Likert Scale

Likert Scale	
0	Behaviour never observed
1	Behaviour rarely observed (i.e. once or twice)
2	Behaviour occasionally observed (i.e. 4 or 5 times)
3	Behaviour consistently observed

'Teacher explanation/ Q & A' was, however, used less in the last ten minutes of the official lesson time (31–40 minutes), with 'Review of lesson topic' being the most used practice (36–40 minutes) (Table 8). Even so, when lessons overran, 'Teacher explanation / Q & A' remained the most dominant practice, suggesting that under pressure STs return to teacher-led default practices.

Observations showed that practices around formative assessment changed in frequency. 'Teacher marking' decreased 4.8% points to 0.8% of lesson time in these observations, compared to 5.6% in the baseline (Table 10). While this could suggest an absence in STs correcting student errors, there was significant increase in 'Students demonstrating to the class'. This made up 19.5% of lesson time compared to the baseline, which was 5.1%. This demonstration time can allow for teacher correction, guidance and assessment, without being disconnected from the student.

Table 10 – Teacher Marking Work and Students Demonstrating to Class – % of Lesson Time

% of Lesson Time – Teacher Marking Work and Students Demonstrating to Class (All Observations)			
Classroom Practice	**Overall Observation**	**Jordan baseline survey** (UNRWA, 2014a:29)	**Change**
Teacher marking work	0.8%	5.6%	−4.8%
Students demonstrating to class	19.5%	5.1%	14.4%

Formative assessment was a significant part of the SBTD Programme, Module 3 (UNRWA, 2013f). The scope of this research project did not allow for evaluation of STs' use of formative assessment within these timeline observations, although they could be utilising classroom demonstration for these purposes. The decrease of 'teacher marking', and increase of 'student demonstration to class' suggests that STs might be looking at these different ways of formative assessment, rather than only using written/book-based assessment.

Table 11 – Teaching and Learning Behaviours– Likert Scale of Behaviours

Teaching and Learning Behaviours – Likert Scale				
Teaching and Learning Behaviours	Observations of Male School Teachers	Observations of Female School Teachers	Difference between Male and Female	Observation Average
Section 3 Demonstrating skills in feedback				
Probes pupil answers	0.58	0.42	38% (M>F)	0.48
Builds pupil answers into subsequent questions	0.50	0.63	26% (F>M)	0.58

STs could similarly be using different questioning techniques for formative assessment. 'Building on pupil answers into subsequent questions', however, was averaged at 0.58 and 'Probes pupil answers' was overall 0.48 (Table 11), suggesting that this might not be the case, as these techniques were almost never observed. The Perceptional Survey conducted by UNRWA also highlights that STs rely on short-answer questions to a greater extent than long-answer questions (UNRWA, 2015c:25). STs' practices may be linked to their pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). While STs may feel comfortable asking students for specific answers, such as yes or no, they may not be comfortable with building answers, expanding them and potentially linking more ideas together, with questions such as 'What do you think about…? What kind of…? How do you…? (British Council, 2010). PCK is understood to be a prerequisite for teachers in developing students' higher order thinking skills (Vavrus at al, 2011:74–75), the absence of which may be due to limited specialised pre-service training. The Universilia report suggests that while STs have sound general education, 'the vast majority of UNRWA teachers enter the profession with inadequate specialized pre-service teacher education, and this lack of practical preparation has a major negative impact on quality' (Universilia Management Group, 2010:i). Higher level classroom discussion also comes with other potential risk to STs. Alexander notes that one of the biggest challenges to

introducing high-level dialogue into classrooms is teachers' fears around losing control: 'where student behaviour is a challenge teachers will tend to favour forms of pedagogy that help them maximise task engagement and restrict student rowdiness' (Elliott, 2014:33). This further suggests pedagogy as ideas/discourse factors, including behaviour, issues around student attention, as well as STs' PCK can influence classroom practices, especially around higher order questioning. Despite significant focus on questioning in the SBTD Programme, specifically Module 3 (UNRWA, 2013f:17–36), these context based factors may have more influence on STs' practice compared to the SBTD Programme. Limited change in practice, despite specific focus of the TPD, highlights the importance of acknowledging these other factors as influencing STs.

7.2 Focus on Group Work

There was an increase (9.8% points) of the use of 'Group work' from the baseline (3.9% of lesson time) to 13.7%. While this demonstrates that STs increased their use of group work, there is also complexity in the ways the practice was used. The review of teaching and learning behaviours shows that the frequency of group work was 1.52 (0 – Behaviour never observed, 3 – Behaviour consistently observed). This shows that while group work was used, it was most commonly utilised by the ST for a single task in an extended period of lesson time. It was also most common for group work to be used for creation tasks (S8Ob2, S6Ob1, S11Ob2, S13Ob1 S10Ob2 & 3, S14Ob1), less so in sharing tasks (S2Ob1, S10Ob1). Group work was not often observed for collecting information (S14Ob1), group debates or problem solving (S14Ob2), which would promote deeper learning and which were features of the SBTD Programme (UNRWA, 2013g:25–27). While there was increased use of group work, its purpose was relatively limited and not utilised in the multiple ways promoted by the SBTD Programme. Information collecting, debate or problem-solving in group work also relate to Alexander, who suggests that such practices may be felt to increase 'student rowdiness' (Elliott, 2014:33) compared to sharing or creation purposes. Teacher confidence in managing the classroom was a barrier to the full implementation of collaborative science practices in the research of Braud et al. (2013) in South Africa, which following from the previous chapter, may have been a factor for less experienced STs. Contextual challenges have an element of responsibility in limiting these practices, including large class sizes (see previous chapter, ST1S1, ST3S5). These findings are also seen in a rigorous literature review conducted by Westbrook et al. (2013:38), who outline the key differences in teacher

practice as not what they do, but how they do it, influenced by their understandings of teaching and learning.

STs' own limited experience of group work practices as students may restrict their belief and depth of conviction of the practice for a broader range of activities and purposes. The style of practices experienced by teachers during their time as a student is thought to be hugely significant in the way they then behave in the classroom as teachers (Phipps & Borg, 2009:388). When STs and SPs described their experiences as students there were consistent references to lecturing, standing at the front of the class 'explaining the lesson' (SPS3, ST2S13), call and response, writing from the board and favouritism (SPS10). Participants described these methods as the 'old ways' (ST2S6), 'chalk and talk' (SPS15, ST1S12) or the 'traditional method' (ST2S3). There were only two references to more CCP used by their childhood teachers, which included song-singing and pair work (ST3S4, ST1S3).

Participants independently and seamlessly linked their experiences as students and what they believe their classroom practices are like now as STs. There was eagerness when describing the past and their experiences as students to detail and define why those classroom practices were not as positive as the practices they use in their own classrooms. One ST detailed an experience of their teacher not allowing time for students to answer questions when they were at school (ST4S4), other participants highlighted that former practices were not inclusive of all learners.

7.3 Having Fun – Teachers' Passion for More Child-Centred Practices

STs shared how students of all abilities could be involved in the class when they used more CCP, especially in motivating those that they felt were weaker learners or had additional learning needs (ST1+2S12,ST2+2S3, ST2S15, ST1S7, ST2+3S2, ST2S5, ST1+2S13, SPS13). Group work is also seen by some STs as a chance for students to develop leadership, teamwork and other vital skills necessary for the future (ST1S7, ST1S15, ST1+2S13). Another ST saw pair and group work as opportunities for students to exchange ideas and experiences with others (ST3S2). Specifically relating to English, STs highlighted that more teacher-centred methods did not facilitate the development of the necessary communicative language skills, which they did not get to develop as students.

Teachers were just focusing on reading and grammar, we did not have conversation or speaking, we were weak in speaking and conversation, when we got to university we felt that we were weaker than other students. **(STS5)**

STs gave clear emphasis on more CCP being 'fun', suggesting support for them was linked to an increase in student engagement. While such focus echoes reflections that more CCP are positive for the greater inclusivity of students with additional needs, STs attention was on students having fun. More CCP were praised over more teacher-centred practices with focus being on enjoyment:

...if you have fun, everything can be easy. **(ST2S3)**

This was also evident in observations. One lesson consisted of a series of white board based games including 'vanishing words' and 'crack the code'. No learning objective or connecting purpose to the games played was evident (S7Ob2). Although students were enjoying the games, there was a clear lack of relevance between student learning and the use of these CCP. Focus was placed on more CCP being effective in engaging students and capturing their attention. Other observations clearly showed STs passion for engaging students, while learning was a secondary focus. The practice of 'teacher rote and chorus response' was more prevalent with 8.5% of lesson time in comparison to baseline data, which was 7.0% (Table 11). While this demonstrates an increase of a more teacher-centred practice, this is predominantly due to the whole class singing songs such as 'Old McDonald Had a Farm' (S13Ob1, S12Ob1, S2Ob2). During lesson observations it was common for STs to start a song, which students completed. Often, the timing of this did not seem to add to the lesson or break and mark a change from current activity, nor was the learning objective or purpose of using these songs clear. Students, however, appeared to enjoy singing and shouting these songs, which they knew all the words to, sometimes also gesturing along (S15Ob1). This practice was most likely used by STs for the purpose of engaging students. It is worth noting that the use of this call and response with the intention and result of student engagement could also be a factor in the decrease in time spent on 'classroom management' (behaviour focused), 11% in the baseline and 3.5% in these observations (−7.5% point difference) (Table 12).

Greater detail, however, on the styles of teacher call and response seen in base line observations is not available.

Table 12 – **Teacher Rote/Chorus Responses and Class Management – % of Lesson Time**

% of Lesson Time – Teacher Rote/Chorus Responses and Class Management (All Observations)			
	Observations Overall	Jordan baseline survey (UNRWA, 2014a:29) (40 min lessons)	Change
Teacher rote/chorus responses class	8.5%	7.0%	1.5%
Class management	3.5%	11.0%	−7.5%

Other classroom observations also demonstrated ST value in more CCP; still, however, engagement took precedence over learning. Overuse of activities was observed multiple times, where the same activity was repeated throughout the lesson. This was common during 6th Grade. 'Let's Do An Experiment – Sink or Float' was a practical session focused on testing different household objects and food to find out if they sink or float. This activity dominated the lesson time and students' attention moved away from the task. While there was initial engagement, weak management over the shape of the lesson meant that students' engagement waned and attention drifted away from the task. The textbook offered other activities in partnership with this one, although these were not exploited during the observed lessons (S12Ob2, S4Ob1).

The experiences of STs as students were more teacher-focused, although they shared positive attitudes towards more CCP. Contrary to Ginsburg (2010:72), participants presented very little hostility or deep resistance to teaching practices which were different to their own classroom experiences. Rather, these findings correlate with other research into teacher belief that suggests that core principles of education are malleable,

grow and develop (Day, 2002:689; Pillen et al., 2013:87). The SBTD Programme, however, was not detailed by STs as a point of change in their beliefs. While participants did not identify a specific time or experience for the development of these beliefs, they did note that they had previous training and experience, specifically the Educational Psychology (EP) course. This project was not able to consider teacher experiences and belief longitudinally; however, there may have been some resistance, as suggested by Ginsburg, since change to core belief is also thought to take considerable time (Scotland, 2014).

7.4 'Spoon–feeding' Is Better for Learning

STs who praised and highlighted specific values of more CCP also detailed how their use of these practices depended on the content of the lesson. The following ST references more teacher-centred practice as 'ordinary', having previously praised more CCP.

> *The type of the lesson, depends, some lessons we use lecture ways, the ordinary way* […] *you can add some games after they got clear idea about the grammar.* **(ST2S11)**

Exercising caution in drawing too much inference from the use of a term such as 'ordinary' in a second language, it suggests that more teacher-centred, lecturing methods are used for teaching grammatical ideas, while more CCP is introduced after the key ideas have been taught. The distinction that this ST makes between the two types of practice demonstrates a core belief of how learning occurs. Lecturing (more teacher-centred practices) is needed for learning, and games (more CCP) for student application of this learning.

This is also seen in another ST, who demonstrated fairly consistent use of more CCP during the class observation (S6Ob1). The ST considered these practices to be more fun and engaging for students, but does not relate this engagement with learning. They believe that 'spoon-feeding' with more teacher-centred practices is easier and better for student learning.

> *Sometimes the teacher uses the traditional methods of teaching and it's easier and more applicable for our students* […] *in English I think spoon-feeding our students* [is better]*,* [English] *is not their mother language and they need to put in more effort,*

even the good students [...] *You watched my class today this is how I do it because I want my students to like English, to let them have fun while working* [...] *but in fact I usually repeat this lesson in the traditional ways* **(ST2S6)**

Observation data may also be demonstrating these thoughts in practice. For example, 'Student reading out loud to the whole class' was 4.4% of lesson time (−1.7% points from the baseline, Table 13). While this suggests decreased use of more teacher-centred practices, the sample only included observations of English Language classes. Comments made by participants suggest that the 'type' of classes observed might influence this data. During the observations, speaking or listening skills, rather than grammar or reading skills, were the dominant focus of the lessons. Different topics could potentially have included a different frequency of child/teacher-centred practices.

Table 13 – Student Reading to Whole Class – % of Lesson Time

% of Lesson time – Student Reading to the Whole Class (All Observations)			
	Observations Overall	Jordan baseline survey (UNRWA, 2014a:29) (40-min lessons)	Change
Student reading to whole class	4.4%	6.1%	−1.7%

The relationship between classroom practice and subject is also important. One SP listed History, Religion and other Humanities as not needing 'new methods' (SPS1). This idea, however, may have accidently evolved from the SBTD Programme itself. SBTD 1 was designed for Grades 1–6, where suggested classroom practices are not subject-specific and case studies aim to cover a range of subjects (HQ). SBTD II, however, rolled out in September 2015 was targeted to Arabic, English, Maths and Science in Grade 6 and above. The absence of other subjects may have added to the idea that they were 'exempt' from these practices. Another ST also shared their belief on the narrow parameters of more CCP. They suggested that CCP were most suitable for younger learners, because play is more motivating, and did not endorse these practices for older students (ST3S10).

7.5 'Ordinary' and 'Usual' – Overall Mixed Use of Practices

STs' use of language, alongside observation data, presents nuances to the image of more CCP and increase in their frequency. While some STs clearly placed their description of more teacher-centred practices in the past with the use of 'old' (ST2S6) or 'traditional' (ST2S3), others referenced these classroom practices as 'ordinary' or 'usual':

> ***Usual methods***, *the lecture way, lecturing giving information asking discussions.* (**ST2S11**)(emphasis mine)

> *the teachers read or give us homework and we answer them,* ***this is the ordinary way****.* (**ST2S8**) (emphasis mine)

Again, caution should be exercised regarding the translation and the language choices made by the STs during the interview. There could be a direct relationship, however, with the above, namely that STs value teacher-centred practices for learning, and CCP for student engagement and 'fun'. This may mean that 'usual' and 'ordinary' are indeed so, with the use of more CCP as more of an occasional practice. An ST who highlighted the negative aspects of more teacher-centred practices, also stated that they use 'traditional methods' to teach specific skills, for example reading. They also said that students need to learn now to be self-reliant, and that being in pairs or groups is not always good (ST4S3). This suggests that the participant did not fully support one method of practice over another and that only limited change in their core belief had occurred since their formative experience. This closely relates to Phipps and Borg's understanding of teacher belief. While some practices may be theoretically embraced, they are not held with the same level of conviction as those grounded in experience (2009:388).

Classroom observations offer similar reflections, highlighting a mixed use of classroom practices. In one observation, 20 minutes were dominated by 'Teacher explanation' while 'students working in groups' was also a featured in the lesson (Table 14) (S15Ob2).

Table 14 – Observation 2 School 15

Observation 2 School 15		
	Frequency of use (number of 5-min time line observation slots)	% of lesson time practice used
Teacher explanation Q & A	4	28.6
Teacher rote/chorus responses	0	–
Teacher writing on chalk/whiteboard	0	–
Students working from chalk/whiteboard	0	–
Teacher reading to whole class	0	–
Student reading to whole class	0	–
Students working from textbooks	1	7.1
Students working in pairs/groups	3	21.4
Students demonstrating to class	3	21.4
Teacher reviews lesson topic	1	7.1
Teacher marking work	0	–
Class management	0	–
Class administration	1	7.1
Interruption to lesson	1	7.1
Students off-task	0	–
Total	14	100

In another class, students in pairs used puppets when reading/practising a dialogue from the textbook. Students appeared engaged and to be enjoying the action around the use of these puppets. While this is can be considered a more CCP, during the observations there were five instances when 'teacher rote and choral response' was a dominant practice within the 5-minute observation slots, and was more frequent than the puppet/pair work (Table 15) (S12Ob1)

Table 15 – Observation 1 School 12

Observation 1 School 12		
	Frequency of use (number of 5 min time line observation slots)	% of lesson time practice used
Teacher explanation Q & A	6	23.1
Teacher rote/chorus responses	5	19.2
Teacher writing on chalk/whiteboard	2	7.7
Students working from chalk/whiteboard	1	3.8
Teacher reading to whole class	1	3.8
Student reading to whole class	2	7.7
Students working from textbooks	2	7.7
Students working in pairs/groups	1	3.8
Students demonstrating to class	1	3.8
Teacher reviews lesson topic	0	–
Teacher marking work	0	–
Class management	0	–
Class administration	4	15.4
Interruption to lesson	0	–
Students off-task	1	3.8
Total	26	100

7.6 Explaining Mixed Practices – Theory in the SBTD Programme Made Little Impact

Echoing the use of mixed classroom practices seen in the observations, few STs explored a relationship between more CCP and student learning (ST2S4). The relationship between more CCP and student learning was dominant for ESs, who were part of the support cadre of the SBTD Programme:

When you make [give] *the student the opportunity and the freedom to take part and to be included in teaching he or she will learn better because he or she will practice what they are being taught by themselves they, as you know, like learning by doing, learning by playing stays in the mind of students for longer.* **(ES2)**

Student learning is detailed as the main aim throughout the SBTD Programme, most notably in the introductory parts of the Teachers Handbook.

The programme draws extensively on international evidence and it focuses on:
- *the importance of teachers having high expectations about what students can achieve;*
- *the importance, for the **student's learning**, of active pedagogic approaches on the part of the teacher;*
- *the growing understanding of the increased effectiveness of school based teacher development, whereby teachers work with their colleagues in their schools to change and improve classroom practice over time.* (UNRWA, 2013j:5) (emphasis mine)

and in Module One of the SBTD Programme, Developing Active Pedagogies:

Using different ways of working in your classroom will support these new approaches and will help children gain a deeper understanding of the subjects and issues relating to these topics (UNRWA, 2013d:1)

Understandings of why promoted practices support learning are less dominant. There are efforts in the SBTD Programme material to introduce some learning theories. Constructivism and ideas around 'connection making' are briefly explored (UNRWA, 2013d:7). 'Scaffolding' is also mentioned later in Module One, in reflection to a case study:

Raghda was supporting and 'scaffolding' building up their understanding by moving them from the familiar to the less familiar and introducing new ideas at planned intervals. (UNRWA, 2013d:16)

In Module 3, focusing on assessment, there are also hints and links towards student learning in units exploring questioning:

> *Questions need to prompt and probe. Prompts and probes are follow-up questions when the first answer a child provides is inadequate or inappropriate. They are perhaps the most important questions to develop and 'scaffold' children's understanding.* (UNRWA, 2013f:33)

There is no special section or focus in each module or unit, however, on how students learn and what these practices do specifically to enhance student learning. Theoretical statements are often brief and followed by what is missing from current teaching practice:

> *Asking questions is a stimulating and interesting way to engage children in new topics and assist their learning. Some recent research asked teachers who were new to teaching why questions were important. The main reason given was:*

> *To find out about children's knowledge and understanding.* (Brown, G. A. & Wragg, E. C., 1993, Questioning, London: Routledge)

> *But research in many classrooms shows that teachers can easily forget this!* (UNRWA, 2013f:21)

This presentation of theory and deficit in practice does not seem to have challenged teachers' current beliefs about teaching and learning, as demonstrated by their mixed use of practices. Overall, focus of the SBTD Programme material is predominantly on promoting teacher use of active pedagogies, without deep understanding of learning theories. This is similar to a programme in Cambodia which was found to have limited impact (Ogisu, 2018:773). Timperley describes theoretical understanding as necessary for change in teacher practice (2008:11). This was largely absent in the SBTD Programme, further highlighted by the following ST who clearly demonstrates passion for critical thinking although unable to demonstrate an accurate understanding of the

concept. This ST shares an informing question, rather than one that requires critical thinking by the students.

> *Critical thinking is very important, when I ask questions I wait for students to answer the questions by critical thinking* [...] *You must listen, when I ask, what did you do yesterday? I don't answer, you must let the student answer, for example, I watched TV, I watched Arab Idol, I used mobile phones and so. This is critical thinking, it is very important.* **(ST3S4)**

While this ST demonstrates the use of more CCP, waiting for students to answer, engagement with student lives and an open question show some disparity between the desired outcome of critical reflection and the question asked. While the ST shows awareness of 'critical thinking', its application is a buzzword. The participant knows it is 'good', but not fully aware of its purpose, potential or how to implement it. It is important to note that wider cultural attitudes to critical thinking may also be at play here. Critical questioning may be unconsciously evaded within a wider culture where challenge and criticism is avoided (Al-Kandari & Gaither, 2011:272). Similarly, a curriculum review in Jordan conducted by Sabella & Crossouard (2017:4+9)) showed that other teachers in Jordan failed to describe a learning situation where critical thinking teaching could be implemented. They link this in part to teachers' guides that accompany the curriculum, suggesting that teachers use direct methods to teach students how to think critically. This demonstrates the limited resources for teachers to develop effective skills to teach critical thinking, and the potential of wider cultural influences on teachers' actions. This example hints towards an absence of knowledge of the learning process, while value in critical thinking is acknowledged and embraced, but not fully understood (Mtika & Gates, 2010).

In other classroom observations, 'Active Learning' was written as the title of the lesson on the board (S15Ob1), and 'High Order Thinking Skills – (HOTS)' written before questions (S16Ob1). STs may have highlighted these terms to make the observer aware that they are known; similar to the example of critical thinking, STs know that these are buzzwords. This was not unique to these observations, the Universilia report (2010:30) describes how they were assured of active learning in classrooms, but encountered

'neither form or substance' of these practices during their classroom visits. This also suggests misunderstanding of more CCP despite awareness. Lesson plans also demonstrated a lack of theoretical understanding around core concepts of learning theory. While these are not always available for review, when offered by the STs, they were consulted. Most of those reviewed did not detail measurable learning aims or skills for the lesson. For example, one aim was 'to know some information' (Obs1S8) and 'to talk about' (Obs1S6). Although, in one lesson plan there was a measurable aim: 'talk in the present simple' (Obs1S2). The limited time and pressures that STs experience could explain some challenges in lesson planning. The absence of features that would be generally expected, however, such as clear objectives, may be linked to a deeper misunderstanding of their significance.

This ES shared thoughts that the SBTD Programme content did not have enough focus on the theoretical basis of the included practices, which may help explain the lack of full understanding of these practices.

> *the Programme says apply brainstorming* [...] *but I am not familiar with brainstorming, so I need some training on brain storming in order to be able to apply this strategy* [...] *before applying this project, I need to train the teachers in the major teaching strategies before I give them to this project.* **(ES 1)**

Where STs felt that content was repetitive, as it was already known, this ES felt that basic understanding of the practices was absent. The ES's feelings about teacher learning are similar to that of Hoekstra et al. (2009), who state that practical and theoretical knowledge learning is conducive to change. The concerns of this ES also echo findings on how these practices are not fully understood by teachers (Mtika & Gates, 2010) and are linked to teacher competency (Korthagen, 2009), as well as Universilia findings around the need for reform of initial UNRWA teacher education (UNRWA, 2011a:39). The lack of theory in the SBTD Programme deep enough to challenge teacher beliefs, coupled with these clear examples of theoretical misunderstandings suggests that in the development of the Programme, UNRWA worked with a model of teacher learning close to Gusky's. He argued that change in teacher beliefs comes as a result of the teacher's implementation and observation of the results of these practices. Some

effect of this approach can be seen in teachers' passion for more CCP due to the fun it offers students. This is only superficial, however, as teacher belief around learning was not influenced, and 'spoon feeding' remained preferred, potentially highlighting theoretical misunderstandings.

Overall, there were changes to teacher practice, with increased frequency of more CCP. These, however, were often limited in their use; for example, group work was predominantly implemented for creation purposes. Participants' beliefs of learning processes remained tied to their formative experiences. The SBTD Programme appears to have had little impact on influencing STs' core ideas about teaching and learning, a fundamental feature of pedagogy as ideas/discourse.

7.7 Use of More Child-Centred Practices – The Gender Dimension

While there were overall trends, considering gendered data offers greater insight into Alexander's understanding of pedagogy and factors of the self and identity in the cultural and societal level (2008:13). Alexander did not explore gender in his seminal work; however, in refugee contexts where gender is a significant influence (Callamard, 2002) and in single sex school settings, considering teachers' pedagogy with acknowledgement of gender is important. There were differences in the frequency of practices between male and female STs observed in the classroom. Female STs used a higher frequency of more CCP, echoing findings of other research focusing on teacher classroom practices (Tweissi, A et al., 2015). While some gendered differences are significant, caution must be applied, and further research conducted for more conclusive findings. Exploration into such differences highlights that although CCP are used more by female STs, there is a spread of application across the sample, with only a few female STs using them regularly throughout their lessons. In addition, the UNRWA Perceptional Survey data did not show any meaningful trends of differences between genders (UNRWA, 2015c:25). Despite this statistical caution, ESs saw gender as a distinguishing factor in ST attitudes towards the SBTD Programme. ESs were the only participants able to reflect on the participation of both male and female teachers, as SPs and STs worked in single sex environments. ESs concluded from their experience that female STs had a more positive attitude to the Programme and participated to a greater extent than male STs (ES1+2).

The overall decrease in the use of 'Teacher Explanation/Q and A', compared to the baseline, is predominately due to the classroom practices of female STs. Female STs, on average, used this practice 12% of the lesson time. Male STs, however, did so for 19.7% of lesson time (7.7% points more than the females). The overall 5.3% point decrease in Teacher Explanation/Q and A is predominantly due to the reduction in this practice by female STs, while male STs' use of this practice remained relatively high (Table 16).

Table 16 – Classroom Practices – Male and Female School Teachers – % of Lesson Time

Classroom Practices – Male and Female School Teachers % of lesson time			
	Female School Teachers – Overall	Male School Teachers – Overall	School Teachers – Overall
Teacher explanation Q & A	12.0%	19.7%	14.7%
Change from Baseline (20%) (UNRWA, 2014:29)	–	–	−5.3%
Teacher reviews lesson topic	6.8%	3.5%	5.6%
Change from Baseline (4.8%) (UNRWA, 2014:29)	–	–	+0.8%

Questioning techniques were a major part of Module 3, for example Activity 24 (UNRWA, 2013f:20–21). STs were still asking a significant amount of closed questions (2.10) compared to open-ended questions (1.19) (0 – Behaviour never observed, 3 – Behaviour consistently observed). We can see, however, that male STs asked 28% more closed questions compared to female STs. The same female STs also asked 49% more open questions to their classes (Table 17). This highlights that more CCP were used in greater frequency by female STs.

Table 17 – Selected Teaching and Learning Behaviours – Likert Scale of Behaviours

Selected Teaching and Learning Behaviours – Likert Scale of Behaviours				
Teaching and Learning Behaviours	Observation average of Male School Teachers	Observation average of Female School Teachers	Difference between Male and Female	Observation Average
Demonstrating skills in lesson introduction and development				
Checks for prior knowledge	0.58	0.74	28% (F>M)	0.68
Uses a range of instruction materials	1.75	2.05	17% (F>M)	1.94
Creates positive classroom climate	1.50	1.95	30% (F>M)	1.77
Arranges classroom to facilitate learning	0.83	0.79	5% (M>F)	0.81
Demonstrating skills in questioning				
Asks closed questions	2.42	1.89	28% (M>F)	2.10
Asks open-ended questions	0.92	1.37	49% (F>M)	1.19
Demonstrating skills in feedback				
Acknowledges pupil answers	2.75	2.84	3% (F>M)	2.81
Moves around room to interact with pupils to provide spoken and/ written feedback	0.92	1.32	43% (F>M)	1.16

Similar to questioning, investigation and the review of knowledge was a key part of the SBTD Programme (UNRWA, 2013b:10, 2013f:34–35). 'Teacher review of the lesson topic' was observed only 0.8% points more of the lesson time compared to the baseline (Table 15). Female STs, however, spent double the amount of time practising 'Lesson review' than male STs (6.8% and 3.5% of the lesson time respectively). In addition, when looking at teaching and learning behaviours (Table 17), it can be observed that the average use of 'Checks for prior knowledge' was 0.68 (0 – Behaviour never observed, 3 – Behaviour consistently observed). This practice was used 28% more by female STs compared to male.

Gendered difference between ST practices can also be seen when looking at 'Uses a range of instruction materials': 1.94 overall (0 – Behaviour never observed, 3 – Behaviour consistently observed). Some STs prepared worksheets or used other activities, while the majority only used the Activity Pack (Jordanian English Curriculum) Student Books and the activities included in them. This echoes the UNRWA Perceptional Survey (UNRWA, 2015c:27) and 'The use of supplementary material' that scored low. Female STs, however, used a range of teaching materials (17% more than male STs), a finding that is also reflected on a Jordanian level, with female teachers using more resources than male teachers (Tweissi, A. et al., 2015:10).

Likert Scale measurements remain low for both gender; however, the variance between them demonstrates differences correlating to ESs' thoughts around gender. These findings also reflect the contextual challenges and time pressures that STs shared, including struggling to find time for lesson planning (ST1S2, ST4S8, ST1S10, ST2S15), and research showing textbook dominance in Jordan due to curriculum pressures (Sabella & Crossouard, 2017:4). Despite these related context issues, female STs still managed to create a more positive classroom environment compared to male STs. This measure is subject to the relationship STs demonstrated towards students, for example calling them by their first names. 'Positive classroom climate' (Table 17) was measured at an overall of 1.77 (0 – Behaviour never observed, 3 – Behaviour consistently observed). Female STs were 30% more effective in creating a positive classroom environment than males.

In both boys' and girls' schools, many classrooms had graffiti-covered walls, which along with other issues of disrepair create environments with a negative atmosphere in which it can be challenging to work (S4, S15). Girl's schools, however, more often had large and colourful displays in the classrooms, as well as in the hallways. The SBTD Programme material discussed the value of creating positive learning environments and giving praise in raising students' self-esteem (UNRWA, 2013g:37–49). While much of these practices cannot be observed in a single class, several teaching and learning behaviours can help build a picture. STs were rarely observed 'Moving around the classroom', limiting the extent to which they could interact with each student at 1.16 overall (Table 17); however, female STs moved around, speaking to students 43% more than male STs. Although the 'acknowledgement of pupil answers' was the most frequently observed (Table 16 – 2.81 overall), encouragingly, it shows no large differences by gender. Phrases such as 'good', 'correct' or 'thank you' support a good relationship with the learners, as opposed to authoritarian relationships which are not healthy (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007:716).

While these observations show more CCP being used by female STs compared to male STs, there was little difference in the attitudes towards the SBTD Programme in general presented in the focus groups and interviews. Both genders shared frustration and issues with the Programme and the context around them. Female STs with 10 years of teaching experience, however, echoed the ESs' observation that they were more invested in the SBTD Programme and, likely, their own pursuit of TPD. These STs detailed precise areas of their practice that they wanted to develop professionally and shared their own sources of TPD, which included watching and taking ideas from YouTube videos.

It is difficult to reach clear conclusions around why there are differences in the practices between male and female STs. The impact of observer influence should be noted as a potential reason for observation differences. I, the researcher, as a female may have impacted behaviour in single-sex schools differently. While kinship and confidence may have developed with female teachers, disruption may have been caused in boys' schools. The gendered differences found in this research, however, echo that of the wider Jordanian context (Tweissi et al., 2015). One explanation may be that success in teaching

also opens up opportunities for women to do things, such as travel, which they would not ordinarily be able to access. This is especially true for unmarried women. One ST shared how she was able to go to America and participate in an exchange programme. She was especially proud of the long-lasting international friendships that have grown out of that experience. Likewise, the gendered context, which sees men as responsible for the household income, often leaves them with second jobs and, hence, less time and energy to focus on TPD. Further research into the gendered experience of refugee teachers would be insightful and potentially significant in developing further TPD to support them in their contexts.

Some Challenges Are too Big for Teachers to Manage
7.8 Technology and Complex Social Reality

STs' disconnection between student learning and CCP may not only be attributed to their understanding of learning, formative experiences and limited theory within the SBTD Programme, but also rooted in the wider context surrounding the school and other levels of pedagogy as ideas (Alexander, 2008; 2001; 2015). Considering students as a major constituent of the context, two STs shared how their students simply do not accept CCP (ST2S1, ST2S6). Although understanding that students' non-acceptance can be demonstrated in a variety of different ways, STs' practices are influenced by learner beliefs and expectations (Mtika & Gates, 2010; Rahman et al., 2006; Tabulawa, 2004), even when teachers' core belief may embrace the practices. Two male STs, who had the fewest years of teaching experience among all participants (seven and four), highlighted how they felt that CCP may be counter to Arab culture, which is traditionally more authoritarian. As a consequence, students were reluctant to engage with these practices.

> *students are not used to having these relationships with teachers, they look at us as fathers and fathers are authoritative figures and so, how we are supposed to fill in that role, so sometimes, you know certain exercises of certain methods get used here, are very difficult to use.* **(Male School Teacher)**

Similarly, Elliott suggests that traditional societies fear any challenge to teacher legitimacy, namely the authoritative figure suggested above being eroded by Western influences (2014:38). The sentiment, however, that CCP are counter-cultural was not prevalent and often very strongly rejected by other STs (ST1+2S7). While the 'spoon-

feeding' style of learning was referenced as being effective, presenting an obvious separation between student engagement and learning, there was reluctance amongst STs to link this with the Arab culture. This may be related to that aspect of Arab culture that shies away from criticism (Al-Kandari & Gaither, 2011:272) and other factors, including curriculum resources (Sabella & Crossouard, 2017). While this research sample is not conclusive, it demonstrates that STs' core beliefs and interaction with context are highly personal.

Consideration of the wider context also offers insight into teacher attitudes on student motivation. The separation of engagement and learning may be due to the feeling that it is challenging to achieve initial engagement and motivation in class. STs highlighted technology as an obstruction to learning, distracting students from schoolwork: Facebook, WhatsApp and other social media were identified as disruptive influences that have not been issues in the past, when they were students (ST2S1, ST1S16, ST4S8, ST2S10, ST1+2S5). As a result, STs see value in more CCP to engage students and make their subject interesting:

> *our children now are more interested in technology, babies are using the phone, so* **we are doing our best to make it interesting (ST2S13)** (emphasis mine)

The effort that STs are expending on engaging students and drawing their attention is obviously significant, as can be seen by this ST who details capturing students' attention as one of their missions in the classroom:

> *Students, this generation in general is not motivated to learn anymore, so we are struggling through the classroom to draw their attention and then to teach. We have two missions in the classroom to draw attention, and to teach* [...] *in general this generation does not like learning, does not have motivation to learn, this is a big problem, a big difficulty.* **(ST2S11)**

The significance of the tension that STs face in reconciling and managing these changes in the environment cannot be underestimated. STs find themselves at a cultural junction, where they are holding their own experience and understanding of education closely in

an evolving technological environment. As a result, it appears that more CCP are layered into their beliefs and are seen to offer a solution to the motivation challenges they face with students, again viewed with separation between engagement and learning.

This ST starkly illustrates the frustration experienced by teachers during this time of technological change:

> *I think in the past we had good students and bad technique, but now we have good technique and bad students, we don't know why.* **(ST3S9)**

Similarly, one SP suggested that quality education is dependent on the learners and not the teachers (SPS8). These participants detailed how student ability and motivation were necessary for the delivery of quality education. This was echoed by an ES, who also suggested that:

> *when it comes to the strategies that the teacher should use* […] *they are very sophisticated, very modern* […] ***if the students have a good attitude** and good motivation towards learning, a teacher using these strategies, things will be very very much better* **(ES1)** (emphasis mine)

The SBTD Programme material attempts to challenge some of these attitudes and expectations of their students, specifically in Module 2, Unit 5 (UNRWA, 2013g:1), '*Expectations as the key to effective teaching and learning'*. In this module, STs are encouraged not to make judgements of students' potential, and through the activities challenge some expectations that they might already hold about students. This module also attempts to consider the wider context of students as well.

> *So it is important to keep your expectations of a child high, even if socio-economic or cultural factors appear to suggest something else. That is not to underestimate such factors. A child from a poor home may not have the resources (such as books or games) that a child from a wealthy home may have, and this may impact on their learning. But it is important not to stereotype the child and prejudice him/her*

throughout his/her schooling. Teachers and schools have a very important task in helping children overcome disadvantages. (UNRWA, 2013g:6)

Understanding why STs refer to students as 'bad' must be viewed within the wider context of the school environment. The challenges which teachers face are found within the whole community, not an individual or a small group of children. STs regularly referenced the socio-economic and refugee context, especially the physical environment, as a significant barrier to their use of CCP (ST2S4, ST1S9, ST1S12, ST1+2S15, ST3S10, ST2+3S6). They described student challenges, particularly behaviour, as a consequence of poverty (ST2+4S3,), hunger (ST1S1), cramped and stressed living conditions along with family breakdown including divorce, a significant cultural taboo which also causes other complex social issues (ST1S2). Similar to expectations, the SBTD Programme identifies students' diverse, individual needs (UNRWA, 2013b:30) stressing that 'active learning and good order are related, not opposing, concepts' (UNRWA, 2013j:3). STs described violent attacks that took place against them in schools and their feeling of being unsupported by UNRWA in managing and reacting to these attacks without facing repercussions (ST2S3, ST1S15). Programme suggestions do not acknowledge such teacher experiences. STs described the society's changing attitude to education and the pressured social situation as the cause of behavioural issues, rather than refer to individual disruptive students they struggled to manage. This limited their feeling of self-efficacy in dealing with such matters, which they feel lie beyond their sphere of influence (ST2S15).

While some contextual challenges are broadly acknowledged, the SBTD Programme's main focus is on handling individual students and not changing the wider context of education in each Field. The reality that STs face is even more pressing, with all students experiencing stress, tension and complex issues. STs need greater support in handling these issues on scale and desire training and development in handling large classes and additional learning needs, which are often related to the socio-economic reality of refugee students. Some STs shared how the refugee situation had deteriorated with the return of many Palestinian migrant workers following the recent and current regional conflicts (Rosen, 2012). They outlined how these factors have increased violence in schools, as well as the wider community (ES1). There were calls for a greater number of

school counsellors providing psychosocial support (ES1). The SBTD Programme highlights practices that STs can use to motivate and engage with students with diverse learning needs (alongside other ERS programmes, including Inclusive Education). This, however, is situated within the increasingly challenging social context and experience of significantly different attitudes towards education within the whole Palestinian community (Pherali & Turner, 2017). Although the following is an example from Lebanon, it highlights the severity of this social situation: 'it seems that, for complex social reasons, violence is far more widespread in the Palestinian camp environment than in other neighborhoods. This is why UNRWA schools in the camps suffer from higher levels of violence, which is a reflection of the external violence' (Abu-Amsha, 2014:34).

7.9 Changing Community Perspectives on Education

In addition to challenges teachers face in the classroom, community attitudes and perspectives also have an impact on teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse. STs shared how the community perceived their role and attitudes towards the profession. While there were positive relationships between teachers within the school body, there was a feeling amongst participants that they are undervalued by the local community and by students. STs and SPs highlighted how different this was compared to the way they used to feel and the way they valued their teachers and education when they were students (SPS12, ST1+2S3, ST2S16, ST1S14, ST1S15).

> *When we were students we respected our teachers highly* [...] *Things in the society have changed, the outlook has changed* **(ST2S15)**

The comparison between these times and experiences, shifting from a respectful student to an undervalued teacher, challenges STs' feelings of professionalism (Teleshaliyev, 2013):

> *The main point is that the relationship between the local community or society and the school has changed. People don't see schools as they used to in the past. This is something important, the relationship between us as teachers, the parents and the local community. Things have really changed and we find a lot of difficulties in our work'* **(ST2S15)**

Much of these societal changes can be understood by the developing experience of the Palestinian diaspora. Pherali and Turner (2017:12) consider the meaning of education in the Palestine Refugee camps of the West Bank. While this is an environment where there are regular military encounters, unlike Jordan, the experiences of and explanations for changing attitudes to education are in general transferable to other Palestine Refugee communities in the region. 'The concept of Palestinian liberation, or the belief that education can contribute to this struggle, is losing currency with young people. As young people are principally concerned with the difficulty they face in securing their livelihoods, political ambitions appear to be declining. Consequently, the young generation's motivation for education is also shifting towards marketised liberal aspirations. Education, under the structural violence of poverty and high unemployment, is unable to fulfil these aspirations, and thus motivation for education appears to be declining'. Education is no longer widely viewed as a weapon and a source of liberation (Rosenfeld, 2009:316). One SP linked the lack of a key Palestinian political or religious leader to negative changes in society (SPS14). Another SP noted that the increasing cost of higher education and limited access to it has an impact that trickles down to school engagement (SPS6). Palestine Refugees pay foreign national fees at Jordanian universities. These fees are no longer affordable, further limiting employment opportunities that are already restricted to the domestic employment market. Little encouragement is given to students to complete school, especially girls, as it is no longer a stepping stone in "moving on" (Faek, 2014).

Module 6, *Engaging parents in raising achievement* (UNRWA, 2013e), recognises the importance of parental/community engagement in education, was also supported by some SPs (SPS12, SPS3), although this is focused on student learning and not the wider understandings of quality education. One SP shared how, as a result of the SBTD Programme, there was a more positive relationship between parents and the school. Rather than coming in only to complain, parents were now engaged in the educational process, offering their support to the school (SPS12). It is important, however, to note that the UNRWA Perceptional Survey suggests that SPs may have an inflated perception on this matter compared to parents, who reported a lower degree of involvement with schools (UNRWA, 2015c:25).

Jordan is also experiencing similar challenges of decreased educational drive. Almost 60% of school drop-outs reported in a 2008 study by a major youth NGO, Injaz, on behalf of the Government of Jordan, 'diminishing educational benefits' in their reasoning for placing low value on education (Universilia Management Group, 2010:36). Low value attitudes and behaviours towards teachers directly correlate to teacher motivation and satisfaction, which are also linked to issues of teacher retention (Ring & West, 2015:114). Elliott also highlights that attitudes towards education do not originate in schools alone but are born 'out of the socialising experiences in the wider communities that they serve' (2014:37). This is a significant ideological shift for the region, which also impacts Palestine Refugees, who face greater challenges due to their refugee status and experiences.

7.10 Inadequate School Teacher Salary

In addition to changing social realities, participants also documented their relatively low wages as a reason for the diminishing respect for STs in the community (SPS9): 'money talks in our times' (ST2S5). This was clearly explained by an ES:

> *This is the most important thing, their payment, their income, now the teacher gets 400 or 500 JD now that's not enough for his family. He should pay 200 JD to rent a house, so 200JD is not enough for a family, or even one person sometimes, it's not enough for one person.* **(ES1)**

This feeling of reduced financial value was further emphasised in comparison to STs working in Jordan Government schools. These teachers enjoy secure pensions and long-term monthly payments with additional social benefits. This is in contrast to UNRWA employees, who receive a single one-off payment when they retire. In addition, Jordanian Government teachers have a much smaller teaching load of around 12 classes a week (compared to the average of 25–27 in UNRWA Schools)(ST2S14, SPS6). Furthermore, many UNRWA STs with 20+ years of experience were looking to the end of their career and retire, although there is fear as to whether they would be able to do this. STs shared concern over the lack of UNRWA funds to pay their pensions. Further research suggests that this is linked to *Ta'Weed,* the monthly contributions made by teachers and the fact that UNRWA does not contribute to the retirement lump sum,

meaning that there is simply not enough money to survive in retirement (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2018). One SP described how STs cried uncontrollably when they were told that they would not be able to retire (SPS16). Both STs and SPs shared stories of teachers who had to continue working when severely ill, as they had no or other income (SPS5). The frustration of UNRWA staff to changes in pension plans, health care and remuneration escalated to a nine-day hunger strike, following further austerity measures by UNRWA due to the 2018 budget cuts (Prieto, 2018).

Crehan highlights a key assumption in teacher motivation research: salaries are sufficient to meet teachers basic needs (2016:16). Gemeda et al. (2014:84) also highlight that satisfaction of basic needs must be met before teachers can focus on improving their work. The INEE also recommend that '[e]ffective teacher professional development, though a central ingredient in improved teacher quality, must be part of a system of reforms that address issues of teacher selection, recruitment and preparation; teacher salary' (INEE, 2015:13). Although completion of the SBTD Programme allowed STs to access a higher pay band, this incentive had limited impact as their salaries were still low, further strained under the ever increasing food prices and cost of living in Jordan (Abuqudairi, 2017; Ma'ayeh, 2018). It is not uncommon for male STs to hold second jobs, which they fit around their teaching, for example as cashiers or taxi drivers, in order to earn enough to meet their family's needs (SPS9).

7.11 School Teacher Motivations Directly Linked to Context

Community perspectives and the surrounding context play a part in the reasons why Palestine Refugees become teachers. Passion for Palestine was once, and still is for some, the main motivator. The main reasons, however, listed by participants for teaching are linked with necessity, influenced by the challenges they face as Palestine Refugees, rather than desire. All UNRWA STs are Palestine Refugees, as are the majority of those who work for UNRWA. International staff are more commonly found in the HQ compared to the Field. Identity as a Palestine Refugee was detailed as a reason why some became STs (ST1+2S15, ST1S7). While both male and female STs shared a similar passion for teaching, male STs used language that included the terms 'message' and 'coming generation':

Teaching for me is something interesting, I have always been interested in teaching, and I love to in particular help students, especially Palestinian Refugees you know that these schools are for Palestinian Refugees it's a message [...] we want to be as good as possible to convey this message. **(Male School Teacher)**

The experience of Palestine Refugees and Palestinian culture was evident in hallway displays and in multiple classroom observations. This included additional worksheets or specific questions that related to Palestine. For example, in a lesson about the Seven Wonders of the World, students were asked to list sites in Palestine that they would consider as wonders, including the Church of the Nativity and Al Aqsa (S13Ob1). The enhancement of the curriculum with the inclusion of Palestinian experiences is part of the ERS goal: '...proud of their Palestine identity...' (UNRWA, 2011a:1). While these messages may be clear in the classroom and in schools which display images of Al-Aqsa and Palestine (S12, S3, S8, S10), this is not automatically a reflection of STs' personal discourse or motivation for teaching (Darvin & Norton, 2015:44). A commitment to the Palestinian mission was identified by an SP as being the key factor in the engagement of an ST with TPD (SPS14).

What moves people is the belonging of the place, the belonging of the mission. You know, UNRWA teachers, we have a mission, so, how much do you belong to the mission? How much do you want to give? It's this that moves you, not force, not things that are forced on you. **(SPS12)**

While a passion for Palestine was not always labelled as a reason for becoming a teacher, similar passions were incited by their own love of learning (ST2S9), family members who were teachers (ST1S6, ST2S3) and childhood dreams (ST2S2, ST1S1, ST3S14).

Well, for me it's just this very strong desire to [teach]*. When I read a book, or learned about something new I always wanted to communicate that to somebody else, I find great pleasure in doing this, so yeah, the dream job for me would be doing something with teaching.* ***(ST2S9)***

Similar reasons were shared among both male and female STs, although some were more prominent in females. These included being able to work in a single-sex environment (ST) and working hours that also fit around family responsibilities (ST), such as child care. Other STs detailed how they took roles in teaching and education because they could not find any other suitable jobs for their qualifications, usually university degrees in English. These STs had sought jobs in translation (ST, ST), journalism (ST) and other fields (ST) but could not find employment.

> *My dream was not to be a teacher at all, I would have liked to be something like a translator something like that, then I ended up as a teacher.* **(ST)**

Some participants argued that it was quick and easy to a find a job as a teacher, which made it attractive to them.

> *I wanted to work in a Bank, but I choose this one because it is easy to find this job.* **(ST3S2)**

 "Falling" into teaching can have both positive and negative results; in some cases, teaching became a passion (ST1S8, ST3S6), while others just tolerated the role (ST3S1, ST1S4). Some participants had entered teaching from other jobs, as a second career, and then went on to become SPs. Previous careers included translation in hospitals abroad (SP), and other medical and financial professions (ST, ST). Reasons for their move to teaching included better working hours (especially for women) (ST), less stress (ST), as well as returning from abroad to be closer to family (SP).

The employment market is an issue for STs. Sometimes the failure to achieve their dream job is linked to their status as Palestine Refugees (ST), and others the limited opportunities in the Jordanian job market (SP).

> *I wish to go to be a translator and interpreter, but unfortunately I had no chance to go outside of Jordan.* **(ST)**

As a result, for some STs, employment with UNRWA was seen as the only option.

Because I am Palestinian I couldn't find another job. I studied in a Private University because I can't go to Government one. I choose to study English because I want to work here in UNRWA, I have no other opportunity to work. **(ST)**

It is also important to note that while the Palestine Refugee experience is especially challenging, teachers across Jordan also enter into the profession because of limited opportunities. The Queen Rania Teaching Foundation (2017) found that 31% of male Jordanian teachers joined the profession because of the lack of alternative employment prospects. Sriprakash (2011:12) highlights similar findings in India and also clarifies that 'this is not to position teachers as inevitably disinterested in their work, but to acknowledge that teaching is a job, with instrumental gains, subject to constraints, often involving personal and family compromises'. Participants who shared their enjoyment in teaching, even if it was not their desired career, support this.

7.12 Conclusion

This chapter has considered culture and society and the impact that the SBTD Programme has had on this level of pedagogy as ideas/discourse. Observations have shown some change in the classroom practices of STs against the baseline study of classroom practices conducted by UNRWA. These show a decrease of lesson time spent on more 'traditional' teacher-centred classroom practices, such as 'Teacher writing on the black board' and 'Teacher explanation'. This is mirrored with an increase in the use of more CCP, including students working in pairs/groups and students demonstrating to class. Although a greater frequency of some more CCP was observed, other practices such as diverse questioning methods were rarely used by STs despite their prominence in the SBTD Programme material. Overall, observations displayed a mixed use of both teacher and CCP. As a key aim of the Programme was to influence ST practices, this may be considered a less than satisfactory outcome. In addition to discussions on the dichotomy of child-centred vs teacher-centred practices (Schweisfurth, 2013a; Westbrook et al., 2013:25), other contexts have demonstrated that the consistent use of more CCP is not necessarily the only way to improve student learning. In Vietnam, there have been significant developments in student attainment, specifically PISA, where teachers' use mixed approaches to classroom practice (Mcaleavy et al., 2018:25). Further research is necessary to explore the nuances of these classroom practices, why

they are effective and in what ways they are used. There may be similarities to participants in this refugee context, who detailed an understanding of learning that happened effectively through 'spoon-feeding' and was separate from their reasons for using more CCP in the classroom, which was to engage students and let them have 'fun'. Gladwell (2009:60), who looked at Iraqi refugee teachers in Jordan, also found that 'Active Learning was not viewed as an all encompassing style of teaching, but rather a separate item to be added on to the end of a lesson, usually in the form of a game. This was revealed as all teachers, after speaking at length about the benefits of Active Learning, then made comments such as "I try to use it once a week at least", or "I do an Active Learning game for the last five minutes of every lesson" or similar'. These findings suggest that UNRWA teachers are not unique in employing a range of classroom practices. The similar use of more CCP elsewhere in Jordan and in a refugee context gives added validity to this research and further endorses the need for a contextually developed understanding of quality education.

In addition, the SBTD Programme was not theoretically focused and offered only limited opportunity for STs to explore why more CCP should be used. For example, information on 'group work' concentrated on what group work offers to students and teachers and its effective management. Superficial explanations of the use of practices have been prevalent in other Global South contexts, where reasoning might be absent altogether. In sub-Saharan Africa, Vavrus et al. (2011:77) found that more CCP were demonstrated in "form" but lacked the "spirit" behind them. Similarly, in Malawi, Mitka and Gates (2010:402) found that understandings of CCP had not been fully appropriated by teachers and were, therefore, only being used as the 'surface feature of the pedagogical theory'. Mohammad (2004) also highlights these concerns through his research into the practical constraints of schools in Pakistan. He suggests that due to contextual constraints, the layering of 'new practice' on top of those traditionally used, may prevent teachers from acknowledging any inner resistance that they have to these new practices. In this study, while more CCP were praised by participants, further exploration demonstrated very specific purposes for their use, suggesting that STs may have been working around and reframing any resistance they may have been feeling. The SBTD Programme's limited theoretical engagement also demonstrates the narrow frame used by UNRWA to understand teacher learning. This focused on the change of teacher

practice rather than the wider understanding around the practices themselves. As a result teacher learning theory suggested by Guskey (2002), according to which teachers' use of certain practices and resultant classroom/student changes supports a change in their beliefs appears dominant to the purposes of SBTD Programme. Reflection, although a feature of the SBTD Programme and considered significant for teacher learning by Korthagen and Vasalos (2005), was significantly challenged due to the volume of work and the time available to STs, limiting the impact of this form of learning.

This approach to teacher learning and the SBTD Programme content goes some way towards explaining limited change in teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse and practice. Acknowledgement of the associated contextual issues, however, is significant. STs detailed how issues that surrounded them and their students could not be overcome with the SBTD Programme, as issues of underlying poverty, lack of educational motivation and limited employment options that went part and parcel with being a Palestine Refugee were not addressed. In addition, the approach taken by the SBTD Programme to managing the classroom consequences of these issues focused on individual students, encouraging STs to have high expectations. There was a singular rather than collective emphasis, insufficient to support teachers. Participant frustrations with the SBTD Programme that was not fully connected with teacher reality and the wider discourses is shared by many others contexts and their TPD experiences: Ethiopia (Akalu, 2016), South Africa (Mokhele & Jita, 2010) and Lebanon (Nir & Bogler, 2008). Akalu (2016:182) suggests that 'by placing emphasis on what teachers can do to effect positive changes on student outcomes, it takes the focus away from the broader context within which schools operate and teachers carry out their work'. This echoes the feelings of STs who would like more skills to respond to their stressed environments and not only to individual students who are stressed. In this way, the SBTD Programme was not contextually responsive and did not support teachers to the degree necessary.

In Pakistan, Jerrard (2016:91) highlights that teachers found both intrinsic and positional benefits in community respect that compensated for a low salary and factors linked to motivation (Heystek & Terhoven, 2017) even when working conditions were not ideal. The continued budget cuts and challenges to UNRWA funding and associated service provision cannot be ignored. An UNRWA statement to the 2018 hunger strike

states this clearly: 'while UNRWA understand the economic conditions and the high cost of the employee, it should be noted that the agency bears the burden of additional expenses in light of the most unprecedented financial crisis in the history of the agency' (Prieto, 2018). In the changing Palestinian community's attitudes positional benefits, as suggested by Jerrard, do not appear obvious, with participants describing a diminished sense of purpose and commitment to education. Head Teachers of Jordanian Government schools 'deplored the high levels of truancy and blamed poor results on parental influences and poorly motivated pupils' (Al-Daami & Wallace, 2007:355), demonstrating the challenges faced by the wider education community. Determining the strength of these Jordanian beliefs alongside the very complex Palestine Refugee experience, which in itself is a significant influence, is very difficult. It can be easily concluded, however, that with changing community attitudes to education, teachers' pedagogy as ideas/discourse was not impacted positively or significantly by the SBTD Programme.

In addition, the Palestine Refugee environment and the shifting reasons behind the teachers' reasons for entry into the profession are changing, add validity to Sriprakash (2011:12) who states that 'education programmes seeking to reposition teachers' work need to engage with the ways in which social and economic conditions locate teachers differently, and often with competing interests'. This further highlights the need for considering the teachers' context and identities in TPD, including gender, which has been shown here to suggest an influence on ST engagement with the Programme and in differences in the use of CCP. Contextual factors around the Palestinian Refugee experience, community attitudes to learning, limited employment opportunities and other motivating factors, including salary, are also significant factors to be considered. The SBTD Programme has little contextual relevance to the participants' cultural and societal environment and treats teachers as implementers of practice. Many community challenges linked to poverty and employment lie beyond the scope of the ERS and the SBTD Programme. The impact of these issues on the classroom, however, was not acknowledged at length, and teachers individually, and their motivation and contextual restrictions due to the context were also not considered.

8. Conclusion

Through the exploration of education debates, I have proposed that quality education is contextual and participatory in its development. These features are also shown as vital for TPD, considered a key factor in education provision. Refugee settings are especially challenging for achieving these ideals of quality, with global policy still dominant in this sub-field that is focused primarily on access and attendance along with other input/output indicators. Regardless, contextual relevance is significant for the maintenance and achievement of these global targets, including universal education. Building on arguments for the value of pedagogy in quality education, Alexander's understanding of pedagogy, made up of pedagogy as ideas/discourse and pedagogy as practice (2008:29–30), has served as a framework to investigate education. Exploration of what UNRWA has done with the ERS and the SBTD Programme for quality education and its impact on teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse and practice was achieved through mixed methods. The research findings are presented and explored in three sections, empirical, methodological and theoretical contributions, which also demonstrate how these findings build upon existing literature. This research project echoes the need for contextualisation and participation in quality education. These findings highlight discourse differences between policy and practice with teacher frustration towards policy and systems. Nuance within the Palestine Refugee culture and society, as well as the individuality of teachers are in need of acknowledgement. More broadly, this case study in a refugee context responds to calls for further exploration of TPD in such settings, and highlights the need for further research into the application of the CA.

8.1 Quality Education Is Contextual and Participatory

The development in understandings of quality education highlights the importance of context and participation, the absence of which has been discussed in the HCT and HRA to education. These positions led to quality being defined by input/output indicators. Initial understanding of quality education for development focused on human capital, specifically the number of years of schooling measured against GDP. This did not fully acknowledge the additional benefits of education (Aslam & Rawal, 2015:124), but also ignored the influence of contextual issues, such as location and social capital in relation to employment (Harber, 2014:55). While the HRA went some way towards challenging the gaps in provision (Harber, 2014b:33), although the promotion of "best practice"

meant that contextualisation was still absent. This led to quality measures being focused within the classroom much more closely than previously, promoting more CCP in global policy, as seen in the Dakar Framework from which Education for All (EfA) grew (UNESCO, 2000:17). Focus on these practices led to expectations of the teachers' role as facilitators without contextual relevance (Guthrie, 2012; Tabulawa, 2003), perpetuating the dependence on input/output indicators.

Development of the CA, with its focus on the control individuals have over their lives (Wagner, 2018:42–43), introduced the values of contextualisation and participation. In the CA, communities co-create desired trajectories and aims for their chosen capabilities and future development (Walker, 2005:106). Sen consistently argued that in order to do this, it is necessary to involve public participation and dialogue (Walker, 2006a:47). While the application of CA is debated and challenged as offering little clarity and procedure for implementation (Robeyns, 2006; Tao, 2009:13), the SJA built on its broad foundations with a focus on education (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). The impact of education that is not contextual and participatory clearly evidences the need for these considerations. The absence of contextualisation with the promotion of more CCP has led to the simplification of pedagogy, with no connection to cultural influences (Dyer et al., 2004),(Gerard Guthrie, 2012; R. Tabulawa, 2003) and to the disconnection between teacher and students (Sriprakash, 2011), in many cases leading to "tissue rejection" of these practices. Furthermore, in a refugee setting, education which is not contextual or participatory impacts on attendance and, as such, creates further child protection concerns (UNICEF, 2014:3). When used with contextual awareness, however, these classroom practices can offer enhanced student well-being (Jerrard, 2016).

Despite the absence of literature exploring interactions between ideas of quality education and TPD, the need for context and participation is also clearly seen in research on effective TPD. Teachers are considered a vital part of the learning process (Schleicher, 2011), all the more so in refugee settings (West & Ring, 2015). Limited pre-service training and preparation for their roles (INEE, 2015:11; Richardson et al., 2018:50), however, as well as their own anxieties regarding entry into the profession (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007), make teachers' role even more challenging. Evidence focused on effective TPD highlights the significance of teacher participation in the creation of

professional development so that it responds to their needs (Gemeda et al., 2014:84; King, 2016:587; Mokhele & Jita, 2010:1765). Contextualisation is also vital so that low-resource settings are considered (Mohammad, 2004:122; Song, 2015:343), as well as the beliefs and positions on learning which teachers hold within their culture (Brinkmann, 2015:343). Similarly, models of teacher learning have evolved to acknowledge context (Clarke & Hollingsworth, 2002b) and reflection (the essence of which is teacher participation in their own learning) as vital features of teachers' process (Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005).

Pedagogy, the dynamic relationship between teaching, learning and culture (Livingston et al., 2017:8), was hoped by many to be considered in the development of the SDGs (Sayed & Ahmed, 2015), however input/output indicators remain in use (Alexander, 2015; United Nations, 2017). Pedagogy allows for the consideration of quality beyond global goals, which can also consider context and participation, as well as offering the opportunity to understand wider influences and responsive opportunities. Uniting the arguments for contextualisation and participation as necessary in quality education and TPD, Alexander's pedagogy (2008) has been used as a framework for this analysis.

8.2 Research Contributions

8.2.1 Empirical Contributions

There is limited research available on TPD in refugee contexts (INEE, 2015:12; Richardson et al., 2018:53) and an urgent need to respond to this absence in order to ensure both student well-being and learning outcomes (Burde et al., 2015). This project has begun to address this gap in the field, with research focusing on the SBTD Programme which contains elements of best practice detailed in the INEE guide for Teacher Professional Development in Fragile Settings (2015). This is an environment where there has been relatively little research available beyond organisational reports and evaluations that are often absent of methodology and rigour (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003:188), concerned primarily with presenting material in line with organisational priorities (Richardson et al., 2018:11–12).

The empirical findings demonstrate that UNRWA has made significant efforts to improve education quality. The ERS presents a comprehensive and systematic approach to this end (UNRWA, 2011). Impacts, measured by the MLA, suggest some increase in

attainment (UNRWA, 2018). Alignment to the CA and promotion of contextualisation is detailed within the ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:30). The acknowledgement of context in the document, however, only stretched so far as a generalised Palestine Refugee context (UNRWA, 2011a:3–7). Decentralisation to promote the contextualisation of professional support structures is detailed as an aim of the ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:62), although this has had limited impact on participant experiences. Participation was not felt by participants to have included the majority of Field staff and, significantly, teachers (ST4S6, ST2+ST3S3). While UNRWA shared understandings of quality similar to those argued in this thesis, including contextualisation and participation, the application of these two ideas was limited. Alongside the CA and human development, the ERS details the global agenda and the desire for increased academic achievement (UNRWA, 2011a:v, 2013:5). Within this wider context and the nature of global goals, there is continued emphasis on input/output indicators and measures (UNESCO, 2000b; United Nations, 2017; Unterhalter, 2014). As a consequence, there is little support by the wider policy environment for the application of CA in education. In addition, there is an absence of clear aims for refugee education beyond the INEE minimum standards (2012). As a result, the ERS and SBTD Programme were largely absent of context and participation that felt meaningful to research participants, which fostered a deepening negative relationship between UNRWA HQ and Field staff (Universilia Management Group, 2010:23) (ST1S2, ST1S10). As a consequence of the lack of contextualisation and participation, STs did not feel equipped to deal with the contextual challenges that they face and their teaching load was challenged with the additional "burden" of TPD, which also had a short-term focus on compliance.

There were changes in the classroom, however, towards greater frequency in the use of more CCP compared to data collected in a baseline survey conducted before the introduction of the SBTD Programme. This change in teaching practice was the main objective of the SBTD Programme (UNRWA, 2013j:6)., The depth and spread of the way these practices were used, however, suggest limited understanding of their purposes in relation to learning (ST2S6, ST3S4). Participants presented attitudes towards learning that focus on a rote style of teaching (ST2S6, ST2S11) with the use of SBTD Programme practices and more CCP, to respond to contextual challenges with student engagement and attention (ST2S3, ST2S11, S7Ob2). Echoing these challenges, research findings show

that the Palestine Refugee environment and culture around education are constantly evolving (ST2S15, ST2S13). Participants demonstrated how their precarious environment influences their communities. Regional events, host country policy and surrounding context have further impacted on community attitudes towards education and teachers' motivations and experience.

These empirical findings offer a deeper insight into education and contextual influences on Palestine Refugees and their teachers in Jordan, which has not been previously explored. Refugee Education has predominantly focused on camp setting, focusing on access and child protection (Davies, 2011). While focused on Palestine Refugee Education these findings can also offer insight into other urban refugee education contexts. Due to a shift towards integration policies (UNESCO, 2018:61) these experience are likely to become representative of challenges facing teachers and students in other settings. In addition these case study findings demonstrate the issues that many nation states may face as they develop responses to new educational responsibilities. These empirical findings are therefore able to offer insight into the need for participatory approaches for teacher support and full application of the CA, which is further explored in theoretical contributions of this chapter.

The methods included in the SBTD Programme to support teacher learning were met with varying degrees of acceptance. For example, the written portfolio was a significant burden relating to time pressures that teachers faced (ST2S11, ST1S16). Classroom observations were approached with the sceptical attitude of compliance by STs (ST1S7, ST1S4). Despite this, teachers had a positive outlook towards working with peers and communities of practice (ST1S1, ST1S4). Again, this local school-based support and mutually supportive approach highlights how important contextualisation and participation are for TPD. These research findings echo existing literature that supports teacher participation and contextualisation in TPD. UNRWA teachers, as a sample of refugee teachers, experience similar influences to other teachers and TPD, Similarly to other research; time (Phipps & Borg, 2009), leadership (Bredeson, 2000), tenure (Nabhani, Bahous, & Hamdan, 2012) and community environment (Teleshaliyev, 2013) are all found to be influences on teachers and their TPD . There are, however, additional challenges that these teachers face, including community instability and limited

opportunities available to refugees. STs responded to these issues with the use of more CCP to engage students. This further highlights the influence of context on teacher practice and the need to acknowledge this in order for quality education to be delivered. These findings show that TPD needs to take these factors into account and support teachers to a greater extent in navigating them. In the case of UNRWA, STs emphasised features they considered necessary and supportive for their development; skills to manage large classrooms, support for students with additional learning needs and technology. These needs, however, were unmet by the SBTD Programme. This research speaks directly to an absence of evidence around teachers in refugee context and offers unique empirical evidence into TPD at UNRWA.

This thesis has considered the promotion of teacher collaboration, reflection and the development of a support system around teachers in a refugee setting using a methodological, rather than anecdotal, approach. Findings build directly on Avalos (2011:17) and highlight '[t]he particular way in which background contextual factors interact with learning needs […] depending on the traditions […] policy environments and school conditions of a particular country. The starting point of teachers engaging in professional development in the Namibian study may not be relevant to teachers in Canada or The Netherlands'. Consideration of the system and policy level demonstrates time challenges to many of the proposed best practice methods, a factor which can be considered relevant in most refugee contexts. Other factors linked to the distinct Palestine Refugee experience also have impact, including community attitudes to education, reasons for becoming teachers, and previous training and professional development. Therefore, research findings from this project clearly demonstrate the importance of considering pedagogy as ideas/discourse in the development of TPD. This has also been argued in a range of works focusing on the Global South (Westbrook et al., 2013). This research project, however, adds strength to this argument with its specific consideration of a refugee context

8.2.2 Methodological Contributions
This case study has demonstrated that Alexander's understanding of pedagogy (2008) can be utilised as a framework to explore quality education. With the addition of features from the Onion Model (Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005) to expand understanding of teacher identity ("the self") (Alexander, 2004:12), it has been possible to extensively

explore pedagogy and TPD. The wide range of impacts brought about by the SBTD Programme has been considered with reference to the levels of pedagogy as ideas/discourse, specifically system and policy, and culture and society, as well as their interaction with TPD which stretches beyond those that can be captured by input-/output-focused indicators. Findings from the application of Alexander's pedagogy to explore quality, offer insight into the relationship between context and its impact on pedagogy as a whole. Elements of the system and policy level influence the ability of teachers to put into action certain practices, such as to meet the challenge of large class sizes (ST3S5) and the limited time to engage with TPD (ST1S12). Factors considered at the culture and society level have dominance over teacher beliefs and ideas about teaching (the purpose of more CCP being to gain student attention in class, rather than learning (ST2S6)). Furthermore, consideration of teachers as individuals, supported by pedagogy and expanded with the Onion Model, shows qualitative differences between gender and teacher tenure. Together, these insights offer a comprehensive understanding of teacher experience of the SBTD Programme and its impacts. In addition, while pedagogy as ideas/discourse has focused on qualitative responses from teachers, pedagogy as practice has also been considered. This acknowledges both the classroom practices and the context in which they are practised, beyond the current functionality of input/output indicators and goals.

This practical application of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy has built further on the work of educationalists, who have written extensively on the value of pedagogy in education policy (Alexander, 2015; Livingston et al., 2017; Sayed & Ahmed, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2015). This project has built on the calls for the acknowledgement of pedagogy, echoing the significance of this literature and the themes of contextual relevance that they explore while also considering a potential model/framework that could be further utilised as an indicator of quality beyond input/output. Through the use of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy, contextualisation and participation, both key concepts of quality education, have been highlighted at different levels relating to culture and society, as well as policy and system. This application responds to the proposal for pedagogy to be used as an enabler to achieve the SDGs/Education 2030 goals by Livingston et al. (2017), moving beyond the common input/output measures to consider dynamic influences on delivering quality education.

The use of pedagogy also builds on the work of other voices who explore contextualisation and TPD (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2017; Johnson et al., 2000), including Tao and Buckler. These authors explore the CA along with CR (Tao, 2013) and the influence of agency, values and choice (Buckler, 2015). They acknowledge the need for policy to have greater engagement with teachers and context, in order to achieve a more relevant understanding of teachers' professional capabilities and their constraints. Their approaches acknowledge different understandings of teacher performance and quality teaching between policy and teachers themselves. Pedagogy, specifically the understanding of Alexander, offers an established model with levels that frame those factors influencing the dynamic relationship between teaching, learning and culture. Consideration of these, especially within the culture and society level, can help re-evaluate what is understood by teacher quality and performance, as argued by Tao and Buckler. Pedagogy considers issues of constraint at the system and policy level, as well as teacher practice with contextual relevance to teachers' culture and societal influences. In a similar way to Tao and her use of CR (2013), pedagogy offers more than an assumed link, but instead a fuller framework for understanding teacher practices.

In addition, with the application of pedagogy, this research directly adds to the work of Buckler (2015:132), whose findings demonstrate that policies should be about removing the obstacles that teachers face in achieving the professional capabilities to which they aspire. Exploring teachers' pedagogy as ideas/discourse and identifying their understandings of quality and desired capabilities, support the need for clearer and more unified understandings of quality between teachers and policy. Pedagogy, however, is also able to acknowledge the system and policy level, where issues facing TPD can be considered. TPD can then be delivered in a manner that responds to the context and identified constraints, with relevant content and support for teachers' desired capabilities. It has to be noted though that, similar to the work by Tao and Buckler focusing on the CA, Alexander's pedagogy cannot offer a "magic bullet" for educational governance (Buckler 2015:231). It does, however, offer a framework for development and delivery of TPD that can be used as a basis for further exploration in the field and supports the contribution of this research project to theoretical elements of the CA.

The use of pedagogy in a refugee context has been a valuable addition to the field. While contextualisation and participation are hailed as necessary in refugee education (INEE, 2012), their achievement in a mixed priority policy environment is challenging. This research proposes pedagogy as a framework and demonstrates its applicability as a tool/indicator of quality in refugee settings, effective due to its qualitative and contextual foundations. Furthermore, the use of Alexander's understanding of pedagogy has proven valuable even beyond the national context, in which it was originally developed (2001). Building on the case study of UNRWA, further application of pedagogy in other refugee contexts would be valuable. This could include settings with a wider range of refugee cultures and support organisations, such as Kakuma Camp in Kenya. Consideration of Alexander's pedagogy would also be helpful in contexts where there is integration of refugee students into host country schools, for example in urban settings in Amman, Jordan where large numbers of both Iraqi and Syrian refugees live, or Nairobi, Kenya host to many East African refugees. This would be a natural next step for this work, building on research currently conducted on refugee education in urban settings (Mendenhall et al., 2017).

Pedagogy as a frame of reference is a valuable addition to education research considering contextualisation and participation at multiple levels. However the methodological contributions of pedagogy are also significant in facilitating education research in more complex settings. There is often limited ability to spend extended periods of time in the research field in crisis contexts due to issues of access and safety. As a consequence, analytical frames such as the HRA or CA, which are best applied with multiple weeks and even months within communities are not appropriate and cannot be applied authentically. Postitionality, is also a key barrier to utilising these research frames, which is often further entwined with humanitarian support that is being delivered in these contexts, limiting the depth of trust and relationship needed between participant and researcher. Pedagogy, however, has been able to build on elements of the HRA and CA, which are contextually rooted, and respond to the constraints of research in these settings. Analysis is able to explore multiple depths while grounded in the local context and experiences of participants and is responsive to both these issues of time and positionality.

8.2.3 Theoretical Contributions and Broader Implications

The argument of this thesis, supported by research findings demonstrate, that quality education needs to be contextual and participatory. The research findings also offer contribution to theory around participation and the CA along with broader implications of these for TPD and refugee settings. They highlight the importance of teachers' voices and participation of the lowest possible unit, the individual teacher, even in refugee settings. There are also implications for policy in relation to the constraints it can create. The research findings also echo wider critique around the limited application of the CA in development and highlight the need for further research into this area.

This case study is able to contribute to the discussion of participation in complex settings. Discussion around participation, especially in education has not offered detail on process on how this can be established and coordinated. The INEE Minimum Standards (2012) do not consider participation of school staff, only that of the wider community. Teacher collaboration is presented as a feature of effective TPD when focused on student learning outcomes. This case study, however, has been able to further support the argument of teacher learning communities/communities of practice as a potentially significant forum for participation in enquiring quality education that is contextual and participatory. Participants spoke about these groups with enthusiasm and passion, as places for leaning and where congenial support is abundant, and pre-existed the SBTD Programme. Such communities allow for the deepest levels of participation by teachers for quality education and TPD (Dooner et al., 2008), where they are able to identify, manage and guide accountability for change and empowerment. Most significantly, this case study has clearly demonstrated that teachers were able to identify their desired capabilities in relation to classroom practice and those they desired of students to have. Previous commentaries of application of the CA and such participation in refugee settings and contexts of emergency and poverty has been doubted (Unterhalter, 2003). STs who participated in this research however, were able to clearly articulate the way in which they wanted to teach and what opportunities for learning they desired what would support this. It could be argued that there are nuances to the UNRWA experiences, for example pre-service teacher training, although the quality of this training has been questioned (Universilia Management Group, 2010:26). In addition, the crisis context with its limitations, including the personal experiences of

teachers as refugees and the challenges to organisational finance, might make it possible to generalise these findings.

This case study however, presents participation applied in a nominal form (White, 1996), which at a discourse and policy level discussed participation of all stakeholders, while this research suggests that this was rhetorical as only HQ and Field leadership experienced participation. The result of which was a pervasive negativity amongst school staff, had there been meaningful participation in TPD adverse impacts on pedagogy as ideas/discourse could have been avoided. Negative impacts were reported as a result of SBTD Programme, where teachers felt frustration at the 'repetitive' content and the inadequate focus on new skills they felt they needed in order to respond to their context, including group work in large classes and support for students with additional needs. This research demonstrates that teacher participation in the development of TPD is a key factor in engagement. Teacher self-awareness of development needs, identified with the use of pedagogy also highlights how such communities of practice could be used positively as a foundation for developing TPD and quality education.

These communities of practice can provide a participatory forum for a range of voices and teachers, however the individualism and the need for participation and contextualisation to extend to the lowest possible unit, the individual teacher, is further supported by these research findings. The individual needs are clearly detailed by Sen (1999:11), these research findings are able to contribute further to our understandings of individual teachers and of teacher identity, especially those in refugee settings, which have not been extensively researched to date. As the research sample is relatively small this project has not been able to demonstrate significant statistical differences between teachers' classroom practices. Qualitative data, however, suggests that features of teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse including gender and tenure have an impact on the way in which teachers engage with TPD. These findings demonstrate the need for future research agendas to consider these factors and the personal aspects that may influence pedagogy as ideas/discourse. They also further strengthen existing arguments for comprehensive participation that is not homogeneous and considers teachers as a mono-identity (Miller et al., 2006). Although there is some work on these features in the Global South, for example tenure (Barrett, 2008; Nabhani et al., 2012), it is limited, and

further research of these in refugee contexts would be valuable, as such factors are also contextually situated. Further research around teacher identity also needs to consider the wider context, including salary, social attitudes and changing attitudes to education over time, as these are all influences of pedagogy as ideas/discourse at a social and cultural level. This research has begun by highlighting the valuable starting points of gender and teacher tenure. Further consideration of these factors could allow for greater teacher participation and contextualisation of learning suited to their more individual, rather than homogeneous externally selected needs, delivered through larger scale roll out, such as the SBTD Programme.

With consideration of these findings around teacher identity/individuality and the CA, TPD programmes have the potential to provide greater support for individual needs and desires of teachers. To offer an approach which is authentic and inline with the CA there is need for the individual teacher to be acknowledged and supported to achieve their desired capabilities and freedoms (Robeyns, 2006b). Larger scale, cohesive and unified programmes delivered over large geographic areas like that of the SBTD Programme could still be developed through participatory methods. Firstly to identity areas which teachers desire to expand their capabilities in, secondly to develop appropriate resources and materials, which are fully contextualised by teachers in the Field. Further application of the CA could then be conducted through 'pick n mix' approach, where teachers select units/modules, which would help them develop their desired capabilities. This offers agency and choice to teachers, a valuable functioning of freedom (Sen, 1999:76), opposed to the force and obligation. These processes of participation and utilisation of communities of practice in TPD development also ensures contextualisation. In a similar manner to any form of participation, ensuring that everybody is represented in these forums may be difficult. However, with self-selection of TPD materials this would ensure that participation, in the form of choice, is enabled and protected.

UNRWA, however, established and implemented the ERS that only demonstrates narrative value and normative ideas of CA in global and national policy. Causative ideas and full engagement with the original essence of this approach for freedom have not been embraced and integrated into policy; rather, the CA is limited to discourse. The

rhetorical statements and allusion to CA may in part also be linked to the global application and utilisation of the approach (Fukuda-Parr, 2018; Gale & Molla, 2015) as input/output indicators in the evaluation of education quality remain, this also illustrates the issue of strategic framing. Furthermore mixed messages of refugee education, limit the degree of commitment to the application of the CA, and contextualisation and participation for quality education. This case study offers further contribution to the current knowledge of CA application and the gap between theory and practice in relation to the CA. While the ERS promoted focus on human development and use the CA, this has not been seen to any notable depth in practice. Participation of a wider range of stakeholders, including teachers, would have been expected if CA were to be used, in line with Sen's proposals (Walker, 2006:47) detailed in the ERS (UNRWA, 2011a:45). This research contributes to the theoretical discussion of the CA and its application to education. While Sen's democratic and community driven focus of desired capabilities was referenced, a pre-established presentation of valuable capabilities was offered to teachers, which offers more resemblance to Nussbaum's (2011) list of capabilities. The CA in relation to education still remains under theorised, however this research contributes to understanding that application of the CA in education, especially in relation to TPD, must be participatory. These research findings show that the inclusion and participation of teachers is imperative for freedoms and achievement of their desired capabilities within the classroom and beyond. The SBTD Programme and ERS did not offer depth or quality of participation necessary for teachers. As a result this policy served as a constraint rather than an opportunity for them to achieve their desired capabilities.

Constraint to capabilities in low-income settings are often linked with contextual issues including large classes and limited resources (Song, 2015). This research, however contributes to theoretic understanding of policy as a constraint to capabilities, not only context. This builds on the work of Buckler (2015), however, extending the scope to look beyond policy narraitve into policy enactment. Sympathetic and contextualised UNRWA policies to STs and their classroom practices were limited. This was both in the form and content of the SBTD Programme. The Programme took STs away from necessary daily activities they valued, such as lesson planning (ST1S1, ST1S2, ST1S15) and responding to the knowledge filled curricula (ST2S13, ST1S2, ST2S12, SPS4), SPs were also not able

to fully engage with ST portfolios (SPS3). Furthermore STs detail how the Programme and desired classroom practices did not fully represent their preferred classroom actions, including skills such as managing a large classroom and using technology were not developed and capabilities achieved (ST3S5). In addition the promoted teaching methods and more CCP, while supported by STs for engagement were not endorsed for learning (ST2S6, ST2S11, ST3S10). Policy therefore contradicted and neglected the capabilities and functionings that teachers desired for what they believe is impactful teaching. Again, this UNRWA policy limited ST choice, fundamental freedom and functioning of choice (Sen1999:76). TPD policy needs to consider how it can eliminate or decrease teacher constraints in enacting their desired classroom practices, not limiting them. This case study clearly demonstrated a restriction of capabilities by the ERS and the SBTD Programme.

The achievement of global goals that maintain universal and quantitative aims with fullest application of the CA, in line with Sen, can be debated. The realisation of broad global goals by contextually rooted individuals is a challenge (Sayed & Ahmed, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2010; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). This research project, however, demonstrates that these two positions are compatible. The impact of the SBTD on teacher classroom practice was observed, however, this was limited in both scale and style of application by STs. The SBTD Programme, which has not fully utilised the CA, has not created significant gains in student attainment or changes to classroom practice. This research however, demonstrates that ambition, echoing that of global aims and that of UNRWA for education quality, was evident in ST attitudes. This is clear in understandings of education for the purpose of the whole individual (UNESCO, 2000), even if specific capabilities were not discussed. While these values were not united in a singular frame or motto by STs, elements of globally defined quality were evident. This demonstrates that ambition can be met with participation, which would also allow for more constructive forms of TPD. These research findings also contribute to understanding of impacts caused by a non-participatory approach to application of the CA.

The theoretical contributions of the case study offer deeper understanding of application of the CA and teacher participation. Teacher identity, especially gender and

tenure is demonstrated as a qualitative influence on TPD, demonstrating the need for participation of the lowest possible unit. In addition these research findings show teachers' ability to identify and communicate desired capabilities, even in complex settings. Establishing that participation is possible and vital in refugee settings. Pre-existing communities of practice are shown to be effective and valuable forums for the coordination and ownership for the participation of teachers. A 'pick n mix' form of TPD is also presented as a potential way of engaging with teacher identity and participatory ownership which could also more effectively accomplish global ambitions. As a result, this thesis also clarifies connections between ideas that are not considered in existing literature; the connection between quality education, participation and contextualisation, and TPD. While TPD is viewed as essential for education quality, the concepts of quality education and their parallel significance in TPD have not been explored previously. TPD literature was reviewed using Alexander's levels of pedagogy. This showed the way in which TPD is developed, with contextualisation and participation needs to be considered, themes that echo understandings of quality education. This has been further demonstrated through the empirical findings of this research. The argument for consideration of TPD within the context of quality education is considered by Brinkmann (2015:354), who states that when teacher beliefs (pedagogy as ideas) is a desired target for change in TPD, ethics must be considered (especially if beliefs are grounded in cultural traditions, as who determines which beliefs are acceptable?). This thesis connects meanings of quality education and TPD, finding that context and participation should be extended and included as foundational principles of TPD.

8.3 Limitations of this Case Study and Avenues for Further Research

There are, however, limitations to this case study that require acknowledgement. Opportunity to explore the classroom level of Alexander's pedagogy as ideas was not feasible due to the particularities of the field and ethical challenges that would be raised by research at this level. As a result, while findings suggest that Alexander's pedagogy is a tool which can be used to explore quality education, the full breadth of its potential and associated challenges have not been fully explored in this case study. Further research would also be required to determine the scalability of the tool. In this project, pedagogy has focused on the ERS and associated SBTD Programme, within one geographical region, North Amman. Understanding how pedagogy may be applied on a

larger scale, in order to consider more programmes, entire schools or wider geographical areas would add further understanding to the delivery of contextual and participatory, quality education.

The need for further research into the scalability of pedagogy echoes limitations related to contextualisation and participation. Their relevance to quality education is clearly evidenced in the literature and further supported by the empirical findings of this project. The depth and breadth of the necessary contextualisation and participation, however, has not been defined by this research project. One reason for the absence of definition of these terms is linked to the scope of the project. Research was focused on Jordan a site chosen for its generalisability potential for a broader range of refugee settings. The opportunity to explore pedagogy and experiences of the ERS and SBTD Programme in other UNRWA Fields, however, could have given greater insight into the necessary depth and breadth of contextualisation and participation. A wider range of camp and non-camp settings would also allow further exploration into any contextual differences that need to be considered between these two environments. My research findings, however, suggest that contextualisation and participation also need to go beyond geographic and social locations, to levels much closer to the individual identities and beliefs of teachers. Gender and teacher tenure/years of experience have been highlighted as features of teachers' pedagogy as ideas/discourse that influence the way in which they relate to and participate in TPD. However, without a wider change to the evaluation of quality education and the use of qualitative indicators, the terms context and participation pose challenges to the future development and introduction of programmes with such foundations.

This project has not been able to critique theories of teacher learning, their applicability to this case study or their position in relation to pedagogy. The SBTD Programme explored situated learning in its programme outline (UNRWA, 2013j:3); however, theory around teacher learning or change of teachers' beliefs and practices was not clear. As we are not clear on the foundational approach to the way teacher learn it was not possible to explore fully the argument of the SBTD Programme content presented to teachers being, theory-light, with limited focus on why practices and their theoretical foundations should be used. As the intended learning process is not clear, there are also limitations

to understanding to the strength of teachers' formative experiences and cultural approaches to learning. Nevertheless, connections to some aspects of teacher learning theories have been observed in this project. This has included Guskey's Model of Teacher Change (2002), the Onion Model for multi-level reflection by Korthagen and Vasalos (2005) and also the model of teacher learning proposed by Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002), which highlights context and reflection.

8.4 Final Statement

This thesis, conducted in a refugee context, responds directly to calls for research into TPD in such settings and demonstrates the centrality of teachers in the professional development agenda. This case study has shown that quality education requires full contextualisation and participation of stakeholders. Findings confirm the negative impact on teacher pedagogy as ideas/discourse when these factors are not considered. Education policy and application of the CA for quality needs to incorporate features well beyond the classroom, into the teachers' wider engagement with community and cultural perspectives. The same approach is necessary for TPD, while also relating personally and practically to their individual needs.

Appendix 1
Education Reform Overview

While empirical chapters are able to provide details of participant experiences of the Education Reform context and specifically the SBTD Programme, appreciation of the Education Reform as a whole is also necessary in understanding UNRWAs pursuit of quality education. The following details of the Education Reform Strategy (ERS) and associate programmes offer further details and understanding of the context around participant experiences that influence and impact their pedagogy, contextual surroundings and classroom practice.

The Education Reform Strategy

The ERS acknowledges the complex host environments and the constraints of existing host education curricula on UNRWA's potential for change. As a result, UNRWA seeks to contribute positively to a more relevant and current approach to education, influencing the discourse across the region (UNRWA, 2011a:43). The ERS highlights lessons to learn from reform failures by others that have focused on a process that was 'too tight, too loose, too bottom up or too top down' (Pg. 43). Rather, the aim of this reform has been to develop a structure that focuses on ownership and capacity development, utilise skills of all stakeholders, as opposed to a model that only focused on innovation or accountability. As a result, there has been a whole organisational shift towards improving education quality for Palestine Refugees, leading to the development and introduction of a new Education Department structure. The ERS also acknowledges that there is need for stakeholder participation for effective change, including frontline staff which are key in the implementation of the reform process (Pg. 62). Differing understandings of quality, needs and values, and the complex environments in which UNRWA operates need to be acknowledged (Pg. 64), although there is no detail on how this is managed.
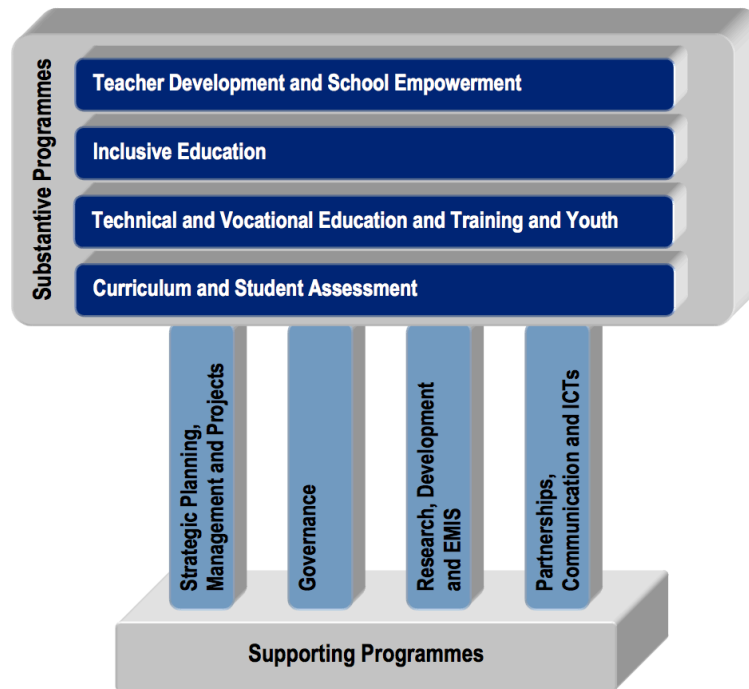
Education Department Reform Structure (UNRWA, 2011a:63)

The aim of this structure, with supportive and substantive programmes, is to build support systematically for decentralisation, noting that effective decentralisation is dependent on a balance of centralised and decentralised functions (Pg. 62). All eight of these Reform programmes aim to reflect three core principles: (a) collaboration between Field offices and Headquarters taking on a "substantive" lead role, (b) harnessing external expertise, and (c) emphasising partnerships with host governments and other stakeholders (Pg. 46), ultimately providing quality assurance, monitoring and evaluation alongside technical support to the Fields (Pg. 44).

The corresponding unit for each ERS objective delivers the programmes focused on a specific outcome of the Reform:

1.1 *Professional, qualified and motivated teaching force and empowered schools in place*

1.2 *Equal access for all children to quality education regardless of gender, abilities, disabilities, impairments, health conditions and socio-economic status assured*

1.3 *Relevant and quality Technical Vocational Education and Training structures/programmes in place*

1.4 *Curricula to support a holistic approach to learning and personal development strengthened*

1.5 Evidence-based policy making and informed decision-making at all levels in place

1.6 Effective educational governance system at all levels in place

1.7 Education Programme planning management strengthened

1.8 Partnerships, communication and use of education ICTs strengthened
(UNRWA, 2011a:ix)

Teacher Development and School Empowerment

Looking specifically at the Teacher Development and School Empowerment Unit, their objective is '[p]rofessional, qualified and motivated teaching force and empowered schools in place' (UNRWA, 2011a:47). This is made up of outputs, which have interlocking themes and focus on the cohesive delivery of long-term support for teacher development and school empowerment.

Output 1 – Teacher policy and strategic implementation framework in place

Output 2 – Coherent teacher training and professional development structures in place

Output 3 – Effective management of teaching profession and administrative systems in place

Output 4 – Status and working conditions of teachers enhanced

Output 5 – A model of school empowerment developed and implemented

(UNRWA, 2011a:47)

This has led to the development of the School Based Teacher Development – Transforming Classroom Practices Programme (SBTD/SBTD TCP) and Leading for the Future (LftF), two key programmes of the Education Reform (UNRWA, 2016g).

The School Based Teacher Development Programme

This major programme stands in line with the desired outcomes of the reform and promotes a long-term strategic approach to teacher development. The support cadre, School Principals and Education Specialists, who work with teachers through the SBTD Programme are themselves able to receive support and professional development. Full details can be found in chapter 5.

Leading for the Future

The Leading for the Future (LftF) Programme is designed for School Principals, supported by Education Specialists and Area Education Officers. LftF is a blended learning programme, sharing a similar structure to the SBTD programme, with the intention of allowing participants time within the working day to study, providing online materials, but also requiring some preparation for peer and mentoring meetings. LftF is a six-month programme, made up of four modules. Facilitated group sessions, Engagement Day, at the start of the course, Development Day (month three) and Impact Day (month six) are opportunities for School Principals to share and review their work and thoughts on leadership as related to the course material. In the same manner as the SBTD Programme, LftF was introduced in geographic groupings, meaning that School Principals in the same area were meeting together.

A major aspect of the course is the Change Toolkit, which partnered with the modules of study provides a number of strategies that School Principals can use to lead and manage change in their schools. There are activities that School Principals can lead to engage other staff in the process of change and school development (UNRWA, n.d.-c).

Strategic Support Units

In order to support the aim of embedding, sustaining and enriching the practices of the ERS, Strategic Support Units (SSU) have been established in line with the Teacher Policy (UNRWA, 2013k). Their purpose is to provide comprehensive and Field-focused support systems for schools and teachers creating strategic vision. Based in each of the five Fields, the SSU teams work closely alongside the Field education teams, including Area Education Officers (AEO) and Education Specialists (ES). Each SSU is divided into three focus areas: a Quality Assurance Unit (QA), an Assessment Unit (AU) and the Professional Development and Curriculum Unit (PDC) (UNRWA, n.d.-c). Their purpose is to evaluate the evidence that is available and address the needs and concerns that this data might present. This may range from exam results to feedback from the SBTD Programme. Additionally, their role is to think strategically and observe the impact of the ERS and the lessons learned, and develop further strategic plans for improvement. Each of the individual units has a specific key role in achieving these goals at different levels of the schools, and administrative mechanisms to ensure quality. SSUs also participated in a Strategic Support Unit Programme, with a similar blended approach to

SBTD and LftF, for capacity development purposes. The five core domains of the development programme (Strategic Leadership, Personal Leadership, Organisational Leadership, People and Resource Leadership, and Leadership for School Improvement) are partnered with a process of self-evaluation and reflection. Materials are presented in a ring-bound manual, as well as available online for ongoing reference.

The QA unit is responsible for regularly evaluating and monitoring school performance. The Quality Assessment School Report focuses on five key areas that include student outcomes through to leadership and management of the school, measured against specific criteria. The AU unit focuses more closely on examination and assessment results and promotes effective use of these tests to improve student learning. Meanwhile, the PDC unit supports the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of professional development.

<u>Inclusive Education</u>
The Inclusive Education unit, as part of the ERS, developed an Inclusive Education Policy with the aim of reaching across all programme areas (UNRWA, 2011a:50). There was a shift from previous policy as a result of the Reform. Rather than a medical model of disability, a rights-based model was utilised, which approaches attitudes and environmental challenges as a barrier to achieving students' full potential rather than disability (Rodriguez et al., 2018:37). In partnership with this, an Inclusive Education Teacher Toolkit was developed, including a user-friendly guide, DVD and other supporting documents. This was delivered as part of Training for the Trainer workshops to support the identification and response to students' diverse learning needs (UNRWA, 2014d:2-3)

Output 5 (Psychosocial needs of children identified and addressed) of the Inclusive Education Unit has led to the development of a Psychosocial Support Conceptual Framework for Schools. This is aligned to the Agency wide Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (UNRWA, 2016f).

Curriculum and Student Assessment

This unit aims to support student understanding of the core subjects: Arabic language, English language, maths and science. This also includes support for cross-cutting values and skills development, more specifically, Human Rights and life skills which focus on increasing students' understanding of tolerance**,** through the teaching of non-violent communication and conflict resolution (UNRWA, 2011a:54). This includes a Curriculum Policy and Framework for analysis and enhancement of host country curricula for use by education managers and teachers (UNRWA, 2012c).

The Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Tolerance (HRCRT) project, independently funded by the US, also operates within the Curriculum and Student Assessment Unit (UNRWA, 2011a:55). UNRWA has developed a HRCRT toolkit presenting seven central themes felt to be fundamental to the development of students: human rights, participation, diversity, equality and non-discrimination, respect, conflict resolution and community links (UNRWA, 2013l). This toolkit is for use in schools by teachers and is in partnership with other reform programmes, especially Teacher Development.

Supporting Programmes

The substantive programmes, which had physical impact in the Fields and were action-focused, had the most significant influence on the experiences of participants within schools. This was because they delivered further programmes, materials, resources and expectations to the classroom. These projects were supported by other programmes and units:

1. Research, Development and EMIS

2. Governance

3. Strategic Planning, Management and Projects

4. Partnerships, Communication and ICTs (UNRWA, 2011a:46)

The Research, Development and EMIS unit has produced relevant briefings and surveys to inform further the work of substantive programmes. This has included the Perceptional Survey (UNRWA, 2015c), research on the impact of class sizes and broader projects considering how other countries and case studies have improved education quality (UNRWA, 2014e). The work of EMIS, the Educational Management Information

System, is also key in supporting the SSUs and schools to manage strategic action with real-time data (including indicators on drop-out, attainment and gender gap), as well as strengthen evidence-based policy (UNRWA, 2016h). The Governance unit facilitates the development of unified policies, which are both transparent and accountable (UNRWA, 2011a:58). Strategic Planning, Management and Projects, as well as Partnerships, Communication and ICTs co-operate with other departments responding to findings and need. They are key in the overall planning and management of the Education Department and programmes (UNRWA, 2011a:59–60).

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