University of Glasgow

Abdullah, Ahmed Abduladhem (2019) *Investigating English language teachers' practices, identities and agency in Internally Displaced Person (IDP) camps in Iraq*. PhD thesis.

https://theses.gla.ac.uk/74229/

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses
https://theses.gla.ac.uk/
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

Investigating English Language Teachers' Practices, Identities and Agency in Internally Displaced Person (IDP) Camps in Iraq

by

Ahmed Abduladheem Abdullah

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Education

College of Social Sciences

University of Glasgow

May 2019

Abstract

In 2014, a new national CLT-based English language curriculum was introduced in Iraq for the purpose of boosting English language teaching and learning in elementary and secondary schools. However, on the same year of introducing the curriculum, 2014, a group of Islamic extremists (ISIS) started a series of deadly attacks on many cities in Iraq causing a massive internal displacement to take place. In less than a year, millions of Iraqi people were displaced and were scattered over many other ISIS-free cities in Iraq. While most of the displaced people could afford living expenses including rent, transportation and healthcare, others could not and went homeless. Consequently, a number of internally displaced person (IDP) camps were established as a temporary settlement to house the hundreds of thousands of homeless IDPs.

Given the fact that those IDP camps were established outside the main cities, and thus were located at a considerable distance from schools, one elementary and one secondary school were opened within many of these camps to encourage IDPs to send their children to schools. These schools were made of tents, and at best caravans. Schools inside IDP camps were under a severe shortage of teaching and learning resources. Moreover, the average teacher-students ratio in some of these schools exceeded 1:65. Hence, a complex set of difficulties characterized teaching and learning inside camp schools.

The present study set out to investigate the impact of the new teaching context on English language teachers in relation to their implementation of the new curriculum, their identities and the achievement of their agency. Classroom observations and semi-structured interviews with camp school English language teachers were conducted to collect the research data. Cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT), agency theory and Identity Theory were used as lenses through which data were analyzed and discussed.

The findings obtained from this research indicate that due to many contextual factors, traditional methods of teaching were strictly followed in camp schools.

While a new English language curriculum was introduced to bring about change to teachers' daily classroom practices, teachers carried on with their old teacher-centered transmission-oriented mode of teaching. Teacher agency was also found to be limited as teachers in camp schools were constrained more than enabled. The new teaching context was found to be paralyzing to many forms of teaching practices and was therefore impeding teachers from building on their individual capacities. Lastly, due to the impact of the new teaching context, camp school teachers shifted their traditional teaching role identity and added a new caring one. In other words, camp school teachers changed the meanings or goals that generally define English language teachers' role in Iraq.

Table of Contents

Abstract II
Table of Contents IV
List of Figures VIII
Statement IX
Acknowledgement X
Author's Declaration XII
Chapter One: Introduction 1
1.1 Background to the study 1
1.2 Rationale for the study 3
1.3 Aims and research questions 5
1.4 Structure of thesis 5
Chapter Two: An Overview about Education in Times of Emergencies 7
2.1 Education in emergencies 7
2.2 Do IDPs need education? 8
2.2.1 Short -term benefits 10
2.2.2 Long -term benefit 12
2.3 What challenges education faces in IDP camps 14
Chapter Three: Literature Review 18
3.1 Introduction 18
3.2 CHAT: Origin and development 22
3.2.1 Second generation of CHAT 24
3.2.2 Third generation of CHAT 26
3.2.3 Contradictions in CHAT 34
3.2.4 CHAT as a theoretical framework in educational settings 36
3.2.5 CHAT: limitations and criticism 38
3.3 Educational change 40
3.3.1 Barriers against implementing educational change 41
3.3.2 Teachers' beliefs and educational change 47
3.3.3 Teachers as agents of change 49
3.4 Teacher agency 51
3.4.1 Dimensions of agency 53
3.4.2 Model of teacher agency 54
3.4.3 Temporal and spatial dimensions of teacher agency 56
3.4.4 Teacher agency: role of teachers' beliefs and values 58

3.5 Identity theory: Introduction 60
3.5.1 Origin of Identity theory and contribution of George McCall and J. L. Simmons 62
3.5.2 Background of Identity theory 64
3.5.3 Meanings and identity 67
3.5.4 Verifying identities 69
3.5.5 More than one identity activated at a time 72
3.5.6 Identity change 73
Chapter Four: Methodology 79
4.1 Introduction 79
4.2 Research paradigm 80
4.2.1 Ontology 81
4.2.2 Epistemology 83
4.2.3 Methodology 85
4.2.4 Methods 88
4.3 Interviews 92
4.3.1 The first, second and third interviews 94
4.3.2 Record of the interviews 95
4.4 Classroom observation 96
4.5 Participating schools 97
4.6 Sample: who were the participants? 98
4.7 Timing of data collection 101
4.8 Ethical considerations 102
4.8.1 Difficulties emerged on my arrival to Kurdistan 104
4.8.2 Getting the principals' approval 105
4.8.3 Challenges in getting the consent forms signed 107
4.9 Thematic analysis 109
4.10 The process of data analysis 110
4.11 Guidelines to an accurate thematic analysis 115
Phase one: familiarising yourself with your data 115
Phase 2: generating initial codes 116
Phase 3: searching for themes 116
Phase 4: reviewing themes 117
Phase 5: defining and naming themes 118
Phase 6: producing the report 118
Chapter Five: Findings 119
5.1 Introduction 119

5.2 Teachers' knowledge of the curriculum and of their roles under the new curriculum . 119
5.2.1 Teachers' knowledge of the curriculum objectives 121
5.2.2 Teachers' understanding of their role and the nature of classroom activities under the new curriculum 128
5.3 Teachers' beliefs concerning the applicability of the new curriculum 138
5.3.1 Class size 143
5.3.2 Time pressure 149
5.3.3 Inappropriate seating arrangements 162
5.4 Teachers' beliefs about students' learning outcome 165
5.4.1 Students' inability to do homework 166
5.4.2 Lack of thermal comfort 169
5.4.3 Language barrier 171
5.4.4 Noise pollution 173
5.5 Teachers' motivation 180
5.5.1 Late payment of teachers' salaries 181
5.5.2 Lack of students' desire and interest to learn 187
5.5.3 A demotivating workplace 191
5.6 Teachers' identities 193
Chapter Six: Discussion 206
6.1 Introduction 206
6.2 Impact of camp school settings on teachers' practices 206
6.3 Impact of camp school settings on teachers' agency 216
6.4 Impact of camp school settings on teachers' identities 222
Chapter Seven: Conclusion 229
7.1 General summary and research questions 229
7.2 Research findings and their implications 230
7.2.1 Implications for teachers' knowledge of curriculum objectives 230
7.2.2 Implications for the role of examination system and other contextual factors on curriculum implementation 232
7.2.3 Implications for camp school teachers' identities 234
7.2.4 Implications for camp school teachers' agency 237
7.3 Limitations of this study 239
7.4 Contributions to knowledge 240
7.5 Recommendations of the study 241
7.5.1 Recommendations for policy and practice 241
7.5.2 Recommendations for future research 243
Appendices 245

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet **245**
Appendix B: Consent form **247**
Appendix C: The approved petition from the Duhok Governor's assistant **248**
Appendix D: A translated version of the approved petition from the Duhok Governor's assistant **249**
Appendix E: The approved petition from the Executive Directorate, Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs **250**
Appendix F: A translated version of the approved petition from the Executive Directorate, Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs **251**
List of References **252**

List of Figures

Figure 3.1: Vygotsky's mediational triangle (Cole & Ergestiön, 1993)..... 23
Figure 3.2: The activity hierarchy of Leontiev (1981) 24
Figure 3.3: An activity system (Engeström, 1987)..... 27
Figure 3.4: Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) model of teacher agency..... 55
Figure 6.1: English language teaching in camp schools as an activity system 207

Statement

Some of the material (transcriptions of the participating teachers' interviews and classroom observations along with the approvals provided by the two headteachers) is highly sensitive and could prove difficult for people in the camp schools. This material is not attached with this research as appendices and will be available on the day of the VIVA.

Acknowledgement

I would like first to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Professor Stephen McKinney, Dr Lavinia Hirsu and Ms Julie McAdam for their time, effort and patience. Your constructive advice and insightful feedback have inevitably added invaluable contributions to this work. I also want to acknowledge that I will always be indebted to your continuous encouragement and to all the stimulating conversations you have had with me over the past few years, particularly during challenging times when my family in Mosul were in a war zone. Without your support, this work would never have come into existence. Your supervision will remain memorable.

My immense gratitude goes to my father (Abduladheem) for his generous emotional and financial support and to my mother (Wafa'a) for her endless love and kindness. I am also forever grateful to my brothers (Zaid and Ali) and my sisters (Sara, Noor and Zahar). I simply cannot thank you enough for your support and encouragement. To me, you were, are and will always be the best parents and siblings I can ever dream of having.

I am fully indebted to my dear wife, Hadeel, for her endless endurance and patience over the past four and a half years. Thank you for all the sacrifices you have made. I am genuinely blessed to have you in my life. Also, to my wonderful daughters, Maryam and Noor, thank you from the bottom of my heart for always being my biggest support and inspiration.

Special thanks and appreciation are due to all the participating teachers in this research for their warm welcome, co-operation and valuable insights on teaching and learning in camp schools. My thanks also go to the two participating schools' principals and to the Governorate of Duhok for their approvals to conduct this study. Without them, I would never have been able to collect any data.

Last but not least, my thanks extend to my sponsor, the Higher Committee for Education development in Iraq (HCED), for granting me a fully-funded scholarship to

pursue my PhD study in the UK. Beside increasing my academic knowledge, widening my critical thinking and enhancing my research experience, this scholarship was an unmatched opportunity to acknowledging cultural differences and for that I will always be thankful.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Ahmed Abduladheem Abdullah

Signature:

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

For more than thirty years, English language was taught to Iraqi's secondary school pupils by means of the Audio-lingual and the Grammar-translation methods. Teachers were dominating the class, transmitting knowledge (mainly rules of grammar) to their pupils who were merely passive listeners. This, however, has come to an end when the Iraqi Ministry of Education felt the need of changing the curriculum. For this reason, an empirical curriculum was introduced in 2008 and applied on some schools. This curriculum included a variety of communicative activities, with rules of grammar being also focused on. When teachers in those 'experimental schools' started to give positive feedback about this curriculum, the Iraqi Ministry of Education began to apply this curriculum on more schools, and then on grades (years of study) on a national level, at the beginning of each academic year.

In 2014, a new national English language curriculum (a series named English for Iraq) was introduced. This new curriculum is CLT-based and is learner-centred. However, a group of Islamic extremists (ISIS) attacked Mosul (a city in North Iraq) in June 2014 and took control over the city. Few months later, ISIS was attacking other cities and was turning many other places into a war-zone. This caused a large internal displacement when hundreds of thousands of people (mostly Muslims with thousands of non-Muslims) left Mosul and were scattered over many other cities in Iraq. A disjuncture within the Iraqi community, especially between Muslims and Yazidis, took place after 2014 after thousands of non-Muslim Iraqis (especially Yazidis) were killed, imprisoned or enslaved by ISIS.

While some of those IDPs could afford to pay for housing, other could not and went homeless. As a temporary settlement to house the homeless IDPs, a number of camps were immediately established and housed tens of thousands of those traumatized people. Each camp provided shelter for thousands of IDPs. Due to the religious tensions discussed above, IDPs were segregated into camps based on their

religious background. In relation to the present research, the two participating camps were inhabited exclusively by Yazidis, as will be explained later in this research (see section 5.6).

Importantly, one elementary and one secondary school were constructed inside the majority of these camps. Schools inside IDP camps were made mainly of tents, and sometimes caravans. Hence, the newly introduced English for Iraq curriculum was also being implemented inside these camp schools.

Bearing in mind that schooling inside camp schools had never taken place in Iraq before 2014, it was decided that the focus of the present study would be on examining the impact of the new teaching context (IDP camps) on teaching English, and more specifically on teachers' implementation of the new English language curriculum.

Teacher identity was the second focus of this research. Teachers in camp schools (including the participating teachers in this research) were displaced themselves and were under a complex set of difficulties, both inside and outside school. All of those teachers left their houses, their jobs (as many teachers were having a second part-time job due to low salaries of teachers in Iraq) and some left their families in Mosul.

Also, the cost of living in Kurdistan (where many of the displaced teachers were living) had increased dramatically after 2014 due to the large number of IDPs who moved to Kurdistan. This added more complexities on the lives of the displaced teachers. In relation to the present research, the aim is to examine whether or not teachers' identities were changed after 2014, and how did that impact their roles as teachers in camp schools if there were changes in their identities.

Finally, the new CLT-based curriculum came with a new understanding that is widely different from the previous grammar-translation and audio-lingual based curricula, especially in terms of the teachers' role inside the classrooms. This means that for the new curriculum to work effectively, teachers have to be 'agents

of change'. However, bringing about change is not always a simple task to achieve for teachers (Yamchi ,2006; Iskandar, 2014). In other words, literature on curriculum innovation clearly shows that the required changes brought by a new curriculum might be difficult or sometimes inapplicable in certain contexts (Abdel Latif, 2012; Rajab, 2013).

To look more closely at this process of bringing change, teacher agency was also focused on in this study. That is to say, the study of teacher agency shows how teachers 'critically shape their responses to problematic situations' (Biesta and Tedder, 2006 p.11). It is common knowledge that camp schools are more likely to bring more 'problematic situations' to teachers and students alike than non-camp schools. Hence, analyzing the achievement of teacher agency in this research seems promising as it has the capability to show to what extent teachers were capable of finding ways to counter these 'problematic situations' to bring the required change in relation to the new CLT-based English language curriculum

1.2 Rationale for the study

As was indicated above, no schooling inside IDP camps had taken place in Iraq before 2014, the same year of introducing the new English language curriculum. Hence, when displacement happened, no Iraqi teacher at that time had any sort of experience in teaching in such a challenging context. This means that teachers in camp schools had to deal not only with a new curriculum, but also with new teaching settings.

To date, the available literature on teaching and learning in IDP camps in general is very limited. In relation to the Iraqi situation, there is no available literature on the contextual difficulties that English language teachers face inside IDP camp schools. By the same token, no study so far has investigated the applicability of the new Iraqi national English language curriculum, whether in camp or non-camp schools.

Therefore, two gaps in the literature (teachers' implementation of the new curriculum and the contextual difficulties in camp school settings) were identified

and were the rationale behind conducting this research as it seeks to bridge these gaps. The present research, therefore, seeks to investigate teachers' implementation of the new curriculum in IDP camp schools. However, teaching is a complicated process. Beside their skills and knowledge about teaching methods, teachers' practices are heavily influenced by other individual and societal factors such as teachers' goals and beliefs, the role of school principal and inspectors, the availability of teaching resources and other related contextual features.

Bearing in mind the complexity of teaching, teacher identity and agency are also discussed in this research. To explain, if a change (or a shift) in teachers' identities occurred due to the impact of the new teaching context, or more generally due to the many changes in their lives that happened after 2014, this would ultimately affect their implementation of the new curriculum.

By the same token, the impact of other societal factors, such as the role of inspectors, headteachers and parents on teachers' practices cannot be ignored and for this reason, CHAT theory was used and built on in this study as this theory has the power to account for the impact of these societal factors on the outcome of teaching process.

Moreover, given the complexity of teaching settings in IDP camp schools, and the scarcity of the available literature on how teachers deal with contextual challenges in such context, the present study seeks to explore how teachers in camp schools were both enabled and constrained by their new teaching context. To this end, teacher agency was accounted for in this research.

To conclude, the present study is exploratory in nature and sheds light on three teaching-related aspects; English language teachers' practices in IDP camp schools, teachers' identities and their agency. Clearly, there are other financial, political and/or social factors or aspects that impact teaching and learning. However, accounting for all these factors in one study seems impossible. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the current study will present a new understanding about the reality of teaching inside IDP camps in Iraq through focusing on these three different aspects.

1.3 Aims and research questions

While it is true that all cities in Iraq were liberated from ISIS, tens of thousands of IDPs cannot go back to their places. This is because thousands of houses have been destroyed and many towns have almost been wiped out due to the numerous attacks that took place between ISIS and different Iraqi forces from 2014 - 2017. Hence, schooling inside IDP camps in Iraq will carry on for years from now.

Therefore, results obtained from the present research are needed as they can help us understand, and more importantly counter, the difficulties that English language teachers are facing in camp schools. Similarly, once the impact of camp school settings on teachers' identities and on their agency is known, remedial actions can be taken. To this end, the research attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What is the impact of the new teaching context on the practices of the Iraqi secondary school EFL teachers in the IDP camp?

2. To what extent are teachers' agencies achieved in their new teaching context?

3. What is the impact of the new teaching context on IDP camp school teachers' identities?

1.4 Structure of thesis

The thesis has been organized into seven chapters. Following on from the introduction:

Chapter two provides an overview about education in times of emergencies. In this chapter, camp school students' right to learn is presented. Moreover, the short and long-terms goals behind schooling in times of emergencies are also tackled.

Chapter Three presents three main theories that were used in this study as lenses through which data were analysed. These three theories are: Cultural-Historical

Activity Theory (CHAT), Teacher Agency and Identity Theory. Connections between these theories and the present study are made in this chapter. In other words, these theories were presented with connections to the present study focus.

Chapter four presents the methodology and methods employed to answer the research questions. This chapter also provide a brief overview about my ontological and epistemological stances and their roles in informing the present research methodology and methods. Information about the participating schools and the participating teachers are also provided. The chapter ends with a brief overview about the adopted thematic analysis.

Chapter five presents the main findings of this study. This chapter is divided up into five main sections; teachers' knowledge of the curriculum and of their roles in light of the new curriculum, teachers' beliefs concerning the applicability of the new curriculum, teachers' beliefs about students' learning outcome, teachers' motivation and teachers' identities. These five sections build up for the next chapter where the research questions are tackled.

Chapter six and seven tackle the present research questions through discussing the impact of camp school settings on teachers' practices, identities and agency. The main findings presented in Chapter five formed the bedrock of Chapter 6 as discussions were built on these findings. In chapter seven, a discussion of the research limitation, recommendations and suggestions for future works are provided.

Chapter Two: An Overview about Education in Times of Emergencies

2.1 Education in emergencies

In the 1990s, the theme of 'education in emergencies' stepped up to tackle the challenges that education faces during ongoing conflict, insecurity as well as during complex humanitarian emergencies that normally follow a crisis, such as the displacement of people. Displacement could take place due to either conflicts or natural disasters. Hence, education in emergencies is not only concerned with schooling during time of conflict and/or crisis, but also during the post-crisis time as one of its main aims is improving people social and economic lives through rehabilitation and reconstruction (Sinclair, 2002).

In this respect, the word 'emergency' is interpreted differently by different researchers, writers and agencies. This can be clearly seen through the differences between UNESCO and UNICEF over the interpretation of the 'education in emergencies.' While UNESCO (1999) defines educational emergency as 'a crisis situation created by conflicts or disasters which have destabilized, disorganized or destroyed the educational system, and which require an integrated process of crisis and post-crisis support', the term 'emergency' is given a broader sense by UNICEF through including civil strife, children's homelessness, epidemics (or what is known as 'silent emergencies') such as HIV/AIDS and extreme poverty (Pigozzi, 1999).

In relation to displacement, education in emergency deals with both refugees (those who have been displaced outside their countries) and IDPs (those who have been displaced within their own countries). However, relying on the available literature, it was noticed that most of the efforts and concentration were put on refugees with an emphasis on children. This is supported by the Graça Machel (1996) report. In this report, which was presented to the UN General Assembly, two main points were highlighted. Firstly, most educational efforts are oriented to refugees whereas IDPs receive little attention. Secondly, when compared with the

attention being given to children, adolescents are almost ignored in terms of providing educational opportunities.

IDPs should, arguably, receive at least equal attention and efforts as refugees. This is because IDPs could be in a worse situation compared to refugees. Nicolai (2003, p. 17) stated that IDPs have a greater threat of renewed attack, more imprecise and ambiguous legal rights and less media attention than those of refugees. Moreover, access by aid agencies to IDP camps tends to be difficult as it depends on the authorities' cooperation in the affected country.

An important point to mention here is that education in emergencies is a sub-discipline of education which has so much in common with education in non-emergencies. Hence, it is not a completely different kind of education. Instead, it has only some differences in terms of objectives (such as the demand to meet the crisis-affected students' psychological needs) and also in terms of teaching and learning context as it could take place inside camps instead of normal schools.

Relying on the present research focus, only one domain of educational emergencies, viz. education for those who are internally displaced due to conflicts, will be further discussed.

2.2 Do IDPs need education?

The necessity of education for IDPs could be doubted by some people. One may ask whether IDPs need education while they lack shelters, sufficient nutrition and medical care. Prior explaining the vital role of education for IDPs to restore their life and build a better future, two crucial issues must first be mentioned. Firstly, the United Nations have declared that education for IDPs is a human right and IDPs have a fundamental right to education. The IDPs' right for education is clearly defined in international legal frameworks and this can be seen in many global instruments such as "The 1966 Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights" which, in Article 13, stresses the right of both refugees and IDPs to receive

education and that primary schools should be free and compulsory whereas secondary school should be accessible.

Moreover, IDPs' right to education is particularly introduced in the "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement", which were presented by the Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons, in 1998, to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Within this, Guiding Principle 23(1) stated that education "shall be made available to internally displaced people, in particular adolescents and women, whether or not living in camps, as soon as conditions permit".

Secondly, postponing education until the end of an emergency can never be a solution. Staying out of schools during an emergency, which could last for a long period of time, creates problems for returnees in reintegrating into the mainstream national schools. Returnees, who were out of schools during the emergency, start encountering new kind of difficulties when reintegrating into the mainstream national schools as their colleagues would be considerably younger. Consequently, many returnees, as (Nicolai, 2003) argued, never return to school again.

Hence, all IDPs should be given an opportunity to join schools not only because they have the same right to join school as non-displaced individuals, but to assure a smooth reintegration into the mainstream national schools in future. However, in times of emergency, translating IDPs' right for education into reality could be quite challenging. As mentioned above, some people may doubt the necessity of education for IDPs. Therefore, knowing that IDPs' right for education has been emphasized in the international legal frameworks might not turn into actual steps towards providing them with educational opportunities (Devereux, 2006). Related to this, the presence of financial difficulties, which mostly accompanies emergencies, makes it even harder to meet the IDPs' educational needs.

Thus, the fundamental role of education for IDPs must be first thoroughly presented to stakeholders to ensure that they will exert sufficient efforts to afford educational opportunities to IDPs. In other words, stakeholders must first

understand that providing educational opportunities for displaced people is by far more than just meeting legal rights. The following sections will explain in detail the importance and benefits of education for IDPs. Following other research, these benefits can be classified into short and long-term ones. The following two sections will give details about each.

2.2.1 Short -term benefits

The first additional role that schools take during and after emergencies is protecting students' lives. To explain, when a crisis strikes, it leaves people vulnerable for many reasons. People during the time of crisis may lose family members and may directly witness killing, violence or destruction. For those who survived and became displaced, little is left unchanged in their world and their suffering did not come to an end. Instead, it might even get worse. IDPs often feel unsecure and have the fear that crises could be repeated. Their social networks and support systems are no longer the same as they broke down as a result of their communities being scattered and dispersed. Besides, family violence, disease, sexual harassment and environmental degradation are all known to increase in such situation (Devereux, 2006).

Moreover, displaced adolescents and teenagers should have the same right to education as displaced children. The Guiding Principle 23(1), presented by the Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons in 1998 to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, clarified that 'the right to education is by no means limited to children of primary-school age… the right to education applies not only to young children but also to older children as well as adults.'

However, literature on education in emergencies shows that adolescents and teenagers, in times of emergencies, are the most vulnerable and neglected group among other students of different ages as they generally receive little educational support. Sinclair (2001, p. 33) stated that 'there has been a tendency in

emergencies to ignore [youth and adolescents during emergencies]: it is much easier to organize classes for very young children'.

Hence, many displaced adolescents are not given a chance to join schools and therefore adopt adult roles and responsibilities. Research (Legrand, 1999; Cahill et al, 2010) indicated that in times of emergencies, many adolescents and teenagers have been found to be at high risk of being recruited into military organizations, criminal gangs or the sex trade.

Thus, schooling in such circumstances takes on an increased importance in the adolescents and teenagers' lives as it gives them protection. This is because when adolescents and teenagers go to school, the possibility of being recruited into military organizations, criminal gangs or the sex trade drops to a large extent (Nicolai, 2003). Schools, therefore, play a major role in saving students' lives by providing an alternative to military and criminal gangs. Also, through keeping girls away from taking part in the sex trade, schools are not only offering them a better way of life but saving their lives as well due to the common threat of spreading HIV and other sexual diseases in refugee and IDP camps.

As explained above, the displaced adolescents and teenagers, along with their communities, find themselves in a world that has greatly changed. All they have is an uncertain present and unknown future. Also, displaced adolescents and teenagers, along with other members of their communities, could to a large extent be affected psychologically through witnessing the deaths of relatives or friends and/or due to the tension, fear and distress that accompany and follow crises. This is the reason that schools in such circumstances take additional roles which exceed nurturing cognitive development. One of these roles is the psychological and social, or what is known as psychosocial, support (Dryden-Peterson, 2011, p. 34).

For school-age IDPs, schools can be of great importance in terms of psychological support. Nicolai (2003, p. 10) explained that students can learn how to cope with their fear and stress through expressing themselves and reflecting on their

experiences. To her, socializing with their teachers and peers, along with doing other activities such as playing sports, can support students psychologically.

Among all, going to school simply means a return to normality. In a normal situation, schooling is a very remarkable social structure in adolescents and teenagers' lives. Going to school means returning to some degree of routine which, according to Ferris and Winthrop (2010), leads to an improvement in students' psychological conditions.

Moreover, the psychological support of schools extends to reach students' parents as well as when adolescents and teenagers go to schools, they help their parents to return to normality as well. Going to school diminishes the chances of the children being recruited into military organizations, criminal gangs or the sex trade. Parents, who were spending most of their time observing and protecting their children from exploitation, leave their worries behind when they send their children to schools.

Hence, parents would also get some normality by having the time to do a job (Nicolai, 2003). This, arguably, will all contribute in reducing the stresses inside families and eventually communities. Thus, schools can play an important role in supporting IDPs through bringing them back to normality and stabilizing their disrupted lives.

2.2.2 Long -term benefit

The third additional role that schools take in emergencies, beside protection and psychosocial support, is entrenching the idea of peaceful or social coexistence. The need for social coexistence becomes urgent and necessary when displacement happens due to a conflict that took place between members of the same community. That is, when ethnic, religious, sectarian, territorial or tribal conflicts occur within members of the same community, this would lead to diffuse distrust and hatred between community members and hence, supporting peaceful coexistence becomes more pressing.

According to literature, schools can play a significant role in promoting positive attitudes needed for a peaceful living and safer future (Sinclair, 2002; Nicolai, 2003; Buckland, 2006; Wa-Mbaleka, 2012). Issues that help building lasting peace and better future, such as social coexistence, dealing with the past, finding alternatives to revenge and valuing other cultures can be encouraged in schools. It is important that what is addressed and discussed with the displaced students should relate directly to their specific situation, i.e. choosing what to discuss depends on the reason behind their displacement and thus, may vary from one IDP to another even within the same country.

The sample of the present study can serve as an example for this role. As indicated earlier, tens of thousands of Yazidis (an ethno-religious group) were displaced in 2014 when ISIS (an Islamic extremist group) attacked their towns in Sinjar. All the Yazidis' towns, located in the governorate of Nineveh, came under the control of ISIS and thousands of Yazidis have fallen dead or become prisoners, including women and children. For many of those who survived and became IDPs in the region of Kurdistan, they began to reject and fear the idea of living again in a society that is mixed with Muslims (Higel, 2016; Riordan, 2016, Hassin and Al-Juboori, 2016).

To return to the sample of the present study, which consists of two schools in two different IDP camps, the vast majority of the students within these schools are Yazidis, whereas the majority of the teachers, on the other hand, are 'displaced' Muslims.

Although the number of Muslims who also had been displaced and lived in Kurdistan was tens of times bigger than the number of the displaced Yazidis, many IDP camps in Kurdistan, including the two camps which constitute the sample of the present study, contain only Yazidis. Additionally, these camps are located outside cities and thus, the majority of the IDPs might not be able to pay for transportation to go outside their camps. In other words, the only place for thousands of Yazidis to meet with Muslims could be only inside their schools.

The idea of social coexistence is particularly pivotal for the displaced Yazidis inside these camps. This is because they all came from certain towns in which many thousands of Muslims live in. In other words, if the displaced Yazidis do not give up their fear and distrust with the Islamic communities, they will not be able to return to their homes and towns even after being liberated. For this specific reason, thousands of Yazidis emigrated to Europe with the intention of never coming back.

Hence, schools can be decisive for the Yazidi students in making crucial decisions that can shape their future. It is important to bear in mind that many of these students have lost their parents during the attack and consequently, they to decide for themselves whether to stay in Iraq or to emigrate. With the absence of their parents, many Yazidi adolescents and teenagers have taken responsibilities for themselves and their younger brothers and sisters as well.

Thus, without understanding that ISIS is not a representation of moderate Islam, revenge actions can take place in future. It is therefore not hard to deduce the vital role of schools in shaping the future of these displaced people, and in preventing possible revenge and violence. As a conclusion, providing education to IDPs should be prioritized since it is far more than just meeting legal rights. Schools, as demonstrated above, can offer IDPs protection, psychosocial support and smooth reintegration into national schools. Among all, education in times of emergencies is a major part of the solution itself due to its role in the peace-building process.

2.3 What challenges education faces in IDP camps

There are certain challenges that education could face in IDP camps. Nicolai (2003) and Mong'are (2011) pointed out that despite its importance in times of emergency, education is not seen as a priority compared with other sectors and generally receives the least financial support, and what is available is most probably spend on primary education.

The lack of financial support leads to many unfavorable results. Firstly, to start with teachers, Ring and West (2015, p. 113) indicate that due to the financial difficulties, teachers may receive little or no payment. Teachers may not be able to afford a decent life for themselves and their families. This, at least for some teachers, will negatively affect their psychological and physical health.

Secondly, with the presence of the financial difficulties, it might not be possible to build schools that provide students with their basic needs. Students, in refugee and IDP camps, mostly suffer from the absence of potable water and hygienic latrines (Cronin et al, 2008). Moreover, in the days of extreme heat and cold, and especially in overcrowded classrooms, the unavailability of the ventilation, heating and cooling systems exacerbates the condition for the students. Undoubtedly, the absence of these basic needs negatively impacts students' psychological and physical health.

Finally, the lack of financial support reduces teaching quality. Teaching in refugee and IDP camp schools is extremely challenging due to the shortage of basic supplies, such as textbooks and other learning materials (Williams, 2001). Besides, teaching quality is also affected by the bad conditions of the camp schools. As was explained earlier, it is quite unlikely that effective teaching could be delivered in overcrowded classrooms that have no ventilation and lack heating and cooling systems. Thus, it goes without saying that without sufficient funds to compensate for the shortage of basic supplies that meet at least acceptable standards, teaching inside refugee and IDP camp schools will remain ineffective.

There are other factors that might affect teaching quality within refugee and IDP camp schools. One of these main factors is the difficulty to find experienced teachers to fill the gap for the staff shortage, which is a common characteristic for education in times of emergencies due to the dispersal of the old teachers (Kirk and Winthrop, 2007; Lloyd et al, 2010). Hence, unqualified teachers could be largely used due to the unavailability of those with longer teaching experience.

Related to this, the available literature on education in emergencies (Auduc, 1998; Ring and West, 2015) pointed out that there is another challenge that education in IDP camps faces; ignoring teachers' ongoing professional development training programmes. The need for training programmes increases in IDP camps not only for the new unqualified teachers, but also for those who have longer teaching experience.

In normal situations, teachers are mainly enrolled in such programmes to be equipped with effective teaching methods and strategies. Hence, it is crucial for the unqualified teachers in IDP camp schools to enroll in such programmes to be familiarized with the most effective teaching methods and strategies. However, while teachers with extended teaching experience might already have sufficient skills and up-to-date knowledge about teaching methods and may not need training on such issues, training programmes for those teachers, along with the newly assigned teachers, are still needed for some other purposes. That is, working in such a different and challenging context needs some additional skills other than those related to teaching methods.

Teachers, in refugee and IDP camp schools, have the added difficulty of teaching traumatized students. Crisp et al (2001, p. 64) indicates that many teachers feel uncertain in terms of meeting the psychosocial needs of the students, especially of the newly arrived ones who usually suffer from more severe psychological trauma. Besides, some of these teachers could be affected by the crisis themselves. Williams (2001, 100) believes that teachers need such training programmes not only for the purpose of pedagogical improvement, or for training teachers how to deal with traumatized students, but for psychological support purposes as well. Meeting the psychological needs of teachers is also important to improve teaching quality. In other words, without first addressing their psychological problems, teachers might not be able to fully accomplish their teaching responsibilities.

It is for the above-mentioned reasons that research on education in emergencies (Sinclair, 2001; Nicolai, 2003) argued that training programmes in times of emergencies could be quite helpful as such programmes could equip teachers with

the skills needed to cope with such a new demanding context and help them meet their psychological needs. However, despite their importance in such a challenging context, the absence of such training programmes is common in times of emergencies (Nicolai, 2003; Ring and West, 2015). Undoubtedly, the unavailability of training programmes in IDP camps increases the difficulties and complexities of education and makes it even more challenging.

To conclude, providing education to displaced people is far more than meeting legal rights (as schools in times of emergencies play a vital role in the lives of displaced students through offering protection and psychological support, and in the bigger society through entrenching peaceful coexistence), the same is true concerning training programmes. That is, in times of emergencies, these programmes have by far more goals than increasing teachers' pedagogical knowledge. Through these programmes, teachers learn how to adapt with their new complex context, how to deal with their traumatized students and can also get psychological support as teachers are displaced themselves and might therefore suffer from psychological and mental difficulties as well.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

Teachers' instructional and pedagogical practices have been heavily studied by many researchers. In the last twenty years, teachers in many countries, including Iraq, have been encouraged to follow a student-centered teaching approach rather than its traditional teacher-centered counterpart in an attempt to enhance students' learning. Yet, surveying the related literature on teachers' instructional and pedagogical practices, one can easily conclude that teachers have not really adhered to their new desirable roles. That is, a great deal of relevant studies (for example, Abdesslem's, 1987; Al-Halwachi 1990; Shamim, 1996; Gahin 2001; Rajab 2013) show that teachers did not design their pedagogical practices in line with the instruction of the student-centered curricula. As a conclusion to their studies, researchers mostly blame teachers for not abiding by the rules of the new teaching approach (Roth and Tobin, 2002).

However, it can be noticed that the majority of these studies have largely neglected the societal dimension of teaching. To explain, the process of teaching and learning has an individual and a societal dimension (Fisher, 2012). While the societal dimension has been largely neglected in these studies, many factors related to the individual dimension of teaching have not been considered thoroughly as well. These factors (such as teachers' goals, teachers' beliefs and attitudes, the distribution of power within the school context), related to both the individual and societal dimensions of teaching and learning, are argued to have a significant impact on teachers' practices. For ease of discussion, the terms 'internal' and 'external' factors will be used in this study to refer to the individually-related and socially-related factors respectively.

Hence, viewing teaching merely at its individual dimension can justify why researchers tend to blame teachers for not delivering effective teaching. Addressing teachers' practices as a matter of personal choice, or an issue which depends merely on teachers' skills and knowledge about teaching methods, does

not show the complex nature of the teaching process. In fact, many internal and external factors interplay to affect and shape what teachers do. The following paragraphs will elaborate on the internal and external factors to better understand their impact on teachers' practices inside the classroom.

To start with the internal factors, Nieto (2003, p. 24) contends that when teachers enter the classroom, they bring their 'experiences, identities, values, beliefs, attitudes, hang-ups, biases, wishes, dreams, and hopes' with them. In relation to whether teachers are implementing a student-centered or a teaching-centered approach, many internal factors, other than being unskilled or unaware of the principles of the student-centered approach, could be the reason behind teachers' resistance to change their practices. That is, one teacher can be quite skillful and is acquainted with sufficient knowledge concerning the main principals of student-centered teaching approach. Nevertheless, this teacher may not modify his/her teaching practices as his/her own values and beliefs might contradict with the principles of this new innovation. For example, it is known that implementing a student-centered teaching approach lessens teachers' centrality inside the classroom, and thus shifting some of the teachers' power towards their students. For those teachers who conceive their centrality and power inside the classroom as not being negotiable, rejection of the new teaching approach is quite expected.

Moreover, new teaching methods and approaches are introduced in an attempt to enhance teaching and learning, or more broadly to have a more successful education (Rajab, 2013). However, different teachers, as Gedera and Williams (2016) argue, have different interpretation of educational success. Consequently, while educational success for some teachers could be interpreted as teaching in line with the curriculum directions, it might also be interpreted by others as how to raise students' grades in examinations regardless of what teaching method being followed in the classroom. Gedera and Williams (2016) add that some teachers may even adopt a more holistic view to interpret 'educational success' as making students value their humanity and their relationships that connect them to their societies.

For this reason, Nieto (1999) believes that the importance that educational institutions give to teaching methods is overemphasized. To her, although no one can deny the significance of equipping teachers with effective teaching methods, it is probably more important to focus on these internal factors as they deeply influence the effectiveness of both teaching and learning. What is really needed, in her view point, is not so many courses on teaching methods. Instead, the focus should be on understanding teachers' beliefs and values if we want to enhance the quality of teaching and learning and bring about change in teachers' practices.

On the other hand, the external factors are those linked to the individuals who surround teachers in their work, or in other words to the broader society that teachers live in. Such factors are brought to discussion when tackling teaching as a social and collective rather than an individual process. Breen (1985) and Cross (2010) contend that the 'social reality' of teaching has been traditionally neglected by many researchers. Nevertheless, the 'social and collective dimensions' of teaching has been dealt with more frequently in the last two decades, leading to a new understanding about the complexity of teaching and learning.

As a result of this growing understanding of the teaching process, issues like the impact of the surrounding context, rules, norms and the hierarchical relationships between teachers and other staff members in terms of power on teachers' activities began to surface. Hence, teachers interact with many factors (such as who their students are, where and when teaching is taking place) that lead them to constantly form new goals and objectives.

Taken together, the consideration of internal and external factors has challenged the old belief about the relation between what teachers think, believe, know and what they do. In other words, unlike the previous belief that teachers behave in accordance with what they think and believe, the growing understanding of the impact of many factors on the decisions teachers make has led to a new belief that the way teachers behave might not be an identical reflection of what they think and believe (Cross, 2010).

Moreover, the division of the influencing factors into internal and external is only made in this research for ease of presentation and discussion. In real life, these factors constantly interact with each other. For example, the surrounding environments that teachers live in (an external factor) could lead teachers to reshape their beliefs concerning what educational success means (an internal factor). Thus, it is the constant interaction of these factors that make people shape and reshape their beliefs and behaviors.

Based on what was mentioned above, it can be argued that when investigating teachers' practices, one should cater to all these factors to reach an accurate analysis that can explain teachers' behaviors. Haara (2010) highlights that teachers' activities inside the classrooms can only be understood when taking these factors into consideration. According to Harra (2010):

> when one wants to unveil the reasons teachers give for choosing to use practical activities in their teaching, one must look into the choice as part of the teaching; the beliefs the teachers represent; their intentions, rules and norms that might influence the choice; and the societal totality the choice is made within (18-19).

As the present study is interested in analyzing teachers' practices, taking these factors into consideration seems to be even more important for couple of reasons. First, although there is a growing number of studies on how the teaching process is socially constructed, none of these studies has been found to take a place in a camp school context. Hence, it is hoped that the present study takes the first step towards filling in this gap in literature.

Second, it can be expected that the effect of both the internal and external factors on teachers' beliefs, values and practices is even bigger in camp schools than in normal context. That is, newly displaced teachers are more expected to reassess their beliefs and values and hence practices when their new environment is a mixture of poverty and sympathy along with ethnicity and religious tensions (Higel, 2016; Riordan, 2016, Hassin and Al-Juboori, 2016).

For these two reasons, the effect of these factors on teachers' beliefs and values should be first analyzed and understood to bring about a positive change in teachers' practices, which is one of the desired aims behind introducing a new English language curriculum.

To consider the effect of such factors on teachers' beliefs and values, and hence on teaching and learning, three theories are used in this study as lenses to capture the different factors that influence teachers' implementation of the new curriculum in camp school settings.

Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), or what is commonly known as Activity Theory, Teacher Agency and Identity Theory are used as lenses in this study in an attempt to account for the individual and societal dimensions of teachers' activities. So far, the argument presented above differentiates between the two dimensions of teaching. It has also been highlighted that looking at teaching as an individual process cannot pertain to, amongst other things, the complex reasons that could lead teachers to shape and reshape their beliefs, values and activities. The next section will discuss the first theory (Activity Theory) in detail with teachers' beliefs, values and activities in mind.

3.2 CHAT: Origin and development

As a theory, CHAT has its roots in the socio-cultural work of the Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1978, 1987), whose major concerns were cognitive and social. Vygotsky was interested in explaining how the human mind and the surrounding world interact, and how the human mind and the world are transformed by these interactions.

The work of Vygotsky challenged what his contemporaries (e.g., Thorndike, Wundt, and Hull) argued of a direct relation between the stimulus and respondent, or the object and subject. To Vygotsky, all humans' activities are mediated by psychological tools or instruments (such as language, signs and symbols), along with the social influences. In other words, unlike animals whose actions are instinctively-

guided, human action is mediated as what we do is socially and not instinctively guided (Tolman, 1999). To demonstrate Vygotsky's approach, Cole & Ergestiön, (1993) depicted his ideas concerning the mediation of human activity in the following triangular scheme.

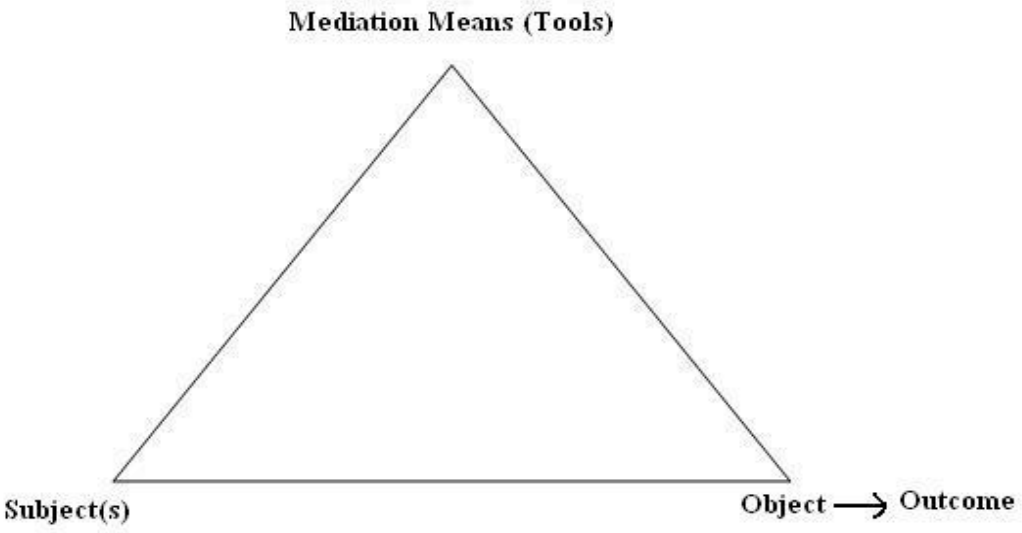


Figure 3.1: Vygotsky's mediational triangle (Cole & Ergestiön, 1993)

In this scheme, known as the first generation of CHAT, the subject refers to the individual(s) who is the agent of the activity. The object refers to the goal that directs the activity. Mediating tools relate to the psychological tools (language, symbols, artifacts, signs and social others) by means of which people communicate.

As shown in this Figure, mediating artefacts are used by the subject when acting on the object to reach a specific desirable goal. It is worth mentioning that Vygotsky asserted that tools socially develop and can be created through activity.

However, Vygotsky's early death (at the age of 37) left the activity theory incomplete and paved the way for a group of his students, under the leadership of Leontiev, to critique, revise and advance what he had started. That is, Vygotsky's theory on mediated activity only dealt with activity at individual level while 'how cognitive change happens within a collective context' was left unaccounted for.

The work of Leontiev, or what is called the second generation of CHAT, will be discussed in the following section.

3.2.1 Second generation of CHAT

Leontiev furthered the activity theory by introducing what he called the collective activity systems. Hence, as opposed to the first generation, every activity is conceived as a 'system' embedded within the surrounding system or systems. According to Leontiev:

> Under whatever kind of conditions and forms human activity takes place, whatever kind of structure it assumes, it must not be considered as isolated from social relations, from the life of society. In all of its distinctness, the activity of the human individual represents a system included in the system of relationships of society. Outside these relationships human activity simply does not exist (1978, p. 51).

Leontiev clarifies that human activity is structured on three hierarchical levels (see Figure 3.2 below). As can be noticed, the top level is activity itself. Activity is oriented and guided by a social motive which in turns corresponds to a need that the subject attempts to achieve. Additionally, He explained that motives precede and direct the activities. An individual is directed to order food, for example, as a result of feeling hungry (motive) which precedes the eating activity. Motives, therefore, are formed when needs arise.

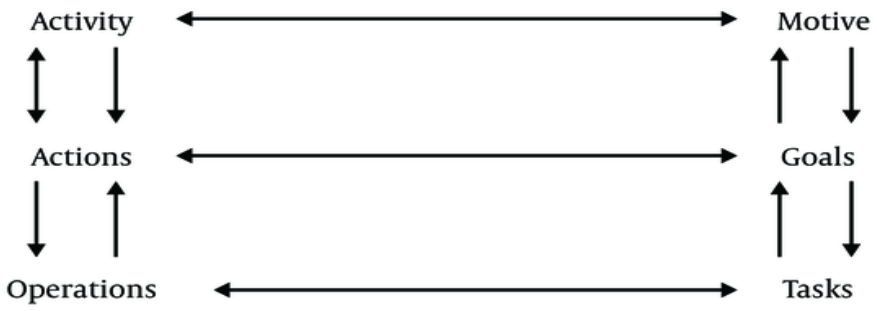


Figure 3.2: The activity hierarchy of Leontiev (1981)

Hence, the first level of the hierarchy (activity) is done through the second level of the hierarchy (action). That is, human activities are accomplished through actions. Without actions, no activity can be done. As indicated in the above Figure, actions are directed toward specific immediate goal(s). To Leontiev, an individual or a group of people undertake conscious actions to achieve the desired goals which ultimately aim at meeting the object motive.

The lower level of the activity hierarchy of Leontiev is operations. Operations are the activity's units through which actions are accomplished. Operations are driven by the conditions under which goal directed actions are done. In other words, the operations describe how, and using what tools, actions can be done (Bradey, 2015).

One of the major contributions that the second generation of the activity theory provides, as Hoyles et al (2004) highlight, is 'the reciprocal links between activity, actions and operations.' To them, this is what distinguishes the work of Leontiev from other theorists (for example Boreham et al, 2002; Luff et al, 2000) who have not accounted for the reciprocal links in their proposed frameworks when analyzing individuals' activities carried out in workplaces.

Also, one of the critical insights that Leontiev (1981) added to the activity theory is that the object and the meaning of an activity at the collective activity level can only be understood in its context. He gives a simple example of the hunting activity in earliest ages to strengthen his view point. The primeval hunt starts with a man, the beater, whose job is to make a noise by beating a tree with a stick. Leontiev argues that if someone dismisses the social meaning that the community, or the people taking part in the hunting activity, agree on, it is impossible to accurately reach the real goal or intention of the beater.

The real social meaning behind making a noise is to scare the prey so that it would run towards other hunters whose job is to catch the prey. Similarly, the object of the collective activity of hunting, that members within the same community share, is the food and clothes made out of the prey. Hence, it is only possible to conceive the meaning of beating a tree as an intimidatory tactic to frighten the prey, and

the object or goal behind making noise is food and clothes, if the social context is considered.

Nevertheless, the work of Leontiev has been criticized for its concentration on one side of the activity at the expense of other sides. Davydov (1999) claimed that Leontiev emphasized the 'what side' (or what is being done) of the activity over the 'who' and 'how' sides (who are the participants and how the activity was done) of the activity.

Moreover, in his representation of the activity, Leontiev has been criticized for the insufficient emphasis with relation to the impact of power and division of labor on individuals' actions at the level of collective activity (Wells, 1999). It is for this reason Kaptelinin (2005) believes that applying Leontiev's model on education, or any other field that is known to be dealing with 'supra-individual activities' could be quite challenging.

3.2.2 Third generation of CHAT

The work of Engeström (1987, 1999, 2001, 2007), who is considered as a key figure in the development of the Activity theory, constitutes what is known as the third generation of this theory. Engeström builds on the work of Leontiev to expand Vygotsky's triad of mediated activity to include rules, power and division of labour (Figure 3.3) and how these elements effect the individuals' behaviors through interacting and contracting with each other (Wells, 1999).

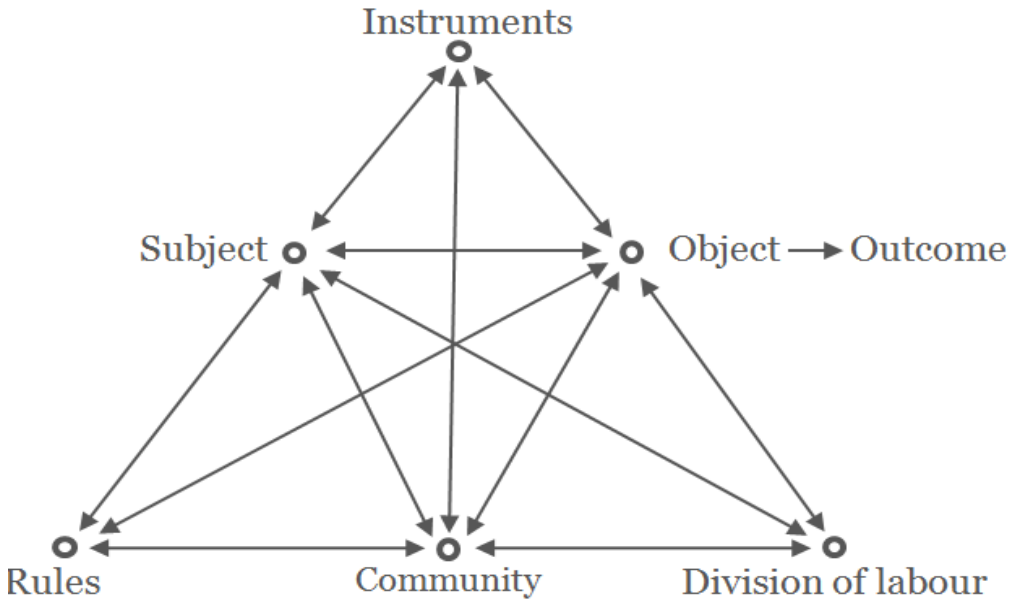


Figure 3.3: An activity system (Engeström, 1987)

More importantly, Engeström contends that any activity system is driven by and developed through the contradictions that may exist within the nodes of any activity system. Such contradictions lead individuals to think of new ways or solutions to their problems. Engeström argues that the process of finding new solutions, which is caused by existing contradictions, could end up in a transformed or even a new activity form (Blin, 2004). In other words, Engeström asserts that individuals' actions are mediated by certain elements and it is through the contradictions between these elements individuals' activities are formed and transformed.

By including additional elements to Vygotsky's triad of mediated activity elements, the third generation of activity theory aims to give a better account in explaining 'the contextualized relationship between the individual and the environment' (Bradey, 2015).

As can be clearly noticed, the third generation of CHAT is more complex than the previous two generations. Logically, this means that the third generation has more capacity to show the complexity of the teaching context and the different factors that may affect teaching and learning. As the present study can be characterized as

a complex case study coupled with complex data, the third generation will thus be drawn on and will be used as lenses for analysis.

The third generation of the theory has been adopted by the majority of the researchers who used CHAT in their research for the sake of showing the real complex nature of teaching and learning (Roth and Lee, 2007; Venkat and Adler, 2008; Feldman and Weiss, 2010; Beswick et al., 2010; Olavarría, 2015).

This section traced back the origin and development of CHAT. The next section will discuss in more detail the elements of the third generation of Activity theory and its relation to educational research.

3.2.2.1 Elements of the third generation of CHAT

As shown in Figure 3.3, Engeström's model of activity theory consists of six nodes namely; subject, object, mediating artifacts (tools), rules, community and division of labour. These nodes constitute the activity. The basic concept of Engeström's model of activity theory is that individuals' activities are directed towards an object. However, all of the activities are mediated as a result of the constant interactions of the elements (nodes). Mediation, therefore, refers to behavioural development, or change in this sense (Ahmed, 2014).

Prior to moving towards a more detailed explanation about these elements, two related issues are worth mentioning. Firstly, according to CHAT these six elements are contextually defined (Gedera and Williams, 2016). That is, what each node refers to in real concrete settings may vary from one context to another. For example, the tools used in a school context (books, desks, boards and so on) are different from those used in elsewhere (hospitals, for instance). Secondly, each activity is a social endeavor directed towards an object (Rochelle, 1998). That is, the outcome of each activity, along with its interacting and contradicting elements, is the object as it leads to the outcome. Hence, although each node has a role in mediating the activity, the focus should be on how the object has been developed

or changed as a result of other nodes. A detailed account of each of the nodes is given below.

Subject

The subject of an activity system is the agent of the activity, or the human actor(s) who works to achieve a desired object. Wilson (2014) defines the subject of the activity as '(a) person, or group of people whose perspective is the focus of the analysis e.g. a teacher or a group of pupils'. Olavarría (2013) conceives the subject of an activity as a person, or group of people, whose purpose behind engaging in an activity is identical. In other words, they have the same goal or object.

In line with the research questions, the present study places English language teachers as the subject of the activity system. In other words, the present study aims to cast light on teachers' perspectives with relation to teaching English in camp schools. For this reason, teachers will be conceived as the subject of the activity system.

Interestingly, when it comes to the use of CHAT as an analytical lens, it is the identity of the subject of the activity which is analyzed. That is, humans (and hence the subject of an activity) rely on their identities to shape their goals and behaviors (Ahmed, 2014; Roth, 2004). For this reason, a theory on identity will be discussed later in this chapter, to better understand how the subjects of the activity (teachers with relation to the present study) rely on their identities when interacting with other nodes within the same activity system.

Object

The object of an activity is the goal of that activity as a whole. Kaptelenin (2005) emphasizes the importance of the object. To Kaptelenin (2005), it is the object which gives the activity a sense and a meaning. This is in line with Fleer (2010, p. 13) who believes that 'the object acts as pivot for meaning'. Engeström (2000,

2005) and Kaptelenin (2005) point out that both the nature of and the motive that orients an activity can only be understood by considering and examining the object.

Engeström's conception of the object is quite similar to that of Leontiev who indicates that:

> The main thing which distinguishes one activity from another is the difference of their objects. It is exactly the object of an activity that gives it a determined direction. According to the terminology I have proposed, the object of the activity is its true motive (1978, p. 62).

Likewise, Sawchuk (2003) clarifies that activities are transformed due to the collective motive and desire by community members to achieve a shared goal. In other words, motives are represented in the objects which direct the activity. With relation to motive (which is depicted in the object), it should not be confused with the subject's goal (Virkkunen & Kuutti, 2000). Miettinen, (2001) illustrates that the difference between an individual's goal and an activity's object was first emphasized in the second generation of activity theory, as Leontiev (1978) asserts that 'motives are best understood at the level of a collective, culturally and socially mediated system of activity' (Miettinen, 2001, p. 304).

Concerning the third generation of activity theory, Engeström adopts Leontiev's viewpoint regarding the distinction between an individual's goal and an activity's object. This can be clearly seen in Engeström and Escalante (1996) who argue that:

> The object should not be confused with a conscious goal or aim. In activity theory, conscious goals are related to discrete, finite, and individual actions; objects are related to continuous, collective activity systems and their motives (p. 360).

The distinction between the subject's goal and the activity's object offers a promising and a useful analytical tool for CHAT research. It provides a means to analyze and understand how the subject of the activity negotiates his/her goal against the shared goal of the community, to reach then the object of the activity system. Once the subject's interpretation of the activity is known, it becomes

possible to understand not merely what the subject is doing, but also why s/he is doing it (Kaptelinin, 2005).

To relate this to the present study, CHAT has the capability to demonstrate how teachers (subjects) negotiate their goals at work. That is, teachers come to school with their own goals. However, due to the influences inserted from other nodes or factors, they negotiate and compromise their initial goals. For example, a teacher's goal may contradict with the collective goal of the community (students, headteachers and/or supervisors). By the same token, a teacher's own goal might not be achievable due to lack of required resources (instruments) in a specific context. That being said, CHAT enables the present research to depict how teachers' initial goals were transformed into the activity's object, which is the shared goal among all the community members.

Lastly, objects of activity, as Engeström (2001) asserts, are characterized as being dynamic rather than static in nature. The subject, therefore, may modify or even create a new goal during the activity. Hardman (2007) illustrates that new objects could be formed inside the classrooms.

For example, teachers may modify their goals as a result of introducing a new instrument. If a smartboard is introduced, teachers might modify their goals, or even create new ones. Although teachers in this case still have to negotiate their new goals due to other nodes' influence, a new shared goal (object) could arguably be agreed on eventually.

Tools

Tools (or what is also called as mediating artefacts) are of two types; technical and psychological. From a CHAT perspective, the subject of an activity is directed towards transforming the object through the use of both technical and psychological tools. That is, tools are used by the subject to mediate the object of an activity (Engestrom 1987; Bedny et al 2000). Moreover, tools are contextually

determined (Virkkunen & Kuutti, 2000), and the meaning of technical tools is formed only in and through activities (Blunden 2007).

With relation to educational institutions, the psychological tools within an activity refer, amongst other things, to the participating individuals' principles, use of language, the ideas they hold about teaching and learning-related concepts and methods (McNicholl and Blake, 2013). Hardman (2008) indicates that psychological tools mediate the object through mediating the participating individuals' thoughts, and thus behaviors. Technical tools, on the other hand, refer to the resources which are used by all the activity's participating individuals. That is, technical tools range from places in which teaching occurs (classrooms, labs, tents and so on) to equipment (such as chalkboards, desks, books, pens and so on).

Community

The community of an activity is something that in which and for which an activity exists (Wilson, 2014). In other words, it is a group that the subject and other participating individuals belong to. Any individual who takes a role in an activity is a community's member of this activity. Since all the participating individuals are oriented towards the object, members of community work together to achieve their shared object. With relation to educational institutions, the community refers to headteachers, students, supervisors and so on.

Division of Labour

From a CHAT perspective, division of labour falls into two dimensions, vertical and horizontal. The vertical dimension relates to the distribution of power and status between the community's members (teachers, supervisors, students). The horizontal dimension, on the other hand, illustrates how tasks are distributed among the community members (Engestrom, 1993). Similar to the object, division of power is dynamic as power, tasks, responsibilities tend to constantly fall under negotiation.

Rules

Engeström, (1993, 2007) explains that rules are the directions which guide the individuals' actions within an activity towards achieving the object of that activity. From a CHAT perspective, what initiates an activity is a collective desire by community members to achieve a shared goal (Engeström, 2000). Hence, community members' actions are not arbitrary. Without such rules, individuals' actions are ineffective in the sense that they are not leading the activity towards meeting the participating individuals' desired goal.

Olavarría (2013, p. 51-52) argues that rules are represented in the 'agreements among the members of the community as to who is doing what, at what point of time, and in what order'. In this sense, rules are used by community members to differentiate between acceptable and unacceptable behaviours when participating individuals engage within an activity. Mills and Murgatroid (1991, p. 3-4) maintain that the main characteristic of rules 'is that of generally controlling, constraining, guiding and defining social action'.

Rules, however, are divided into two types; explicit and implicit (or formal and informal). While the explicit rules refer to those written and publicly known rules, implicit rules are those which individuals within the same activity agreed upon (Hardman, 2007). To take a school context as an example, the explicit rules are the directives that the school, represented by its administration, is required to meet. For instance, explicit rules include teachers' rule to cover the curriculum or the guidelines that teachers should follow with relation to how and when exams should be conducted. Implicit rules, on the other hand, may refer to the informal instructions that teachers make inside the classrooms. Informal rules can include, amongst other things, teachers' directive with relation to turn-taking mechanism (whether between the teacher and the students, or between the students themselves).

As a conclusion, CHAT argues that each of the six nodes discussed above has a role in and affects the outcome of each activity system. Hence, as the present study

draws on the third generation of CHAT, these six nodes that the third generation tackles enable the present research to show the different factors that affect teaching and learning in camp school settings. In other words, the third generation of CHAT gives the present research the power to analyze teaching at its societal dimension, and show how different factors impact the outcome of teaching English inside IDP camps.

3.2.3 Contradictions in CHAT

Activity systems are characterized as dynamic rather than stable and are always under change and transformation, due to the constant internal and external contradictions. This is illustrated by the two-way arrows between the nodes of the activity system. In other words, contradictions take place in and through the elements or nodes upon which activity systems are made (Engeström 1987, 1999). To Kuutti (1996, p. 92), contradictions represent 'a misfit within elements, between them, between different activities, or between different developmental phases of a single activity'.

Unlike the arguably negative connotative meaning of the word 'contradiction', these internal and external contradictions are seen, in a CHAT perspective, as a motive and a source of power and further development, however when only identified. To explain, CHAT assumes that each activity is formed to reach a goal and/or to solve a problem that has been previously identified. One of the ways to reach a goal (or to solve a problem) can be argued to be understanding how disruptions or tensions within and between different factors (or nodes) affect the outcome of any given activity (Olavarría 2013).

In this vein, Forbes, et al. (2009) add that resolving one contradiction frequently leads to another contradiction. To them, this process continues 'until a new state of equilibrium is reached within the activity'. However, elements or nodes may change places to reach this equilibrium. That is, as activities evolve as a result of contradictions, a tool in a given activity for example may become a rule and so on. If a teacher, for instance, tries a new tool (a smart board, a data show, a laptop)

which proves to be successful in the sense that it helps him/her meeting the activity's object, using this new tool may become a rule not only in his or her class, but in the whole school by the passage of time.

By using Activity Theory as an analytic lens, the present study seeks to identify the disruptions that exist within the activity of teaching English in school camp context. Moreover, through identifying these disruptions (or in other words the contradictions within and between the different elements specified by CHAT), the present study aims to show how these contradictions effect the object of the activity (the goal behind teaching a new English language curriculum), and how is that reflected in teachers' practices inside the classrooms.

Engeström (1987) classifies the contradictions into four types or levels. The first type is called inner or primary contradictions. An inner contradiction occurs within a given node of an activity system. For example, a teacher (the subject of an activity) within the context of the present study, may struggle for deciding whether to be a knowledge transmitter or a knowledge facilitator inside the classroom. Inner contradictions are not limited to the subject node. Instead, they, as (Engeström, 2001, p. 137) illustrates, 'pervades all elements of our activity systems'.

The second type of contradictions is called secondary contradictions. This type occurs between nodes or elements of the same activity. Activity theorists argue that this secondary contradiction takes place as a result of the evolvement of the inner contradiction. Secondary contradiction occurs when headteachers and supervisors (community members), for example, have different goals from the teachers, or in other words the subject of the activity system (Olavarría 2013).

The third type of contradictions is called Tertiary contradictions. Engeström (1987) indicates that when a given model of an activity is replaced by another new one, tertiary contradictions occurs between the object (or goal) of the current activity and the object (or goal) of the new activity. When teachers, for example, are asked to change their role from a knowledge transmitter to a knowledge facilitator, tertiary contradictions may occur in two ways. Firstly, it can occur between

individuals or groups (between the supporter of the current teaching method and the supporter of the newly introduced teaching method, or between the teacher and his/her students and so on). Secondly, it can occur on individual level. A teacher, for example may resist his/her new role.

With relation to the last example given above, the difference between the second way of tertiary contradictions and inner contradictions is that of intention (Forbes, 2009). That is, to start with the first case, the teacher is struggling to decide which role to adopt. This struggle can be even unconscious to the subject. The subject has not been directly told or asked to change his/her teaching method. In the second case, the teacher intentionally refuses to change his/her teaching method. In this case, the teacher may have undergone a training course on student-centered approach and has been clearly and directly asked to follow this new teaching method.

The last type of contradictions is called quaternary contradictions. A quaternary contradiction occurs between two neighboring different systems or activities. More specifically, when a change in one activity system occurs, a quaternary contradiction takes place if this change leads to a conflict with an adjacent activity system (Olavarría 2013). In relation to the present study, quaternary contradictions are irrelevant as the present study only deals with one activity system (executing the new English language curriculum).

3.2.4 CHAT as a theoretical framework in educational settings

Roth and Lee (2007) indicate that CHAT has shown to be fruitful to account for the contextualized nature of teaching and learning which, according to them, is accomplished through analyzing the transformations of rules, division of labor, and goals in educational contexts. Gedera and Williams (2016) believe that CHAT is useful in approaching questions of education with relation to a given context. To clarify, as CHAT accounts for the contextualized nature of teaching and learning, it provides researchers with a methodological framework that has the potential to describe the complexity of their research contexts. (Dakers, 2011; Roth, 2004).

This issue could be of a critical importance with relation to the present study. As the context of the present study is IDP camps, answers to educational questions in such context would arguably appear meaningless if the contextualized nature of teaching and learning is dismissed. That is, each activity (teaching) is formed to meet an object upon which individuals could have different perspectives. Thus, how the teacher (the subject) defines his or her goals in an IDP camp may not be understood in other contexts.

Needless to say, the different perspectives of the object between camp and non-camp school teachers arise from a different set of contradictions, needs and motives. These differences of needs and motives, in a CHAT perspective, transform teachers' perspective in relation to their goals behind the teaching activity. Analyzing teachers' understanding of their instructional role is however one of the main aims of this study.

Moreover, as an analytical tool, CHAT offers researchers an opportunity to understand and differentiate between teachers' knowledge, thinking and behavior. In other words, it enables the researchers not only to describe what teachers do, but to analyze why they chose or decide to act in the ways that they did (Cross, 2010).

Additionally, through the study of contradictions, CHAT also serves as a stimulus change. As indicated earlier, the study of contradictions signalizes the impact of these disruptions on the outcome of the activity. In relation to the present study, it can be argued that identifying the disruptions that were negatively impacting teaching and learning in camp schools (through analyzing teaching as an activity system) can be considered as the first step towards reaching a better teaching and learning outcome through counteracting these contradictions (Roth and Lee, 2007).

Thus, as the present study analyzes the activity of teaching in camp school settings through the lens of CHAT, it paves the way for others to work on counteracting these contradictions and bring about a positive change in relation to teaching in camp schools. That is, CHAT research should not be confused with action research

that builds on other research findings to answer a preidentified question(s), or in other words to solve a preidentified problem(s) through action (Altrichter et al., 2007). The present research, through drawing on CHAT theory, only explains how contradictions within the teaching activity system affected teachers' practices in camp school settings.

3.2.5 CHAT: limitations and criticism

Each theoretical framework has its own limitation and criticism, and CHAT is no exception. To start with its limitation, Wilson (2014) acknowledges that CHAT can be applied on specific and local practice, but not on 'society as a whole'. To her, CHAT can account for a school, a university but not for the wider society which, according to him, is something 'beyond the analytical scope of activity theory'. In line with Wilson, Uden and Kumaresan (2007) contends that CHAT fails to explain how an activity within a given context interacts with the wider socio-politics structure. In other words, the complexity of the real world, which members of an activity's community may experience, cannot be captured by CHAT. In their view, CHAT is a 'simplification of reality'.

In this vein, drawing on the work of Bakhurst (2009), McNicholl and Blake (2013) objected the classification of CHAT under theories as they believe that:

> Activity theory is not after all a theory but rather a general schema whose explanatory power is most evident in relation to activities that are carried out by self-identifying subjects who have a well-defined object and a clear sense of the tools that might be applied (p. 10).

To relate this limitation to the Identity Theory, identity theorists argue that individuals' identities are affected by the wider socio-political structure, along with gender, religion, race and social class. That is, individuals form and reform their identity with relation to the wider society they live in (Stryker, 2002). Hence, their actions are, at least partially, formed on the basis of their identities. Therefore, the wider society, according to identity theorists, plays a role in shaping teachers' actions inside the classroom. This, however, is something CHAT fails to account for.

To overcome this limitation, the present study will also draw on the Identity Theory.

CHAT has also been criticized as over-socializing the subject of the activity. To clarify, Billett (2006) and Valsiner and Veer (2000) acknowledge that as it explains the effect of the system on the subject (due to the constant analysis of the subject's actions at a societal level), CHAT has 'over-socialized' the subject in such a way that the subject has become a representation of the society which s/he lives in.

In terms of the Identity Theory (see Stryker 2002, Stets and Burke 2003), individuals firstly create their identities as they choose the role to take in their lives. Their chosen identities are then subjected to modification due to the socio-cultural influences. Nevertheless, individuals of the same role and context behave differently. If a group of individuals with the same role live in the same context (and hence experience the same socio-cultural influence), their actions cannot be the same due to every individual's different experience in life, or more precisely due to their 'uniqueness'. Thus, CHAT theorists 'over-socialize' the subject of the activity in the sense that the subject, in CHAT, has been abstracted from its uniqueness or subjectivity (Billett, 2006).

To relate this to the present study, teachers' uniqueness (or subjectivity) cannot be fully revealed by drawing merely on CHAT. That is, the individual differences between teachers cannot be spotted, and thus analyzed. This is because CHAT concentrates more on the outcome of the interactions between the different nodes rather than on individual nodes (including the subject node which represents teachers with respect to the present research). In other words, CHAT analyzes teaching at its societal dimension at the expense of its individual dimension.

However, this does not mean that teachers, as subjects of activity systems, are completely neglected. As stated earlier in this research, CHAT has the capacity to describe what teachers think and do. Nevertheless, this can only be done at a collective level and within the context of how other factors (for example, power

and tools) influence teachers' thinking and practices in a specific setting. Put differently, in a CHAT perspective, the subject element represents all the teachers who participated in the present research. Hence, individual differences between teachers cannot be revealed as they will all be treated evenly in the sense that they are all occupants of the same element (subject) of the activity system.

It is a common knowledge that individuals occupying the same role do not behave in an identical way. This can relate, amongst other things, to their different background, different set of beliefs and different attitudes. As one of the main aims of the present study is in analyzing teachers' practices, the role of individual differences between teachers in shaping their practices cannot be neglected.

For this reason, the Theory of Teacher Agency (Priestley et al. 2012a, 2013, 2015) will also be used as an analytical lens as it has the capacity to show the individual differences between the teachers. These two theories will be used in this research to complete each other. While the Activity Theory (Engeström, 1987) will be used to mainly analyze the societal dimension of teaching, the theory of Teacher Agency will help in analyzing teaching at its individual dimension. Understanding each of the two dimensions is of critical importance to the present research. The present study takes the stance that teachers' practices could best be understood and then analyzed when both the societal and individual dimensions of teaching are accounted for.

3.3 Educational change

Educational change is a fact of life in recent years. Government educational policies in many countries, including Iraq, mirror this widely spread trend for change through curriculum innovation. The core of curriculum innovation that many countries sought to achieve is changing the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) approach into a student-centered approach, where students' contributions and interactions are increased (Rajab, 2013). In terms of the IRE approach, the teacher initiates with a question or prompt and waits for his/her students' response. After the student's response is given, the teacher evaluates his/her student's response.

Moreover, teachers' questions tend to be close ended and students' responses are mostly short. Clearly, IRE is a strict teacher-centered approach which constrains students' interactions and contributions, as their roles are limited in responding to their teacher's prompt or question (Reynolds, 2015).

The student-centered approach, on the other hand, encourages teachers to let their students engage actively in the class through many different activities such as role play, group work, playing games and so on. Besides, students are asked, by their teachers, to justify their answers to improve their critical thinking and to make them avoid copying their peers' responses. Hence, as long as the present study is concerned, what is meant by curriculum innovation is not merely a matter of introducing a new (or revised) content. Instead, it is also about changing teachers' methods of delivery and modifying their beliefs about teaching and learning, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Needless to say, this applies to the newly introduced Iraqi English language curriculum which, through adopting student-centered teaching approach, attempts to increase students' engagement inside the classrooms. By the same token, it attempts to change English language teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning, including their own roles inside the classrooms.

However, introducing new curricula that are believed by their designers to 'bring expected improvements into classrooms' (Sahlberg, 2006), did not lead in most cases to changing the core of schooling especially in terms of teachers' practices inside the classroom (Fullan, 1993). The next section will discuss the barriers that teachers face when executing a new curriculum.

3.3.1 Barriers against implementing educational change

Educational change can take many forms. One of these forms is curriculum innovation in which a curriculum is further developed or being replaced with a new one. Curriculum innovation, as Fullan (2001, 2005) points out, goes through three stages; initiation (the decision to take on the change,), implementation (putting

the change into action) and institutionalisation (when schools and curricula, on the long run, properly fit due to change in school systems, change in curricula or in both school systems and curricula). However, relying on the context and aims of the present study, only the implementation stage will be focused on in the discussion.

Prior moving to the barriers which might hinder the implementation of a new innovation, we should bear in our mind that curriculum innovation remains a plan until it is put into practice. That is, a differentiation should be made between the process of designing and then introducing an innovation, and the practicality and feasibility to implement that innovation in real different settings. The success, or failure, of any curriculum is revealed only through practice. Hence, introducing a new curriculum does not bring any change by itself. Instead, it is only a first step towards achieving a transformative change.

That being said, research (Iskandar, 2014; Gorsuch, 2000) shows that the relationship between the first and the second stage of curriculum innovation is not always in harmony. What is adopted as a new curriculum is implemented differently by different teachers in different settings (Wang, 2002). Fullan (2001) argues that one of the main reasons of teachers' failure to change their practices is that change is not a linear-process of implementation. To him, curriculum innovators tend to ignore the complexity of implementing a new curriculum. In other words, curriculum innovators presume that teachers will change their role and follow the instructions of the new curriculum once it is introduced.

Changing teachers' practices from the curriculum innovators' viewpoints is solely a matter of a sequence of events to be followed by teachers to cope with their new curriculum. This, however, is in sharp contrast with the reality that implementing a different curriculum is not a linear process and is far more than following some prescribed instructions (Rondinelli et al. 1990).

Substituting an IRE approach with a student-centered approach can be argued to be a radical change for many teachers. The new approach asks teachers to widely deviate from their normal practices. Fullan (2001) maintains that implementing

such a ‘radical’ change has proved to be difficult even in developed countries. In terms of school physical resources and the level of teachers’ qualification, following a student-centered teaching approach curriculum is arguably even more challenging in developing countries, including Iraq.

In this vein, Phakisi (2008) mentions that new curricula have been recently introduced in many developing countries to bring about change. To Phakisi (2008), these curricula seem to be similar to those adopted in western education systems where teachers are more qualified, and resources are more provided than in developing countries. That is, curriculum innovators in developing countries tend to copy the up-to-date reforms introduced in western countries believing that what works in other countries could work elsewhere. Ignoring the many differences (such as school infrastructure and level of teachers’ qualification) between developing and developed countries will arguably make the implementation of these curricula in the developing countries more problematic and, at least to some extent, impractical.

With relation to English language teaching in Iraq, which is the focus of the present study, Akef (2015) states that:

> All the English textbooks that were and are still in use at the school level in Iraq are not based on a scientific and systematic investigation of the real situation in Iraq. They were designed either to be used in other countries for different learners or for commercial purposes. Even those textbooks, which were designed especially for Iraq, were designed not by specialized persons. The authors did not investigate the real English language-teaching situation before starting the development process (p. 98-99).

More specifically, the new Iraqi English language curriculum, represented in a series of textbooks called ‘English for Iraq’, has been produced by Garnet Education, a British English language teaching publisher. Hence, the Iraqi ministry of Education did not give the Iraqi English language teachers a chance to participate in making this curriculum. Instead, it signed a contract with a British English language teaching publisher to design a new curriculum for Iraq (Altufaili, 2016).

Additionally, although this new curriculum was designed especially for Iraq, the curriculum was not designed for IDP camp schools. That is, the curriculum was first introduced in Iraq in 2014, just few months before the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi people. As a matter of fact, no schooling within IDP camps was taking place in Iraq at the time of designing and even introducing the new curriculum. Since no authority was given, by the Iraqi Ministry of Education, to IDP camp school teachers to amend this new curriculum to suit their new context, it can be argued that this curriculum can by no means be fully functional and appropriate in camp school settings.

However, even if a curriculum is designed for a specific context, this does not guarantee a successful implementation of that curriculum. As mentioned before, the successful implementation of a curriculum is not a linear process. Lotan and Navarrete (1986, p. 2) illustrate that 'one of the most important findings reported in the literature on educational change is that there are more differences regarding implementation within programs than there are between them'. In their view, a successful implementation of a new curriculum depends more on the factors or determinants that could facilitate or hinder the executing of the curriculum, than on features of the curriculum itself. To them, these factors, or determinants, are:

> The nature of the problem that produces the decision to innovate; clarity of this decision and of the innovation itself; monetary and human resources; political climate; organizational characteristics of the educational institution and its environment; established mechanisms of coordination, control and evaluation; issues of leadership; characteristics of participants (p. 2)

In this vein, it should be mentioned that the factors that interact with the change process, and thus influence teachers' role and practices in the classrooms, have been classified differently by researchers and authors. Fullan (2007) classifies these factors as regional, institutional and external factors. Rajab (2013) points out that the barriers that any curriculum innovation faces is classified into psychological barriers, barriers related to teachers' beliefs and attitudes, and educational-cultural obstacles. In their view, Dusenbury et al. (2003, cited in Bümen et al. 2014) believe that four main categories may act as barriers against an effective

implementation of a curriculum, these categories are: teacher characteristics, program properties, teacher training and institutional features.

In fact, CHAT also refers to factors that might impact teachers' behaviors. To explain, CHAT emphasizes that teachers' goals (as subjects of activity systems) should not be confused with the object of the activity (the outcome). In other words, if a teacher's goal is to implement a curriculum in the same way it should be performed, his/her goal will be negotiated as s/he interacts with other elements within the activity. The outcome of each activity, therefore, is different from his/her initial goal due to the influence of other elements within the activity system. Hence, the different elements that interact with the subject can, in a sense, also be viewed as factors or determinants that could facilitate (or hinder) the implementation of a new curriculum.

It becomes clear now that there is no consensus over the factors that influence the implementation of a curriculum. One of the reasons behind this disagreement is that these factors are context-related (Bümen et al, 2014). That is, the set of difficulties that teachers face in implementing a curriculum may change from one context to another. In this vein, it can also be expected that the effect of many of the above-mentioned factors is even more severe in the contexts of the present study where above other things, monetary, physical and human resources are commonly known to be all in shortage.

To elaborate more on the relation between the context of the present study and the introduction of a new curriculum, it can be argued that the new curriculum, no matter how good it may seem per se, is too ambitious to be executed in such context. That is, the Iraqi Ministry of Education ignored the reality that this curriculum was not designed to suit school camp contexts, where schooling is taking place in crowded tents. Ignoring the contextual characteristics of schools is one of the biggest disadvantages of a top-down model of curriculum innovation. In a top-down model of curriculum innovation, one form of the new curriculum is imposed on all teachers from the top, and through power. Hence, teachers from different

contexts are given the same curriculum and are expected to implement it in the same way.

Hawes (1979) warns that assuming a certain curriculum will work in any context will not lead to a fruitful result. Within this model, context-related questions (for instance, under what condition this curriculum works?) are completely ignored. Instead, a top-down model of curriculum innovation supposes that good things will happen when teachers, regardless of their context-related matters, design their practices in line with their new curriculum (Fullan, 2006). This, however, is in contrast with some research (Rondinelli et al, 1990; Tabulawa, 1997; Phakisi, 2008) which shows that the practicality and feasibility of curricula varies from one context to another. Fullan (2001), for example, stresses the importance of context when any educational change is introduced. To him, 'twenty-five percent of the solution is having good directional ideas; seventy-five percent is figuring out how to get there in one local context after another' (p. 268).

With relation to the present study, the new curriculum was imposed on all Iraqi teachers from the Ministry of Education. Although no schooling inside IDP camps was taking place at the time of first putting the new curriculum into action, the Iraqi Ministry of Education did not make then any amendment on the curriculum to be used only in IDP camp schools, nor it gave authority to these schools to 'contextualize' the curriculum. Given the constrained educational tools and equipment, the poor infrastructure and the very limited resources in camp schools, it arguably makes it unrealistic to expect that teachers in IDP camps will implement the new curriculum properly or effectively.

So far, it has been argued that change is not a linear process. Many determinants, including context-related factors, could play a decisive role in terms of the extent to which a top-down model of curriculum innovation is successfully implemented. In the next section, the role of teachers' beliefs in relation to curriculum implementation will be discussed.

3.3.2 Teachers' beliefs and educational change

Research in educational change (Fink and Stoll 2005; Phakisi, 2008; Yin, 2013) shows that teachers' beliefs play a decisive role in shaping their behaviours, and thus the way they implement curricula. In his book, Fullan (1991, p. 117) argues that 'educational change depends on what teachers do and think - it's as simple and as complex as that'. Fullan's unequivocal argument regarding the role of teachers' beliefs is in line with Iskandar (2014) who emphasizes that teachers tend to judge curricula before putting them into practice. Iskandar adds that innovative ideas are only accepted when teachers 'are convinced of their effectiveness in terms of their compatibility with their classroom'.

In a study concerning the factors that affect teachers' implementation of an EFL innovation, Karavas-Doukas (1995), for example, found that teachers' beliefs negatively affect their implementation. That is, teachers did not align their practices with the instructions of the new innovation as they believed that the innovation was impractical and could not accommodate the classroom settings.

Although there are many other factors (for example training programmes) which can determine, even if to some extent, the success or failure of a curriculum, it is nevertheless teachers' beliefs, and thus behaviours, which ultimately determine the fate of curricula (Rajab, 2013). For this reason, Fullan (2001) emphasizes that the success of a curriculum innovation depends largely on three main things; proper use of the new or revised materials, effective teaching approach and change of teachers' beliefs and attitudes. In other words, to harvest a positive result out of a curriculum innovation, teachers have to wholeheartedly support and cooperate with this change (Iskandar, 2014). This, however, cannot be the case unless teachers deeply believe that this change is what themselves and their students need (for example raising students' grades, or increasing students' control over the subject and so on), and that such change can well accommodate with their classroom settings.

The role of teachers' beliefs is of great importance with relation to the present study. Teachers tend to reform their beliefs when moving from one context to another (Sofou and Tsafos 2010). In other words, teachers' beliefs are formed based on their goals, aims and the needs of their students which are, at least to some degree, context-related (Iskandar, 2014). Logically, Iraqi displaced students' needs are different from other students in stable parts of the country. This suggests that the displaced teachers, in the context of the present study, have most probably a different set of beliefs from those in other parts of Iraq.

The argument presented above adds more to the belief that teachers, as long as the context of the present study is concerned, will not adhere their practices to the instructions of the newly introduced curriculum. This is because first, educational change has been proven to be difficult in developing countries. Second, the new curriculum was not designed to be implemented in such a challenging context. Third and more importantly, teachers in IDP camp schools have presumably formed a different set of beliefs which will eventually affect the way they implement the curriculum. According to many studies (Guskey, 1998; Fullan, 2001; Brighton, 2003), teachers' practices are strongly affected by their beliefs. With relation to language teaching and learning, Kuzborska (2011, p. 103) maintains that 'It is generally acknowledged that teachers possess theoretical beliefs about language learning and teaching and that such beliefs and theories tend to shape the nature of their instructional practices'.

However, assuming that teachers in IDP camp schools in Iraq have a different set of beliefs does not mean that they will entirely reject the curriculum innovation. As a matter of fact, all the challenges and constraints discussed earlier in this study do not mean that teachers will just keep their old traditional teaching approach as it is and change nothing. Instead, a hybrid set of practices could be the result of the interaction of the new curriculum and their context.

The present study builds on the idea of Fullan (2001) that teachers do not either entirely accept or reject the innovation. Instead, teachers direct the change, or curriculum innovation, to suit their beliefs and aims, their students' needs, and to

accommodate their classroom settings. Thus, a hybrid set of practices will presumably result from the interactions of these factors. In this sense, the Iraqi displaced teachers, as far as the present study is concerned, are conceptualized as agents of change. Teachers as agents of change will be further discussed in the next section.

3.3.3 Teachers as agents of change

Teachers are agents of change in the sense that they make modification to curriculum implementation based on their judgements. As argued above, teachers judge curricula in terms of whether these curricula can help them achieve their academic goals, such as improving students' learning or increasing students' control over the subject.

Moreover, teachers change the curriculum innovation itself in light of time, students and teachers' needs (Jita, 1998), and in response to what extent these teachers believe that the curriculum is in line with their classroom settings (Karavas-Doukas, 1995).

Although not being stated directly, there are many examples in literature which show teachers as agents of change. Clark and Elmore (1981) point out that teachers modify curricula to accommodate their knowledge and their classroom settings. Brophy and Good (1974) indicate that teachers adapt curricula as they tend to decide what materials, activities and topics are suitable for their students. Lastly, drawing on many studies, Iskandar (2014) concludes that teachers tend to make adaptation to curricula to compensate for what teachers believe as weaknesses or deficiencies within these curricula.

Thus, even if curriculum innovation is introduced within a top-down approach, teachers take their role in making some changes to the curriculum at implementation stage. Bümen et al (2014, p. 221) clearly refer to this issue by stating that it is 'known that while implementing the curriculum developed by the

Ministry of Education, teachers make changes based on their own preferences or depending on students'.

For this reason, Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) view every stakeholder taking a role in the process of educational change as a change agent. This, however, is in contrast with other theories, for example the Diffusion of Innovations theory (Rogers, 1995), which differentiate between a change agency and its clients, which corresponds to the Iraqi Ministry of Education and English language teachers in the present study.

The present study will draw on the ideas of Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991), and views English language teachers in IDP camp schools in Iraq as agents of change. That is, this study assumes that English language teachers, within IDP camp schools in Iraq, will act as agents of change in the sense that they will adapt the new curriculum at implementation stage, as a result of three main reasons.

Firstly, all IDP camp schools are known to encounter a series of constraints (such as poor infrastructure, insufficient teachers and so on) and thus adaptation of the new curriculum is highly expected. Secondly, the possible different set of beliefs, needs, goals, aims and priorities that teachers and students within these camps may have compared with their non-camp school counterparts. Hence, as these elements are generally known to impact teaching and learning, it is therefore anticipated that curriculum adaptation at implementation stage would take place. Lastly, the new curriculum was neither designed to be implemented in IDP camps' schools, nor modified to accommodate the new challenging settings. Thus, it is quite unlikely that the new curriculum could be executed in IDP camps as it is supposed (by its designer) to be executed.

As the present study takes a stance that English language teachers are agents of change, a theory of teacher agency will be adopted and built on to further understand what it means for teachers to be agents of change, and how that is reflected in their day to day work. This is because the notion of 'teachers as agents of change' draws, though implicitly, on agency (Priestley et al, 2015). The theory of

Teachers Agency will be further discussed in the next section to better understand how teacher agency is achieved in concrete settings.

3.4 Teacher agency

A theory of teacher agency has been provided by the works of Mark Priestley, Gert Biesta and Sarah Robinson (2012a, 2013, 2015). To them, literature has extensively tackled the concept of agency but in a broader theoretical discussion, especially in sociology. However, agency has not been researched thoroughly in relation to teachers' activities.

As educational change, represented mainly in curriculum innovation, has taken place in many countries, Priestley et al. (2012b) proclaim that little attention was given to the role of teacher agency in the existing change models. Hence, a more explicit and detailed theory of teacher agency is needed to figure out its role in educational change and innovation.

Unlike the so-called 'structure-agency' debate in which agency is manifested as an independent variable/factor, Priestley et al. (2015) indicate that they are more interested in considering agency as a phenomenon by itself and how it is achieved and realized in real concrete settings and under certain circumstances. As a definition, agency has been defined by Emirbayer & Mische (1998) as 'the capacity of actors to critically shape their own responsiveness to problematic situations'. However, Biesta and Tedder (2006, p. 9) extend Emirbayer & Mische's definition by stating that agency is also 'an individual capacity and one which restricts the purpose of agency to dealing with problematic situations.'

Importantly, Priestley et al. (2013, 2015) indicate that it is crucial not to conceive agency as a property or capacity residing in individual. Instead, agency should be seen as 'something that is achieved through engagement with very specific contextual conditions.' Biesta and Tedder (2006, cited in Priestley et al. 2012a, 2013, 2015) took an ecological way in viewing agency, which emphasizes that

‘actors always act by means of their environment rather than simply in their environment’.

Biesta and Tedder’s ecological view about teacher agency is in line with CHAT. CHAT also illustrates that every node within each activity system affects, and is affected by, the remaining nodes within the same activity. Hence, teachers (as subjects of activity systems) act by means of their environment, or in other words by means of the rules, division of power and the available tools in their environments.

Agency is therefore achieved through the interaction of the efforts that individuals make with the available resources and the contextual factors in a given context. Agency, in this sense, is not what individuals can have, but what they do (Biesta and Tedder, 2007). In other words, agency is not seen as something which individuals can achieve by themselves, but as the outcome of the interplay between individuals, resources and the contextual factors in a certain context.

Based on the above, and in relation to CHAT, agency is achieved when the interacting nodes enable rather than limit the subject’s capacity (camp school teachers’ capacities in relation to the present study). The achievement of teacher agency is determined by the outcome of an activity (which is the result of the interactions that take place within and between the activity’s nodes) rather than by camp school teachers’ capacities.

With relation to the present study, drawing on Teacher Agency theory seems promising. That is, viewing agency in such an ecological way makes it possible to understand how teacher agency is achieved when teachers engage with their work settings, IDP camp school, where amongst many other factors, resources are very restricted. In this vein, this theory explains to us how teachers are both ‘enabled and constrained by their social and material environments’, and how they ‘can act counter to societal constraints as well as with societal possibilities’ (Priestley et al, 2013, p. 3).

As argued earlier, when an educational change is made and teachers, for one reason or another, find it difficult or impractical to implement the change in their classroom settings, they tend to redirect the change. In the case of curriculum innovation, they do so through curriculum adaptation. Hence, by building on this theory, it is hoped that we could more clearly understand the reflectivity and creativity of teachers. That is, how teachers counteract their challenging context (IDP camp schools) through the societal possibilities, and how that ultimately shapes their practices with relation to the new curriculum.

3.4.1 Dimensions of agency

In theorizing teacher agency, Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) point out that they draw mainly on the work of the two American sociologists Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische (1998). Emirbayer and Mische maintain that agency is achieved through the interactions of three dimensions; the iterational, practical-evaluative and projective dimensions. To give more details, Emirbayer and Mische (1998) argue that there is a tendency in the existing theories of agency to focus 'either on routine, or on purpose or on judgement'. To them, 'while routine, purpose, and judgment all constitute important dimensions of agency, none by itself captures its full complexity' (p. 963).

To overcome this one-sided viewpoint of the existing theories, the two American sociologists claim that agency should be looked at as the result of the interplay of the three dimensions. Also, they highlight that the interplay of these three dimensions varies 'within different structural contexts of action'. To them, agency is the configuration of the influence of past experiences, oriented towards the future, and acted out in the present. They call these three dimensions as the iterational, the projective and the practical-evaluative dimension respectively.

Emirbayer and Mische indicate that all of these dimensions play a role in achieving agency in concrete settings. However, to what extent each of these dimensions plays a part in the process of agency achievement varies from one context to another. Hence, they reconceptualize human agency as:

> a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment) (p. 962).

In other words, Emirbayer and Mische (1998) view human agency in such a way that humans are motivated to have a future better than their past, and even their present (the projective dimension), by building on their past experiences (the iterational dimension). This, however, can only be acted out in present, represented by the practical-evaluative dimension which, in their words (p. 971), entails:

> the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgements among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations.

3.4.2 Model of teacher agency

As stated earlier, Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) have built on the work and ideas of Emirbayer and Mische (1988) when theorizing teacher agency. However, in their model of teacher agency (see Figure 3.4 below), Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) have made some amendments to the ideas of the two American sociologists.

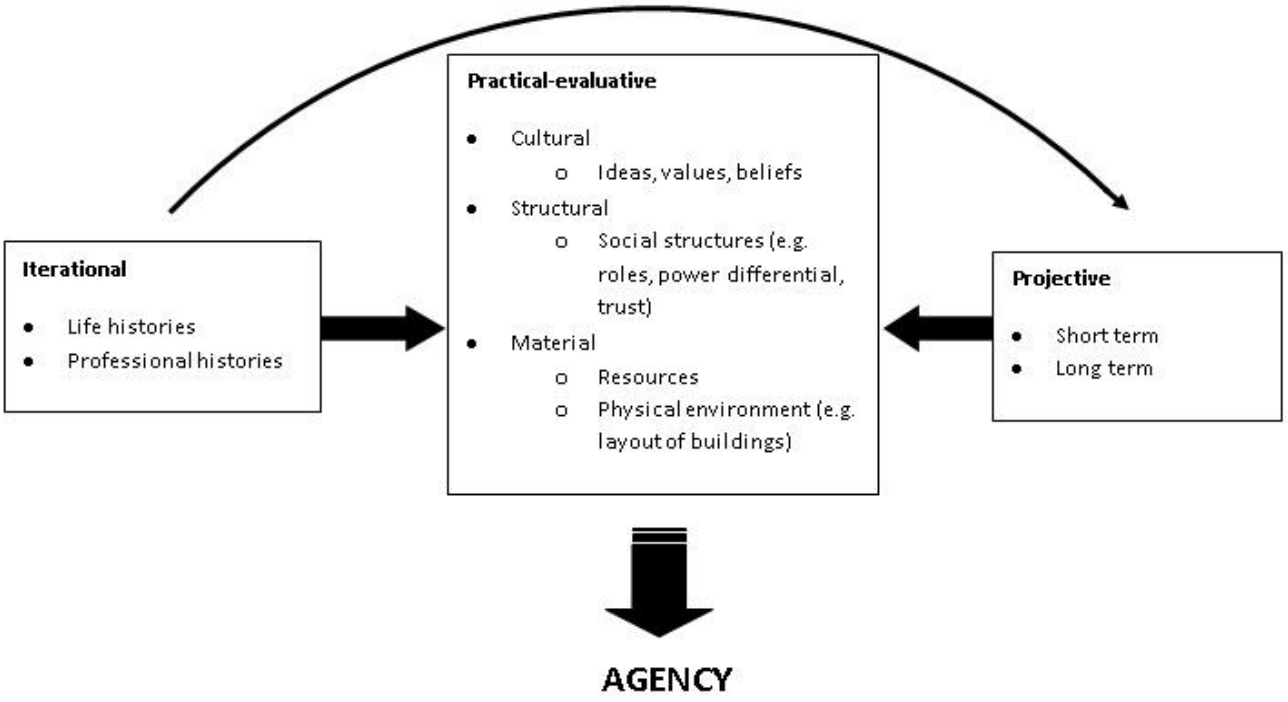


Figure 3.4: Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) model of teacher agency

As can be noticed, each of the three dimensions has been further expanded through adding certain aspects. To start with the iterational dimension, Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) distinguish the influence of past experience into that of general life histories and professional histories, or personal and professional biographies. In other words, in addition to the life histories, Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) added the professional biographies aspect which 'includes both their own education as teachers and the accumulated experience of being a teacher'. Hence, unlike Emirbayer and Mische (1998), Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) involve teachers' subject knowledge and professional skills in the process of achieving agency.

Within the projective dimension, Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) distinguish between 'short[er] term and long[er] term objectives and values.' That is, the achievement of teacher agency is oriented toward the achievement of a combination of some short[er] and long[er] aims and objective.

With relation to the practical evaluative dimension, Priestley et al. (2012c) maintain that the practical-evaluative dimension is a two-fold process. That is, this

dimension refers on the one hand to ‘what is practically possible and feasible in this concrete situation – and on the other hand the evaluative – that is the way in which the actor evaluates both the 'issues' at hand and the possibilities for action in the concrete situation’ (p. 7). Hence, actors by themselves cannot shape their own agency. The environment that each actor lives in influences their agency achievement. Therefore, building on the actors’ capacities, to what extent actors’ agency could be achieved depends on the available tools within their environment.

To further understand and clarify the decisive role that environments play in setting the limits of actors’ agency achievement, Priestley et al., in their different works (2012a, 2013, 2015), draw on the social theory of Margaret Archer. Archer (1988, 1995, 2000) argues that environments influence the achievements of actors’ agency through cultural, structural and material aspects. These three aspects were adopted by Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) in their model of teacher agency.

To Priestley et al., adding these three aspects to their model shows teachers as reflexive and creative humans. These aspects show that the cultural, structural and material resources, available in the teachers’ surrounding environments, could on the one hand limit and constrain, and at the other hand, enable and support the extent teacher agency could be achieved.

Related to these three aspects, Priestley et al (2015) point out that the cultural aspects include values, beliefs and ideas. Structural aspects relate to roles, power, relationships and trust. Lastly, material aspects refer to the ‘physical resources that promote or hinder agency and the wider physical environment in and through which agency is achieved’ (Priestley et al, 2012a, p. 5).

3.4.3 Temporal and spatial dimensions of teacher agency

The work of Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015), represented in their model (Figure 3.4), suggests that teacher agency is an ongoing process. That is, as teacher agency is the result of the continuous engagement between individual efforts and the

surrounding contextual conditions, it is thus temporal and spatial as it is changed from one context to another.

Viewing agency in such a way that it could be achieved differently, by the same teacher, in different contexts is an interesting and crucial issue to the present research. The context of the present study is not only temporal, but also unique to the Iraqi teachers. The phenomenon of teaching displaced students within schools made of tents and caravans inside IDP camps is something new to the Iraqi scene. Only a limited number of schools are located within these camps and thus, only a small percentage of Iraqi teachers are experiencing this phenomenon.

As no study so far has investigated teachers' practices against the new curriculum in camp school settings, to what extent this 'small percentage' of Iraqi English language teachers would implement the new curriculum can be argued to be to a large extent encased with ambiguity. In other words, to what extent the contextual factors in IDP camps can influence teachers' pedagogical choices and practices can be hardly predicted.

For this reason, to build on theories that envisage teachers' faithfulness, or even resistance, against an innovation while ignoring the contextual factors seems impractical to the present study. On the contrary, the theory of teacher agency is helpful as no assumption about teachers' behaviors against an innovation is provided. Instead, it maintains that teacher agency, and thus the way teachers deal with the new curriculum, is 'largely about repertoires for manoeuvre, or the possibilities for different forms of action available to teachers at particular points in time' (Priestley et al, 2012d, p. 36-37).

More importantly, by building on the theory of teacher agency, the effect of the unique IDP school camp contexts on teachers, with relation to the way they implement the new English language curriculum, can be specified and then analyzed. Clearly, such a theory is more practical when there is an uncertainty about forms of teachers' behaviors, or in other words teachers' reaction to an innovation in particular contexts.

Within this theory of teacher agency, teachers' faithfulness towards the new curriculum could either increase or decrease depending on the achievement of their agency. That is, with relation to the present study, while teacher agency could be achieved in a way that bring teachers' actions closer to the guidance of the new curriculum, it can also push teachers towards challenging the innovation. This, as discussed above, relates to the iterational, projective and practical-evaluative dimensions of agency.

The present study does not aim to judge teachers based on their faithfulness to 'fill the roles as designated'. Instead, by drawing on this theory of teacher agency, it aims at investigating how teacher agency is achieved in such a challenging context, and how that ultimately shapes their practices in the classrooms. In other words, how teachers are both enabled and constrained in their school camp contexts, and what is the influence of their work settings on achieving their agency and thus, their roles and behaviors.

3.4.4 Teacher agency: role of teachers' beliefs and values

Priestley et al. (2013) contend that they oppose 'those voices' who claim that teacher agency is a personal capacity. However, to them, this does not mean that personal capacities have no role in shaping teacher agency. On the contrary, personal capacity is one of the elements that affects the process of agency achievement. Teachers' beliefs and values are important aspects of personal capacities which, at least to some extent, are involved in achieving teacher agency (Priestley et al., 2015b).

Priestley et al. (2012d) maintain that the effect of teachers' beliefs and values on achieving their agency is context dependent. That is, teachers form their beliefs and values with relation to the schools they work in. In their words:

> The extent to which teachers are able to achieve agency varies from context to context based upon certain environmental conditions of possibility and constraint, and that an important factor in this lies in the

> beliefs, values and attributes that teachers mobilise in relation to particular situations (p. 2).

This is an interesting issue to the present study. The present study, among other aims, is particularly concerned with the effect of contextual factors on English language teachers' practices in IDP camps. As teachers' beliefs and values, according to the theory of teacher agency, are elements of contextual factors, it is hoped that the works of Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015), represented in their theory of teacher agency, will add to our understanding how teachers' beliefs and values in IDP camp schools affect teachers' practices through taking a role in the achievement of their agency.

Priestley et al. (2012a, 2013, 2015) indicate that teachers' beliefs and values surface in the iterational and projective dimensions of agency. To start with the iterational dimension, teachers bring their beliefs and values to their work. That is, the personal and professional experiences that teachers went through in the past, lead to an accumulating set of values and beliefs that teachers rely on in their day to day work.

On the other hand, both of the short and the long terms within the projective dimension of agency is largely about teachers' beliefs and values (Priestley et al, 2012a, 2013, 2015). Depending on what they believe and what they value, teachers are expected to set for themselves some short and long aims which, at least to some extent, guide their behaviours inside the classrooms. If a teacher's goal, for example, is mostly about increasing the percentage of students who pass exams, then the way s/he teaches will be comparatively different from another teacher who aims to raise students' critical thinking.

Bearing in mind that teachers' beliefs and value are context-related, the set of beliefs and values that teachers have in any given context could either support or challenge their curriculum. Drawing on the theory of teacher agency, the present research aims to study the influence of the camp school settings on English

language teachers' beliefs and values, and how that is reflected in their practices in relation to the new English language curriculum.

To conclude, the present study is further guided by the theory of teacher agency which assumes that teachers' beliefs influence the process of agency achievement and thus teachers' behaviours. For this reason, teachers' beliefs regarding the purpose of education, the need of the traumatized students and the practicality of the new English language curriculum will be examined in this study. This, hopefully, will contribute to our understanding concerning the role of teachers' beliefs in shaping their practices through the process of agency achievement.

Lastly, teachers' beliefs, values and goals relate to their identities. Priestley et al. (2012a, 2012c) state that both of the iterational and projective dimensions rely, among other things, on teachers' personal and professional identities. This, however, adds another reason for the present study to draw on a theory of identity. That is, in terms of the present study, a theory of identity is needed not only to cast light on teachers' uniqueness (see section 3.2.5) but also to deepen our understanding about teacher agency as well.

3.5 Identity theory: Introduction

In the last few years, a new English language curriculum has been introduced in Iraq. In terms of teaching methods, the new curriculum is largely different from the old one and thus, teachers are required to master new teaching skills to deliver effective teaching. After ISIS attacked Mosul in 2014, the displacement that happened thereafter exacerbated the situation on many levels. Teachers in IDP camps should deal now with traumatized displaced students, the thing that they have not experienced before. Besides, the majority of the displaced students are Yazidis whereas the majority of the teachers are Muslims. Bearing in mind that ISIS (a radical Islamic group) has killed and enslaved thousands of Yazidis in 2014, a huge tension emerged between Yazidis and Muslims. Additionally, the teaching and learning context has become quite challenging as schooling takes place now in IDP camps. Each IDP camp school is no more than a number of tents and caravans. The

average number of students inside each class exceeds 60 and reaches 100 in some classes. Above all, teachers are displaced themselves. Being displaced, teachers were under a very complicated set of social and financial challenges as will be shown later (see section 5.5.1).

All that has been mentioned above must have an impact on teachers' themselves including their behaviors which will, eventually, affect the way they teach. Although two theories (CHAT and Teacher Agency) have been already chosen in the present study to be used as analytical lenses to describe teachers' practices in school camp context, both of the two theories build on teacher identity.

CHAT discusses how different elements interact to form the shared goal of each activity (English language teaching in relation to the present study). As teachers in the present study represent the subject node, they draw on their identities when interacting with the remaining nodes within the same activity system. Hence, teachers' identities take a part in shaping the activity object, which is the outcome of the interactions between all the activity's nodes.

The theory of Teacher Agency is mainly concerned with the question of to what extent teacher agency could be achieved in a given context. According to this theory, teachers' life histories, professional histories, beliefs and attitudes play a role in the process of agency achievement. As stated earlier, one's professional and professional histories, beliefs and attitudes are part of his/her identity.

For this reason, the present study will draw on the Identity Theory in an attempt to interpret the impact of the school camp context, with all its related difficulties, on Iraqi displaced teachers' identities, or in other words on their beliefs and practices. By doing so, it is easier to understand teachers' roles, both as subjects of activity systems and agents of change.

3.5.1 Origin of Identity theory and contribution of George McCall and J. L. Simmons

The origin of Identity Theory goes back to the work of Mead (1934). His work on identities serves as a corner stone for many later researchers who worked on related fields. Mead's *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934), as Stryker (2002) argues, is a theoretical or conceptual framework rather than a testable theory.

Mead (1934) conceived human social behavior and interaction as comprised of two related fronts. The first occurs in 'situations and organizational life' external to the inner worlds of individuals. The second front exists within the inner worlds of individuals, or actors as Mead put it, as individuals interpret and react to the 'situations and organizational life they find themselves in'. Mead, however, indicated that the two fronts are connected in such a way that 'situations and organizational life' deeply affects and impacts the inner worlds of actors.

As mentioned earlier, many researchers have developed and built on the work of Mead to come up with theories with a view consistent with contemporary psychology and sociology (Stryker and Burke 2000). In relation to the work of Mead, the Identity theory (created by Sheldon Stryker in 1980) has evolved in two strongly related directions with the goal of understanding 'how the social structures affect the self and how self impacts social behaviors.' However, each of these directions seeks to explain and further expand one of the two fronts presented by Mead.

The first direction of the Identity Theory emphasizes the social structure and the hierarchical organization of identities within individuals. This direction was introduced by the work of Sheldon Stryker and colleagues (e.g., Stryker 1980; Serpe and Stryker 1987; Stryker and Serpe 1982; 1994).

The second direction of Identity Theory, on the other hand, focuses more on the 'internal mechanism of the identity process' and is represented by work of Peter Burke and colleagues (e.g., Burke 1980; Burke 1991; Burke and Reitzes 1991; Burke and Stets 1999; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Stets and Burke 2000).

It is worth noting that Burke and Stets (2009) kept working on and developing the second direction of the Identity Theory until they came up with a new theory called the Identity Control Theory. However, through her different works, Burke reiterates that the Identity Control Theory should be seen as another version of the Identity Theory with a different focus in relation to one's identity. Burke and Stets (2009) clearly state this point by indicating that what distinguishes the works of Burke from the works of Stryker is 'simply what is emphasized' and there is no reason to look at Identity Theory and Identity Control Theory as two different theories.

Following other research, including these of Burke (Burke and Stets, 2009; Stets and Burke, 2000; Burke and Stryker, 2000), the two versions of Identity theory will be incorporated and discussed as one theory. Further, the work of George McCall and J. L. Simmons (1978), in which the emphasis is on how individuals maintain their identities in face-to-face interaction, has made significant contributions to the Identity Theory.

To conclude, the works of many theorists on Identity theory, including those mentioned above, share much in common and they do not differ significantly. Instead, each theorist looks at identity from a different perspective and focuses on a different aspect. In this way, we can look at the work of each as one part of a larger jigsaw puzzle of understanding the relation between social structures, self and social behavior.

The present research, however, will draw on the works of Burke and Stets (2009), Stets and Burke (2000), Burke and Stryker (2000) and McCall and Simmons (1978) in an attempt to give us a more comprehensive understanding about how camps school settings impact the way displaced teachers believe, and how teachers' identities are maintained in face-to-face interaction. As stated earlier, understanding teachers' identities can further clarify teachers' roles as subjects of activity systems and agents of change.

3.5.2 Background of Identity theory

Identity theory is one of the most influential social psychological theories dealing with the relationship and connectedness between the self and social action (Burke et al. 2003). In this theory, social behavior is viewed through the reciprocal relations between self and society. In other words, the Identity Theory is based on the view that society affects the self and the self affects the social behavior.

Stets and Burke (2000) illustrate that Identity Theory holds that an individual has many different 'role identities.' A wife, for example, is also a mother, a daughter, a teacher and a blood donor. Hence, each of these multiple components of her i.e. each of the different roles that she occupies in the society, is a role identity. Individuals view themselves as occupants of different roles through the so-called self-categorizations (Stets and Burke 2003). That is, through self-categorizations, which depend upon the classifications that each society has, individuals can describe themselves as occupants of certain roles that provide their identity.

According to Identity theory, people have certain norms and expectations, also called identity standard, for the roles provided through the self-categorizations. Thus, they behave in accordance with the norms and expectations for the roles they occupy. When an individual manages to act in accordance with the norms and expectations s/he has for one of the roles s/he occupies, this role will be self-verified.

Self-verification, therefore, occurs when an individual's behaviors match the identity standard for a specific role identity that s/he occupies. Stryker and Burke (2000) argue that when self-verification occurs, people feel satisfied and do not change the way they behave. Conversely, if self-verification fails to occur, due to a mismatch between behaviors and identity standard, this will lead an individual to have some doubts about his/her self-worth (low self-esteem) and may even engender certain negative emotions such as distress and anger. To reduce such negative emotions, people tend to modify their behaviors to make them consistent with the identity standard for the roles they occupy.

The fundamental question the Identity Theory attempts to answer is, why an individual in a given situation chooses one particular identity than others? and also why s/he chooses one particular course of action in time s/he has many other options which are all aligned with the norms and expectations s/he has for the roles s/he occupies?

The theory hypothesized that people choose one role identity or one particular action rather others depending on the degree of commitment that people have towards the many role identities they occupy (Stryker and Burke, 2000). To explain, Identity theory hypothesizes that role identities are hierarchically organized within the self and the higher the role identity is positioned in the hierarchy, the more possibility that role identity will be invoked in a given situation. Identity Theory uses the term salience to refer to the degree or level of commitment an individual has to one particular role. That is, within the salience hierarchy, the higher positioned identities are more likely to be invoked and thus, put into behaviors (Stryker, 2000). Therefore, due to varieties in identity salience, people occupying the same role identities may behave differently even within the same context.

Based on the argument above, it can be argued that teachers, within the context of the present study, may behave differently if their different identities are organized differently. To explain, if a teacher is more committed to his/her 'displaced parent' identity, for instance, then s/he might not behave the same compared to another teacher who is more committed to his/her 'English language teacher' identity. In other words, the first teacher might not be concerned with delivering effective teaching. Instead, s/he may mainly be worried about affording a decent and safe life for their family, even if at the expense of his/her faithfulness towards their job. Hence, s/he might call in sick, when s/he is not actually sick, in order to make money from another part-time job.

The second teacher, on the other hand, who is more committed to their 'English language teacher' identity, would arguably be more interested in developing their teaching skills. By the same token, s/he would be more concerned with increasing students' knowledge, develop their critical thinking and so on. Clearly, each of the

two teachers has different goals due to their degree of their commitment to their 'English language teacher' identity.

However, why an English language teacher would be more committed to one identity than other identities? Stryker (1980 [2002]) argues that the level of commitment one person may give to a specific identity depends mainly on 'the costs the person incurs for not playing out a role based on an identity'. Hence, if dropping out an identity incurs a teacher high costs, then high level of commitment will be attached to that identity, and thus this identity will be mostly provoked and put into action.

Stryker and Serpe (1982; 1994) contend that costs can be calculated through two dimensions, labeled as the quantitative and qualitative aspects. The first dimension, or the quantitative aspect, is the number of ties (persons) related to an identity. That is, the bigger the number of people an individual will be connected to through an identity, the higher the commitment to that identity will be. The second dimension (the qualitative dimension) is the strength of these ties. Hence, the stronger the ties to others, the higher level of commitment to that identity will be.

To relate the above argument to the present study, it can be expected that the displaced teachers would choose an identity, and thus certain kinds of behaviors in relation to that identity, that bring them closer to other community members (students, supervisors, headteacher). This, however, is somehow similar to CHAT. According to CHAT, teachers (as subjects of activity systems) negotiate their goals with other community members (within the existing rules and available resources) to reach a shared goal for all the individuals participating in the same activity system. Logically, different members have different needs, beliefs and thus goals. It is therefore unlikely that teachers could find goals that satisfy the needs of all the members. Teachers, in this case, will most probably try to find the most agreed upon goal between the community members. In this sense, teachers are adhering to the behaviors attached to a certain identity that keep the largest number of ties with others.

To summarize, among the many identities they have, teachers pick those with the higher level of commitment. To feel satisfied, they try to verify these 'picked' identities in their context. However, what is the process that people follow in verifying their different roles or identities? The answer for this question is found mainly in the works of Burke, McCall and Simmons who place 'meanings' at the heart of their works on identity. The next two sections will explain the notion of meaning and the process of verifying identities accordingly.

3.5.3 Meanings and identity

Burke and Stets (2009: 3) define identity as 'the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person'. From this, individuals apply meaning to themselves for every role they occupy when trying to answer the question of what does it mean to be who we are?

When the displaced teachers try to verify their identities, they do that through actions. It is through actions that the displaced teachers attempt to make their role as teachers congruent with the meanings held in the identity standards for that role. For Burke and Stets (2009), what is important is not our behaviors but the meanings that we attribute to our behaviors. Hence, meanings links identity with behavior in such a way that our behaviors are guided by the meanings attributed to them (Burke, 1980; Burke and Reitzes 1981; Burke and Tully 1977)

McCall and Simmons (1978) made a significant contribution to the Identity Theory through their ideas in relation to the sources of deriving meanings. To Burke and Stryker, meanings are mainly derived from culture. People living in the same culture have some agreed on shared meanings for the social positions. People, therefore, learn these shared meanings through interaction with others.

McCall and Simmons (1978) argue that meanings acquired from culture is only one source of deriving meanings. To them, a role identity has a conventional dimension

and an idiosyncratic dimension that both give meanings to the roles people play out. To them, the conventional dimension is the shared meanings that people live in the same culture agree on. Hence, it is what Stryker (2002) calls the cultural expectations and claim to be the main source that people derive meanings for their roles from.

The idiosyncratic dimension, on the other hand, is the individuals' distinctive understandings and interpretations of their roles. Hence, meanings derived from the idiosyncratic dimension are not necessarily shared by others. From this, individuals occupying the same role can have different meanings, and thus behave differently depending on the role-holder's own definitions and understandings of the roles s/he occupies.

For example, while the conventional dimensions of the 'teacher identity' may imply the shared meaning of knowledge transmitter, some teachers may add to this shared meaning an idiosyncratic dimension to their role identity such as 'mentor'. Logically, when teachers add idiosyncratic dimension to their role identity, their behaviors will partially depend on meanings contained in their own interpretations of what it means to be a teacher. Consequently, they will behave differently from those adhere completely to the conventional meanings.

McCall and Simmons (1978) believe that individuals negotiate the meanings of their role identities within these two dimensions. To them, most individuals settle their role identities somewhere between the two extremes of the conventional and idiosyncratic dimensions. However, when negotiating their role identities, some individuals may fall at one extreme of these two dimensions. That is, some individuals may strictly adhere to the conventional dimension, taking on the culturally shared meanings as their only source of building up their role identities. Conversely, other individuals may negotiate their role identities relying mainly on their own interpretations. For McCall and Simmons (1978), adhering to the idiosyncratic dimension in negotiating the role identities may lead the role-holders to become unrecognizable to others.

McCall and Simmons' (1978) use of these two dimensions as sources to derive meaning from is of particular importance to the present study. To explain, knowing that the Iraqi displaced teachers have never been in such a context before, that is teaching traumatized displaced students within IDP camps, teachers are expected to add an idiosyncratic dimension to their understanding of their roles, which will eventually influence their goals and behaviors inside the classrooms.

The ideas of McCall and Simmons (1978) are hoped to pave the way for the present research to examine how the current settings (IDP camp school) impacted teachers' own understanding of their roles, and thus behaviors, inside the classroom. The idea of identifying meanings held in the identity standard to predict behaviors is what the Identity theory mainly focuses on. Since no study, so far, has used theories on identities to investigate teachers' identities in Iraq, not only in IDP camps but even in normal situation, the present study casts light on the conventional and idiosyncratic dimensions of meanings that camp school teachers in Iraq attribute to themselves.

It is hoped that by identifying these meanings that teachers define themselves with, this would help us better understand how teachers negotiate their role identities in camp school settings, and how is that reflected in their current behaviors. This would also widen our understanding about teachers' role within the framework of the two theories discussed earlier in this research (CHAT and teacher agency).

3.5.4 Verifying identities

Burke (1991) pointed out that four components constitute the process, or system, of forming and reforming identities. These components are the identity standard, perceptions, a comparator and output. To start with the identity standard, an identity, as mentioned earlier, is a set of meanings by which one can define who s/he is. By means of these meanings attributed to the identity standard, people define 'who they are' depending on the roles they occupy. Burke (1991) contends that since people have norms and expectations for the different culturally-classified roles, these meanings then also tell people 'what does it mean' to be who they are

as individuals. In other words, identity standard is formed through these meanings, or more specifically when people define both who they are (a school counselor, for example) and what it means to be who they are as individuals.

The second, third and fourth components come together, or more specifically they occur immediately one after the other. In other words, when individuals form their identities through the sets of meanings they hold, they start to perceive their own behaviors in the real world (their output) and then compare them with their identity standards. Meanings, which are abstract in nature, may not be easily put into actions when it comes to the real world. Hence, people tend to perceive and compare their real behaviors to see whether their behaviors match those meanings embedded in their identity standards. It is worth mentioning that perceptions could be done through self-assessing and/or in the form of feedback taken from others (Stets and Burke 2005).

For the Identity Theory, when the perceived behaviors match the meanings (which in this sense represent goals to be achieved), then an individual feels good and is 'doing fine'. Hence, no further change in behaviors or modification in meanings is required. However, when there is a discrepancy between the perceived behaviors and meanings (or goals to be achieved), this generates negative emotion. As a consequence, Stets and Burke (2003) claim that people counteract to minimize the discrepancy between perceptions and meanings held in the identity standard. This could be done either through changing their behaviors or perceptions in a given context.

As was indicated above, an individual will change his/her behaviors or the goals to be achieved when the perceived behaviors do not match the identity standards. According to the Identity theory, people mostly start with changing behaviors. If changing behaviors is not an available option (for example due to their work conditions), then they would start modifying their identity standard.

Since this process of verifying identities, according to Identity theory, is never ending, people may keep changing their behaviors until the match occurs. To put

differently, behaviors are just means to reach the goals. According to this system, the focus should be placed on the input and not the output. That is, we should control our perception (input) through altering our behaviors (output). In this sense, it is 'what goals an individual is trying to accomplish?' we should ask and not 'how an individual is trying to accomplish his/her goal?'.

This, however, is in contrast with CHAT and Teacher Agency theory. To explain, CHAT focuses more on the interaction between each activity's elements. In other words, it concentrates on how the outcome of each activity system is accomplished through the interacting nodes, and not on what goals the teacher or even the community is trying to meet. Teacher Agency, though gives importance to teachers' goals, it is mainly concerned with how teacher agency is achieved within a given context. Teachers' goals, however, are only one part of the agency achievement process. Therefore, the focus is not on teachers' goals, but on the extent to which teacher agency could be achieved in one context.

Hence, neither of the two theories explains how, or on what basis, individuals (teachers) form and reform their goals in the first place. Instead, they both examine how an individual's goals interact with other elements. In terms of the present research, the two theories focus more on how different factors (one of which is teachers' goals) interact with each other in real settings through the two processes of forming an activity's object and agency achievement.

For this reason, building on the Identity theory can be argued to be quite helpful for the present research as it bridges this gap through showing the sources that teachers derive their goals from. Once it is known how teachers attribute meanings (through both conventional and idiosyncratic dimensions), and thus goals to themselves, it becomes easier to comprehend how teachers' goals are negotiated through interaction with other elements.

3.5.5 More than one identity activated at a time

In the previous sections, the reason behind selecting one identity over another and the process of verifying one identity at a time were discussed. However, people have many roles and thus possess many identities. A teacher could be a displaced father, a friend, a football player and a member of a political party at the same time. Besides, one generally attempts to show and maintain certain personal characteristics that distinguish him/her as a unique person from others.

Hence, what happens if more than one identity is activated in the same time? and how the activated identities relate to and influence each other? According to the Identity Theory, when multiple identities are switched on simultaneously, it is expected that the identity which holds a higher level of prominence, or commitment, will be the one to guide the behavior more than any other identity (Burke and Stets 2009).

Moreover, the higher identity, as Tsushima and Burke (1999) argue, not only guides the behavior significantly, but also 'controls' lower identities in such a way that the lower identities are set to achieve the aims and goals of the higher identity. In other words, the lower identities can be perceived as 'in the service of the higher-level identity'. With relation to the present study, if a teacher for instance has a higher-level personal identity of being 'caring', then his/her 'teacher identity' would be in the service of his/her 'caring' identity by looking after the needs of his/her traumatized students and try to help them in one way or another, and vice versa.

Interestingly, Tsushima and Burke (1999) concluded that the higher identities are more general than lower identities and mostly abstract in nature such as beliefs and values. Lower identities, on the other hand, are more concrete and can be verified in situated activities.

People, as Gecas (1989) argues, seek to see themselves competent and effective. For this to happen, each identity an individual claims to play out should be verified.

An unverified identity, as mentioned earlier, causes an individual to have a low self-esteem, which in turn leads to different negative effects such as anger, distress and depression, as research has indicated (Rosenberg 1979; Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, and Mullan 1981; Mirowsky and Ross 1989; Burke 1991; 1996; Spencer, Josephs, and Steele 1993; Longmore and DeMaris 1997).

Clearly, people would not be satisfied to maintain such negative feelings and they generally try to remove the conflict between their identities to feel 'competent and effective' again. To do that, the meanings embedded in one or more identity standards should be changed. While the present section discusses the activation of more than one identity, the next section sheds light on the factors that cause a shift in identity.

3.5.6 Identity change

According to Identity theory, individuals seek to verify their existing identities. That is, we resist change in our identities. Whenever there is a discrepancy between what we perceive and our identity standards, we generally change our behaviors (output) to bring our perceptions (input) in alignment with meanings of our identity standards.

However, matching our perceptions with our identity standards could not be possible in certain situations. According to the Identity theory, there are certain conditions that can change the identity standard. Burke and her colleagues have focused on the conditions or factors that may lead individuals to shift their identity standards. Through different works (Burke 2006; Cast, Stets and Burke 1999; Burke and Cast 1997, Burke and Stets 2009), Burke and her colleagues listed four conditions that could bring about change in identities. However, one of these four conditions has been briefly discussed in the previous section, that is identity change could happen due to two opposite identities being activated simultaneously.

Hence, the first condition that brings about a change in identity standard is identity conflicts. Many researchers, for example Deaux (1992; 1993) and Stets (1995),

support Burke's claim of identity conflicts leads to change in identity standard. Burke argues that such conflicts are more likely to happen when an individual takes on a new role identity. A question that is related to the first condition, when there is a conflict between two or more activated identities, do all the identities change to the same degree?

For the identity theorist, the extent to which each identity changes depends on other three factors related to these identities. These three factors are commitment (Stryker and Serpe 1982; Burke and Reitzes 1991; Burke and Stets 1999), salience (Callero 1985; Stryker and Serpe 1994) and the number of ties to other identities (Smith-Lovin 2003; Burke 2003; Thoits 1986). Hence, an identity with a higher level of commitment and salience and with more ties with other identities would change less than other identities and vise-versa.

The second condition under which an identity could change is changes in a situation (Burke and Stets 2009). The world we live in is in a constant state of change. Everything around us changes, though the rate at which things change varies from very slow to very fast. Still, some changes are small and could be counteracted by behaviors to keep perception in congruence with identity standards. However, Burke (2006) pointed out that sometimes the change is large and disrupts the meanings embedded in the identity standard, to the extent that matching perception with identity standard would not be possible even when changing behaviors. In this case, changing the identity then seems to be the only available option to delete this discrepancy.

Interestingly, Burke and Stets (2009) mentioned some of these 'situational changes' which were found to be strongly related to the present research. That is, due to their displacement, the displaced teachers (within the context of the present research) have directly witnessed and experienced some of these 'situational changes'. A number of these situational changes given by Burke and Stets are 'being removed from the city and not being able to go back', 'being uprooted from family and friends', 'suffering the death of a loved one' and 'suffering a robbery'.

Besides, Burke and Stets (2009) mentioned that changing the context in which an individual plays out a role is another situational change which is more common but less severe than those mentioned previously. They added that change in identity is more likely to happen when changing the context leads to a change in the available resources. Resources, according to the Identity Theory, is anything that supports individuals and sustains the interaction (Freese and Burke 1994). From this, books, teaching aids, classroom furniture and anything that helps and supports teachers in their schools are seen as resources. Hence, if schools in the IDP camps have less resources, then this could lead to a change in teachers' identities.

Burke and Stets' (2009) argument is in line with both CHAT and Teacher Agency theory. To start with CHAT, while the Identity Theory argues that an identity is a set of meanings which represent goals to be achieved. A change in teacher identity (due to change in resources) therefore indicates a change of the goals teachers seek to achieve. CHAT, on the other hand, asserts that the available resources take a part in forming the activity's object (which is the shared goal among all community's members, including the teacher). Hence, when the available resources change due to change in context, the outcome of the activity system will change accordingly.

In relation to Teacher Agency theory, the available resources within a given context represent one element within the practical evaluative dimension, which interact with other two dimensions to constitute agency. In other words, change in resources influences the practical evaluative dimension which in turn influences agency.

The third condition, that Burke and Stets (2009) believe it may lead to a change in identity, is a conflict between the behavioral meanings and the meanings embedded in the identity standard. The behaviors that people generally choose have meanings congruent with meanings held by their identity standards. Due to the complexity of life, we sometimes may choose certain behaviors that are not at accord with what we wish.

Clearly, when we choose behaviors that do not match our identity standards, we will not feel satisfied and will consequently try not to behave in the same way again. However, if changing behaviors is not an available option due to certain reasons that we cannot control, then by the passage of time our identity standards shift little by little until they match our current behaviors.

To link what Burke and Stets (2009) suggested to be the third condition for identity change with the current study, the following example will be given. Due to the complexity of the camp school context, the displaced teachers may find themselves incapable of delivering good and effective teaching. Overtime, according to the Identity Theory, the meaning of delivering effective teaching may no longer characterize teachers' role identities. In other words, teachers' commitment towards delivering effective teaching may decrease little by little each day they teach in a context that inevitably reduces teaching quality.

The fourth condition under which identity standard could change is different from the previous three conditions. It is different in the sense that the reason that brings about change in identity standards is not a conflict, as with the previous three conditions, but because of the presence of others. According to the Identity Theory, people regularly think of the question 'what does it mean to be who we are'. To feel worthy, competent and effective, we give meanings to ourselves when we play a role in a given context. Burke and stets (2009) argue that one avenue to approach this question and thus give meanings to ourselves, is to look at ourselves from others' perspectives.

This role-taking process was first presented by Mead (1934). To Mead, looking at ourselves from others' lens can better make us understand how others expect us to behave. The outcome of this process is a set of meanings that will serve as a guideline of our behaviors. From this, our identity standards are partially formed in relation to how would we like to be seen and thought of. The process of changing the identity standard at the presence of others suggests that we may change our identity standards when we interact with a new different audience. This is a very interesting point and directly related to the present research.

It is no secret that traumatized displaced students have different needs from other students in other normal contexts. Hence, if the sample of the present research, the displaced teachers, look at themselves through the eyes of the traumatized students, these teachers will most probably have different 'role identities' and thus will behave differently from other teachers in non-camp schools. In other words, the question of 'what it means to be an English language teacher in camp school' is more likely to be extended to include other issues, or goals to be achieved, than just delivering content knowledge.

Again, changing the identity standard for teachers (as a result of defining their role through their students' perspectives) and thus their goals has some implications for CHAT and the theory of Teacher Agency. To start with CHAT, the subject's goal (teacher's goal) is negotiated with other community members' goals (within the existing rules and available tools in their context) to reach a shared goal (object). Although what is important for CHAT is the outcome of the interaction between all the elements, it can be argued that a change in any activity's element (subject, rules, instruments and so on) will result in changing the outcome of that activity accordingly. Hence, when teachers (subjects) change their goals, the outcome will be influenced accordingly.

On the other hand, the effect of changing teachers' identity standards manifests itself even more clearly with relation to the Teacher Agency theory. According to the Teacher Agency theory, agency is achieved through the interactions of three dimensions; the iterational, practical-evaluative and projective dimensions. The projective dimension is all about short and long-term goals that teachers set for themselves to achieve. In light of the Teacher Agency theory, teachers draw on the iterational dimension (their personal and professional histories) to achieve their future goals. Teachers' actions, therefore, are always guided by the goals they aim to accomplish. Hence, when their goals are changed, due to change in their identity standards, this will definitely affect their agency.

As a conclusion, the Identity theory could serve the present research as a first step towards a clearer understanding of the two other theories. With relation to the

present study, both CHAT and Teacher Agency theory build on teachers' identities and on their goals in particular.

However, both of these theories do not explain how teachers form and reform their goals. In other words, CHAT and Teacher Agency theory deal with teachers' current goals. On the contrary, the identity theory discusses how teachers' goals come into existence. By the same token, it explains the reasons that lead teachers to change their goals. By building on all the three theories, the presents study seeks to analyze both how the teachers form their goals, and how their goals are then negotiated against the introduction of a new English language curriculum in IDP school camp context.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

New teaching contexts in Iraq came into existence after 2014. That is, due to a massive internal displacement that happened after the falling of Mosul under ISIS control in June 2014, hundreds of thousands of people were internally displaced. The final destinations of the IDPs were dispersed in many cities in Iraq, mainly in Baghdad, Kirkuk, Erbil and Duhok. While some of the IDPs could afford to live inside those cities, others could not pay for housing and became homeless. As a result, many IDP camps were established as a temporary settlement to house the homeless IDPs.

However, most of those camps were located outside the cities far away from all of the academic institutions such as schools and universities. The camps were specifically prepared for the poor displaced family, and the vast majority of the families living inside these camps were not able to afford transportation for their children to join schools. For this reason and based on the instructions of the Iraqi Ministry of Education, one primary and one secondary school was built inside the majority of the IDP camps to encourage the families to send their children to schools.

Hence, a new teaching context in Iraq was established in 2015 where schooling began to take place inside IDP camps. Each of these schools is no more than a number of tents, and at best caravans. Knowing also that a new English language curriculum was introduced in 2014, the present research lends itself to investigating the impact of the new context on teaching the new English language curriculum inside IDP camps.

According to Gliner and Morgan (2000, p. 4), research is ‘a systematic method of gaining new information, or a way to answer questions.’ The present research is attempting to add new information on teaching in school camp context through discussing the following research questions:

1. What is the impact of the new teaching context on the practices of the Iraqi secondary school EFL teachers in the IDP camp?

2. To what extent are teachers' agencies achieved in their new teaching context?

3. What is the impact of the new teaching context on IDP camp school teachers' identities?

However, the process of conducting research to gain new information is not random. Many researchers, for example Cohen et al (2000) and Midraj et al (2007), contend that research is a systemic enquiry in which certain procedures, pertaining to data collection, analysis and interpretation, should be followed to gain accurate results. This systematic orientation of research 'has generated a number of research methodologies under the umbrella of different paradigms' (Assalahi, 2015, p. 312). The next section will discuss the research paradigm followed in this study in detail.

4.2 Research paradigm

Bryman (1992, p. 4) defines the research paradigm as a set of beliefs that 'influence what should be studied, how research should be done, how results should be interpreted, and so on'. In other words, a research paradigm is the researcher' assumptions, values and philosophical view about the nature of enquiry (Clark, 1998). Broadly speaking, a paradigm consists of four components: ontology, epistemology, methodology, and methods.

These components are interrelated and interdependent. The researcher's ontological position informs his/her epistemological stance which further influences the selection of methodology through which methods are selected. With their relation to the present study, the four components are explained in detail below.

4.2.1 Ontology

Ontology is a system of belief about the study of being and the nature of reality (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988; Jackson, 2013). In social science research, ontology is mainly concerned about how individuals view social reality. In other words, the key question that ontology is associated with is "whether or not social reality exists independently of human conceptions and interpretations; whether there is a common, shared, social reality or just multiple context-specific realities" (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 11).

Based on how individuals view social reality, two ontological positions can be distinguished; objectivism (positivism) and constructionism (also known as interpretivism). According to objectivism, there is only single reality and that social phenomena, along with their meanings, exist independently of social actors (Bryman, 2004). In other words, as objectivism asserts that there is only one single reality out there, individuals' beliefs, values and assumptions play no role in interpreting the reality.

On the other hand, constructivism perceives social phenomena and their meanings as products of social actors, in such a way that social actors continually create and then attribute meanings to social phenomena through social interaction (Richards, 2003; Bryman, 2012). Hence, multiple realities exist due to the assumption that social phenomena and their meanings are under the social actors' constant revision (Fry et al. 2009).

Constructivism asserts that there is no single reality and that 'the world has different meanings and knowledge is personal, experiential, and subjective' (Hamed, 2014, p. 117). Hence, from a constructivist's point of view, our beliefs, values and assumptions influence what we know (our knowledge) and the way we interpret reality.

My ontological perspective aligns with constructivism. This perspective can be seen clearly in this research. As one of the aims of this study is to explore teachers'

identities, I acknowledge that there are different realities, or knowledge, about teaching. It is assumed in this study that the knowledge teachers have about teaching is context-dependent. It could be argued that teachers in school camp context are likely to interpret the reality of teaching (in terms of their role as teachers in this specific context) differently from other teachers in different contexts.

Three reasons form the basis of my ontological perspective. First, from 2012-2014 I worked as a part-time teacher at three academic institutions, one secondary school and two universities. The reality about teaching I had, in the sense that what it meant for me to be a teacher, was not the same in all the three institutions. I defined myself as a teacher, and thus my role, in the secondary school and in one university differently from the second university.

While both students and staff were mostly Muslim Arabs in the secondary school and the first university, the second university's students and staff were a mixture of ethnic, religious and sectarian groups. Additionally, unlike the secondary school and the first university, which were both located inside Mosul where the Iraqi army were in control of at that time, the second university was located outside Mosul in an area that was under the control of Kurdish forces. Through working in these three workplaces, I realized how different religious and political factors could change the teaching reality from one context to another.

The second reason is that for more than five months, I was displaced myself. In September 2014, I left Mosul and stayed in Erbil in a hotel full of displaced families until April 2015 when I travelled to UK. Although I was not teaching during my staying in Erbil, I was in direct contact with many displaced teachers, two of whom were staying in the same hotel. Based on my experience as a displaced person, and relying on the different viewpoints I heard from other teachers on how their perspectives about their role as teachers were reformed after displacement, I realized that there is no single universal reality (or knowledge about) teaching. Instead, the meaning teachers have for themselves as teachers is a human conceptualization.

The third and final reason came from literature. As indicated previously in the literature review chapter, many elements or components form the reality of teaching (Nieto, 2003; Fisher, 2012; Rajab, 2013). Examples of such components are background knowledge, contextual factors, beliefs, short-term and long-term goals and so on.

4.2.2 Epistemology

Another important component of a research paradigm is epistemology. Researchers' ontological assumptions inform their epistemological stances. While ontology is the study of being and the nature of reality, epistemology 'is concerned with the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the researcher and the researched' (Sanchez, 2010, p. 77). Epistemology is concerned with how researchers come to understand and explain the object of their studies in terms of the nature of their relationship with their research participants.

Crotty (2003) distinguishes three epistemological positions; objectivism, subjectivism and constructivism. To start with objectivism, Crotty argues that objectivist epistemology asserts that meaningful reality, or knowledge, is independent of the researcher. In other words, the researcher's job is to discover the knowledge, or the truth. Hence, objectivism emphasizes that meaning is lying out there and the researcher's job is to discover it.

The second epistemological position is subjectivism in which meaning, according to Crotty (2003, p. 9) is 'imposed on the object by the subject'. That is, social actors, or in other words research participants, attribute meaning to social phenomena. Researchers, according to subjectivism, have no role in creating knowledge or meaning for social phenomena.

The third and last epistemological position is constructivism in which 'meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world' (Crotty, 2003, p. 8). Meaning is not just lying out there and is waiting to be discovered (objectivism), nor is imposed by the subjects (subjectivism) but

generated through engagement between the subject and the object. Hence, both of the subject and the object contribute in making meaning.

In this understanding, social phenomena are given meanings by social actors (research participants) through engagement with these phenomena. The research participants' own understandings of social phenomena are then reinterpreted by the researcher (double hermeneutic) when observing and/or interviewing his/her research participants.

Therefore, constructivism entails two key concepts. First, meaning is created through engagement. Second, the researcher plays an active and subjective role in interpreting and analyzing the data. Hence, from a constructivism point of view, if a number of researchers study one particular social phenomenon, different results could be reached from the researchers as they can generate different meanings related to the same phenomenon.

As long as the present study is concerned, my epistemological stance aligns with constructivism. I acknowledge that I cannot separate myself from the study. My perspectives and my beliefs, which were largely formed on the basis of my past experience, and on what I observed and heard during data collection, will shape my interpretation of teacher's understandings of their role inside IDP camps, along with the extent to which their agency has been achieved.

To give more details, the focus of this study is not the new teaching context (IDP camps), nor the participating teachers themselves. Instead, it is more about the relationships between the two and how is that reflected in the teachers' role. This study attempts to explore and analyze the subjective meanings that teachers develop about themselves as teachers due to the impact of the new teaching context, and how such developed meanings affect their practices with relation to the new English language curriculum.

My knowledge, or understanding, about these developed meanings was mainly elicited through my own interpretations of teachers' responses when they were

probed, in semi-structured interviews, to reflect on their experiences in their new teaching context. For this reason, my interpretations are value-laden as they have been inevitably influenced by my own values and perspectives.

Nevertheless, every attempt was made to analyze the data as objectively as possible. Moreover, certain steps were taken to increase the objectivity of this study (see sections 4.10 and 4.11). This, however, is just an acknowledgement that the researcher's own beliefs and perspectives cannot be said to be completely detached from the data analysis.

4.2.3 Methodology

The third component of a research paradigm is methodology which, according to Willington (2000) and Crotty (1998, 2003), seeks to describe, evaluate and provide a rationale of the researchers' use of particular research methods and techniques. To Scotland (2012, p. 9), methodology 'is concerned with why, what, from where, when and how data is collected and analyzed'.

Hence, the choice and use of research methods relies on the choice of research methodology which, in turn, is informed by the researcher's own epistemological assumption which is further guided by his/her ontological stance.

There is a variety of research methodology provided by literature (Merriam, 1998; Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 1998; Yin, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; and Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Some of these methodologies are: experimental research, survey research, ethnography, phenomenological research, grounded theory, case study, action research and so on. Relying on my epistemological assumption, and in line with the study aims and the research questions, case study as a research methodology was chosen in this research.

Prior to discussing the main characteristics of case study methodology, it is worth noting that literature on case study is not only confusing, but also contradictory. Stake (2005, p. 443), for example, conceives case study not as 'a methodological

choice but a choice of what is to be studied'. On the contrary, Merriam (1998, 2009), Denzin and Lincoln (2005) and Yin (2003) distinguish case study as a research methodology. Following Merriam (1998, 2009), Creswell (1998, 2003), Denzin and Lincoln (2005) and others, case study is regarded (and is used) as a research methodology in this research.

To Merriam (2009, p. 40), case study is 'an in depth description and analysis of a bounded system'. As a matter of fact, what distinguishes case study from other methodologies is its focus on a specific case(s), or in other words a 'bounded system'. Merriam (2009, p. 41) exemplifies what is meant by a bounded system through indicating that if a study is conducted to explore 'how older adults learn to use computers', then this study cannot be said to be a case study. She justifies her claim by stating that there is an indefinite number of adult learners who use computers, and any of these adult learners could take part in this study as a research participant. According to her, this would be a case study if it was about a specific school, or classroom and so on.

In other words, a case study methodology can be used if the researcher "can demarcate or 'fence in', and therefore, can also determine what will not be studied'' (Merriam, 1998: p.27). Clearly, this directly aligns to the present research as its focus is clearly bounded; English language teachers' practices, identities and agency in two specific camp schools in Iraq. Hence, when it came to collect the data, what/who to include (and what/who to exclude) was straightforwardly recognized as the boundaries were clearly distinguished (English language teachers in two IDP camps).

The use of case study seems to serve the aim of this research. Merriam (1998) states that case studies are of different kinds, one of which is 'heuristic' case studies which are concerned with gaining new understanding, knowledge, insights and meaning about phenomena. In line with Merriam's explanation of heuristic case studies, Yin (1984: p. 23), states that a case study 'investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'.

As one of the main aims of the present research is to explore the phenomenon of English Language teaching in camp school, relying on case study as a research methodology seems not only relevant, but also useful for the following two reasons. First, it allows the researcher to generate a detailed analysis of a phenomenon (teaching English in school camp context) in its natural settings (Yin, 2003; Denscombe, 2007; Cousin, 2009). Hence, the specific contextual conditions that surround the phenomenon of teaching English inside camp schools can be accounted for.

This is very important in this research as it helps the researcher to generate a deeper understanding about this phenomenon. As was mentioned earlier in the epistemology section, this study aims to explore and analyze the subjective meanings that teachers develop about themselves as teachers due to the impact of the new teaching context, and how such developed meanings affect their practices with relation to the new English language curriculum. This aim can best be met when researchers immense themselves in the real-life settings where teaching is taking place, and directly communicate with the teachers to construct meanings and reach an in-depth understanding that helps answering the research questions.

The second reason behind choosing case study is its flexibility which allows the researcher to use more than one method of data collection (Anderson, 1998; Denscombe, 2007; Rosenberg & Yates, 2007). Again, this is important especially with qualitative research, and the present research as will be explained in the next section. In quantitative research, findings are commonly known as reliable since data are dealt with numerically. Using multiple data collection methods is very useful and needed in qualitative research as this can add more to the accuracy of the research findings.

Lastly, case study (as a methodology) was mainly criticized on the basis that ‘a small number of cases can offer no grounds for establishing reliability or generality of findings, although it can offer lessons that may be adaptable in other settings and contexts’ (Natalie, 2014, p. 96). However, I do not aim to generalize my research as I deeply believe that teaching in the two participating camp schools is

influenced by certain contextual factors which, in my opinion, could be quite different from those in other camps even within the same country. Still, using case study in this research is hoped to add more to the literature concerning teaching and learning in camp schools.

4.2.4 Methods

Methods are the last component of a research paradigm. According to Grix (2004, p. 170), methods are 'the specific techniques and procedures used to collect and analyze data'. As is known, data can be collected either quantitatively or qualitatively. Whether to collect data quantitatively or qualitatively can best be determined through the lens of the following criteria: research questions, the methodology being adopted, and the researcher's own ontological and epistemological assumptions (Kincheloe and Berry, 2004; JIA, 2004; Sikes, 2004; Oliver, 2010; Jackson, 2013).

Bearing these criteria in mind, a qualitative research design was chosen to collect the data. To explain, the questions that this research seeks to answer require an in-depth analysis of non-numerical data that deepen our understanding of certain phenomena (teachers' identity, agency and practices in school camp settings). Such an in-depth analysis can only be provided through qualitative research design.

Concerning the methodology being adopted in this study, many authors (Tesch, 1990; Creswell, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Merriam, 2002) argue that quantitative research and mixed methods research design (quantitative and qualitative) can be applied with case study. However, they also state that it is qualitative research design that is frequently used with and can normally best fit case studies.

By the same token, my own ontological and epistemological assumptions align with qualitative research design. That is, with relation to my own ontological position, I perceive the teaching reality (the knowledge that teachers have about teaching) as context-dependent and is influenced by the teachers' beliefs and values. The same

is true for teachers' identity and their agency which can widely differ from one context to another. Hence, my own ontological position can only be satisfied if teachers are to be interviewed by the researcher (and thus adopting a qualitative approach) to gain an insight about how they perceive the teaching reality from their own points of view.

Regarding my epistemological stance, as I believe that teachers (as research participants) create meaning about each social phenomenon (teaching in school camp settings) through engaging with this phenomenon, it was best for me as a researcher to expand my knowledge about the environment in which meanings are created. This can only happen by placing myself in the same context that teachers work in (IDP camps) to have a thick description of the situation the researcher seeks to study (Holliday, 2007: 74-5). Again, a qualitative research approach would enable me (through interviews and observation) to expand my knowledge about the teaching context.

Furthermore, literature on qualitative research states certain uses for qualitative research approach. Morse (1991 cited in Creswell, 2003, p. 22), argues that qualitative research design is used when a researcher attempts to investigate 'a new topic' which has not been thoroughly examined by others, as qualitative research design is capable of accounting for new variables that may surface and/or develop during data collection. To Morse, a qualitative research design is also useful when existing theories cannot be applied to the particular sample of the study in question.

In line with Morse, Creswell (2007) contends that qualitative research is applied when the existing theories, related to the research problem the researcher attempts to investigate, cannot catch the complexity of the problem under study. He adds that a qualitative research is conducted when 'a complex, detailed understanding' of the research concerns, or problems, is needed. He adds that qualitative research is also needed when the study context, or setting, is vital in relation to the research problem and thus, a deep and detailed understanding about the study context is required.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) also highlight the importance of the study context. To them, qualitative research designed is applied when a researcher attempts to study certain issues, or problems, in their natural contexts. Patton (1985, p. 1) stresses that qualitative research is applied when we want to understand the uniqueness of a phenomena, or a situation, in their context. In his words, qualitative research:

> Is an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting - what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting.

The present study is mainly concerned with the impact of the new teaching context (IDP camps) on the teachers' identities, their practices inside the classrooms and on the achievement of their agency. Thus, the study context can be argued to be the most important variable in this research. Likewise, I have not found any theory which adequately examines the impact of school camp context on teachers' identities, practices or on their agency achievement. As a matter of fact, there is a very limited literature on teaching and learning in IDP camp schools. Therefore, what factors may impact teachers' practices and their agency achievement cannot be anticipated beforehand, or have not been specified by existing theories.

Also, as the present study seeks to examine how the new context had changed teachers' identity, it gives particular concern to meaning. In other words, one's identity is briefly the meaning we attribute ourselves, and to the world we live in through defining and redefining our roles as we interact with others in a given context. Merriam (2002) illustrates that qualitative research is used when a researcher attempts to examine the meaning people give to themselves and to their surrounding world in a given context. In her words:

> The key to understanding qualitative research lies with the idea that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world. The world, or reality, is not the fixed, single, agreed upon, or measurable phenomenon that it assumed to be in positivist, quantitative

> research. Instead, there are multiple constructions and interpretations of reality that are in flux and that change over time. Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding what those interpretations are at a particular point in time and in a particular context (p. 3).

For all these reasons given above, and depending on the research questions, the methodology being adopted, and the researcher's own ontological and epistemological assumptions, a qualitative research design has been chosen to guide the data collection and the data analysis in the present study.

Within qualitative research, there is a number of instruments used to collect data. According to Creswell (2009) and Locke et al (2010), interviews, review of documents and observations are the most common instruments of data collection used in qualitative research. In relation to the present study, interviews and observations were used as data collection methods. These two instruments were chosen depending not only on the research design, but also on the research questions.

To elaborate on the relation between research question and the date collection instruments, the main questions raised in this research revolve around teachers' practices, identities and agency. In relation to the teachers' practices, the present research is mainly interested in examining how the new teaching context had impacted teachers' implementation of the new curriculum. Hence, it was critical to conduct interviews to give the teachers a chance to indicate how the new teaching context had pushed them to follow, or abandon, a certain teaching method or strategy. Thus, interviews were first chosen in this research to be an instrument to collect data.

However, as will be shown later in this chapter (section 4.4), research (for example; Estacion et al., 2004 and Rajab, 2013) found that teachers' real practices might not match their beliefs that they express through interviews. For example, one teacher might deeply believe that s/he is teaching communicatively, where in fact s/he is not. This can happen as this teacher is not fully aware of what

communicative teaching is or means. Observations are also needed if an accurate analysis of teachers' practices is to be reached.

With relation to teachers' identities and agency, interviews were the main source to collect data. Information gained through classroom observation was also used to strengthen and to expand what the participating teachers said in their interviews. For example, teachers' conversations with their students about the need of entrenching social coexistence (see section 5.6) supported what they said in their interviews about adding new non-academic goals or aims beside their traditional academic ones.

The same is true for teacher agency. While the projective (short and long-term goals) and iterational (personal and professional histories) can best be investigated through one-on-one interviews, information about the material aspect of the practical evaluative dimension (which relates to the material and the physical environment) can best be gained through classroom observations.

Thus, semi-structured interviews and classroom observations were relied on in answering each of the research questions. However, to what extent each instrument was built on differs from one question to another. The next sections will give more explanations about and the purpose behind using each instrument.

4.3 Interviews

Literature on data collection methods reveals that one-on-one interview is one of the most common and widely used method of collecting data (Berry, 1999; Qu and Dumay, 2011; Jamshed, 2014; Manzano, 2016). Punch (2009:144) argues that 'interview is the most prominent data collection tool in qualitative research'.

One-on-one interview was used in this research because of the flexibility that it gives the researcher to explore the interviewees' views on topics, or concerns, that the researcher attempts to investigate (Rajab, 2013). This can be done as

interviewees are offered a chance to 'speak in their own voice and express their own thoughts and feelings' on such topics and concerns (Berg, 2007: 96).

Alshenqeeti (2014) points out that interviews are 'usually applied' when the researcher attempts to provide a detailed account of the research participants or events in their natural contexts. Interviews are used when the research context is a critical variable in the study. As indicated earlier, the research context can be argued to be the most important variable in this study. Hence, using interviews to collect data can help showing the impact of the school camp context on teachers' identity, practices and on their agency achievement.

Kvale (1996) asserts that interviews, as methods for collecting data, could be quite helpful when the topics or issues the researcher seeks to investigate may not be easily observed. This can be directly applied to the present study. Topics such as identity and agency (which both rely, among other things, on background and personal belief) cannot be easily observed or analyzed without giving the person a chance to speak and express his/her thoughts and feelings.

Lastly, as 'meanings' play a critical role in the present study, interviewing can be quite useful as it is a 'valuable method for exploring the construction and negotiation of meanings in a natural setting' (Cohen et al, 2007: 29).

In relation to the present research, semi-structured interviews were used in this study as they offer the interviewer a chance to probe the interviewees, ask for elaboration and clarification, and build his/her questions into any emergent related topic. Clearly, such flexibility cannot be reached with structured-interviews that require the researcher to 'standardize the way in which each interviewee is dealt with' (Bryman, 2008, p. 340).

Each of the participating teacher was interviewed thrice, twice before and once after the class observation. The next section gives more information about these interviews.

4.3.1 The first, second and third interviews

The first interviews served the purpose of introduction and trust-building, as will be explained later (see section 4.8.3). Each teacher was individually interviewed by the researcher for about 20-30 minutes. Information about the researcher and the research was given. Also, clarification about the participating teachers' role was provided. Teachers were told that there would be two more interviews (around 40 and 15 minutes respectively) and three classroom observations. Also, teachers were also informed that the two further interviews and two classroom observations (the second and third) would be audio-recorded. Importantly, while no audio recording was used in these introductory meetings with the participating teachers, some notes were taken, used and analyzed in the present research.

Participant information sheet (Appendix A) and consent form (Appendix B) were given to each teacher at the end of this interview. To give them 'time to think' and to not feel coerced in any way towards taking part in this research, I told the teachers that they have twenty-four hours 'to make their mind'. Lastly, it was made clear to the teachers that their participation is voluntary, and it is their right not to participate or to withdraw at any time.

The second interviews were made of three main parts. Each part revolved around one main topic. These three main topics were extensively discussed in literature and were found, by the researcher, to be of great impact in relation to the present research questions. Teachers' knowledge about the new curriculum was checked in the first part. As one of the aims of the present research is to analyze how displaced teachers implement the new English language curriculum in school camp context, it was critical to examine whether or not teachers could recognize the differences between the old and new curricula. Only through examining teachers' knowledge about the new curriculum, the impact of their new settings (IDP school camp context) could be identified. Hence, several questions on teaching methods and on the new curriculum were asked.

The second part of the interview focuses on the new context. The purpose behind this part was particularly to know to what extent the new teaching context is impacting on camp school teachers' practices. Teachers in this part were probed to explain what changes they have made to cope with their new context.

The last part of the interview was about teachers' goals, beliefs and attitudes. As indicated in the previous chapter of this study, teachers' goals, beliefs and attitudes could influence their practices (Nieto, 2003; Fisher, 2012; Rajab, 2013), and take a role in the formation and reformation of their identities.

Concerning the third and last interviews, teachers were interviewed after at least one classroom observation. This post-observation interviews were mainly designed to give the researcher a chance to ask teachers to reflect on some of their behaviors or practices that were found by the researcher to be interesting and relevant to the present study concerns.

4.3.2 Record of the interviews

Unlike the first interviews, the second and third interviews were audio-recorded from beginning to end. However, at the end of either the second or third interview, it was noticed that the first two interviewed teachers started to extend their answers to some questions they had previously replied to during the interview. In other words, more information was given after turning off the audio-recording. These two teachers were asked if notes of their extended answers could be taken to be included in this study and they agreed.

Based on this experience, the rest of the teachers were asked, mainly at the end of the second interviews and after turning off the audio-recording, if they would like to add more information. It was made clear that only notes would be taken. While some of them said they had nothing to add, others talked about some interesting issues. It should be mentioned here that as only notes were taken; this means that my role as an interpreter cannot be neglected. To minimize any potential biases and/or misunderstandings on my part, the participating teachers were asked to

read the notes and make any amendment if they believed that the notes did not accurately reflect their beliefs and viewpoints.

The main issues that some teachers discussed after turning off the recording were the most sensitive ones. They mainly talked about religious and ethnic concerns that they were experiencing inside the camp. Some teachers also talked about their true beliefs about the efficiency of schooling inside IDP camps. This, however, will all be further discussed in more details in the coming chapters of this study.

4.4 Classroom observation

The second method that was used in this study to collect the research data is classroom observation. Observation is one of the most predominant methods for collecting data in qualitative research (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 2009).

As one of the main concerns of the present study is to explore how does the new context impact teachers' practices, it was therefore crucial to observe the participating teachers in real-life teaching situations. Clearly, classroom observation is a strong data-collection tool as it provides the researcher an opportunity to examine how meanings and practices are constructed in real-life settings (Silverman, 2006).

Moreover, providing a chance to collect real data from real situation plays a significant role in strengthening the objectivity of the research findings, as other data-collection tools could be misleading and do not mirror the accurate behaviors of teachers. The best way to describe how teachers teach in a given context can be achieved through direct observation. Estacion et al. (2004) argue that some teachers could be inattentive of their exact behaviors (or practices) in the classrooms. They add that some teachers may even have a tendency towards describing themselves as more engaging, in some kind of preferable practices, as they actually are in real-life settings, i.e. inside the classrooms.

For these two reasons, collecting data on teachers' practices solely through self-reports (such as through interviews and teacher surveys) threatens the objectivity of the research as such data could be inaccurate. Concerning the present study, classroom observation was used as a data-collection tool. Each teacher was observed three times, except one teacher who agreed to only two observations. The second and the third classroom observations were audio-recorded. Field-notes were also taken in all the three classroom observations.

4.5 Participating schools

As stated earlier, two secondary schools in two different camps were chosen to be included in this research. While the first school is a mixed-sex school (however a few classes within the school were separated by gender), the other school is a boy-only school. Both of the schools were government-owned and run.

The first school is a double shift school. It accommodated 1357 students with a total of seven English language teachers. The second 'double shift school' accommodated 614 students with a total of five English language teachers. Hence, class size was distinctively larger in the first school.

The majority of the students within each school came from the same camp that the school is located within, this was especially prevalent in the first school. Teachers in the first school came from both inside and outside the camp. In the second school, the majority of teachers came from outside that camp that encompasses their school.

Both of the camps, and thus the schools, are located in rural areas within the Governorate of Duhok, which is a city in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. In terms of their structure, a key difference between the two schools is that the first school is mainly made of tents and only a few caravans. However, more caravans than tents made the second school. Needless to say, each tent (or caravan) is simply a class, a teachers' room and so on. While it is common in Iraq to have a separate room for

the school principal, and another separate room for his/her assistant. One caravan, in each of the two schools, accommodates all the school staff.

In terms of infrastructure, the first school had no access to potable water nor to electricity. The second school, on the other hand, was supplied with a potable water but, as with the first school, lacked electricity.

4.6 Sample: who were the participants?

Eight English language teachers participated in this study. Every teacher was observed three times and interviewed twice, apart from the initial informal interview. However, as stated earlier, only one teacher was observed twice based on his demand.

Also, one female teacher decided to withdraw after being interviewed twice (initial and second) and observed once. She stated that her husband advised her to withdraw 'for their own safety' as part of the second interview tackled some sensitive religious and political issues. She asked to delete all the audio recordings belonging to her. However, she was asked if notes could be taken first from the interviews. She agreed on the condition that all the recordings should be deleted within 24 hours. She was notified that the notes would be used in the study and she did not mind as long as no name would be mentioned, and no 'evidence to relate these notes to her' should remain in the researcher's possession.

Apart from her, all the remaining eight teachers were males. This is not surprising when the context of the study is two IDP camps. As all the IDP camps (within Duhok Governance) are located outside Duhok city, the local Directorate of Education assigned most of the female teachers in schools located inside the city of Duhok. The distribution of female teachers to schools located inside Duhok city (which is the centre and part of Duhok Governance) was made to ensure their commitment to go to school, as many female teachers might find it risky to go to these outside-city camps five days a week.

Although it was intended that both male and female teachers make up the research sample, it is hoped that the presence of only male teachers reflects the situation, and more specifically the gender-imbalance in camp schools. In fact, the female teacher who withdrew from this study was the only 'English language' female teacher in the two schools at the time of collecting the data, and she was constantly applying to be transferred to a non-camp school.

In terms of teaching experience, only two teachers had a wide teaching experience. The reason behind that is schools in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, from 2015, were suffering a severe shortage of teachers. For many reasons, many teachers did not leave their city, Mosul. Even for the teachers who decided to leave their city and were displaced, not all of them came to Kurdistan. Displaced people, including teachers, were scattered in many cities of Iraq. Hence, only a small portion of English language teachers came to Duhok.

To fill this shortage of teachers, the Iraqi Ministry of Education assigned hundreds of teachers to specially be enrolled in schools allocated for displaced students. However, these newly assigned teachers did not completely fill this shortage. For this reason, the majority of teachers within these schools have a very limited teaching experience as they had been newly assigned. With relation to Mr. Ali and Mr. Hasan (pseudonym), both were still undergraduate students in the College of Education, Department of English (grade 1 and 3 accordingly). As indicated above, schools were still under teacher shortage even after hundreds of teachers were assigned. Many schools therefore opened the door for anyone willing to teach voluntarily.

It is worth mentioning that some of these volunteer teachers were secondary school students themselves. That is to say, many students volunteered to teach English language for the classes they had already passed. One student of grade 12, for example, might volunteer to teach English language to students of grade eleven, ten and so on.

With teachers being given pseudonym names, and with their teaching experience being categorized in bands (0-2, 3-4, 5-10, 20-25 and 25-30 years) in order to reduce possibility of subject identification, the table below summarizes the participating teachers' profiles.

TEACHER	School	GENDER	Ethnicity	TEACHING EXPERIENCE
Khalid	First participating school	Male	Muslim	5-10
Muhammad		Male	Muslim	0-2
Othman		Male	Muslim	
Ali		Male	Yazidi	
Hasan		Male	Yazidi	
Abdullah	Second participating school	Male	Muslim	25-30
Jasim		Male	Christian	20-25
Salah		Male	Muslim	3-4

It is obvious that five out of the eight participating teachers have a very limited experience in teaching. Again, a wider variation in terms of teaching experience was aimed at prior to data collection. However, on my arrival to the camps, it was clear that the majority of the teachers within camp schools have little experience. As with the gender-imbalance, it is hoped that the participation of five teachers with limited experience shows another side of the teaching reality that takes place inside IDP camps in Iraq.

4.7 Timing of data collection

Data were collected between March and April 2016. This time was chosen deliberately by the researcher for the following reason. Each academic year in Iraq is separated into two semesters. While the first semester runs from the beginning of October to the mid of December, the second semester starts at the mid-January and ends at June. Teachers normally pace their teaching up at the beginning of the first semester, and down at the end of the second semester (Rajab, 2013). To conduct classroom observations at times of normal teaching pace, the time of collecting data was intentionally chosen to be neither at October, nor at May.

In this vein, it is also worth mentioning that it is more common for PhD researchers to collect their research data after finishing their first year of their PhD journey. However, I decided to conduct the field work of my research in the first year. The reason behind my decision to collect the research data in the first year related to my own personal safety, as will be explained below.

IDP camps in Iraq were dispersed between many cities. In fact, apart from a few camps located in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, other camps were located within other cities or areas of Iraq, in which violence and terrorist acts used to take place from time to time. Hence, the safest IDP camps (to collect the research data from) were those located in Kurdistan. IDPs were distributed into camps based on their origin city (or area) that they were living in before being displaced.

With relation to those camps located in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, the camps-dwellers came mainly from Sinjar (a collection of towns within the Governorate of Nineveh). In November 2015, offensive operations were initiated by the Kurdish forces to liberate Sinjar from ISIS militants. In January 2016, Sinjar was completely liberated. Though Sinjar was ISIS-free, IDPs in Kurdistan were asked not to return immediately to their liberated-towns for fear of the presence of land mines or unexploded bombs. IDPs were informed that they would be able to return back to their towns in few months.

Bearing in mind that other IDP camps (apart from those in Kurdistan) were located in areas where violence and terrorism used to occur periodically, I decided to start collecting the research data in March 2016 so as not to be obliged to go to other camps outside Kurdistan. In other words, waiting until my second year of study (in my PhD journey) to conduct the field work implied a risk of going to those camps outside Kurdistan, owing to the fact that IDP camps in Kurdistan were supposed to be closed before 2017 due to the liberation of Sinjar.

4.8 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are important, especially with qualitative research that mainly deals with humans to collect data. In relation to the present research, ethical considerations were even more critical as sensitive topics (especially religious and political ones) were discussed with the displaced participants.

The present study was granted ethical approval from the College of Social Science, Ethics Committee of the University of Glasgow in February 2016. Hence, my ethical responsibilities were derived from University of Glasgow, Faculty of Education Code of Ethics. This means participation should be voluntarily accepted, with the anonymity and confidentiality being prioritized. Moreover, the advantages or benefits that the research would offer should outweigh any potential risks. Lastly, it is essential to carefully check that by conducting the research, no physical, emotional or psychological harm or damage would affect any of those involved in this research.

In line with literature on the ethical challenges of field research in camps and other conflict affected zones (Wood, 2006; El-Khani et al. 2013; Brewer, 2016,), 'doing harm' can easily occur in conflict affected areas through opening 'old wounds'. This can happen when the participants are asked about areas that they might not wish to talk about. To ensure that no harm would occur, the researcher needs to set some boundaries and should know when to stop. For this specific reason, questions raised in the semi-structured interviews were carefully prepared. I intended not to directly ask any question that might re-open any old wound. Instead, the

participating teachers were only asked to talk about the difficulties that they were facing in camp schools. For example, no teacher was directly asked to talk about his/her own psychological state.

Doing harm can also be applied on the researchers themselves (El-Khani et al. 2013 and Campbell, 2017). To make sure that I would be safe while collecting the data, I, prior to my travel to Kurdistan, contacted a few of my friends who were teaching in IDP camps at that time and asked them to inform me about things I should or should not do or say. For example, I knew that one of the things that I could not say in camp schools was the number eleven (in Arabic) as it sounds similar to the word Daesh (ISIS). Moreover, I was told to never mention that some of my family members and relatives were in Mosul (which was under ISIS control back then) as this might give the wrong impression that they were supporting what ISIS was doing to people.

To ensure that the present research meets all the above-mentioned ethical responsibilities, several more steps were taken. First, an official permission (as will be explained below) to conduct my research in two camp schools was gained. Second, plain language statements along with consent forms were distributed to potential participants. Third, teachers were assured of the research participants' confidentiality. In this study, all the data was stored on my computer and on my phone, both of which are protected by a password known only by me and teachers were made aware of that. Fourth, it was made clear to the participating teachers that they could withdraw from the study at any time, even without any earlier notice.

Fifth, while some sensitive pieces of information were given by some of the participating teachers (especially those related to religious tensions between Muslims and Yazidis and/or to IDPs' psychological status), I intentionally did not enquire further as this would have been an ethical risk for the teachers and for myself as well. Sixth, to protect myself and the research participants, some pieces of information were ignored despite their importance in relation to the present research focus.

However, as this research deals with traumatized displaced people, getting the official permission and the signed consent forms was not a straightforward process. The following three subsections present the difficulties that started to emerge upon my arrival to Kurdistan. Also, more details about the procedures I had to follow to gain the official permission, the two headteachers' approval and the signed consent forms will be provided in these three subsections.

4.8.1 Difficulties emerged on my arrival to Kurdistan

On my arrival to Kurdistan, and on my first visit to the first camp, I was stopped by the camp security guards. They asked for the reason behind visiting the camp. When they were notified that a research purpose was behind the visit, they unexpectedly stated that a written approval from the Governorate of Duhok is needed for entering the camp. Although they were informed that a verbal consent from the school principal had already been taken, they stressed that 'a written approval is still needed' as without a written approval, they would be responsible for anything that might happen to 'visitors' inside the camp.

In attempting to gain the written approval, a petition was submitted to the Governor of Duhok. An interview that lasted for about half an hour was held later with the secretary of the assistant Governor. Many precise questions were asked concerning the nature of the study, the research sample and the reason behind choosing IDP camp schools in particular.

Towards the end of the interview, the Governor assistant' secretary stated that three researchers had come to his office within that month, and the previous three researchers' requests were all denied. To him, the huge ethnic and religious tensions inside the camps, which every 'outsider' might have no idea about, was the reason for his tendency towards refusing researchers' petitions.

Fortunately, he stated that he would approve my petition for two reasons. Firstly, unlike the previous three researchers, the sample of this study is the teachers, and not the local displaced people of the camps. To the secretary, local displaced

people are too sensitive to talk about and discuss their new situation. He added that when traumatized people are asked to talk about their new life in the camps, they might break down emotionally and things, at any moment during the interview, could get extremely out of the interviewer's control.

The secretary stated that since the interviews in this study would be held with only eight teachers, and that most of the teachers in the camp schools came from outside the camps, encountering such strong reactions would not be his biggest concern. Nevertheless, he advised the researcher to be careful and to pay special attention to word selection when conducting the interviews.

Secondly, the secretary is a graduate of Department of English himself and, according to him, 'people of the same specialty should help one another'. To ensure that a research purpose was behind visiting the camp, the secretary asked for an email from any of my supervisors stating that collecting data from camp schools was part of my research. Four days after my supervisor Professor Stephen McKinney sent a confirmation email, the petition was signed (See Appendices C & D).

However, the Governor' assistant does not have the authority to address the camp security guards directly. The signed petition therefore had to be taken to the Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs (a separate department within the Governorate of Duhok), which is responsible for supplying people with permits and approvals. A second petition (to the Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs) was therefore applied with the first signed petition being attached. Within two days, a written approval (from the Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs) was ready and 'in my hand' (See Appendices E & F).

4.8.2 Getting the principals' approval

Normally in Iraq, gaining access to schools requires the researcher to only submit a petition to the local Directorate of Education. However, gaining access to schools in IDP camps is not an easy and a straightforward process. Three months before

heading to Duhok for collecting the research data, contact was made with Mr. Kareem (pseudonym) who works in the Ministry of Education, and hence could advise on the procedure of getting access to schools inside IDP camps. Mr. Kareem stated that no petition to the Directorate of Education is required. Instead, only an approve from the school principal is needed.

Based on that, two English language teachers who used to work in two different camp schools (Mr. Muhammad and Mr. Salah) were contacted by the researcher and were asked if they could arrange a phone call between the researcher and their school principals. Both advised that it would be better if they themselves talk with their principals first, and that a phone call could be made then if needed. Mr. Muhammad and Mr. Salah were both briefed on my study. They were told that the study would be looking to, firstly, the impact of the new context on executing the new English language curriculum in school camp settings and would, secondly, be examining whether or not the difficulties that teachers were facing in camp schools were affecting their beliefs and attitudes. Concerning the research tools for collecting data, they were notified that video and audio-recorded classroom observations and audio-recorded interviews would be used.

For many reasons, Mr. Muhammad and Mr. Salah deeply believed that no principal, or even teacher, would agree for a video recording to be used inside a class. They strongly advised to drop the video recording. To Mr. Muhammad, telling his principal that video recording would be included would definitely lead his principal to refuse giving any approval, and that the principal might not even change his mind even if video recording was to be disregarded. Mr. Muhammad warned that using video recordings could initiate some serious doubts about the actual purpose behind the study. To avoid a jeopardy of a permanent refusal, video recording was disregarded.

With video recording being disregarded, a verbal consent was gained from the two principals. While one principal straightforwardly agreed, the second one asked for more details about the nature of my study, and whether students would take part in the research. No direct phone call was made between this principal and the

researcher as Mr. Salah explained to him that the study is mainly about English language teachers' practices, beliefs and attitudes and all the interviews would be held with teachers only.

It is worth noting that informing the principals (through Mr. Muhammad and Mr. Salah) about my study three months beforehand paid off. That is, on my first visit to their school they, apart from welcoming me and showing appreciation to my research efforts, immediately expressed their consent for their schools to be part of my research. A written approval letter was also taken from each headteacher.

4.8.3 Challenges in getting the consent forms signed

Before collecting the research data, and prior to making any contact with potential participating teachers, I was fully aware that getting the teachers' agreements to take part in this study could be challenging. My anxiety was based on two main reasons. First, classroom observation was to be used as a data collection method. Bearing in mind that their teaching context (school camp) might negatively influenced the way they teach, it was expected that teachers would be worried that their practices could be judged by the researcher, and information about their teaching practices could be passed to the local Directorate of Education which might negatively influence their professional status.

The second reason was even more critical. As indicated earlier in this research, teachers themselves were displaced. Most of the teachers are Muslims and came from Mosul. They left their houses in Mosul and came to the Kurdistan region of Iraq. As Mosul was under the control of ISIS at the time of data collection, ISIS warned Muslim employees (outside Mosul) that they should go back and practice their job inside Mosul, or otherwise their houses would be blown up.

The reason behind this threat is that when Muslim employees chose to flee from ISIS-controlled areas to other Iraqi cities, they simply refuted ISIS allegation of defending and protecting the Muslim people from the injustice practiced by the Iraqi authorities. Therefore, to show itself as a representative and as part of the

Islamic community, ISIS threatened the employees that their houses would be bombed if they do not come back to their homes, whether Mosul or any other area under ISIS militants' control.

For this specific reason, it was anticipated that many teachers might refuse to take part in the study. Building trust between the researcher and the teachers was necessary to gain their approval to participate in this research. To put them at ease and gain their trust, I followed a three-steps strategy in the first introductory interview I had with each of the participating teachers.

First, I was keen to make the teachers see me as one of them. To this end, I told them that I am an Iraqi English language teacher and explained to them that both of my B.Ed. and M.Ed. were granted from the University of Mosul. To create a greater sense of closeness between me and the participating teachers, I told the teachers that I have lived almost all my life in Mosul and have been in the UK only for a year.

Second, as teachers could be worried that information about their practices could be passed to the local Directorate of Education, and/or that the researcher might judge the way they teach, teachers were notified that all the data taken from them will be anonymized. Moreover, they were also informed that all the personal data would be removed after completion of the project and that no data would be passed to any governmental authority.

In the same vein, teachers were told that school camp context was deliberately chosen as this research is particularly interested in examining the impact of the school camp context on teaching the new English language curriculum and on teachers as individuals. Teachers were made aware that although there were many schools inside Duhok which were also allocated to displaced teachers and students, neither of these schools would participate in this research as this study is exclusively about schooling that takes place inside IDP camps.

This clarification was intentionally given to ensure the teachers that the researcher was not in their camp school to judge their teaching practices. This was made clear to them. It was stressed that if this study was only about teachers' practices, then the researcher would not even come to the camps as there were many schools inside Duhok which were nearer to where the researcher was living (during data collection) and much easier for him to reach than camp schools. As a matter of fact, this clarification put the teachers at ease as they appreciated the researcher's understanding about their challenging context.

Third, teachers had to be assured that their participation in this research would not put their houses in Mosul at risk. Teachers were informed that it is sincerely understood that exposing their names could jeopardize their most precious belongings (their houses). Teachers were also informed that no personal questions, including their former addresses in Mosul, would be asked.

Most teachers did not sign the consent form straightforwardly. Instead, they asked for reaffirmation that their names, under any circumstances, would not be revealed even to my family, closest people and friends, no matter how much I trust them. When teachers were assured that their participations in this study would not be revealed to anyone, they signed the consent forms.

4.9 Thematic analysis

In qualitative research, and more specifically in case study qualitative research, the process of data analysis can be done in different ways. However, all these different ways share the same aim; making sense out of the data. The researcher's challenge (in the process of data analysis) is to break down and then reorganize what s/he saw, heard and read in a new way that communicates the essence of the subject under study to the reader (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990; Strauss and Corbin,1998; Glesne, 1999; Hatch, 2002).

With relation to the present study, a thematic analysis was used and followed to analyze the research data. The reason behind choosing this particular method of

analysis is its flexibility. Thematic analysis is known as a method which provides 'a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data' (Braun and Clark, 2006, p.5).

The present study lends itself to examining, amongst other things, teachers' identities, agency, the impact of multiple contextual factors on their practices, what meanings camp school teachers give to themselves, and the influence of camp school context on forming and reforming those meanings and so on. For this reason, flexibility (when analyzing the data) was needed as so many variables had to be accounted for in this study.

Another reason for selecting thematic analysis is the fact that although it stands by itself as method for analyzing data, it can also be wed with other theoretical frameworks. In other words, thematic analysis can be made and guided through other theories' frameworks (Braun and Clark, 2006). In terms of the present study, this allowed CHAT (as will be explained in the next section) to direct part of the thematic analysis process.

4.10 The process of data analysis

Thematic analysis is a process of coding the data to extract themes that the researcher recognizes as important and relevant to the subject under study. It is worth mentioning that there are two major ways (or approaches) to do a thematic analysis; inductive approach and deductive approach.

Inductive approach is a data-driven thematic analysis in which the process of extracting themes is not bounded to pre-existing theoretical framework, or even to the researcher's own interest in the topic under study. In other words, themes extracted from an inductive approach could bear no relationship to the theories that constitute the theoretical or conceptual framework in one's research (Patton, 1990).

Deductive approach, on the other hand, is a theory-driven analysis in which a pre-existing theoretical framework, or coding frame, guides the way of extracting themes. When a deductive approach of coding is followed, data are reduced into those which fit certain categories (or coding frames) that other theories have previously identified (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

To illustrate the difference between the inductive and deductive approaches, the following example is given. If CHAT was the only theory used in this study as an analytical lens to investigate the activity of teaching English in IDP camps (through the interaction between the six components specified by the theory). An inductive approach would include searching all the data for any theme which could have an impact on teaching English in IDP camps, even if this theme cannot be identified with one of the CHAT six components.

On the contrary, a deductive approach for coding would exclude any piece of data that cannot fit with any of the components or nodes of CHAT. In other words, only those themes which can be directly linked to the interactions within and between these components (subject, object and so on) would be looked at and analyzed.

In fact, each of the two ways has its own advantages and disadvantages. While the outcome of inductive approach is more detailed in terms of the overall themes which can be identified out of the data, depth and complexity in this approach of analysis could be lost. By the same token, the deductive approach for coding tends to give more rich description and focused analysis about specific themes or aspects related to the topic under study. However, many themes that relate to the overall topic could be ignored.

With relation to the present study, and depending on its theoretical framework and research questions, a combination of the two ways was used. That is, teachers' identities were thematically analyzed by following an inductive approach of analysis. A deductive approach, on the other hand, was used with analyzing teachers' practices and agency.

To start with teachers' identities, a line by line coding was followed to examine how teachers' identities were formed and reformed in their new teaching context. Teachers, in their semi-structured interviews, were asked multiple questions on identity-related aspects (see section 4.3.1). An inductive approach to thematic analysis was used to analyze their answers.

In other words, data related to how teachers define themselves, their attitudes along with their beliefs about their role in the new teaching context was firstly grouped together. Importantly, the whole process was done through constructing individual studies. That is, a separate individual study was constructed for each participating teacher. After grouping all identity-related data together within individual studies, a comparative analysis was applied to construct the main concepts, which in turn were categorized into themes and sub-themes based on the similarities and differences that could be distinguished within the identity-related data.

In relation to analyzing teacher agency, a deductive approach to thematic analysis was followed to generate a new set of individual studies with relation to teacher agency. In each individual study, the three dimensions of teacher agency were analyzed. The first stage of analysis started with examining the iterational dimension. That is, how the personal and professional histories (of each teacher) had led the teachers to possess some capacities to form values and beliefs was mapped firstly.

Teachers' aspirations (represented in their short and long terms goals, the projective dimension) were highlighted in the second stage. The relationship between the iterational and the projective dimensions was also accounted for in this stage. That is, teachers' short and long-term goals were compared with the teachers' personal and professional histories to find linkage between the two dimensions, or more precisely to figure out how teachers' prior experiences impacted their aspirations.

The third stage dealt with the practical-evaluative dimension. In this stage, the impact of the availability of teaching and learning resources on the achievement of teacher agency was tackled. As the researcher had collected the data himself from the settings (IDP camp schools) where teachers interacted with each other and engaged with the new curriculum, this allowed the researcher to generate a more accurate and detailed analysis of how the physical environment (the available resources) impacted teachers' practices.

To what extent teachers' prior experiences impacted their practical reality (the practical-evaluative dimension), and how the practical reality affected teachers' aspirations were also examined in this stage. To what extent the teachers' short and long-term goals were modified based on their present realities were further looked at in this section in an attempt to find connections.

As indicated above, the detailed analysis of the three dimensions of teacher agency was done through a deductive approach to thematic analysis. Data related to each of the three stages were grouped together within each individual study. Many key concepts (within each individual study) were generated out of this analysis. A comparative analysis was then made between all of the concepts derived from the individual studies, which resulted in recognizing and distinguishing the key themes, and sub-themes, regarding the effect of multiple variables on teacher agency in response to the new English language curriculum.

The data used to analyze teacher agency was mainly taken from the teachers' interviews. That is, how teachers responded to questions related to the impact of the physical environment, their prior experiences, aspirations and beliefs on their practices made the bulk of the required data. The similarities and differences in teachers' responses to such questions formed the bedrock in the data analysis process. Prior moving to teachers' practices, it is worth mentioning that the present research also built on CHAT framework to discuss teacher agency (see section 6.3).

Similar to analyzing their agency, a deductive coding thematic analysis was also followed with teachers' practices. Thematic analysis was wed with CHAT in such a way that data analysis was made through the lens of CHAT. The first stage of deductive coding included organizing the relevant data into six groups. Each of these groups represent one component of Engeström's (1987) activity system (see Figure 3.3).

Disturbances or in other words tensions within each of the resulted groups were then looked for. Hence, identifying and analyzing disturbances within these groups made the second stage of the analysis. The third and final stage was linking the disturbances together and examining their impact on teachers' practices. Key concepts were recognized in terms of how these contradictions impacted the outcome of the teaching activity. In other words, the object behind teaching the new English language curriculum, through the lens of CHAT, was negotiated due to the contradictions that took place within and between these groups or components.

The deductive coding approach helped the researcher identify the major contradictions in and through the components, and then derive some key concepts (or tentative themes) which in turn were further examined and analyzed. A careful examination of the derived concepts resulted in distinguishing the main themes that explain how the teaching activity's outcome was shaped out of the interactions that took place in and through CHAT components.

Moreover, in relation to both inductive and deductive approaches, information (or data) taken from classroom observations and field notes was also coded and then woven with those of the interviews to further increase the research accuracy and objectivity (Atkinson et al., 1991). In other words, classroom observations and field notes (as tools to collect data) were combined with the teachers' interviews to add a third data source, for the purpose of adding more depth to the research result and increasing its accuracy.

4.11 Guidelines to an accurate thematic analysis

Literature on thematic analysis (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Creswell, 2007; Karousiou, 2013; Herriotts-Smith, 2013) points out certain steps or techniques that the researcher should consider, when doing a thematic analysis, to ensure a valuable outcome out of the analysis process. Ignoring such techniques could render the study results inaccurate where the extracted themes do no mirror the reality, or in other words when the study findings do not reflect the phenomenon under study (Javadi and Zarea, 2016).

As long as the present study is concerned, Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines for doing a thematic analysis was followed. To Braun and Clarke, a good thematic analysis (regardless whether it is an inductive or deductive approach) should be made through a six phases process. The six phases are explained below.

Phase one: familiarising yourself with your data

The first phase begins by transcribing any verbal data into written form. Once all the data are in written form, researchers should immerse themselves in the data through repeated 'active' reading. In other words, before starting to code, all the data should be read at least once by the researcher. Repeated reading helps the researchers familiarizing themselves with the different aspects of the content. Notes can be taken in this phase. Initial codes that the researcher believes can be further developed can be highlighted. By the end of this phase, the researcher should be able to generate a list of the most important aspects or patterns of the content.

In relation to the present research, the written data was read twice. The first reading was intended to familiarize myself with the data. However, in the second reading, many repeated patterns were identified and highlighted. Different marker pens of different colors were used to highlight these repeated patterns. For instance, many repeated patterns related to contextual difficulties (such as the noise level, large classes, shortage in teaching and learning materials) that teachers

in camp schools had to deal with when implementing the new curriculum were identified in this phase and were highlighted by the same color (same marker pen). Other repeated patterns, those on identity for instance, were highlighted by a different marker pen and so on.

Phase 2: generating initial codes

In this phase, the researcher goes again through all the highlighted patterns or aspects made in the previous phase. If no amendment is made, then each of these patterns or aspects will be an initial code. The researcher should group each initial code with its relevant data extracts. Hence, by the end of this phase, meaningful groups of initial codes with their data extract counterparts should be made ready to move to the next phase. In this study, each of the initial codes (or repeated patterns) was grouped with its related extracts at this stage of data analysis. While phase one ended with notes on potential codes, this phase produced a set of meaningful codes.

Phase 3: searching for themes

This phase involves grouping the codes into potential themes. Themes are broader than codes. Hence, all the codes are analyzed and those with similar meanings can be sorted out into initial themes. This phase is about finding connections between different codes. Data extracts related to the codes that make up a theme should also be grouped together. While some of these codes could be grouped at the level of themes, others could be sorted out at sub-themes level. In this phase, some of the codes identified at phase 2 could also be disregarded. By the end of this phase, a list of 'candidate' themes and sub-themes should be ready.

For instance, codes on contextual challenges (large classes and noise level) in this research were grouped separately from their identity-related counterparts (teachers as advocate of social coexistence, teachers' fear of the high school dropout phenomenon amongst their students). Hence, this phase produced a number of potential themes along with their subthemes.

Phase 4: reviewing themes

The fourth phase of thematic analysis includes reviewing the themes and sub-themes identified in the previous phase. The reviewing process involves a careful reading of each candidate theme along with its data extracts. If there is not enough data, for example, to support one theme, the researcher should examine whether this theme can be integrated with another theme or should simply be ignored. By the same token, one theme at this phase could also be broken down into two themes and so on.

To Braun and Clarke (2006), this phase can best be done in two levels. In the first level, all the coded data extracts, related to the themes, should be reviewed. This means that each theme along with its data extracts should be carefully read. The researcher must make sure that the data extracts that make up a theme should be coherent. If the data extracts (for one theme) are not coherent, the researcher should rework that theme. Clearly, some themes can also be discarded at this level.

The next level of reviewing includes reading the entire data one more time. Bearing the themes in mind, the researcher should read the data to make sure that the themes mirror the general meaning of the data. Also, while reading the data, the researcher may find some additional data that could be coded and joined with one of the existed themes. Hence, data that the researcher missed in earlier phases can be found, coded and attached to their relative themes in this stage. Importantly, as the researcher goes through the entire data, new potential themes could also be identified. When this happens, the researcher should start coding again for the potential theme(s).

By the end of this phase, the researcher should have a clear list of distinguished themes. In other words, differences between themes should be identifiable before moving to the next phase. In relation to the present study, it was found by the end of this phase that the large number of students, for example, was more of a subtheme under the “teachers’ beliefs concerning the applicability of the new curriculum” theme than an individual theme that stands by itself.

Phase 5: defining and naming themes

In phase five, themes are defined in the sense that the essence of each theme should be identified. What each theme is (and is not), what is it about, why it is important in relation to the research question, what is the story it tells, and why it is interesting in relation to the overall bigger story that the entire data entail should all be recognized by the researcher. Also, each theme will be given a brief and a comprehensive name that concludes what it is about.

In relation to the present research, the final themes were named and identified at this phase. Connections were also made between those final themes and the present research questions. This can be seen in the remaining chapters of the present research where themes are identifies, presented and then discussed.

Phase 6: producing the report

In this final phase, a final analysis of the themes (which includes writing up the report coupled with data extracts) is involved. The researcher's job in this phase is to put the complicated story behind the themes into concise and convincing words. In Braun and Clarke's (2006, p. 23) words, the report should communicate to the reader 'a concise, coherent, logical, nonrepetitive, and interesting account of the story the data tell – within and across themes.'

To do that, examples (or extracts) that directly relate to themes and show their validity should be included in the report. In other words, the reader should go through vivid examples that both validate and demonstrate the point (or the story) that the researcher tries to tell his/her readers. It is also worth mentioning that this six-phases thematic analysis process is more recursive than a linear process. In other words, the researcher should 'move back and forth as needed, throughout the phases' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 16).

Chapter Five: Findings

5.1 Introduction

Considering the present research focus, the present chapter presents the main findings of this research. Importantly, the current chapter does not address the research questions directly. Rather, it paves the way for the next chapter to answer the research questions through discussing these findings.

In this chapter, five themes are presented. The first theme tackles camp school teachers' professional knowledge in relation to the new English language curriculum. The second theme outlines three main contextual barriers that impede a proper implementation of the curriculum in IDP camp schools. In relation to the third theme, teachers' beliefs concerning the displaced students' ability to learning are addressed. The next theme presents camp school teachers' motivation in such a challenging context. Finally, camp school teachers' identities are looked at in the fifth and last theme.

5.2 Teachers' knowledge of the curriculum and of their roles under the new curriculum

As one of the main aims of the present research is to find how the challenging context (IDP camp) has impacted teachers' implementation of the new curriculum, it was crucial to consider teachers' knowledge of the curriculum. In other words, without such careful consideration, it would not be possible to decide whether teachers' lack of commitment to the instructions of the new curriculum was caused by their challenging teaching settings, or simply due to their unawareness of these instructions.

In their interviews, teachers were probed and asked many questions for the sake of bringing out what they know about the new curriculum goals. Importantly, teachers were told to reply to these questions regardless to what extent they believed the

curriculum is applicable in IDP camp settings. The data clearly reveals that teachers have different understandings, or knowledge, concerning what the new curriculum is all about, and/or what is their role in light of the new curriculum.

Unlike the previous curricula which were based on the Grammar-Translation method, the new curriculum is oriented by the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach. As is known, CLT approach is widely different from Grammar Translation method in terms of objectives, teachers' role and the nature of classroom activities.

As a definition, Communicative Language Teaching approach was defined by Jin (2008) as 'a set of principles about teaching including recommendations about method and syllabus where the focus is on meaningful communication not structure, use not usage'. Savignon (2002) pointed out that the central theoretical concept in CLT is 'communicative competence' which Hymes (1972, p. 13) defined as the 'overall underlying knowledge and ability for language use which the speaker-listener possesses'.

To elaborate, CLT theorists emphasize that developing communicative competence is the ultimate goal. Savignon (2002) clarified that competence revolves around three main terms; expression, interpretation and negotiation. Hence, instead of the traditional teachers' role of focusing on enhancing students' capacity to memories, students' communicative competence is best developed if teachers work on improving their students' abilities to express, interpret and negotiate meanings (Kumaravadivelu, 1994).

CLT views languages as systems for the expression of meaning which people use for communicating and interacting purposes (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). Therefore, students' command over the target language is not measured in terms of to what extent they can communicate messages with perfect grammar, but rather on their ability to interpret others' meanings and express their own meanings (Breen and Candlin, 1980) as language, ultimately, is a social tool that people use whether through speaking and/or writing with the intention of constructing meaning.

Beside this radical change of focus from form to meaning, CLT highlights the importance of following a task-oriented teaching approach where student 'are given tasks to accomplish using language instead of studying the language' (Jin, 2008, p. 81). Finally, CLT approach emphasizes the need for a shift from teacher-centeredness to learner-centeredness and from dictation to communication (Rajab, 2013).

Based on the differences presented briefly above, it can be argued that teachers would not efficiently align their teaching goals, methods of teaching and classroom practices with the standards of CLT approach unless they first comprehend the objectives of CLT, and how these objectives differ from those related to Grammar Translation method.

For this reason, the present theme will first present teachers' knowledge of the new curriculum objectives, their role and the nature of classroom activities in light of the new curriculum. Although curriculum objectives, teachers' roles and classroom activities are interrelated and intertwined, teachers' understanding of the curriculum objectives will be dealt with separately for ease of presentation and analysis.

5.2.1 Teachers' knowledge of the curriculum objectives

In their interviews, teachers were firstly asked to explain the differences between the new and the previous curricula in terms of goals and objectives. Moreover, teachers were probed to link these differences to the different teaching approaches that the two curricula are based on. Five out of the eight participating teachers indicated that they have no idea what CLT means.

The remaining three teachers (Mr. Khalid, Mr. Muhammad and Mr. Jasim) showed varied amount of knowledge concerning CLT. Expectedly, these three teachers provided more accurate information regarding the new curriculum goals than the others.

To start with Mr. Khalid, he stated that the new curriculum objectives are derived from CLT approach which simply means three things. First, CLT approach aims at making students capable of effectively communicating with others using the target language and thus, the focus should be on teaching speaking and listening instead of merely concentrating on grammatical rules. Second, students' vocabularies should be expanded as much as possible as delivering messages, whether through speaking or writing, requires a wide set of vocabulary bank. Third, student-centered strategies, where students are given more space and continuously being encouraged to actively engage in the classroom, should be adopted.

Mr. Muhammad showed a deeper knowledge. To him, unlike Grammar Translation method which mainly concentrates on grammar, CLT approach closes this gap as it focuses on all of the English language four skills; speaking, listening, reading and writing.

He added that in contrary to the previous curriculum, the new curriculum encourages the teacher to use the target language instead of the mother language inside the classroom. He clarified that when a teacher, for example, explains the meaning of a new word to his/her students, s/he should not directly translate the word to the students. Instead, the teacher shall do one or more of the following three techniques using only the target language:

> According to the Communicative Language Teaching, the target language should dominate the class. To give you an example, when a teacher wants to give the meaning of a new word to his/her students, s/he explains its meaning in the target language, gives some synonyms or puts it in a simple meaningful sentence so that students can guess its meaning. As you can see, it is widely different from the old curriculum where the mother language was straightforwardly used when students encounter new words

Mr. Muhammad also pointed out that under the new curriculum, students learn the target language not through drilling and repetition. Rather, teachers 'should assign tasks to their students through putting them in certain situations'. In his words:

> The Communicative Language Teaching approach emphasizes that students should learn the target language through practice and only practice.

> However, practicing the language is not a random process. It should be done through fulfilling tasks assigned to them by their teacher. Students learn the target language through accomplishing tasks and not through memorizing a set of rules.

Moreover, Mr. Muhammad indicated that one of the main goals of the new curriculum is increasing students' interaction in the class. To this end, student-centered strategies should be followed.

As Mr. Muhammad showed a broader knowledge than Mr. Khalid concerning CLT approach, Mr. Jasim provided a more advanced understanding of CLT approach than the previous two teachers. When he was asked what CLT approach means to him, Mr. Jasim replied that it is a new understanding for teaching and learning languages that considers teachers as only one part of the teaching and/or learning process:

> As the previous Grammar-Translation based curriculum considers teachers as the only source of knowledge that students can learn from, the Communicative Language Teaching approach asserts that new knowledge, for students, is extracted or created through a participatory process between students themselves, such as pair and group activities, and between students and their teacher. Teacher, therefore, is not a knowledge-transmitter, but only one part of the teaching process.

He added that according to CLT approach, classrooms should be turned into a place where real-life communication is simulated. Mr. Jasim referred to two critical issues that are heavily focused on in CLT literature (Melrose, 1991; Larsen-Freeman, 2000; Richards, 2006; Koosha, and Yakhabi, 2013; Ju, 2013). First, students are no longer passive listeners who just sit and receive knowledge from their teacher. New knowledge is gained when students work together among themselves and with their teacher. Second, students should engage in real life communications which can be met through stimulating real-life situations.

As was mentioned before, the remaining five teachers indicated that they were unaware of what CLT means. As a matter of fact, teachers' unawareness of CLT doesn't necessarily mean that they see no difference between the two curricula. Knowledge about the new curriculum, despite of their unawareness of CLT, can be gained in many ways such as reading the teacher's book, following the supervisors'

guidance, or simply following other teachers' techniques and methods. This can be clearly seen with Mr. Ali.

To elaborate, although he stated that he had no idea what CLT is, Mr. Ali showed some knowledge about some of the principles or goals of the new curriculum. He clarified that the new curriculum is more condensed and puts more focus on speaking and listening than the previous one. To him, one of the main aims of the new curriculum is improving students' communications skill. Therefore, he believed that it is the target language that teachers and students should use in the class.

Moreover, Mr. Ali stated that students learn the language faster when they actively engage in the class and for this reason the new curriculum gives more space to students to participate in the classroom. To him, unlike the previous curriculum which demands the teachers to 'do the whole thing' through drilling while students passively listen, the new curriculum asks teachers to let students actively engage in the classroom through many activities, such as pair and group work.

The knowledge that other teachers showed concerning the main objectives of the new curriculum was insufficient. To Mr. Abdullah and Mr. Salah, the new curriculum differs from the previous one only in terms of putting more focus on oral skills and in getting students work in pairs and/or in groups rather than individually. Mr. Hasan believed that the new curriculum is more condensed that the previous one and concentrates more on pair and group work tasks.

As a matter of fact, the information that teachers with limited knowledge on CLT (except Mr. Ali) gave concerning the main objectives of the new curriculum was not only insufficient, but sometimes inaccurate and contradictory. For example, in contrast to many teachers, Mr. Salah indicated that according to the new curriculum, the mother language should be heavily used in the classroom as teaching can only be effective when students fully understand what their teachers are communicating to them.

Mr. Hasan believed that the main objective of the new curriculum is increasing the quantity of grammatical knowledge acquired by students. Ironically, the rest of the teachers indicated that grammar was more focused on in the previous curriculum.

Likewise, in contrast with many teachers, Mr. Othman believed that the written skills are more important than the oral skills according to the new curriculum. More specifically, while the majority of teachers indicated that oral skills are at least as important as the written skills, Mr. Othman believed that the four language skills, according to the new curriculum, are arranged in terms of importance as reading, writing, listening and speaking.

Beside providing inaccurate and contradictory knowledge, two of the teachers who showed no knowledge of CLT (Mr. Othman and Mr. Hasan) further contradicted themselves which arguably shows their uncertainty about the new curriculum objectives. To Mr. Othman, as was indicated above, the main differences between the two curricula lies in the two textbooks' content. To him, while the old textbook focuses more on grammar, the new textbook concentrates more on improving the reading skill and on widening students' vocabularies.

However, Mr. Othman was asked whether the differences between the two curricula are limited to focus on grammar on one hand, and on reading and vocabularies on the other hand. In responding to this question, he indicated that one of the biggest challenges that teachers face when they implement the new curriculum is that they do not know what to focus on, or in other words what to teach:

> If you open the textbook [….] you would find that it is completely made of a collection of passages, dialogues and photos scattered all over the textbook's pages. I honestly do not know what the purpose behind all these passages is. I mean it could be to widen students' vocabularies, to improve their reading skills, to simply add to their knowledge as these passages talk about many interesting things or it could serve many other purposes. What I am trying to say is that reading in my opinion is still the most important thing in this new textbook, but there have to be other purposes behind all these many dialogues and passages in the textbook.

In spite of illustrating that the new curriculum focuses more on reading than on grammar, Mr. Othman stated later on in the interview that grammar is what students should be mastering the most. He indicated that instead of asking students to read those passages in their textbooks, he normally makes use of these passages to teach some grammatical rules:

> So instead of asking students to read these passages aloud, I normally ask one student at a time to come and write one specific sentence out of one particular passage on the board. Then I ask the student many grammatical questions about the sentence s/he wrote, like what is the tense of this sentence? How do you change the tense in this sentence from past simple to present simple and so on. You know, students should first master grammar before getting other skills improved.

Mr. Hasan, on the other hand, mentioned at the beginning of his interview that having a good control over grammar is what students need the most in light of the new curriculum. However, within the same interview, he also indicated that teaching students how to pronounce correctly 'is the most important thing according to the new curriculum'.

To conclude, it is clear that many of the participating teachers lacked a sufficient and detailed knowledge about the new curriculum objectives. However, the data also revealed that contradictory knowledge was only given by those teachers who were unaware of the main principles of CLT. In other words, while it can be argued that the information given by teachers who were acquainted with some knowledge on CLT might not be fully detailed and comprehensive, it was nevertheless accurate and not contradictory.

Importantly, teachers who showed knowledge of CLT, or in other words more awareness of the new curriculum objectives than their colleagues, were either holders of master's degree (Mr. Khalid and Mr. Muhammad) and thus have studied teaching approaches including CLT in their postgraduate studies, or had attained professional development training programme on the new curriculum (Mr. Jasim).

Regarding Mr. Ali, although he stated that he did not know what CLT means, he nevertheless gave a deeper understanding of the new curriculum goals than many other teachers. In his interview, Mr. Ali said that he was voluntarily working in an organization for teaching primary school pupils. During his voluntary work, Mr. Ali indicated that he was continuously watching videos on YouTube and reading online articles about the most modern and effectives teaching methods and that is how he gained such knowledge about the new curriculum objectives.

Mr. Ali stated that without these online resources, he would have seen less differences between the two curricula. When he was probed to further clarify, he replied:

> If you put the previous and the new English language textbooks in front of me and ask me to find how they differ, I would say that there are no obvious or big differences. What I am trying to say is that there is always more in the curriculum that what you can read in the teacher, the student or the activity's book.

Mr. Ali raised an interesting point which arguably explains why teachers who were unaware of CLT had the least knowledge of the new curriculum objectives. To those teachers, curriculum change is no more than substituting one set of textbooks (the teacher's book, the student's book and the activity's book) with another. Therefore, the difference between the two curricula for those teachers would seem to be mainly limited to the extent each curriculum concentrates on each of the language four skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing).

Based on my personal experience as a graduate of the Department of English, School of Education (which is responsible for preparing students to be teachers at secondary school level), it is crucial to mention that Iraqi English language teachers are not in any way being informed about CLT, and even about teaching and learning methods in general, during their undergraduate studies. Hence, it is no surprise that those teachers with no postgraduate degree and/or had not attended a training programme failed to perceive the new curriculum objectives, which by no means can be brought down to focusing on one language skill than another.

In other words, except those who had studied CLT in their postgraduate studies or attended a training programme on the new curriculum, only one (Mr. Ali) out of five teachers showed some knowledge about the curriculum objectives. Even for Mr. Ali, he gained such knowledge just because he was asked to by his organization's president. In his words:

> To be honest, if the organization's president did not ask me to check the most effective and up-to-date teaching strategies then I would not have been aware of many of the new curriculum objectives. In my opinion, most teachers do not take a step towards developing their teaching goals and skills either because they just do not want to have the bother of changing their teaching strategies, or simply because they are unaware that their current teaching styles are outdated.

As this part discusses teachers' knowledge of the new curriculum goals, the next part casts light on their understanding of both of their role and the nature of classroom activities under the new curriculum.

5.2.2 Teachers' understanding of their role and the nature of classroom activities under the new curriculum

CLT theorists emphasize that to meet the desired goals and objectives of CLT-oriented curricula, teachers have to take new roles and change the traditional classroom activities suggested by other methods of teaching such as Grammar Translation method. To start with their roles, Breen and Candlin (1980, p.99) pointed out that a teacher under CLT has two main roles; a facilitator and an independent participant. Concerning being a facilitator, the teacher should take his/her turn in facilitating the communications that take place between the students.

Regarding the teacher's second role, Breen and Candlin (1980) stated that there are two secondary roles implied in the teacher's role of being an independent participant in the class. The first is 'as an organizer of resources and as a resource himself' whereas the second is 'a guide within the classroom procedures and activities'.

Moreover, instead of their traditional authoritative role, teachers under CLT need to lessen their traditional dominant role and get themselves closer to their students. Establishing a close and good relationship between teachers and their students has been counted as the most important element of a successful implementation of learner-centered oriented curricula (Cazden, 1988; Littlewood, 2007).

To this end, teachers should not stay at the front of the classroom all the time. Rather, they should sit with their students, facilitate their learning and help them through offering them feedback in an environment where students are motivated, and not intimidated, to actively engage in the class (Littlewood, 1984; Faicán and Guncay, 2011).

With relation to the nature of classroom activities, it is crucial to mention that classroom activities are granted a significant role in CLT. That is, CLT theorists illustrated that the best way to learn a target language is by maximizing students' engagement which occurs when students are encouraged to increase their 'attempts to communicate' (Nunan, 1991).

While ample opportunities are given to students to interact in the classroom, it is the target language that should be used in their interaction. More importantly, students' focus during their engagement should be directed towards making meaning and not on 'reciting dialogues or performing on discrete-point tests of grammatical knowledge' (Tikkakoski, 2015, p. 10).

Moreover, CLT aims to make language learners capable of communicating in the real world using the target language. For this reason, students' communications should be contextualized in real world-simulated tasks and situations as one day students may need to deliver messages on real world situations using the target language.

At classroom level, literature on CLT indicated that for a classroom activity to be counted as communicative, it should contain the following features. First, there

should be an information gap where students communicate to gather the required information. Second, the focus should not be on the form but rather on the meaning of what is being communicated. Third, students need to be motivated and feel the desire to actively engage in that task within a supportive learning atmosphere. Fourth, meaning should be negotiated between students while engaging in the activity. Fifth, language should be dealt with as a discourse and not as isolated words or unconnected sentences (Doughty & Pica, 1986; Harmer, 1991; Clarke, 1994; Ellis, 2005).

Finally, as CLT curricula intend to increase students' participation and maximize their opportunities to practice the target language, pair and group work activities are more likely to be used while engaging in the activity (Doughty & Pica, 1986; Harmer, 1998).

After presenting a brief description of the teachers' role and the main features of the classroom activities under CLT-based curricula, the remaining part of this section tackles teachers' knowledge about their roles as well as about the nature of classroom activities under the new curriculum. Generally, classroom activities are geared to achieve the curriculum objectives. Hence, it is expected that teachers' knowledge of any curriculum objectives would, logically, be reflected in their awareness of the nature of classroom activities encouraged by that curriculum. The participating teachers in this study were no exception.

To elaborate, as with curriculum objectives, Mr. Jasim was most aware of his new role and of the nature of classroom activities than each of Mr. Muhammad, Mr. Khalid and Mr. Ali. For the rest of the participating teachers, their knowledge about their role and the classroom activities was almost identical to what is suggested in traditional methods of teaching such as grammar translation and audio-lingual methods.

To start with, Mr. Jasim raised a very important and interesting point. To him, curriculum is more than textbook content, and this is what many teachers failed to comprehend. Mr. Jasim stated that teachers' role can widely differ from one

curriculum to another. In terms of the new English language curriculum, he argued that:

> The teacher's role is now totally different. Instead of being a knowledge transmitter, the teacher's role becomes more of a facilitator and an observer. So now I have to facilitate learning for students, keep the flow of conversations and activities running, and sometimes even be a participant of some activities just like any other student. I have to get myself closer and closer to the students, be their friend and their source of motivation for learning. Also, part of my job now is to detect differences between students so that an effective individualized teaching can be performed.

Mr. Jasim was asked to provide an example of a classroom activity that is designed in accordance with CLT approach. He replied that if there is a writing activity, a composition for example about a picnic that Ali had yesterday, then the following three stages would be followed.

The first stage would be grouping students into four or five small groups, each of four to five students. Mr. Jasim stated that what is critical when dividing up the class into groups is that students are equally being distributed into the groups according to their level of performance. In other words, it is important that those of the highest, or lowest performing students, are not being grouped together. The last step within this first stage, according to him, is to ask each group to choose a leader, or in other words a spokesperson who represents the group and speaks for them.

Mr. Jasim stated that the second stage would be working together with the students to write the composition. In his words:

> For the second stage, I will do the following steps. First, I will ask students to work together for 10 minutes within their groups and write down all of the verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions that could be used in a composition about a picnic. second, I will then ask each leader (….) to come to the green board and write all of the words s/he and their group members have gathered on the board, each word within its category, such as nouns, verbs and so on. At the end of this stage, there will be many vocabularies organized within few categories on the board.

The third and final stage, according to Mr. Jasim, would be writing up the composition. In this stage, Mr. Jasim stated that many students as much as time allows will be asked one after the other to come to the board and write one sentence using the words on the board. Mr. Jasim pointed out that discussions are conducted when mistakes are made:

> when one student makes a mistake in his/her sentence, the rest of the students are asked to work in pairs, groups or all together to find where the mistake is, and how it can be rectified.

To Mr. Muhammad, teachers' role under the new curriculum is less authoritative and less dominant while more supportive than it used to be. To him, teachers have to take a step back and give more space and power to their students under CLT-based curricula.

In terms of teaching practices, Mr. Muhammad indicated that CLT demands different form of practices from those supported by Grammar Translation method. He stated that CLT approach asks teachers to conduct discussions in the class, use pair and group work and give more space to their students to express their beliefs and ideas, whether to their peers or to the teacher, through asking them open-ended questions. Mr. Muhammad gave the following example of a reading activity:

> Students within their groups could be asked to skim and scan a new passage and underline all the new words they could find. Discussions between students within each group will then ensue in an attempt to guess the meaning of the new words. If students fail to reach the meaning of any word, the teacher should not translate the word. Instead, s/he should explain it in the target language, put it in a sentence, give a synonym and so on.

Mr. Muhammad pointed out that once students know the meaning of the new words, the teacher shall ask his/her students to give a summary of the passage, whether within their groups or in front of the whole class.

With relation to Mr. Khalid, teachers' role under the new curriculum is a facilitator. To him, teacher-fronted approach is no longer acceptable in CLT-based curricula. Rather, teachers under communicative curriculum are expected to move between the students, or more precisely between one group of students and another.

In relation to teaching practices, Mr. Khalid stated that while the teacher according to the old curriculum used to dominate the class, the new curriculum comes with a variety of activities that students, with the help and guidance of their teacher, should perform in the classroom. He asserted that pair and group activities should be heavily used when performing these classroom activities. Moreover, he illustrated that the new curriculum added many kinds or forms of classroom activities to those that teachers were usually implementing before the introduction of the new curriculum:

> Unlike the very limited classroom activities that teachers were implementing before, the new curriculum comes with a new set of communicative activities such as problem solving, role play, tasks to be completed by students, missing information that students need to search for using many resources including the internet.

To Mr. Ali, the main difference in terms of teachers' role under the new and the previous curricula can be seen in the amount of talk-time that teachers and students spend in each lesson. In other words, Mr. Ali believed that part of teachers' role under the new curriculum is not to do the whole talk. Instead, teachers should encourage their students to talk whether with one another or with their teacher.

Moreover, Mr. Ali stated that teachers have to be more tolerant towards students' mistakes, especially those made in speaking activities. He explained that teachers should do their best to keep the conversation running rather than breaking the flow of a conversation every time and then for correcting their students' mistakes. With relation to classroom activities, Mr. Ali pointed out that group work is the single most important activity in the new curriculum.

As a matter of fact, although many of the participating teachers referred to the importance of pair and group activities within the new curriculum, it was only Mr. Ali who conducted group work activities in his class. In other words, the rest of the teachers explained that given the time limitation, the large number of students inside the class and the inappropriate seating arrangement, pair and group work is deemed impossible in IDP schools. To Mr. Ali, although conducting pair and group activities is faced with many challenges in school camp settings, such activities should never be passed over. In his words:

> Pair and group activities are very important and can never be passed over even if there are challenges that limit or lessen the benefits out of such activities. For me, I conduct group work, and sometimes pair work, activities almost in every lesson. I know that students would benefit more if such activities are conducted in other settings, but this does not mean that such activities would be useless in this school.

In two out of the three classroom observations that were made with Mr. Ali, group work activities were used in the classroom. However, what functions group work does are totally different to Mr. Ali than to Mr. Jasim. To explain, pair and/or group work has two main functions in Mr. Ali's view:

> pair and/or group work activities are like other activities but are more important for the following two reasons. First, conducting such activities make the relationship between the students stronger as they constantly work with one another. The second reason is that students start to learn the importance of teamwork through indulging in group work activities. In my opinion, there is a great chance that students will take from their school the importance of teamwork and this can benefit them in their practical lives outside their schools.

To Mr. Jasim, pair and/or group work activities have a totally different function. To him, learning occurs, and students get new knowledge when they interact with one another. In other words, Mr. Jasim believed that students, beside their teachers, are themselves considered as another source of knowledge when they benefit from each another through working among themselves. This is in line with CLT theorists who perceive learning as 'a process which grows out of the interaction between learners, teachers, texts and activities' (Melrose, 1991, p. 14).

Arguably, this is what Mr. Ali seems to be missing. To Mr. Ali, the teacher is still the only source of knowledge in the classroom and pair and group work activities are mainly used at the end of the class so that students repeat the information their teacher has transmitted to them earlier in that lesson. The group work activities that Mr. Ali conducted showed this clearly. To explain, during the classroom observation I noticed that the group work activities that Mr. Ali organized was merely for repetition purposes. Students were asked to tell their group members examples of one grammatical rule that Mr. Ali was explaining during the whole lesson.

In fact, beside Mr. Jasim, only Mr. Muhammad seems to realize that pair and group work activities are used as a tool for learning and not for mere repetition. Mr. Muhammad, as was mention above, indicated that learning occurs when students are being put in certain situations and asked to work in pairs and/or in groups among themselves.

To the remaining participating teachers, learning does not occur when students interact with each other. Instead, new information is transmitted to students only from their teacher and every activity used in the class is for instilling the newly transmitted information in the students' minds.

With relation to other teachers' knowledge of their new role and of the nature of classroom activities under the new curriculum, it was mainly limited to less focus on grammar and more concentration on oral skills. In other words, they seemed to believe that the differences between the two curricula are mainly related to differences in knowledge-content (textbook). Put differently, their understandings of the new curriculum confined to the limitation of differences between the old and the new textbooks provided as part of each curriculum.

Beside textbook content, they also indicated that involvement of pair and group work is encouraged in the new curriculum. As indicated above, pair and group work activities for those teachers mean that students work together to either take turn

in reciting dialogues, or simply repeat what their teacher was explaining during that lesson.

Based on what has been presented above, it is clear that the majority of the teachers lacked a sufficient knowledge not only regarding the new curriculum objectives, but also about their role and the nature of classroom activities encouraged by the curriculum. For this reason, it can be claimed that teachers' lack of commitment to the instructions of the new curriculum, as will be discussed in the next chapter, was not only caused by the challenging teaching settings. Rather, their unawareness of the new curriculum, beside many other reasons, led the teachers to heavily follow a transmission-oriented teaching.

However, as the present research seeks to investigate the impact of the new teaching context on the practices the Iraqi secondary school EFL teachers use in the IDP camps, it should be mentioned that teachers' limited knowledge about the new curriculum is partially related to their teaching context (IDP camps). To elaborate, the participating teachers indicated that they were deprived from the means through which they can know more about the new curriculum. They referred to three main points. First, basic learning materials are in short supply in IDP camp schools. Consequently, the majority of English language teachers in IDP camps did not have a copy of the teacher's book. Importantly, it is the teacher's book that provides much information about the curriculum including teachers' role and classroom activities.

This was made clear by Mr. Othman when stating that one of the biggest challenges that teachers face when they execute the new curriculum is that they do not know what to focus on, or in other words what to teach. When Mr. Othman was asked to give more explanation about this particular challenge, he replied that the new curriculum is made of a set of three books; student's book, teacher's book and activity book. He pointed out that while the student's book is mainly comprised of a collection of passages, the purpose behind each of these passages is explained in the teacher's book:

> The teacher's book tells you that the purpose of this passage, for example, is to teach students the use of one particular preposition and so on. Not only this, but more information about the best teaching method and what classroom activities to implement when explaining that one preposition is also provided. For the activity book, it only contains exercises that are usually given to students as homework. As you can easily guess, it is not only necessary that each teacher has a copy of the teacher's book, but it is indispensable if correct implementation of the curriculum is to be gained

Second, since IDP camps are located far from the main cities, supervisors (or field inspectors) rarely visit camp schools. The participating teachers asserted that supervisors come only once or none to each camp schools during a whole academic year. Moreover, the teachers indicated that even when supervisors visit their school, they pay no attention to issues like teaching methods, classroom activities and/or teachers' role. Rather, supervisors are only concerned with teachers' progress in terms of covering the textbook content and in checking teachers' absenteeism. As Mr. Salah stated:

> When the last time the supervisor came to this school, he was not concerned at all with how the teachers teach. Actually, he did not even enter the classroom to make an actual classroom observation. He just gathered all the English language teachers in the teachers' room and started to ask us about our progress concerning covering the textbook content. Moreover, as the rate of teachers' absenteeism is high in camp schools, he warned us that he would not be tolerating anymore with excessive absences.

Mr. Othman also discussed this issue. He indicated that supervisors normally utilize their expertise and knowledge to widen teachers' understandings about the curriculum and how it can be effectively implemented. In IDP camps, Mr. Othman added, supervisors come to schools just to assert that the whole curriculum should be covered by the end of the academic year.

Third, teachers argued that one of the challenges that they were facing in camp schools was the absence of any kind of training programmes. Many teachers believed that without training programmes, implementation of the new curriculum would not be rewarding for most teachers. Mr. Abdullah commented that training

programmes are what English language teachers in IDP camps need the most. In his words:

> When there is a new curriculum, training programmes should be provided so that teachers have the chance to know more about the curriculum and how it could be implemented effectively. Without these programmes, most teachers will face many difficulties when dealing with the new curriculum. This is what we suffer from here and what we need the most. None of the teachers in IDP camps has ever been invited to attend such programmes. Training programmes are now running only for those teachers who teach in non-camp schools.

It is, however, important to assert that the three points presented above by no means imply that all teachers in non-camp schools have ample or even satisfactory knowledge about the curriculum. Rather, camp school teachers' limited knowledge about the new curriculum is to some extent related to their workplace (IDP camps), and that they could have more opportunities to know more about the curriculum if they were teaching elsewhere, or in other words in non-camp schools.

5.3 Teachers' beliefs concerning the applicability of the new curriculum

One of the main goals of this research is to find out how the new teaching context (IDP camp) affects teachers' implementation of the new English language curriculum. To reach an accurate answer for this question, teachers' beliefs concerning the new curriculum in light of their new teaching context should be investigated. The literature on curriculum innovation clearly shows that teachers would not pay effort to change their behaviors, and hence their teaching practices, unless they hold a positive view about the effectiveness of the new curriculum in their given context.

Literature on curriculum innovation emphasizes that teachers tend to judge curricula before putting them into practice (Rajab, 2013; Iskandar, 2014). Knowing that the new curriculum was produced shortly before the displacement took place in Iraq in 2014, the new curriculum was not therefore intended for IDP camp

context. As was indicated earlier, before 2014 (when displacement happened), no schooling ever took place in any sort of camps all over Iraq. Hence, to understand how the new teaching context influenced teachers' implementation of the new curriculum, it was crucial to have a discussion with the teachers about their beliefs concerning the effectiveness of the new curriculum in their camp school.

When probed about the effectiveness of the new English language curriculum, teachers' responses varied greatly. Out of the nine teachers (including the withdrawn female), two teachers stated that the old English language curriculum, regardless of teaching context, was better than the new curriculum on all level. Three teachers assumed that the new curriculum, in whatever context is executed, is more effective and beneficial to students than the old one. However, due to the many challenges that teachers were facing in camp schools, they also stated that the new curriculum lost most of its effectiveness in camp settings. The rest of the four teachers indicated that although the new curriculum would be more beneficial to students in better settings, they believed that the old curriculum would be more suitable in IDP camp settings. In other words, the majority of the participating teachers (seven out of nine) believed that the new curriculum could only bring its desired aims when it is executed in smaller and better equipped classrooms.

Prior conducting the interviews, I was keen to find out teachers' opinions concerning the new curriculum itself i.e. regardless of teaching context, and to what extent they believed that their school context had influenced the effectiveness of the curriculum. For this reason, I asked the teachers first to discuss their points of view concerning the curriculum itself disregarding in which context it is executed.

Mr. Muhammad stated that the new curriculum keeps pace with the development of teaching and learning that is happening all over the world. He argued that the old curriculum was made in the seventies and is simply outdated. To him, teaching is like any other field which develops over time and innovation, in terms of modifying or introducing new curricula, is needed to keep up with such development:

> In the last twenty years, new trends and understandings about teaching and learning have been created and spread all over the world. The new curriculum clearly accommodates some of these understandings. So, introducing this curriculum was the right thing to do for Iraq as it simply takes teaching and learning to a new level that has been proven to be effective in many countries.

Mr. Khalid indicated that he is convinced of the effectiveness of the new curriculum as it was produced by English curriculum experts:

> When you know that this curriculum was produced by a group of English curriculum specialists [Garnet Education], you become more convinced of its effectiveness. My point is you become convinced as you know that it is not like something that may or may not prove to be effective. It is more like a curriculum that has been studied, tested and modified many times by curriculum experts to ensure its quality.

Mr. Jasim added more to the discussion on how the new curriculum was built on up-to-date understandings of teaching and learning that aim to improve students' skills over the English language. He mentioned that teaching the English language, according to the new curriculum, should be done through an interplay between the teacher and his/her students. To him, this strategy is not only effective, but livens the class and makes it more enjoyable as well:

> According to the new curriculum, students learn the [English] language through their interactions with the teacher. In the past, teachers dictate while students listen. Students [in the past] were just passive listeners and teachers were doing their best to keep a tight control over the class, to remain the only speakers in the classroom. Now it is the teachers' job to motivate their students to interact. In my opinion, this is not only a more effective strategy, but also more enjoyable for teachers and students.

Lastly, in stating his opinion about the new curriculum, Mr. Abdullah referred to the amount of useful vocabularies that the new curriculum offers to the students comparing with the old curriculum:

> In every page in the textbook [of the new curriculum], you can find new vocabularies that cover many spheres of life. Unlike the old curriculum which mainly focused on improving students' grammar through using a very limited set of vocabularies, the new curriculum discusses in one page a historical figure, and in the next page it discusses some

> technological issues like emails and mobile phones. In few years, we will see our students speak and write on many topics due to the wide range of vocabularies they learn from this curriculum.

Notwithstanding their explicit satisfaction towards the new curriculum, the majority of the teachers turned this satisfaction into dissatisfaction when asked about the effectiveness of the curriculum in their current context. In other words, teachers argued that the new curriculum would only bring fruitful results when it is implemented in better schools where smaller classrooms are filled with teaching and learning resources.

As a matter of fact, the effect of the context on teachers' implementation of the curriculum was something obvious even before the data collection started. When teachers were asked to participate in this research and were informed that classroom observations would be used to collect data, the influence of the context on their practices began to surface. In other words, upon realizing that I would be in the classroom to observe their implementation of the curriculum, teachers immediately began to explain how the context had compelled them to execute the curriculum in a way against their will.

Mr. Jasim argued that he considered himself a lucky teacher in terms of deeply comprehending the new curriculum objectives and how it should be implemented. He mentioned that he was chosen amongst thousands of teachers to attend a training programme on the new curriculum, which was run by some well-experienced teachers who in turn had been directly trained by three English experts delegated by Garnet Education.

Mr. Jasim stated that although he exactly knew what he was supposed to do in light of the new curriculum, the current context limited his choices and offered him a very little space to do his role properly. For this reason, he asked me to thoroughly consider the challenging context when analyzing his and his colleagues' teaching practices.

Mr. Hasan illustrated that if the intention behind conducting this research was to investigate teachers' implementation of the new curriculum, then what I would observe in his school would not be an accurate reflection of how all the Iraqi English language teachers implement the curriculum. He also added that teachers were facing so many barriers in his school that made their practices only logical when taking in consideration their teaching context.

Mr. Salah stated that the way he was dealing with the curriculum would not be the same if he was a teacher in another school. He pointed out that the surrounding context limited his options in terms of teaching practices and made him ignore many teaching strategies that he believes to be beneficial. Mr. Salah indicated that although he himself was not satisfied with the way he was implementing the new curriculum, he believed that this cannot fault him as a teacher as he had no power to change the surrounding context so that useful teaching strategies could be used in the classroom.

Lastly, Mr. Khalid was anxious that his practices would be confused with his knowledge. He mentioned that in such context teachers form their practices not on the basis of what they know, but more on what they can do. He stressed that what I was going to observe in his classroom would not reflect what he believed to be the right implementation of the curriculum. To him, no matter how much teachers know about the curriculum or how many years of teaching experience they have, it is the context that will gear their practices eventually.

To conclude, it is obvious that teachers were anxious that their knowledge about the curriculum and about their role as teachers would be judged based on their practices. This anxiety that teachers showed upon realizing that they would be observed clearly revealed the influence of the context on their practices. Such influence can also be seen through the participating teachers' assertion that teaching in camp schools should never be compared with teaching in non-camp schools.

Throughout their interviews, teachers kept referring back to this issue. They mentioned some serious barriers that stand against an appropriate implementation of the new curriculum. Relying on what teachers stated in their interviews, coupled with fieldnotes taken from classroom observations, the next three sections will discuss the main barriers that teachers faced when implementing the curriculum. It is critical to indicate that the following three sections will mainly consider the barriers, whereas how these barriers eventually formed their implementation of the new curriculum will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.3.1 Class size

Throughout the classroom observations, many of the fieldnotes that I wrote related to the big number of students. It was obvious that class size was a serious barrier not only toward an accurate implementation of the new curriculum, but also toward a proper teaching and learning. The average class size, specially of the first school, exceeds 70 students.

Teachers discussed how only the class size, let alone other barriers, makes it completely illogical to expect that one teacher could execute the curriculum properly. The big class size barrier, according to both teachers' beliefs and the fieldnotes taken during classroom observations, had many impacts on teaching and learning. One of these impacts relates to students' participations. To explain, giving enough time to each student to participate becomes something unattainable in large classes.

Teachers continuously talked about the contradiction between how the curriculum asks them to make their students engage in a variety of activities, and the number of students when taking the time into consideration. When Mr. Khalid was asked about whether he had changed his teaching practices upon the introduction of the new curriculum, he replied that nothing could be changed. He then stated that he is fully aware of the differences between the old and the new curriculum, as he is a holder of an M.Sc. in English language teaching and he has studied teaching methods and approaches during his M.Sc. journey.

To support his claim of his knowledge about the difference between the two curricula, Mr. Khalid stated that the old curriculum was based on the Grammar-Translation approach whereas the new curriculum is based on the Communicative Language Teaching approach. He added that one of the main differences, among many others, is that while the old curriculum focuses more on the written form at the expense of the oral form, the new curriculum closed this gap as oral skills are being given at least the same importance as the reading and writing skills.

Moreover, he pointed out that while the teacher according to the old curriculum used to dominate the class, the new curriculum comes with a variety of activities that students, with the help and guidance of their teacher, should perform in the classroom.

However, knowing that the new curriculum highly values the importance of the oral skills and encourages teacher to make his/her students engage with different activities was not enough to bring about change. This can be noted when Mr. Khalid linked his knowledge about the curriculum with class size:

> I know that students according to the new curriculum should continuously being encouraged to speak, I mean to participate in the class using the English language to improve their speaking skills, and to perform many activities in the classroom. Now I know that while other teachers might ignore their new roles and hence keep dominating their classes, has in fact no value in this school with these large classes.

These words show Mr. Khalid's resistance to change his teaching practices because of the large number of students. Mr. Khalid stated that student-centered approach can only be applicable in small classes when a reasonable time can be given to each student while performing different activities:

> It is clear that the new curriculum is based on Communicative Language Teaching Approach where student-centered approach should be followed. This can only work in small class sizes so that each student can take enough time to participate in a thirty-minutes English class. The new curriculum was not made for such settings and can never be successful with the current situation.

In line with what Mr. Khalid believed, Mr. Jasim pointed out that the proper settings that the new curriculum should be implemented in, from its designers' points of view, differ widely from IDP camp settings. He indicated that the Iraqi teachers (who run the training programme that he attended in early 2014) had been informed directly by the English experts that the new curriculum can best work and bring its most desired outcome only in small class sizes, where the number of students in each class should not exceed twenty. He added that:

> According to the English experts, the curriculum might not be any effective when students' number reaches forty. This is why many teachers believe that the new curriculum can by no means be effective in camp schools. When the curriculum clearly asks you that you should spend no more than 15 minutes on a reading activity that all students should be involved in, and there are more than fifty-five students in the class, then how can you commit yourself to the instruction of the curriculum?

Mr. Ali discussed the influence of the class size on his teaching. He firstly stated that the average size of the classes in his school exceeds 70. He argued that although there were many classes with slightly above 65 students, there were also other few classes with around 100 students, which made the average size of the classes in his school exceeded 70. He added:

> So, if I to let my students practice the language to improve their speaking skills, which is what the curriculum emphasizes, how much time do I need to make each student speak only for a couple of minutes when the average class size exceeds seventy?

Apparently, the large classes in the IDP camp schools was a real hurdle towards conducting many forms of teaching activities included in the curriculum. The fieldnotes taken during the classroom observations showed that teachers tended to ignore almost all of the activities that demand students to perform individually, in pairs or even in small groups. Even when not ignored, such activities are performed differently. For example, in many activities where according to the new curriculum all the students should take turn in reading a certain passage, teachers read out the passage twice and then asked two or three students to reread the same passage by

dividing up the passage into two or three parts and allocated one part to each student.

The same teaching strategies were followed with speaking or writing activities. In one of the classroom observations, Mr. Khalid informed the students that he was going to explain one of the important topics in the textbook that demonstrates the step by step process of writing formal mails. Mr. Khalid explained to his students that according to the curriculum, he should give them a general outline on how to write mails and then ask them to write their own copies as homework. Mr. Khalid added that according to the curriculum, the teacher should collect the homework in the next day and each of their copies would then be discussed in the classroom:

> In this discussion, we should find out how many mistakes or errors are there in each copy and then we should work together to rectify these mistakes and errors. In this way, you will remember how to write mails for many years to come

After explaining how students should be taught to write formal mails in light of the curriculum, he told his students that another strategy would be followed because of their large numbers:

> But given your numbers this is going to take us a very long time. For this reason, I will write on the board one form of a formal mail as a sample and I want you all to copy that on your copybooks. You need to memorize every single word and when you will be asked in the final examination to write a mail, you just need to put down what you have already memorized.

It is evident how, due to the effect of class size, Mr. Khalid was compelled to align his teaching practices not with the instruction of the curriculum which he believed to be more beneficial to his students, but more on what could best comply with large classes.

Hence, it can be argued that teachers' choice of teaching methods was, at least partially, based on students' numbers inside the classroom. Ehrenberg et al. (2001a) revealed that teachers teach differently in smaller classes than in overcrowded classes. They counted some instructional activities that teachers may

avoid in overcrowded classes such as problem solving, extensive writing, provide more feedback on students' written work, extensive discussions, small groups activities, or all other activities that could be more effective within small classes.

In other words, unlike the old curriculum which was designed to be taught through teacher-centered approach, the new curriculum is designed to be executed through student-centered approach. As is known, one of the main concepts that student-centered approach focuses on is maximizing students' participation. As explained above, teachers showed a tendency towards avoiding students' participations as this can take enormous time in large classes. Hence, students' participations become very limited in large classes, where only a small proportion of the students gains an opportunity to engage in the class.

Moreover, it was observed that students' engagements, though very limited, were mainly performed by those who were seated on the front benches. Therefore, many students in the classrooms were not attended to. According to Yelkpieri et al. (2012), weaker students are usually the ones who are not attended to in overpopulated classes as they can find their ways to hide from their teacher. This means that weaker students had little chance in receiving their teachers' intention, which they most need.

On a larger scale, when only a small proportion of students participate in the classroom and thus receive attention from their teachers, students' individual differences will not be noted. When this happens, individualized teaching is less likely to take place. It is known that one of the main aims behind applying student-centered approach, in contrast to teacher-centered approach, is to find out individual differences so that individualized teaching can then be followed to address each student's specific needs (Blatchford et al. 2012).

The data reveals that the teaching methods used in the two camp schools, due to the large classes, did not cater for individual differences among the students. Consequently, the uniqueness and/or weakness of the majority of the students, in camp schools, was not recognized as teachers looked at them as 'a homogenous

group with common abilities, interests, styles of learning, and motivation' (Mintah, 2014: 86-7).

Mr. Othman, for example, pointed out that due to the large number of students, he found himself uncapable of checking each student's level of understanding:

> With more than sixty students in the classroom, there is no time to check how much each student understands at the end of the class. With such large classes, many of the students without question understand very little. But if you ask me to name these many students then I would not give you a name as I simply do not know how much each student comprehends.

Mr. Muhammed stated that individual teaching could only be given when teacher knows his/her students first:

> Every time I am in the class, I look at students and see some new faces. I honestly do not know if they are students or just friends of some students. When I do not know my student in the first place, it logically becomes impossible to offer individualized teaching.

As a matter of fact, research on large classes has been consistent in showing that the individual attention given to students is, to a large extent, affected by the number of students inside the classroom (Betts & Shkolnik, 1999, Molnar et al., 1999, Blatchford et al., 2011). Logically, students in smaller classrooms get more attention and being dealt with as individuals rather than as a group. In other words, teachers in small classrooms could allocate more time to know students better and identify their individual needs.

Hence, while students get the chance to be active members in small classes by interacting among themselves and with the teacher, students in camp schools are more like passive learners as they sit and listen to their teacher without having an active role due to their large numbers. It is worth mentioning that students' active role inside the classroom is of great importance and vital element that strongly decides how much students learn. Ehrenberg et al. (2001b: 2) believed that it is the number of the active interacting students which decides how much students learn. For this reason, Finn et al. (2003) opined that of all the negative effects that

overcrowded classrooms could imply, the small amount of students' engagement could be the most harmful as it severely reduces their actual learning.

To conclude, it has been discussed above how the large classes in IDP camp schools have affected teachers' choices of teaching methods. It has also been argued that teachers tended to give very little space to students' individual engagement, as allocating time to each student in large classes takes enormous time. Consequently, individualized instruction was not followed since students' individual differences in terms of mastering the English language was not identified in the first place.

Moreover, literature on class size (Rice, 1999; Molnar et al. 1999; Blatchford et al. 2002) has linked between overpopulated classrooms and instructional time in such a way that the larger the class, the less instructional time. With relation to the present study, the data reveals that teachers did not only see themselves compelled to change their teaching methods due to large classes, but were also faced with the challenge of covering the curriculum due to time-limitation.

As this section sheds light on how teachers in camp schools were unable to implement the new curriculum properly due to the large classes, the next section will discuss in particular the challenge of covering the curriculum in camp schools, regardless of what teaching methods are being used.

5.3.2 Time pressure

Throughout their interview, teachers pointed out that the real challenge they faced was covering the curriculum. Teachers indicated that covering the textbook from cover to cover was something unattainable in their context. To Mr. Abdullah, following whether a student-centered approach or a teacher-centered approach is not the main concern for teachers in camp schools. Instead, how much of the material being covered is what matters in such context:

> Switching from teacher-centered to student-centered approach to implement the curriculum properly is not really what teaches think about in

> camp schools. You begin to think about how to teach more effectively only when you first know that all the material will be covered.

Mr. Khalid stated that student-centered approach takes more time than teacher-centered approach. He then argued that covering the whole curriculum in camp schools is unachievable even with the teacher-centered approach being followed. His justification came through linking the large classes with the real instructional time. To him, teachers in his school need at least four to five minutes, at the beginning of the class, to firstly get students on their benches and then to take the register. During what is left of the class time, according to Mr. khalid, another few minutes are always lost on non-teaching issues specially in large classes like controlling the class:

> Superficially English language lessons extend for 30 minutes, this is what you see on the timetable. In reality, the actual instructional time is no more than twenty minutes. The way I see it, covering the new curriculum in this school's crowded classrooms is simply trying to catch a mirage.

Other teachers added to the discussion of the actual teaching time. To Mr. Muhammed, while the difference between class time and actual instructional time might not be significant in small classes, a remarkable distinction becomes clearly notable in large classes:

> When there is let us say only twenty students in your class, non-teaching issues do not take considerable time. But when the classroom is overpopulated, the instruction for one reason or another stops every now and then. One student asks to go to the toilet, another student comes to the classroom late and knocks the door and so on. At the end of the class, considerable time has been lost and this is what is happening in this school.

Blatchford et al. (2012) referred to this issue. To them, teachers in overpopulated classrooms spend more time in procedural and domestic matters (such as taking the registers, dealing with accidents) and consequently leaving less time for actual instruction, i.e. less overall amount of teaching.

In this vein, the data also reveals that classroom control was another barrier in camp schools. According to the teachers, classroom control and management is not

only something hard to obtain in camp schools' classrooms, but also something that influences the amount of teaching.

Mr. Salah pointed out that what takes most of the class time is not the procedural matters, such as taking the register, but rather the students' side talk which increases in large classes. To him, students become uncontrollable in large classes which heavily reduces the instructional time:

> When a teacher stops the instruction to ask a student to be quiet, which happens occasionally here in this school due to its large classes, s/he mostly does not proceed from where s/he stopped. As you know, explanation of any topic has to be all coherent and connected. Therefore, s/he has to re-explain the point s/he was talking about from the beginning.

Mr. Salah added that If the instruction is stopped just five times during the thirty-minute class, then this would considerably reduce the instructional time. In line with Mr. Salah, the fieldnotes taken throughout classroom observations clearly show teachers' difficulties over controlling students' behaviors and keeping them focused in the class. Instructions were frequently being stopped due to students' side talk, and/or to their disciplinary problems which were interrupting the flow of the class, breaking the concentration of other students and significantly slowing the teaching progress.

Literature on overcrowded classrooms has thoroughly showed that control and management are serious issues of concern in overcrowded classrooms. Cooper (1989) and Ehrenberg et al. (2001b) indicated that reducing the number of students in a class leads to a more students on task and less off task behavior. Conversely, too much teacher to whole class talk, which is heavily used in overpopulated classes, leads to a lack of an individualized 'teacher-student environment' i.e. limited students' engagement inside the class and thus more students' off task behaviors.

With relation to students' discipline, many studies (Blatchford & Mortimore, 1994; Rice, 1999; Stasz & Stecher, 2000 and Blatchford et al. 2011) point out that due to the deficiency in individualized contact with every student, students' discipline

tends to be more difficult in overpopulated classes. In other words, students misbehave more in overcrowded classes and as a result, establishing and maintaining order tends to be a major problem.

Undoubtedly, students' side talk and disciplinary problems reduce the overall amount of teaching and thus how much material can be covered. The presence of these issues inside the camp schools' classrooms exacerbate the problem of lack of time. It is worth mentioning that beside large classes, there are other reasons that make classes in IDP camps uncontrollable. A more explanation on these reasons will be given in sections 5.4.2, 5.4.3 and 5.4.4.

As the present study is specifically interested in issues related to IDP camp settings, it should be mentioned that overpopulated classrooms, as a matter of fact, is one of the main challenges that educational sectors within developing countries suffer from (Yelkpieri et al. 2012). Iraq as a developing country is no exception. Based on my experience as a former English language teacher at secondary school level in Iraq, a student-teacher ratio of 50-1 is not something unusual in public secondary schools, though not very popular.

Although the average class size in IDP camp schools is distinctly bigger comparing to other public schools, a student-teacher ratio of 50-1 still falls far away from an 'excellent' classroom setting that allows teachers to implement the new curriculum properly. By the same token, issues of students' side talk and disciplinary problems can be argued to be present in other non-camp schools.

However, the time-limitation challenge that the present study discusses is more severe in school camp settings for two reasons. Firstly, the average class size is still bigger in camp schools than in other non-camp schools and hence, procedural matters take longer times. Secondly, the time barrier that teachers face in the camp schools is not the mere result of large classes. In fact, there are other reasons which contributed in making time a real challenge for the teachers in camp schools.

To elaborate, it was evident from the early stages of collecting the data that teachers in double shift camp schools had less time to cover the curriculum than those in non-camp schools. Throughout the classroom observations, it was noticed that the duration of the English class was only thirty minutes, while it is normally 40 minutes in other non-camp secondary schools.

When the two headteachers of the two participating schools were asked about the reason behind decreasing the class duration, they indicated that the first reason was because of the double-shift system, whereas the second reason related to camp schools' location. To give more explanation, IDP camps are located outside the main cities in Iraq. Teachers at camp schools came mostly from the nearest cities to the camps and hence commuting long distances to their work. For this reason, schools inside IDP camps open at 8.30 a.m. (instead of 8.00 as with other non-camp schools) as most teachers would not be able to be in their schools earlier than 8.30, as the two headteachers indicated.

As camp schools open later than other non-camp schools to give teachers time to reach the schools, the headteachers added that camp schools also close earlier than other double shift non-camp schools to give students time to reach their destination. To explain, the schools are located inside massive camps that extend over vast areas as each camp houses tens of thousands of IDPs. The headteachers indicated that for safety reasons, they close their schools long before sunset (around three hours) to give all students time to reach their final destination in daylight.

The headteacher of the first school explained that although those students who live in the opposite side of the camp can reach their destinations within approximately an hour, it is of utmost importance in IDP camps that all students reach their place at least an hour and a half before complete darkness. He added that if any student does not reach his/her place at the daily regular time, whether because s/he got lost or for any other reason, there would still be some time left for their families to look for them before it would get dark.

In this vein, it should be mentioned that there was no outdoor light inside these camps. Therefore, it was of dire importance for the headteachers that schools must close long before sunset as they stressed that it would not be safe for any student to stay outside their tent after sunset.

As camp schools open later and close earlier that other non-camp double shift schools, the class time was reduced from 40 to 30 minutes as the school day time was shorter than other non-camp double shift schools. This, however, is one of the main distinctions between large classes in camp and non-camp schools.

Mr. Muhammed referred to the impact of the class time reduction on covering the material. To him, the curriculum was designed to be executed in a fixed number of 40-minute English language classes over an academic year. When the class time is reduced and not compensated with increasing the number of classes over an academic year, this simply means that teachers would not be able to implement all of the materials properly:

> The curriculum was designed in accordance with the class length and the number of the English classes over a year. it is a simple equation. On one side of the equation there is the textbook's content, and on the other side of the equation there is a fixed number of let us say hours. Changing one side will eventually change the entire outcome. If no extra classes are given to compensate the class time reduction, or in other words to meet the fixed number of hours needed to cover the curriculum, this clearly means that teachers can never cover all of the curriculum effectively.

Beside instructional time, the overall number of school days over an academic year is another distinction between camp and non-camp schools, regardless of their class size. Throughout their explanations of the difficulty to cover the curriculum, the participating teachers pointed out that school days are less in their schools than in other non-camp schools. In his interview, Mr. Othman pointed out that schooling stops in camp schools for many days during each academic year. One reason behind stop schooling, as Mr. Othman stated, is the weather:

> Schooling stops in days of extreme cold and heat. I guess anyone agrees that attending the school, whether for teachers or students, in such days with no heating and/or cooling systems becomes something impossible.

The impossibility of attending the school, that Mr. Othman referred to, was further explained by Mr. Salah:

> In camps winter is colder and summer is hotter than inside Mosul, or any other Iraqi city. When in Mosul, as you know, temperature in summer gets over 55 and below zero in winter, it is not hard to imagine how attending schools would be unrealistic here in this camp with no heating and cooling systems.

When Mr. Salah was probed to give more details on how long schooling stops, he added that the school reopens once it becomes sensible for the students to sit on their benches and comprehend what their teachers are communicating to them:

> The school does not close all summer and all winter. But when it gets to certain situations that you see all of the students shivering or heavily sweating, the school closes. I mean what is the point of bringing them to the classrooms if they would not listen to a word their teacher is saying any way. The only thing they would take from attending the school is illness. So, once we believe that bringing students back on their benches makes any sense, school reopens.

As the decision of closing the schools belongs to the headteachers, I was keen to know their points of view regarding school closure. Expectedly, the two headteachers indicated that students' healthiness is one of the top priorities for any headteacher. To them, although school closure effects covering the learning materials, students' well-being is a higher priority.

Moreover, they indicated that with the overcrowded classrooms in their schools, the likelihood of spreading infectious diseases is higher than in other non-camp schools. Hence, schooling during days of severe cold and heat in camp schools is seen, by camp schools' headteachers, as risky to their students' healthiness specially with the very poor ventilation systems in camp schools.

Beside days of extreme cold and heat, camp schools close on rainy days for two reasons, as the participating teachers pointed out. First, as the majority of the classrooms in camp schools are basically tents, rains penetrate the tents and simply make schooling pointless. Second, even if the majority of the classrooms (as with the second participating school) are made of caravans, and thus prevent the rain from getting inside, reaching the school in rainy days is an arduous challenge that all teachers and students avoid.

To elaborate, as camps have been built in deserted rural areas, walking inside these camps on rainy days is a tough challenge as these camps turn into muddy puddles. As one headteacher pointed out, camp schools on rainy days close simply because no student would be willing to pay an effort to come to the school anyway. The headteachers stated that even when the rain stops, camp schools do not open until the ground dries up which could take two to three days.

The last weather-related factor that reduces the number of school days in camp schools is wind. Unlike the previous factors (reduced class time and school closure during rainy and in severe cold and heat days) which influenced all camp schools similarly, the impact of wind on camp schools varies from one camp school to another. To explain, the more tents and less caravans in the school, the more severe the impact of wind on schooling in that school and vice versa.

With relation to the two participating schools in this study, the first school was mainly made of tents and only a few caravans. However, more caravans than tents made the second school. For this reason, it was those teachers from the first participating school who discussed the effect of wind on their school.

When probed to give more explanation about the challenge of time, Mr. Muhammed talked about many factors that slow teachers' progress in covering the curriculum, one of which is school closure due to wind:

> Schooling [in the first participating school] has been stopped twice only in this academic year due to wind. The wind destroyed most of the tents, or in other word most of the school, in the two times [….]. As the school has no

> spare tents, all we could do was waiting for new tents. This took more than two weeks in the first time and around 10 days in the second time.

Mr. Hasan added to this discussion. He pointed out that covering the curriculum in IDP camp school is a serious challenge due to school closures. To Mr. Hasan, it is illogical to ask teachers in IDP camp schools to cover the same curriculum that other non-camp schools could hardly cover:

> The new curriculum is unquestionably more condensed and more time consuming than the previous curriculum. Teachers in non-camp schools face difficulties in covering it from cover to cover. It is completely illogical to ask teachers to cover the same curriculum when the class time is 30 minutes instead of 40 minutes, in a school that closes many times and for many reasons during the year. Only because of the wind, this school has been closed around a month.

Based on what has been argued above, it is clear that the actual time for covering the curriculum in camp schools is significantly less than in other non-camp schools. This can be seen whether in the shorter class time or in the smaller number of school days over an academic year. In fact, there are other two factors which add to the challenge of covering the curriculum over an academic year. Unlike the previous challenges of reduced class time and a smaller number of school days, these two factors relate directly to teachers themselves.

The two teachers-related factors are shortage in teachers' number and teachers' absenteeism and turnover. With relation to the first factor, it was observed during collecting the data that there was insufficient number of English language teachers in the two participating schools, though it was more severe in the first school due to its larger number of students comparing with the second school.

To elaborate, I noticed that the English language teachers were running a distinctly tight schedule. Many of them actually had consecutive classes with no break, for five days a week, except for the two ten-minute breaks during the whole day-work. The condensed schedules for the teachers, however, did not compensate for the insufficient number of teachers.

In his interview, Mr. Ali talked about two strategies that he and his English language teacher colleagues were mainly using to cover this shortage of English language teachers. He stated that the first strategy was the multi-class teaching where students of more than one class are taught in one classroom. Mr. Ali pointed out that this strategy could only be practical, and even applicable, when at least one-third of the students are absent due to the large class sizes of the school.

The second strategy that was constantly being used, on the basis of their headteacher's instruction, was teaching classes alternatively. Mr. Ali explained that if a teacher is responsible for eight different classes, for example, s/he would teach only half of the classes (four classes) following a fast teaching pace for a certain period of time, two weeks for instance. During these two weeks, the English language classes for the other four classrooms (second half) are completely ignored. In the following two weeks, the teacher alternates to the second half of the classes s/he is responsible for and ignores the first half and so on.

Clearly, either of the two strategies reduces the actual instructional time devoted for a class to cover the curriculum. While it is clear in the second strategy as classes are periodically being left unattended, it can be argued than even with the multi-class teaching strategy, instructional time is reduced due to the more time being spent on procedural and domestic matters which, as being explained above, occur more frequently in overpopulated classrooms. Also, as Mr. Ali clarified, this strategy was only followed when at least one-third of the students were absent. In other words, it is the teaching classes on an alternative basis strategy, which has a more severe impact on reducing the instructional time, that was more often being followed by teachers.

Regarding the second teachers-related factor, it was observed that many classes were periodically being left unattended due to teachers' absenteeism and/or turnover. While reasons behind absenteeism and turnover will be further discussed in the coming themes, it is the impact of this factor on reducing the instructional time that matters in this discussion. In other words, teachers' absenteeism and/or turnover severely influenced the instructional time. While teachers' absenteeism

was distinctly higher in camp school than in other non-camp schools, the impact of teachers' turnover is even bigger. Classes were being left unattended for weeks, and in some cases for months, due to teachers' turnover as Mr. Abdullah indicated:

> In my opinion, teachers' turnover could be the biggest factor or challenge that impacts English language teaching in IDP camps. In the last year, many classes were left unattended due to teachers quitting their jobs. One fourth preparatory class, last year in this school, was only being attended one month at the beginning and one month at the end of the academic year.

Mr. Othman pointed out that one of the main reasons that makes it wrong to compare English language teaching between camp and non-camp schools is teachers' turnovers:

> It is nonsense that teachers in camp and non-camp schools are given the same curriculum to cover, the same examination system and the same rules to follow. One of the main reasons behind this nonsense is teachers' turnover. Many teachers in camp schools quit their jobs and classes remain unattended for a long period of time. Yet, the ministry of Education is still comparing us with other non-camp schools, expecting us to do the same job, deliver the same material. This is just wrong.

Mr. Ali drew a distinction between the impact of class sizes and the barrier of lack of time on teaching and learning in camp schools. To him, while some modifications on teaching methods and strategies can be made to make teaching, at least to some extent, effective in large classes, there is nothing that can be done to compensate for the less schooling days but ignoring many curriculum parts:

> Overpopulated classrooms may stand against an effective implementation of the new curriculum. However, there are many teaching methods and strategies that work well in large classes. It is true that teaching would still be less effective than in small classes, but at least teachers can deliver knowledge to students and cover the curriculum, even if only through drilling and recitation, and hence do their job as teachers which is improving their students' language in one way or another. The real problem for me is time. There is no method or strategy that can compensate for the lost time.

Mr. Abdullah asserted that all what he could do is ignoring some important materials for the sake of covering more important content:

> I always do a simple equation to make sure that the most important topics in the textbook are covered within the limited time. What I do is scanning the textbook and classifying topics according to their importance. Then I calculate how many topics can be covered within the available time. I start from the most important to the more important topics and so on. After each school closure, I repeat this process and modify my calculation. Because of what I do and believe to be the best method to make the most of the limited instructional time, I come across many topics in the textbook that I very well know their importance to students and completely ignore them.

In fact, all of the participating teachers talked about ignoring many curriculum parts. Teachers believed that any teacher would do the same as simply there is no way to avoid that. They also blamed the Ministry of Education for not taking the time barrier in camp schools into consideration. As Mr. Jasim pointed out:

> The Ministry of Education should have taken the time limit in camp schools into its consideration. All those in charge know well that the textbook cannot be covered in camp schools from cover to cover, and yet did nothing about that. It is now up to the teacher to ignore what s/he believes to be less important. What if the teacher was wrong?

Mr. Khalid referred to this issue. He argued that teachers in camp schools pass many curriculum parts over due to the insufficient time to cover the curriculum. However, he believed that classifying the curriculum parts based on their importance is a subjective process, and hence some of the most important parts could be skipped by the teacher:

> What I see as an important topic could be seen as more or less important by other teachers. More importantly, there are many volunteer teachers in camp schools who do not only lack teaching experience, but also a certificate in English language teaching. Some of these volunteers are students in preparatory schools themselves. I highly suspect that all of them will weigh the textbook content accurately. For this reason, I do believe that many of those most important topics are skipped by many teachers.

Related to this discussion, Mr. Muhammed indicated that the worst scenario that could happen is when some teachers do not classify the textbook content based on importance. Instead, they move from one topic to another and stop when the

academic year ends. He put the blame on the Ministry of Education for not taking real steps towards the time barrier issue:

> In the previous year, one English teacher covered only the first three and a half out of the eight units of the curriculum. Ironically, the second half of the curriculum is much more important than the first half and this is not just my own opinion. Although I cannot stop myself blaming him, I must say that such things happen when the Ministry of Education turns a deaf ear to the time barrier in camp schools. I told one supervisor about this incident and asked her to inform those in charge, at the Ministry of Education, about the necessity to introduce a brief version of the curriculum to camp schools but nothing happened.

To conclude, as the present theme discusses the main contextual barriers that affect English language teaching in IDP camps, it shows undoubtedly that teachers in camp schools have considerably less time to cover the curriculum than those in non-camp schools. The lack of time challenge manifests itself as a real barrier that impacts teaching and learning in IDP camp settings.

Given the fact that teachers in camp schools were demanded, by the Ministry of Education, to cover the same material as their peers in non-camp schools, it can be claimed that this would logically have a serious effect on teachers' implementation of the new curriculum. Such effect can be seen through teaching quality and quantity (teachers' choice of teacher-centered approach against student-centered approach as the first approach is less time consuming, and their neglection to many curriculum parts due to the lack of time).

Also, it can be argued that the problem of lack of time can be said to be the biggest challenge that prevents a proper teaching and learning in camp schools. In other words, while large classes can impede mainly teaching quality, the impact of time-limitation exceeded teaching quality to reducing how much materials are covered. As one teacher pointed out, teachers begin to think about improving their teaching methods and strategies once they have enough time to cover the textbook from cover to cover.

5.3.3 Inappropriate seating arrangements

The literature on classrooms' physical layout demonstrates that although seating arrangement may not seem to be very important, its effect on teaching and learning is massive and therefore should not be belittled (Daniels, 1998; Davis and Fox, 1999; Edwards, 2000; Marx et al, 2000; Benedict and Hoag, 2004; Wannarka and Ruhl, 2008; Fernandes et al, 2011).

Students in schools are mainly seated either in rows and columns where they face their teachers, or in whole/semi-circles where the students are divided up into groups and that members of each group face each another. According to a number of studies mentioned above, teachers' selection of teaching strategies depends to a large extent on the way their students are seated.

In brief, while the rows and columns arrangement could be more suitable for information dissemination (whereby teachers are seen as knowledge transmitters), whole/semi-circles arrangement lends itself more to student-centeredness. In other words, while the rows and columns' arrangement is more compatible with traditional method of teaching, it restricts an effective implementation of many teaching activities and/or teaching methods supported by communicative curricula. Whole/semi-circles arrangement, on the other hand, is more in line with communicative curricula where students are expected to actively engage in the class through interacting among themselves and with their teacher (Budge, 2000; Patton et al,2001; Perkins and Wieman, 2005; Kaya and Burgess, 2007;).

With relation to the present study, it was observed during collecting the data that seating arrangement in IDP camp schools' classes was posing a serious challenge towards proper teaching and learning. In their interviews, teachers confirmed the negative influence of the physical arrangement of their classes through explaining its effect on teaching and learning. In this part of data analysis, an explanation about the physical layout of the classrooms will first be given. Then, the effect of such a challenging layout on teaching and learning will be discussed through the difficulties that teachers faced when conducting group work.

Concerning the physical layout of the classrooms, students in the camp schools were seated on long bench desks that were fixed to the ground and arranged in two columns on either side of the class. Due to the large number of students inside each class, the walkway between the two columns of bench desks was filled with students sitting on the ground. This was the case in the majority of the classes within the two participating schools. In other words, the only place for the teachers to walk around in the classroom was at the front of the class, between the first two rows (on each side of the class) and the green board (which was placed in front of the students).

Teachers in their interviews pointed out that many teaching activities, especially group work, became useless with such an inappropriate arrangement. To give more details, five of the eight participating teachers (Mr. Khalid, Mr. Muhammed, Mr. Ali Mr. Abdullah and Mr. Jasim) believed that one of the main barriers that teachers face if they are to follow the instruction of the new curriculum is the impractical seating arrangement of the students.

To many teachers, the most prominent difference between the old and the new curriculum is the implementation of group work. For example, when Mr. Abdullah was asked about the main differences between the two curricula, he opened his answer with two words 'group work'. In fact, the new curriculum, through the teacher's book, reiterates the need of getting the students to work in groups. That is, according to the new curriculum, a big proportion of the activities (in the activity's book) that students should perform in the classroom are supposed to be executed in groups. This could be clearly seen in both the activity and the teacher's book.

However, the new curriculum also asks the teachers to arrange the students in circles so that members of the same group face each other. The teacher's role, according to the new curriculum, is to make sure that every student (within his/her group) is taking part in the discussion, find out the students' level or command over the particular skill that the activity revolves around, make sure that all the discussions are going in the right direction and provide help and assistance if

needed. Clearly, this can only be accomplished if the teacher walks between the different groups, observes and listens to the students while they are engaging in group discussions.

The impractical seating arrangement of the students was one of the main reasons that had an effect on teachers' beliefs concerning the utility of using group work in their classrooms.

When probed about the importance of getting the students to work in groups, Mr. Khalid first explained his positive point of view about group work activities. He explained that group work is one of the most useful strategies in teaching and learning. He added that he had first hand experienced the benefits of this strategy for two years when he was doing his M. Sc. in Jordan. To him, group work is not only a beneficial strategy for teaching and learning, but it also brings 'fun to the class' and increases students' motivation towards learning the English language. Moreover, he argued that group work 'kills the boredom' that usually accompanies and affects teachers and students when a foreign language is taught in traditional ways.

After explaining his stance on using group work as a teaching strategy, Mr. Khalid began to illustrate how classrooms settings in his school 'forced' him to abandon this 'great strategy':

> It is not a great strategy by its own. I mean, it is not that you get your students to work in groups, regardless of the surrounding settings, and then the students will learn better. It is not going this way. There are certain things which should be there in the class to make this strategy great. First, you need to have your students seated in circles, I mean around few tables, and not on benches. Next, you need to move between one table and another, listen to your students, offer assistance and take notes regarding each student's performance in the discussion. When you can do none of these, what greatness is left in this strategy?

After conducting one classroom observation with Mr. Salah, I noticed that Mr. Salah straightforwardly wrote on the green board the answers for an activity which, according to the curriculum, should be done through group work. Mr. Salah was

asked, in the post-observation interview, why he did not ask his students to work in group as the curriculum illustrates. He linked the effectiveness of using group work with the teacher ability to move around all over the classroom and reach every student, or group, in the class. He explained that as he could not come near every student (due to the walkway being filled with students sitting on the ground), using group work will lead to chaos:

> if I ask students to work in groups, what do you think those who are sitting in the back of the class will talk about? Do you really think that their discussion will be about the activity in question, or about the last joke or story they heard? For me, if I cannot move around the whole classroom, I will not ask the students to work in groups because the outcome of the activity will be just a huge chaos in the class.

To conclude, there was a sharp contradiction between the seating arrangement in IDP camp schools and the new curriculum which stresses the need of having the students seated into circles for the purpose of conducting effective and productive group work activities. Taken together, it can be argued that class size, the very limited time and the inappropriate seating arrangement were posing a serious obstacle towards an appropriate and effective implementation of the new curriculum in IDP camp schools. As Mr. Muhammad argued, there is not much that teachers could do to overcome these three challenges. According to him, the only thing that teachers can do is to implement the new curriculum inappropriately with the presence of these difficulties.

5.4 Teachers' beliefs about students' learning outcome

In addition to the three main challenges (class size, time, seating arrangement) discussed earlier in this chapter, the participating teachers stated that there were other factors which negatively affected students learning. In other words, the participating teachers believed that even if the new curriculum is accurately implemented in camp schools, it would still be very hard for camp school students to learn much due to the existence of other severe factors that make teaching of any subject (English language, Mathematics, Physics, etc) almost fruitless or at least problematic.

While so many factors were mentioned by different teachers, four of these factors (students' inability to do homework, lack of thermal comfort, the language barrier and noise pollution) were agreed on by all of the teachers and were found to be the most severe ones in terms of impacting students' learning outcome. More details about each of these four factors will be given in the following subsections.

5.4.1 Students' inability to do homework

In their interviews, teachers pointed out that it would be preposterous to believe that students can do lots of reading, writing or any kind of homework outside their school. They indicated that students were leading a very tough and challenging life as they were dwelling in camps which had no access to electric power and thus no electric lighting. Moreover, as electric power was not supplied to the camps, students were lacking any kind of heating and cooling systems whatsoever.

Mr. Othman argued that it would be 'unhuman' to assign the students homework and expect that students would just throw all of their difficulties behind their back and do their homework on candlelight. In his words:

> These students are facing so many unbearable challenges. They sleep shivering from cold in winter and sweating in summer. One student last winter came to me crying. He told me that the rain from the last night ruined his notebook and all his copybooks. This is only one portion of the difficulties that people face when living in camps. That is why I deeply believe that it would be completely unhuman to assign homework to camp school students. You know, it is illogical to expect that students can throw their difficulties behind their back and start doing their work on candlelight as they have no electricity.

Mr. Salah believed that if assignments were given to students, these assignments would not be done anyway. He stated that while many camp school students work after school and have no time to do assignments, others simply do not have the stamina or the required determination to do any kind of assignments or homework due to the many, including but not limited to mental, difficulties they have.

Teachers linked students' ability, or inability, to study at home with to what extent schooling can be beneficial. They stressed that Iraqi secondary school students learn English by memorization and that teachers' job is mainly to explain and simplify grammar rules and give meaning of new words to their students so that memorization becomes easier. In other words, how much students learn depends to a large extent on 'how many hours per day students study at home'. As a matter of fact, in spite of all the steps that the Iraqi Ministry of Education has recently taken to enhance the educational system in Iraq, the old method of memorizing the information and copying the same information in the exams still prevailing. For this reason, the teachers believed that if students cannot study or in other words memorize at home, passing the exams, which is the ultimate goals for almost every student, would not be achievable.

Mr. Muhammad talked about this issue in detail. To him, the subjects that students study in secondary school are mainly learnt by memorizations. He believed that if students cannot study at home, then teaching these subjects would be pointless. In his words:

> As you know, in Iraq teachers only simplify new information or new knowledge to their students to make it easier for students to learn this information or knowledge by heart while studying at home. With relation to the subjects being taught at secondary school level, they cannot be learnt without memorization which can be only achieved through doing lots of reading and rereading and lots of homework. If none of this can be done, then students would not learn, and schooling becomes pointless.

To Mr. Abdullah, one can easily figure out that the Iraqi educational system relies heavily on memorization through looking at any final examination's paper:

> If you look at any exam paper, a final examination's paper, you would see that the vast majority of the questions demand the students to write down what they have stored in their minds. I mean the main questions that you can find on exam papers are 'define', 'explain', 'justify with examples taken from the textbook' and so on. Even in subjects like English language, you can find many questions of this kind. You know that in both of the old and the new English language curriculum, there are many passages that students have to learn by hearts. I mean there are always questions in the

> final exam that have to do with these passages. If students do not memorize these passages, how would they answer these questions?

Mr. Abdullah added that while English language teachers read the passages so that students know how new words are pronounced and give the meaning of the new words, it is the students' job to learn these passages by heart.

Mr. Khalid had a similar belief. He stated that intellectual questions, where students have to rely on their own understandings of a certain topic, are not encouraged within the Iraqi educational system. Instead, copying from textbooks is what students are expected to do:

> At secondary school level, students are never being asked to do research using the internet, the library or any other source from outside the school. The Iraqi educational system does not encourage such kind of studies that provoke the intellectual abilities of the students. So, what differentiates one student from another in exams is how much information taken literally from the textbook is stored in the mind.

It is clear that teachers believe that any curriculum made for regular schools cannot work in camp schools as students cannot do homework and thus cannot be equipped to pass the exams. This was made obvious when teachers were asked what can be done to make teaching and learning effective in camp schools. They stated that nothing can be made as long as the same curricula and examination systems are being followed. To elaborate, the participating teachers demonstrated that there should be new designed-for-camps curricula and new examination systems where students are not assessed on a memorization basis.

As was argued above, the participating teachers agreed that it would be hard to expect that students would be capable of doing any kind of homework. This assumes that the main place for students to learn is inside their schools, or in other words in the classroom. Unfortunately, this is not the case. As will be explained below, teachers' opinions coupled with notes taken by the researcher clearly show that it is a troublesome task for the majority of the students to learn much from their teacher and/or to focus inside the classroom.

5.4.2 Lack of thermal comfort

One of the main difficulties that teachers and students suffered from in IDP camp schools was the high and low temperatures due to the lack of electricity. Summer and winter in Iraq are extreme and dominate most of the year. Given the fact that IDP camps were built in deserted areas of the country, the situation is even worse in camp schools. As a matter of fact, every single participating teacher mentioned the bad weather, especially the high temperature, as a real barrier towards proper teaching and learning as it causes fatigue to the teachers and prevents students from concentrating in the classroom.

Classroom temperature has been studied by many researchers to examine its influences on teaching and learning. Hannah (2013: 17), for instance, demonstrated that classroom temperature is a crucial factor due to its significant influence on the classroom learning environment. Many researchers, such as Earthman (2004) and Schneider (2002), demonstrated that temperature is a fundamental element in a way that students' optimal results could be gained if the classroom temperature is within what is called the 'thermal comfort'.

Thermal comfort has been defined by Givoni (1981) as 'the absence of irritations and discomfort due to heat or cold, or in a positive sense, as a state involving pleasantness'. For Amasuomo and Onyia (2014) thermal comfort is 'a state in which a person will judge the environment to be neither too warm nor too cold; a neutral point defined by the absence of any feeling of discomfort'. Lastly, Markus and Morris (1980) defined thermal comfort as 'a state a person will judge the environment to be neither too warm nor too cold or thermally neutral, and in this condition, the strain on the body's thermoregulatory mechanism is minimal'.

Hence, while students are expected to channel their focus on the lesson, out of comfort zone temperature causes them to concentrate on their discomfort instead. Out of comfort zone temperature affects students' performance and concentration as such conditions make them feel uncomfortable.

The participating teachers questioned students' abilities to concentrate when they are heavily sweating from heat or shivering from cold. To Mr. Hasan, it would be irrational to expect that students would be able to comprehend what their teacher is saying when it is over 50 Celsius:

> It is illogical to expect that students can prevent the high temperatures from affecting their concentration inside the classroom. We are not talking about a slightly warm temperature. It is over 50 Celsius combined with the breath of more than 60 students in a relatively small tent. This is more than enough to make students comprehend nothing from what their teacher is communicating to them.

Mr. Ali questioned how students can focus on their teachers when they struggle to breathe. He stated that during summer, many students suffer from breathing problems:

> Breathing problem is a thing here. You know these camps are built in deserted areas. For this reason, the air is saturated with dust. This causes many displaced students to suffer from many respiratory problems. In summer, there are always many students in each classroom that struggle to breath due to their breathing problems which are exacerbated in high temperatures. I really cannot understand how any student can focus on his/her teacher when s/he cannot breathe normally, let alone heavily sweating in a small tent that has no cooling system whatsoever.

Mr. Muhammad believed that although there are many difficulties that students and teachers face in camp schools, high and low temperatures are the most severe in terms of their effect on teaching and learning:

> There are many difficulties in camp schools. I think if we want teaching and learning to be fruitful, then we should first find a solution to the high and low temperatures that we suffer from here. These high and even low temperatures do not allow students to pay attention to what their teachers are saying. Students cannot even use their copybooks and notebooks in many weeks during the summer. Their sweat ruins what they write. This happened so many times. How can you expect students to be attentive when they are experiencing such difficulties?

To conclude, teachers argued that an atmosphere of either high or low temperatures is not conducive to genuine learning as out of thermal comfort

temperatures prevent students from focusing in the classroom. However, beside high and low temperatures, there are other factors that negatively impacted students' attentiveness. The next section will talk about the language barrier between teachers and students.

5.4.3 Language barrier

As was mentioned earlier (see section 4.7), the majority of the displaced students came from Sinjar; a district of Nineveh government (around 80 km to the west of Mosul, the regional capital of Nineveh). Due to its proximity to Kurdistan and to some other political reasons, people in Sinjar mainly speak Kurdish. Arabic, on the other hand, is the second language that many people in Sinjar do not master. Before 2014, the year of displacement, the majority of teachers in Sinjar were from the same district and hence, Kurdish was the language of communication between teachers and students.

However, most of the teachers in IDP camps were Arab, and could not understand nor speak Kurdish at all. Thus, there was a real language barrier in IDP camp schools. During data collection, I noticed many incidents when a person (mostly a student) is asked to translate between a student and a teacher as they speak two different languages and each of them is monolingual. The following extract is taken from Mr. Muhammed class:

> Mr. Muhammed (in Arabic): you the one who is sitting behind Shammo, yes you with the green shirt, open your book on page 53 and read from the top of the page.
>
> As that student did nothing the teacher returned to address the same student: open your book please on page 53 and read from the top of the page
>
> A number of students (in Arabic): he does not speak Arabic.
>
> Mr. Muhammed (addressing me in Arabic): take a note of what you just saw. I think this is important as it partially shows the difficulties that teachers and students face in the camps. By the way, there are many

> students in each class that do not understand Arabic at all, and many more students who barely understand but cannot speak the language.

Beside Mr. Muhammed, teachers in their interviews talked in detail about this language barrier. To start with, Mr. Khalid argued that the language barrier is one of the biggest reasons that makes schooling in IDP camps unfruitful. He stated that no matter what teaching methods and strategies are being used by teachers, there would still be a proportion of the students who would not learn due to their incapability of understanding what their teacher is communicating to them. In his words:

> Let us forget about all other challenges and suppose that the only challenge in this school is the Arabic-Kurdish barrier. How can teaching be fruitful, even when the best teaching methods and strategies are being followed, when some students cannot understand what their teacher is saying? Actually, I believe that the Ministry of Education should have found a solution to this language barrier, let alone many other challenges, before deciding to open any camp school.

Mr. Othman stated that one of the main challenges in camp schools is the language barrier. To him, when a number of students are unable to understand what their teacher is communicating, there would be 'a double negative effect'. Firstly, a direct effect on those students themselves as they would not be able to increase their knowledge and ultimately to pass the exam which is basically the ultimate reason for students. Secondly, an indirect effect on the class as a whole as those students would not just sit in calm. Instead, they would start talking with others and the class becomes uncontrollable.

Mr. Jasim added to this discussion. He believed that it is hard to control students who find themselves unable to understand their teachers. In his words:

> When there is only five percent of students who cannot understand what their teacher is saying, the whole class turns uncontrollable. Each of those students would start talking with those around them, laughing, distracting their colleagues' attention and so on.

The notes taken from classroom observations coupled with teachers' statements during their interviews show that students were more easily controlled when teachers speak Kurdish. That is to say, only two of the participating teachers (Mr. Ali and Mr. Hasan) were from Sinjar themselves and for this reason speak Kurdish. Noises in their classes were significantly less than in other classes run by Arab teachers. Interestingly, class size, or in other words the number of students, for the Kurdish teachers' classes was either as the same as or way bigger than the Arab teachers' classes. This was clear with Mr. Ali. Although Mr. Ali was only 21 years old, he controlled his class much better than other teachers, for instance Mr. Abdullah (61 years), Mr. Jasim (49 years) and Mr. Khalid (33 years).

5.4.4 Noise pollution

In relation to the difficulties that influenced students' learning in the two participating schools, noise could be the most evident challenge that an outside observer would firstly notice. That is to say, the very high noise level was the first note I wrote when entering the school for the first time to have the first school teachers' consent. Whilst I was in the teachers' room speaking with the headteacher, I noticed that there was a high level of noise in the school courtyard which undoubtedly was penetrating the tents in which classes were running at that time. Also, at the very beginning of my first classroom observation, it was clear that with such high level of noise, it would be difficult for the students to concentrate and for those sitting in the back of the class to learn as they could hardly understand what their teacher was communicating.

In fact, noise was the result of many factors. As literature into classroom acoustics indicated (Addison et al., 1999; Knecht et al., 2002; Shiel and Dockrell, 2004; Woolner and Hall, 2010), noise comes from three main sources. Firstly, there is an external noise which comes from outside the classroom. Secondly, there are background noises which are emerged from within the same classroom such as heating and ventilation systems. Lastly, there is an internal noise which is caused

by students' engagement in learning activities or by their side and unrelated to the class content speech.

With relation to the present study, it was noticed that the camp school classes were exposed to external and internal noises. To start with the external noise, it is critical to mention that all the classes in the camp schools were either tents or caravans and thus the sound insulation was extremely poor. Hence, it is not hard to imagine that any sound coming from outside a classroom would affect the running of the class more severely than with other non-camp school classes.

More importantly, the tents and caravans in the two schools were placed in the form of a circle with the school courtyard inside the ring. Therefore, a high level of noise was commonly coming inside the classrooms due to students running, laughing, shouting and playing sport (mostly football and volleyball) in the courtyard. It is also important to state that during any school day, there were always tens of students in the school courtyard due to the insufficient number of the teachers comparing to the number of the classes. Hence, there was always at least one class (around 60 students) being left unattended by a teacher. Lastly, the schools had no fencing whatsoever. Therefore, children from outside the schools were always coming in and out of the courtyard and had their share in disturbing the classes.

Internal noise, on the other hand, was also caused by many factors. As was discussed above, the language barrier played a role in increasing students' side-talks. In addition to the language barrier, teachers mentioned many other factors that were causing the internal noise. To many teachers, the large number of students could be the main reason behind teachers' inability to control the class, or in other words to keep their classes quiet. To Mr. Jasim, students tend to be quiet in small classes as teachers would easily recognize those who are making noises. In large classes, it could become difficult for the teacher to 'know where the noise is coming from' especially when the noise comes from the back.

Mr. Muhammad added to this discussion. He believed that the large number of students is exacerbated by teachers' inability to move around in the classroom due to the walkway (between the two columns of bench desks) being filled with students sitting on the ground. To Mr. Muhammad, this turns the back of the classroom into a safe zone for students as they can easily hide from their teacher. In his words:

> Those at the back of the classroom are having their own safe zone. They know that teachers can only stay at the front. Therefore, all they have to do is to duck down a little, and then they can talk, laugh or do whatever they want to do, and they will not be seen.

In fact, as I mainly sat at the back of the class when making classroom observations, I noticed that those students at the back were rarely calm. They tended to lean forward to hide from the teacher and keep talking, laughing, eating and even playing games during the class. This, however, does not imply that there was no noise coming from the middle or front of the class.

Mr. Salah mentioned another factor that leads students to indulge in side-talks and hence increasing the noise. He contended that when students lack their book to follow with their teacher, they would feel an urge to speak with one another as students normally do not just sit and do nothing when they cannot follow up with their teacher. In this vein, it is critical to state that the data were collected between March and April 2016, and the school year started at the first of October 2015. However, it was noticed that many students, in all the classrooms I was in for conducting classroom observations, were attending the English language class with no copy of their student's book.

Moreover, the participating teachers stated that the injustice and the persecution that the displaced students suffered from had affected their psychological state. The poor psychological well-being of students, according to the teachers, was also a major factor behind increasing students' side-talk and misbehavior. That is to say, many teachers (Mr. Khalid, Mr. Muhammad, Mr. Othman, Mr. Abdullah and Mr. Jasim) argued that the students' unstable psychological state was driving them to

misbehave in the classroom whether through pushing, hitting, laughing, arguing with the teacher and/or with their peers and so on.

To Mr. Othman, the poor mental health was manifested on students' behaviors differently. While it made some students tend to stay silent and isolate themselves from their surrounding world, it made others stubborn and intractable. He added that intractable behaviors were more likely to be seen with the older students in the school, while their younger counterparts were more like 'living in their own shell'.

It is worth noting that many research (for example, McBrien, 2005; Saklan and Erginer, 2017; O'Neal et al., 2018) indicated that camp students are prone to rowdiness and rebellious attitudes which ultimately increase noises and lead to chaos in the classroom. Logically, it is not unexpected to see disciplinary problems in a class of traumatized students. The many stressors that these students were facing coupled with the unthinkable experiences that they had gone through made their behavior in such ways completely understandable. Mr. Khalid had a similar view:

> When a teenager questions his/her value as a person, s/he usually tends to attract others' attention. This is especially true for young boys. I think this is simply what is happening. These students are living in primitive-like camps. They lack their basic rights. Under such circumstances, the self-value at least for some of these destitute children would shake and causing them to behave inappropriately in an attempt to gain some of their self-value back. My point is that those students want to shed light on themselves through acting in this way, they want to be seen and noticed by others.

Importantly, many of those who were misbehaving inside camp school classrooms were not even students. To elaborate, as camp schools have no fencing, many children from outside the schools were getting in the classes with the teachers being unable to identify the intruders due to the large number of students in each class. To Mr. Ali, while some of those intruders came to school to 'kill time' as they had nothing else to do, others came especially for disturbing purposes.

Mr. Hasan added to this discussion. To him, most of the worst disruptive behaviors were committed by the intruders as they had nothing to lose:

> Unlike students, which might be intimidated by grades and marks, the intruders have nothing to lose. They know very well that the worst scenario for them is to be yelled at and then being told to never come back to school again, and they all keep coming back.

While Mr. Ali stated that those intruders were coming for killing time and/or disturbing purposes, Mr. Muhammad added another reason. According to Mr. Muhammad, teenage boys from outside the schools were getting inside the classrooms for meeting girls purposes. In other words, classrooms for those intruders were the only places to make relationships with girls. In his words:

> Parents do not allow their teenage girls to leave their tents on their own. When girls leave their tents, they are usually accompanied by other family members as camps are not the place someone wants their daughter to be alone. The only place therefore for the displaced girls to be unaccompanied are schools. Female students actually are always complaining about being harassed inside the school and the classrooms, and mainly by boys who are not students.

Mr. Khalid added that bearing in mind the intruders' age and their unstable psychological status, making troubles and mocking others including the teacher, could be their favorite way to get the female students' attention. Mr. Othman had an identical opinion. He explained that he did not take most of the students' misbehaviors personally as he believed that students were acting in such ways to be noticed by their female peers. However, he also asserted that regardless of the students' intentions, inappropriate behaviors always disrupt the classroom and hinder learning.

To sum up, it is clear that there were so many factors that contributed in keeping the classrooms noisy. Whilst it can be argued any of the above-mentioned several factors could prevent the class from running smoothly, the existence of many factors together constituted a serious obstacle that hinders genuine and effective learning from taking place. This is in line with literature on the effect of noise on teaching and learning.

In fact, whilst research on the effect of the school environment on teaching and learning is confusing and indecisive, literature on the effect of noise on teachers and students, represented in results derived from a wide range of research with different experimental and observational methodologies being followed, is characterized by a greater consensus. That is to say, remarkably consistent and convincing studies concluded that noise is one of the major factors that could negatively affect teachers and students (Fisher, 2001; Schneider, 2002; Earthman, 2004).

The reason behind this consistency within the noise literature could be explained in the following lines. In professional educational and academic settings such as universities, schools and any other learning environments, data is mainly delivered through oral communication. In other words, teaching and learning predominantly depend on the oral communication between teachers and students. Shield and Dockrell (2003: 99) argued that the central role of a classroom is to build up an environment in which information can be clearly transferred from teacher to students. Hence, knowing that teaching and learning depend to a very large extent on oral communication which logically could be affected by surrounding noises, it is therefore not surprising to have a consensus within the noise literature.

Shield and Dockrell (2003) added that noise annoyance could create a negative learning environment that hinders learning. To elaborate, noise could compromise teachers' performance resulting in a lower amount and quality of learning. To begin with the amount of students' learning, Rivlin and Weinstein (1984: 349) observed that there is a reduction in the amount of teaching in noisy classrooms. They estimated that up to 11% of teaching time could be lost due to teachers' pausing in reaction to noises. Logically, reduction in teaching time leads to a reduction in the amount of learning.

The quality of learning, on the other hand, is also affected by noises. As is known, teachers are required to deliver an effective teaching to students. Undoubtedly, teachers' well-being is an important factor which promotes teachers' effectivity. According to noise literature (for instance Berg, 1993 and Kristiansen et al., 2012),

teachers who may find themselves imposed to raise their voice level to counteract the surrounding noises, might incur some problems related to their health and/or well-being. In line with that, many researchers (Enmarker and Boman, 2004; Woolner and Hall, 2010; Gilavand and Jamshidnezhad, 2016) stated that voice fatigue, drowsiness, sleeping problems and headache have been identified as a particular health concern for teachers who constantly raise their voices inside the classrooms.

Moreover, the available evidence that comes from a wide range of sources into poor acoustical environments, or what is called 'noise pollution', revealed that noisy surroundings have a serious impact on teachers' psychological well-being. In other words, many symptoms have been found in teachers working in a noise polluted environment such as less patience, tiredness without obvious reason, annoyance, stress, distress, irritation, tenseness, frustration, depression, lack of concentration, lack of energy and lack of motivation (Enmarker and Boman, 2004; Evans and Hygge, 2007; Seetha et al., 2008; Kristiansen et al., 2012).

As a result, the process of teaching becomes more mentally exhausting for teachers experiencing any of these symptoms. Not surprisingly, Earthman and Lemasters (2009) declared that teachers' job satisfaction was found to be considerably low for those who work in a noisy environment. Kristiansen et al. (2012) confirmed the claim given by Earthman and Lemasters (2009) by indicating that the risk of having teachers leaving their jobs is significantly higher in noisy environments.

In relation to the present research, many of the participating teachers said that they were suffering from some of the previously mentioned symptoms. However, more details will be given in the next section when discussing teachers' motivation in camp schools. As for the effect of noises on the quality of learning, and based on what has been stated above, it can be argued that the quality of teaching would undoubtedly be less efficient in camp schools due to the impact of noise on camp school teachers. In other words, optimal teachers' efficiency, which is a prerequisite for an effective teaching and learning, cannot be gained within noisy classrooms (Lucas, 1981).

Lastly, it is important to mention that the effect of noise exceeds the amount and quality of learning. Noise annoyance plays a role in creating another kind of discernible impact which could be noticed within noisy classrooms. Gallup (1986) clarified that noise increases students' off-task behavior. Teachers, on the other hand, will hardly be able to be patient and friendly with the students in reaction to their off-task behavior (Seetha et al., 2008). All these factors will unquestionably have a negative effect on teaching and learning.

In conclusion, knowing the significant impact of noise on teaching, learning and on creating an unfavorable social atmosphere of tension which promotes students' unwillingness to learn, it is not surprising to know that students' most frequently mentioned problems, as shown by a study conducted by Flutter (2006) who spent more than ten years consulting students about their learning, are noise-related. Bearing in mind that noise level in camp schools is arguably higher than in other schools, it becomes quite understandable when teachers (such as Mr. Khalid and Mr. Muhammad) stressed that schooling in camp schools is almost pointless due to the very noisy atmosphere.

To take all of the factors that affected students learning together, it arguably becomes clear why teachers in camp schools had strong doubts concerning the outcome of teaching in IDP camps. As was mentioned earlier, it is because of these difficulties that camp school teachers believed that teaching and learning in camp schools should never be looked at and thought of to be the same as in non-camp schools.

5.5 Teachers' motivation

As the present study seeks to unravel how IDP camp settings affect English language teaching in camp schools, teachers' motivation should then be accounted for. That is to say, during collecting the data, it was clear that teachers were lacking motivation towards their job and this lack of motivation can be argued to be affecting English language teaching, especially in terms of teaching quality. The participating teachers mentioned many factors that

negatively impacted their motivation and enthusiasm towards teaching. Each of these factors will be discussed separately in the coming subsections.

5.5.1 Late payment of teachers' salaries

Late payment of teachers' salaries was one of the biggest issues in terms of the factors that were impacting teachers' motivation towards their job. It is worth mentioning that only displaced teachers were not receiving their salaries on time. To explain, the Iraqi Ministry of Education stated that after the displacement took place in 2014, there were certain challenges in transferring the money from Baghdad (the Capital of Iraq) to IDP camps around Iraq. Therefore, teachers in IDP camps were receiving their salaries 3-4 months late.

This late payment had a severe impact on teachers' motivation as the majority of the displaced people, including the teachers, were already going through many financial problems. Mr. Jasim explained how displacement had impacted teachers financially. In his words:

> Before 2014, most of the teachers in this school were living either in their own houses, or in their parents' houses especially for those young single teachers or newly married ones. Hence, they did not have any rent to pay. This is not the case anymore. We have to pay at least half of our salaries only for rent. Even for those who were living in rented houses, they were paying less comparing with what they are paying now in Duhok.

As a matter of fact, rent was taking a toll on teachers and was exhausting them financially. After millions of people were displaced in 2014, rents went too high in certain cities in Iraq, one of which was Duhok where the majority of the participating teachers were living in. Therefore, some teachers were giving almost all of their salaries only for rent. Mr. Salah gave some details concerning this issue:

> After 2014, when thousands of people were coming every day to Duhok, rent went high and out of control. Now you cannot find a flat under 400$ whereas our monthly salaries are around 500$. The problem does not end at this point. Many landlords in Duhok now refuse to rent you a flat unless you

> pay for six months in advance, some of them actually ask for a year. Remember we are talking about unfurnished flats, so you need more money for at least the basic furniture.

Based on what was mentioned above, it is not hard to figure out why late payment was strongly impacting the displaced teachers. Moreover, the displaced teachers were not only frustrated because they were not receiving their salaries on time, but also because they believed that late payment was happening due to corruption. To elaborate, concerning the participating teachers in this study, their salaries were transferred (through money-transfer firms) from the Iraqi Ministry of Education in Baghdad to the local Directorate of Education in Duhok.

According to the participating teachers, late payment was not happening because there were certain challenges in transferring the money from Baghdad to the local Directorate of Education in Duhok and then to the camps. Rather, they asserted that late payment was happening because money-transfer firms give interest rate if they keep hold of the money for a period of time and that the longer the period is the higher the interest they give.

Mr. Othman wondered how any motivation can be left when a teacher sees some government officials make profits out of his/her suffering in time s/he is desperate for money:

> It is not a secret that displaced teachers are in desperate need for money. Yet, we receive our salaries four months late whereas other teachers in non-camp schools have their salaries on time. They are making huge profit on our suffering and then ask us to be motivated. I wonder if any motivation can be left when you know that there are some government officials who are making use of your pain and yet no one is willing to put a stop to this corruption as simply they either do not care or have their share in this continuous corruption.

In their interviews, teachers brought the subject of late payment when they were asked about the challenges that teachers in IDP camps face and/or when they were probed to talk about their motivation towards English language teaching. It was obvious that late payment was impacting their personal lives as

their basic needs were unmet. Teachers were unable to find housing and/or afford rent. Moreover, some of the teachers are married and have many children. Those teachers explained how the late payment prevented them from offering a decent life to their families, let alone enjoying any kind of luxurious life. As Mr. Muhammad indicated:

> If I was single and not responsible for a wife and two kids, I might not be much worried about late payment. But I have responsibilities towards my family. When you cannot afford your family a decent life, and start accruing debt due to late payment, this will definitely decrease your motivation towards your work.

Mr. Muhammad explained how late payment had affected his personal life. He stated that because he was not receiving his salary frequently, he had to do another full-time job. In his words:

> If I am receiving my salary frequently then I can get by. Since this is not the case, I am doing now a second full-time job. I work now as a full-time lecturer in a private university. For this reason, I spend most of the day away from my wife and children. Put aside that I am literally exhausted from doing two jobs, I do not have time to do my duties and obligations as a father. In fact, I do not like my job here in the camp anymore.

Mr. Khalid had a more severe view:

> I do not want to lie and say that late payment did not affect my motivation and enthusiasm towards my work. I have a wife and three kids and may be one of the worst scenarios that can happen to a father is being unable to make ends meet. For this reason, I frankly speaking hate it every time I come to school. I hate to see the school and the main reason I am here today is because I have not found a better job yet.

The extracts above show clearly how the late payment of teachers' salaries had a direct effect on teachers' personal lives. This effect was translated into teachers' absenteeism and decreased job satisfaction. To start with absenteeism, it was noticed that absenteeism was common amongst teachers in IDP camps. While some teachers could not come to school five days a week as a result of having a second job, others just lacked the motivation and the desire to come. Mr. Othman talked about teachers' absenteeism:

> When I do not want to go to school, I just send an SMS to the headteacher. I just tell him that I will not come tomorrow. He rarely asks why. I mean he most frequently replies with 'okay do not come'. Of course, I cannot do that three times a week, but one time a week is completely normal. Actually, every teacher is taking one day off. It becomes like an unspoken rule. The headteacher understands very well that we are not getting paid and therefore it would be somehow fair not to come to school five days a week. In fact, the headteacher himself takes one day off every week.

Similarly, I also noticed that some teachers were coming to school but were not taking all of their classes. Some of them were even leaving the school too early or were spending hours chatting with their colleagues in the teachers' room while leaving their class unattended. This happened so many times during the period I was collecting the data in the two schools. One day the headteacher asked one of the teachers why he left his class unattended, the teacher replied that he was not paid for the classes he already took earlier that day so why would he take anymore classes.

I also had the chance to speak with the two schools' headteachers concerning teachers' absenteeism. They both had similar views. They argued that if they were to apply the rule strictly on teachers, ignoring the fact that they were not receiving their salaries on time, many of the teachers would leave their job and that would be a disaster as the two schools were already suffering from shortage of teachers. For this reason, the headteachers indicated that they chose to tolerate absenteeism as long as it stays under their control.

Concerning job satisfaction, and bearing in mind that two of the participating teachers were working voluntarily and thus were not asked if they would prefer to do another job, four of the remaining six participating teachers stated that they would leave their job the moment 'they find a better job'. Needless to say, late payment was one of the main reasons behind their dissatisfaction and thus their willing to start a new job.

This is in line with other research. For example, in a study conducted by Aden (2016) in a Somalia IDP camp, teachers mentioned that out of all the challenges

they had to deal with, issues related to their salaries were the 'most remarkable ones'. By the same token, Shriberg (2007, p. 20) stated that displaced teachers' motivation, when not being paid, is severely affected to the extent that they lose their desire to teach as they see their job 'not worthy'.

Seeing their job 'not worthy' was exactly the case with the participating teachers in this study. Mr. Salah, for instance, stated that in spite of the many challenges that faced teachers in IDP camps, there were still some techniques which could make teaching at least to some extent effective. However, he claimed that such techniques required more effort than the traditional methods of teaching and since he was not receiving his salaries on time, it was 'not worthy' for him to put more effort in his job.

Mr. Khalid argued that teaching in IDP camps takes much more effort than teaching in non-camp schools. For this reason, he believed that teachers in camp schools should be paid more than those in non-camp schools. Since teachers in non-camp schools were being paid regularly while teachers in camp schools were not being paid on time, let alone the absence of any kind of incentive for camp-school teachers, Mr. Khalid believed that teaching in IDP camps was completely unworthy.

In relation to Mr. Muhammad, and as was mentioned earlier, he was doing two full-time jobs. When he was asked if he had to make a choice to keep one job and quit the other, he replied:

> Beside the fact that I am getting a higher salary at the private university, I get paid on the same day. Actually, it happened more than once that I asked to have my salary few days before its due date as I was in need of money and guess what? I was giving what I asked for. Now compare this with my job in the camp where I get my salary fourth months late and tell me which job is worthier than the other?

Mr. Muhammad added that he usually puts most of his efforts in the private university while he pays as less effort as he could in the camp school. To him, there should be a correlation between the efforts that one pays and the money

s/he gets back in return for that efforts. Mr. Othman had a similar view. He stated that he was not preparing for his classes and was sometimes entering the classroom with no idea of what should be taught in that lesson or class:

> I only prepare for my classes inside the school. I mean in my free time when I have no class to teach. But when I am at home, I do not prepare for my classes at all. Look, I know that it is not the students' fault that I am not getting paid on time, but it is also not my fault to get my salary late. As they say, there is a reaction to every action. When I am not paid, there will be a reaction. I will lose my motivation and desire to be a better teacher.

To conclude, it can be argued that teachers' motivation and job satisfaction was severely decreased because of three main reasons. First, they were going through financial difficulties. This was made clear when Mr. Abdullah stated that his motivation and job satisfaction was 'slightly shaken' as he was running his own business and that he could afford a decent life to his family even without getting his salary. However, he also claimed that if he was relying on his teaching salary to make a living, then his motivation and job satisfaction would sharply decrease. In his words:

> What is the main point of being a teacher? I mean of course there is a humanitarian side but at the end teachers have families, responsibilities and life to live. You cannot live with an empty pocket, especially when you are displaced and not in your city. For this reason, I cannot blame others who lost all of their motivation. I would do the same if I was in need of the money too.

Second, it was only those teachers in camp schools that were not getting paid regularly. As was mentioned above, teachers referred to this issue and they were disappointed that it was only them who were receiving their salaries several months late while they were more in need of money than others. As Mr. Salah stated:

> You know what is the funny part of the story? It is not only that we are displaced and need the money more than other teachers who live in their city and have no rent to pay. It is rather the fact that since the camps are far from where most of the teachers live, we spend much more money on transportation than other teachers in non-camp schools who might go to school on foot. Instead of compensating us for this extra money that we pay

to go to school, we are being punished while others are having their salaries on time.

Third, the real reason behind late payment was another factor that contributed in decreasing teachers' motivation and job satisfaction. As was stated above, teachers believed that they could have been receiving their salaries without any delay. However, the reason behind late payment, according to the teachers, was connected with some government officials' corruption who were making profits by letting some money-transfer firms keep hold of the teachers' salaries for extended periods of time.

However, the late payment was only one factor behind decreasing teachers' desire to teach and their job satisfaction. The next section will tackle the lack of students' desire and interest to learn which, according to the participating teachers, played a role in minimizing their motivation.

5.5.2 Lack of students' desire and interest to learn

Beside the late payment, the participating teachers named their students' lack of desire to learn as another factor that affected their motivation to teach. According to them, teachers generally tend to give their best when they know that their students are willing to learn. However, when the students do not count learning as a priority, teachers will be more inclined to favor traditional methods of teaching and lose any motivation to adjust and develop their teaching practices.

In their interviews, many teachers talked about the reasons that led camp school students to lose their desire to learn and how that impacted them as teachers. To start with the reasons, the participating teachers related the lack of their students' desire to learn to several causes. First, the students' psychological state. Teachers talked in detail about the effect of what the students had been through on their psychological state. They explained that almost every student has lost either a family member, a relative, a friend and

so on. Moreover, many of the students' mothers and/or sisters have been enslaved by ISIS.

It is worth mentioning that during my stay in Duhok, I voluntarily worked with AMAR foundation as an interpreter between an English employee who was working in the foundation and people from the first camp, including students from the first participating school. The students were probed by the English employee to talk about the difficulties that they were facing in their lives. The majorities of the difficulties mentioned by the students were psychological such as depression, hopelessness, excessive anger, insomnia, inner emptiness and the like. Also, part of my work was meeting with a team of doctors who were working exclusively in camps. The doctors stressed that the vast majority of the young displaced people were suffering from acute psychological problems that reached in many cases to suicide thoughts.

The participating teachers pointed out that some of their students had even turned alcoholic due to their psychological state. Mr. Ali explained that while many students found alcohol as an outlet to their psychological problems, it worsened their situation:

> Many students come to school drunk. There was more than one incident when a student comes to school drunk and holding a weapon, knives most of the times and pistols in few occasions. Actually, drinking is not limited to students, displaced teachers and headteachers from inside and even outside the camp also have their share.

Beside their unstable psychological status, lack of value of education among IDPs played a big role in decreasing students' desire to learn. One of the main reasons behind this lack of value was immigration. To elaborate, after 2014, tens of thousands of Iraqis were illegally immigrating every month to many western countries. Expectedly, emigration looked more appealing to those people with most suffering. As Mr. Salah stated:

> Displaced people see immigration as a golden opportunity that offers them housing in real houses instead of tents, money, health care and simply a

> future. They have nothing to lose if they immigrate. Their houses, cars, and all of other belongings that they left behind in 2014 were destroyed, burned or confiscated by ISIS.

Mr. Khalid added to this discussion. He pointed out that he was regularly overhearing students talking about their dream of immigrating to Europe. He also stated that tens of students from his school were immigrating to Europe monthly. In his words:

> We begin the academic year with an average of 100 students in each class. By the end of the year, the average drops to 65. There are many reasons that lead students to leave their school, one of the main reasons is immigration. The story does not end at this point. When one student leaves school and immigrates to Europe, I hear his/her colleagues in the next few days saying things like how lucky s/he is to be in Europe, and they praise his/her bravery to take such a decision.

Arguably, this shows that students were not taking education seriously. Rather, many students were just waiting their day to immigrate and to have a better life in other countries. Logically, this would affect their desire to learn as they know that someday sooner or later, they will leave their schools. In other words, displaced students were not relying on education to have a better future. Instead, leaving the country is what would offer them a decent life. Mr. Hasan, who is displaced himself and is living in a camp, had a similar point of view. In his words:

> Many of the students are still in the schools because their parents have not yet earned enough money to get them to Europe. I have strong relationship with many of my students' parents and family members and they told me that they are working hard to make enough money to get them to Europe. Those students, along with their families, lost all of their hope in a better future in this country. They deeply believe that immigration is the only and last hope they have for themselves and more importantly for their families.

The last main reason behinds students' lack of desire to learn was poverty. All the displaced students were living in extreme poverty. That is, those who could afford rent did not stay in the camp in the first place. As most of the students came from within the same camp that encompasses their school, especially with the case of the first participating school, students were suffering from

financial difficulties. For this reason, many of the students were working. Mr. Khalid talked about this issue:

> For those many students who work, they prioritize their work over their education. To be honest, I do not blame them, and I would just do the same if I were one of them. I mean how can anyone think of doing anything when he or she is hungry or do not have enough clothes to keep off the cold?

Mr. Abdullah explained that those students who were working skipped more than half of their school days. According to Mr. Abdullah, students' continuous absence from the school gradually kills their desire to learn as it becomes normal for them to skip so many classes. However, other teachers (Mr. Khalid, Mr. Ali, Mr. Hasan and Mr. Salah) disagreed. To them, it is not the continuous absence that kills the desire to learn. Rather, students' desire to learn decreases when they realize that working pays them off while attending school offers them nothing, at least in the short run.

Hence, students lacked the desire to learn for multiple reasons. This lack of desire to learn impacted teachers' motivation to teach and reduced their desire to improve their teaching styles and techniques. In other words, the participating teachers argued that most of the students were not attentive inside the classrooms. According to the teachers, although some of the students were not attentive due to other factors such as noises and high temperature, others were not paying attention just because they missed the desire to acquire new knowledge. As Mr. Khalid explained:

> It happened so many times that I ask a student to pay attention or to study harder and they replied with sentences like why would I do that? what change would it make whether I study hard or not? Will that feed me and offer me dinner for tonight?

Mr. Ali added to this discussion. He argued that teachers get motivated to 'give it all' when they see their students' hunger to learn:

> When teachers see their students' hunger to learn, they give it all. It is always the students who push their teachers to the limits. In my opinion,

> students have greater impact on their teachers than headteachers, supervisors and so on.

To conclude, students' lack of desire to learn reduced their teachers' desire to give their best as teachers believed that no matter how much effort they put in teaching, this would not make a considerable difference to the students as students lack the desire to learn in the first place. The next subsection will tackle the influence of working conditions on teachers' desire to teach.

5.5.3 A demotivating workplace

The last main reason that reduced teachers' motivation and job satisfaction was their difficult working conditions. In fact, all the participating teachers came across this issue in their interviews. Teachers complained about the absence of infrastructure in their schools. As was mentioned previously (see section 4.5), the first school had no access neither to potable water nor to electricity. The second school was supplied with potable water but, as with the first school, lacked electricity. Hence, teachers in both schools were suffering from high and low temperature not only inside the classrooms, but also in the teachers' room as their schools had no access to electricity and thus the schools lacked any kind of cooling and/or heating systems whatsoever.

The participating teachers mentioned the high temperature as one of the main factors behind decreasing their motivation. Mr. Othman stated that high temperature did not only reduce their motivation but also affected their health. He explained that he and many of his colleagues were suffering from headache, dizziness and breathing problems due to high temperatures. Likewise, Mr. Ali questioned how teachers could love their job and be motivated when 'they are drowning in their sweat'. He added that high temperature impacted teachers more than students:

> High temperatures impacted teachers more than students. Students mainly sit and do nothing while teachers have to do most of the talking. You cannot really imagine how it feels when it is over 50 degrees and you have

> to talk for four hours. You have to teach while drowning in your sweat. In such circumstances, do you think that teachers can really love their job?

Beside the lack of electricity, teachers talked about the impact of large class sizes on them. That is, teachers had to speak loudly all the time. As was mentioned previously, it has been found that noisy surroundings have a serious impact on teachers' psychological well-being. Research indicates that teachers working in a noise polluted environment could be liable to lack of energy, lack of motivation, irritation, distress, tenseness, frustration, depression, less patience, tiredness without obvious reason, annoyance, stress and lack of concentration (Enmarker and Boman, 2004; Evans and Hygge, 2007; Seetha et al., 2008; Kristiansen et al., 2012).

While some of the participating teachers just described their work as mentally exhausting, others talked about some of the symptoms mentioned above. Expectedly, as classes in the first participating schools were bigger and the number of students was larger, it was teachers from the first school who were more suffering from some of these symptoms. Mr. Khalid described his job as energy absorbing and tiring. By the same token, Mr. Muhammad stated that teaching in such difficult working conditions leads to impatience, nervousness and depression. Mr. Othman pointed out that due to speaking very loudly, he usually had headache towards the end of school days, and he was also feeling tired for the rest of the day:

> When the class is abuzz with noises coming from the outside, you need to speak loudly all the time to make sure that those at the back can hear you. This gives you a terrible headache especially towards the end of school days and this is my daily story in this school. Even after school, I feel tired and just prefer to stay in my flat and not going out.

When Mr. Ali was asked about the challenges that faced teachers in camp schools, he pointed out that the lack of infrastructure, and especially the lack of electricity and water, was the biggest challenge. He explained that in days of extreme heat, teachers did not only have to endure the irritating temperature due to absence of any cooling system, but also had to walk for 10 minutes to

get to the nearest store from the school in case they wanted a cold bottle of water. According to him, this was more than enough to take all the motivation away.

Obviously, these difficult working conditions had a negative effect on camp school teachers. That is, when teachers work in a place filled with difficulties, it is expected that this would have an impact on them and on their work. Arguably, while incentives can be used to motivate teachers to work in such a challenging context and to maintain their desire and enthusiasm towards teaching, the participating teachers in this study were not receiving their salaries on time, let alone the lack of any incentive. This led the teachers to believe that their efforts were not appreciated by the government.

As a matter of fact, many teachers attributed their suffering, whether in terms of late salaries and/or difficult working conditions, to governmental carelessness. Hence, camp school teachers had multiple reasons not to be motivated towards their work. They believed that the government did not care about them, their students lacked the desire to learn, they were receiving their salaries several months late and above all, they were working in a very challenging context. To sum up, the presence of all these factors, beside the lack of any kind of incentive, had its impact on teachers and consequently on teaching as teachers were not motivated and lacked the desire to change or develop their teaching methods and/or practices.

5.6 Teachers' identities

In response to the research question 'what is the impact of the new teaching context on IDP camp school teachers' identities?', I was keen to ask teachers about their beliefs concerning the need of teaching English to displaced students in IDP camps. As was mentioned earlier in the literature review, the Identity Theory indicates that people regularly think of the question 'what does it mean to be who we are?'. For this reason, teachers were also probed to state

what did it mean for them to be English language teachers in IDP camps and what were their goals regardless of which curriculum was being followed.

This section explains teachers' identities and how the new teaching context (IDP camps) had caused them to take up new role, or in other words a new caring identity. As was mentioned previously (see section 3.5.5), people have many different 'role identities.' A husband for example can also be a brother, a son, a teacher and a football player. Hence, each of these multiple components, or in other words each of these different roles that he occupies in the society, is a role identity (Stets and Burke, 2000).

Based on this understanding of identity, the data shows that seven out of the nine participating teachers (including the withdrawn female teacher) had taken up more than one role identity, or in other words had formed some other non-academic goals beside those of increasing their students' command over the English language.

To illustrate, teachers were asked whether learning English or any other subject was what their students needed first. While Mr. Ali and Mr. Hasan stated that schooling and learning different subjects, including English, should be a priority for every displaced student, other teachers disagree. That is to say, to the majority of the teachers, while attending English language classes cannot be rendered unnecessary under any circumstance, there are more important things for students than increasing their knowledge of the language.

To start with, Mr. Jasim believes that students' psychological wellbeing is a priority over learning English and even attending school. He argued that there should be a psychological rehabilitation for camp school students first. According to him, schooling would not be fruitful and meets its aims if students are not ready to learn:

> These students have some serious issues, I mean psychological issues. They have to go through a psychological rehabilitation first if we want schooling to be fruitful. You cannot expect that schooling would meet its aims when students are not ready to learn. They cannot even think straight due to the

> psychological challenges they are suffering from. Many students come to me every week and talk with me about their hopelessness, despair, frustration and fear. You know that there are suicidal cases every month amongst IDPs. So how do you expect from students to study if they live in constant fear and think about ending their lives?

Mr. Salah had a similar view. He believed that psychological rehabilitation is what displaced students need most. He stated that while schooling can be postponed for few months or even for a year, psychological issues get complicated over time when ignored:

> The ministry of education is turning a blind eye to the students' suffering. They may think that students' mental difficulties can be overcome if students only attend school. I believe the opposite is true. Mental difficulties get complicated when not being dealt with. Turning a blind eye is only exacerbating the situation. I think that students do not need to learn anything now, schooling can be postponed for few months or even for a year, but psychological issues cannot.

The second thing that the students needed, according to the teachers, was to believe in the importance of continuing their education and not leaving school. As was discussed earlier (see section 5.5.2), students lost their desire to learn and the importance of education started to fade away after 2014, especially amongst IDPs. Mr. Khalid, for example, stated that many students had told him that they did not believe in education anymore. Mr. Othman also pointed out that students lost their faith in education. He said that many students told him if the Iraqi government failed to keep them and their families safe, how it would offer them jobs in future.

To elaborate more on the last point, as Yazidis are a minority group in Iraq, they started to believe (after 2014) that they would not get their rights and there would be no equal employment opportunities between all Iraqis. This is one of the reasons why many Yazidis were immigrating to Europe with the intention of never coming back to Iraq. However, the teachers were anxious that their students would be facing so many difficulties when immigrating to Europe if they were not equipped with a good education.

Mr. Abdullah explained that displaced students in camp schools were not aware of the fact that to obtain a job in Europe, good education is even more needed than in Iraq. In his words:

> They (the displaced students) believe that once they get to Europe, they will be offered so many job opportunities regardless of what their qualifications are. They do not really know that without a good education, finding a job is even harder than in Iraq. For this reason, they need to finish at least their undergraduate studies if they want to get a good job.

Mr. Muhammad stated that after 2014, many students started to leave school even if they had no intention to immigrate. Many students, according to Mr. Muhammad, prioritized working over staying in school. What worried Mr. Muhammad was that some students did not leave school because they needed to make money. Rather, students started to leave school as they believed that education would not pay them off anyway:

> I understand that some students leave school because they desperately need money. What worries me more are those students who leave school only because they believe that certificates will not make any difference for their lives in future. This needs to change. We have to do something.

The participating teachers talked about many students who decided to postpone their studies for a year, or until they go back to their villages. The participating teachers expressed their concerns about such decisions. The teachers were worried that those students would never go back to school. As Mr. Khalid indicated:

> Once you leave school, there is a high possibility that you would never come back here again. There are many reasons for not attending school again. Students might find a job and then find it hard to leave that job. More importantly, you would find it more difficult to be in a class where everyone is younger than you. For girls who decide to take a year or more off, there is again a high possibility that they would get married, especially those at the age of 17 and older. Once they get married, they will most probably stay away from school for the rest of their lives.

Mr. Jasim agreed with Mr. Khalid. He considered the first step towards leaving school for ever is when camp school students believe that it is impossible for them

to attend school and study while living in camps and that they will attend school once they go back to their normal lives. Mr. Abdullah added to this discussion:

> I completely understand that it is very hard to attend school and study while you live in a tent. I know this is a very difficult and unbearable situation for anyone not only for children and young people. But this should not stop them from attending school whatsoever because once they decide to take a year off, they would never come back. In fact, this would make their lives and especially their future even more complex and more challenging, regardless of whether they stay in Iraq or immigrate.

The third need that teachers referred to was related to 'social coexistence'. To explain, ISIS caused a serious disjuncture between people of Sinjar area, or in other words between Yazidis and Muslims. Tens of thousands of Yazidis were displaced after they had been attacked by ISIS. All the Yazidis' towns located in Sinjar (an area in the Government of Nineveh) came under the control of ISIS and thousands of Yazidis have fallen dead or become prisoners and slaves including women and children.

It is worth mentioning that before 2014, both Muslims and Yazidis were living in Sinjar. When ISIS attacked Sinjar, some Muslims from this area joined ISIS and participated in the attack. For many of those Yazidis who survived, and then became IDPs in the region of Kurdistan, they began to reject and fear the idea of living again in a society that is mixed with Muslims.

In other words, what happened in 2014 caused many of the Yazidis to form an extremely negative perspective of Muslims and Islam in general. Moreover, there have been retaliatory reactions from some disgruntled Yazidis against several Muslims who had no connection to ISIS whatsoever. This, however, also turned some Muslims' feelings of sympathy into anger and even hatred towards Yazidis as some Muslims were killed in those retaliatory actions.

The majority of the participating teachers (all teachers except Mr. Ali and Mr. Hasan) talked about the need of entrenching the idea of 'social coexistence' as they were anxious that such an atmosphere of distrust and hatred 'could develop

into a civil war if not dealt with properly'. To start with Mr. Salah, he stated that the worst scenario that could ever happen is a civil war. He pointed out that what is important is that all Yazidis and other Iraqis in general should deeply believe that ISIS represents itself only and not all Muslims. By the same token, he emphasized that Muslims should also know that the majority of Yazidis did not have a hand in retaliatory actions.

Similarly, Mr. Khalid pointed out that Iraq needs at least several years to recover from the effects that ISIS left behind. He added that if a civil war breaks out, then tens of years could be needed to recover. Mr. Khalid talked in detail about the catastrophic impact of civil war as he has lived through one. In 2006, a civil war broke out between Sunnis and Shias in some cities in Iraq including Basrah where Mr. Khalid is originally from. Because of that war, he left Basrah and lived in Mosul until 2014 when he had to leave Mosul again as the city fell under ISIS control. In his words:

> Although what ISIS has done so far to the Iraqis is unbelievably cruel, it cannot be compared with what a civil war could do. People of Sinjar, especially Yazidis, lost and suffered too much. But at least once ISIS will be defeated, they can go back home and have a safe life. If a civil war breaks out, so many people will lose their life for many years to come. The civil war in my city, Basrah, broke out in 2006 and it is 2016 now and I still feel afraid to go back.

Mr. Othman added to this discussion. He believed that all displaced Yazidis, including the students, should know that the number of Muslims who were killed by ISIS is tens of times bigger than the number of the Yazidi's victims. According to him, this could be the best way to make all Yazidis believe that ISIS does not represent moderate Islam and that Muslims have also suffered from ISIS.

Importantly, teachers turned what they believed to be a need for students into goals to achieve. In other words, teachers took a step towards offering their students psychological support and be part in establishing social coexistence amongst students as will be explain later in this section. When teachers were asked

why they decided to take these extra roles, they replied that they found this part of their jobs.

Mr. Abdullah, for example, stated that schools over centuries were a source of wisdom to communities and should always, in his opinion, take an effective part in solving social problems in times of crisis. Similarly, Mr. Khalid, Mr. Muhammad and Mr. Jasim believed that teachers are always seen as role models by their students and this pushed them to take up new roles in their schools. Lastly, Mr. Othman and Mr. Salah pointed out that they believed it became their responsibilities to take up new roles when they saw that no one, especially those working in the government, cared about these issues.

This is an interesting point as it shows that teachers have added new meanings to themselves, or in other words to what it means to be a teacher in an IDP camp. This is directly related to identities as identity is strongly connected with meanings. That is, the meanings that people give to themselves form their identities. Identity, as Burke and Stets (2009: 3) defined it, is 'the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role'. Hence, individuals apply meaning to themselves for every role they occupy when trying to answer the question of what it means to be who we are.

Therefore, the participating teachers were no longer believing that their roles as teachers were confined to teaching the English language. Rather, they took up new responsibilities and they responded to those responsibilities through certain actions, as identities need to be verified through certain actions. Individuals' actions should be congruent with the meanings held in the identities for each role they are playing in their lives to feel competent and satisfied. For example, to add a meaning of 'psychological supporter' to a teacher role, an action of psychological help and support should be provided so that teachers feel competent and satisfied about themselves. This is what teachers were doing in the camps.

To elaborate, teachers were devoting considerable time to their students' need even at the expense of being very focused on the curriculum. To start with the first

need, psychological rehabilitation, teachers stated in their interviews that they were occasionally speaking with their students for the purpose of supporting them psychologically. However, teachers differed in terms of how much classroom time was devoted for this issue.

For example, Mr. Muhammad, Mr. Abdullah and Mr. Jasim said that they were occasionally taking 3-5 minutes of each class to support their students psychologically. Other teachers (Mr. Khalid and Mr. Salah) indicated that they were running late in terms of covering the textbook and for this reason, they were speaking with the students once in a few classes.

By the same token, Mr. Othman pointed out that he was constantly telling his students that he would be more than happy if any student would come to him asking for help:

> I told them that whenever you feel depressed and have no one to talk to then you can come to me. I also told them that if you have some personal problems or issues that you might feel embarrassed to tell your family about, you can come to me. I even asked them to write their problems on a piece of paper and give it to me if they feel embarrassed to discuss these problems face to face.

During the observations, there were multiple incidents where psychological support was offered by some teachers to their students. In one of the classes, Mr. Abdullah said to the students:

> My life was never easy. You may think now that all doors are shut, locked and bolted. Well, I have almost felt the same at some point in my life. All the doors were shut in my face. I almost gave up. I thought I would never make it. I was poor and had no money in my pocket. Then I was punished for something I did not make and above all, two of my best friends died in a car accident. Here I am today. A happy man in spite of all the challenges. If there is one fact in life, then it would be things always change. You feel down today? do not lose your faith. Stay strong and keep in your mind that this will change.

Similarly, Mr. Jasim told his students my story to give them hope for a better future:

> I will tell you a different story today. It is about Mr. Ahmed, our guest. Mr. Ahmed told me that he left his family in Mosul when ISIS attacked the city. He was waiting to travel to the UK as he had already been accepted in a scholarship programme. After 2014, the Iraqi government suddenly said that we are under a financial crisis and cannot send more students out. All the doors were shut in his face as he saw his dream fading away. After months of struggling, the Iraqi government agreed to send only 80 students from all over Iraq and he was one of them. He is collecting his data now for his study. The study that once seemed impossible. So, do not lose your faith in a better future, a better life and a better everything.

Concerning the second need which relates to believing in the importance of education, teachers indicated that they were occasionally speaking with their students about how important education would be to their future. Mr. Muhammad said that he was always telling his students that the value of education 'is increasing day by day'. Likewise, Mr. Salah indicated that he was urging his students to focus on their studies as this could be the key towards a better life. Similarly, Mr. Othman revealed that he had explained to his students that even if they decided to emigrate to Europe, then having a degree is vital to get a decent job.

However, some of the participating teachers believed that it would be so hard to convince their students that education could change their lives for better. Mr. Salah wondered how students could believe that education could ever offer them a decent future in time their teachers were not getting their salaries. For this reason, the participating teachers added that they had also followed some other strategies that might encourage students to proceed with their studies, even if they had no genuine faith in education.

The main strategy the teachers followed was success for all students. To elaborate, the participating teachers indicated that there was a common belief amongst teachers in IDP camp schools that students who would fail in the mid-year and/or final examinations would also leave school immediately. For this reason, they made sure that all students pass, no matter how they did in their examinations. To Mr. Othman:

> Most students are not even convinced that studying can make any difference in their lives. However, they are still in school for different reasons such as to kill time or just simply because they see their friends in school, so they are in school too. When they see others pass to the next studying year while they stay in the same year, they can hardly find any more reasons to proceed their study.

Mr. Khalid had an identical view. He stated that teachers give their students a strong reason to leave school by failing them. He added that students in his school were lacking real motives to proceed their study, and many of them already had the idea of leaving school in their mind but they simply had not 'pulled the trigger' yet. Mr. Khalid added that if a teacher failed some of those students, even if they deserved to fail, then this would be the moment to make their plan and leave school.

Similarly, some teachers stated that they tended to simplify schooling as much as they could through not overloading their students with homework, assignments and/or by not covering the whole textbook. To them, this could also push some students to leave school as they might believe that they would not pass the examinations any way.

The participating teachers stated that they ignored what they believed to be less important. Mr. Ali, for example, said that he was teaching what his students would need in the coming years and was ignoring the materials that are not repeated in the following years' textbooks. In his words:

> If there is one chapter or section about present simple, then I cannot skip it because students in future will be taught the present perfect and the present continuous and so on. However, if there is a reading passage on a city and students, according to the textbook, should memorize some information about this city, then I skip the whole or part of that passage.

In this vein, it should be noted that teachers were skipping parts of the textbook for other purposes. The participating teachers indicated that there was no enough time to cover the textbook from cover to cover (see section 5.3.2). Similarly, some teachers pointed out that some parts of the curriculum need different classroom settings or features such as fewer number of students to be taught properly (see

section 5.3.1 and 5.3.3). Hence, simplifying schooling for students was not the only reason which led teachers to ignore certain parts of the curriculum.

With relation to social existence, the students' final need, teachers talked in more detail about this need. Some of the participating teachers (Mr. Othman, Mr. Abdullah and Mr. Jasim) stated that establishing social existence was their main concern. In general, teachers stated that one of their main goals was to let students believe again in the idea of social coexistence, that is to live again in mixed communities. They stressed that teachers should take a part in explaining to the students that ISIS do not represent Islam, and that what happened to the Yazidis in the eyes of moderate Muslims was a complete injustice and oppression.

Interestingly, this is in line with many works which illustrate that schools can play a significant role in promoting positive attitudes needed for a peaceful living and safer future. According to these works (Sinclair, 2002; Nicolai, 2003; Buckland, 2006; Wa-Mbaleka, 2012), issues which help building lasting peace and better future such as social coexistence, dealing with the past, finding alternatives to revenge and valuing other cultures can be encouraged in schools.

According to the participating teachers, the idea of social coexistence was pivotal for the Yazidis inside those camps since they all came from certain towns in which many thousands of Muslims still live in. In other words, if the displaced Yazidis do not give up their fear and distrust with the Islamic communities, they will not be able to return to their homes and towns even after being liberated. This could be one of the main reasons why thousands of Yazidis emigrated to Europe with the intention of never coming back.

The data shows that there was some kind of agreement among the participating Muslim teachers that it was the Muslims duty to explain to the Yazidi community that ISIS is not a representation of moderate Islam. As was explained earlier, the two camps (which embrace the two participating schools that constitute the sample of the present study) are dwelled only by Yazidis. Since these camps were located outside the main cities and the majority of the IDPs could not afford paying for

transportation to go outside their camps, the only place for thousands of Yazidis to meet with Muslims was in school. In other words, the Muslim teachers found themselves the only representatives of the Muslim community and thus it was them who should convince the Yazidis that ISIS is a real enemy of all Iraqis including Muslims.

Mr. Muhammad said that he was always asking his students to believe in numbers which did not only show that people of all religions and sects have fallen victims at the hands of ISIS, but also show that Muslims are forming the biggest share of the victims. Likewise, Mr. Salah indicated that he was constantly talking with his students about the suffering of hundreds of thousands of Muslims who were also displaced and how they were living a very challenging and complicated life as other displaced people.

Mr. Jasim believed that his words and ideas on social coexistence could be more effective than other teachers since he is neither a Muslim nor a Yazidi. In his words:

> With relation to this issue (entrenching social existence), I think I have an advantage that makes my words more effective to the students than other teachers. I am neither a Muslim nor a Yazidi. I am a Christian. Therefore, when I talk with students about this issue, they know that I am not taking sides. This can make my words more reliable and I am using this advantage to implant in their minds that they should never confuse between ISIS and Moderate Muslims.

To conclude, it is clear that the participating teachers in IDP camps added more meanings to their role as teachers. That is to say, they did not look at the additional roles they were playing (for example helping the students psychologically and contributing in building a society free from racism, sectarianism, hatred and revenge) as voluntary roles or as something they did from a humanitarian perspective. On the contrary, they believed that these additional roles were at the core of their responsibilities. This shows that teachers in IDP camps have formed their own interpretations of their role as teachers. As Stryker and Burke (2000) pointed out, people living in the same culture have some agreed on shared meanings for the social positions. Hence, camp school teachers have learnt and

shared these additional meanings amongst them through interaction with each another.

In this chapter, a manifestation of camp school teachers' identities was presented. The impact of the new teaching context on teachers' identities will be further discussed in the next chapter. As was indicated earlier (see section 5.1), the current chapter presents the main findings that build up for discussions where deeper analysis on teachers' practices, identities and agency is provided.

Chapter Six: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The present research set out to examine the impact of the new teaching context (IDP camps) on teachers' practices, identities and agency. Based on the findings of the current study, the impact of camp school settings on each of the three variables (practices, identities and agency) is discussed separately in the remaining three sections of this chapter.

6.2 Impact of camp school settings on teachers' practices

One of the main aims of the present study was examining the impact of camp school settings on the implementation of the new English language curriculum. To this end, the present section will draw on the findings of this research to discuss how different contextual factors affected teachers' selection of teaching methods, and how English language teachers' practices ultimately looked in camp school settings. In relation to the role of contextual factors on teachers' selection of teaching methods, the discussion is made through the lens of CHAT as shown below in Figure 6.1.

Importantly, only those elements (within each node of CHAT) and contradictions (whether within or between nodes) which were found to be related to the present research focus and questions will be tackled. For example, the instruments node contains many elements such as pens, pencils, sharpeners and so on. However, none of these were found to be impacting teachers' practices and thus were excluded.

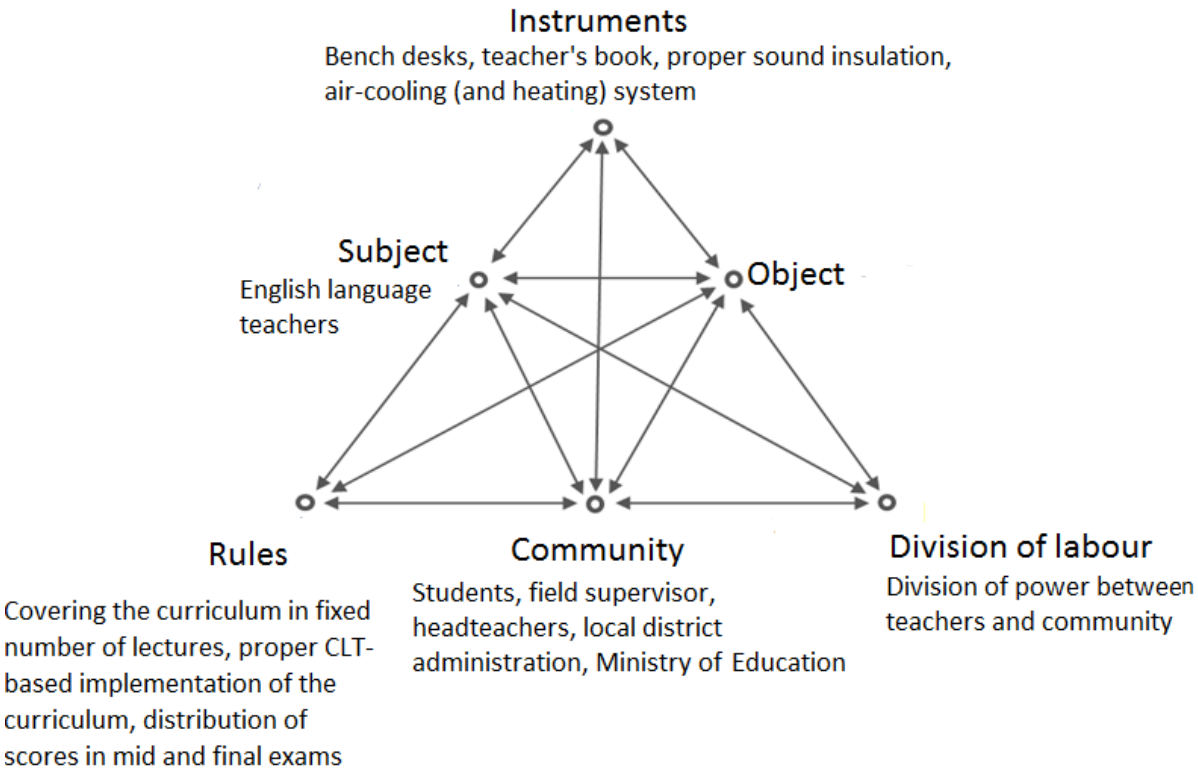


Figure 6.1: English language teaching in camp schools as an activity system

As was explained throughout this thesis, the new CLT-based English language curriculum was introduced to bring about change in English language teaching in Iraq through adopting communicative teaching strategies. Generally, while it is the teachers who execute the curriculum bring about change is eventually determined by many factors, one of which is teachers.

The two-way arrows between the nodes of the teaching activity system indicate that each node, including the subject node (the participating teachers), impacts and is impacted by the remaining nodes. Hence, accurate and effective implementation of the curriculum occurs when the outcome of the interactions within and between these nodes do not work against the new curriculum principles. However, this was not the case in IDP camp schools.

The findings of this research indicate that the interacting contextual factors (represented in Figure 6.1) in camp schools were gearing the teachers to refuse more than accept communicative teaching strategies. To start with the 'rules'

node, teachers in both camp and non-camp schools were required to cover the whole curriculum within a certain number of lessons. Bearing in mind that the new curriculum was designed in accordance with this fixed number of lessons, covering the curriculum was a real challenge for teachers in camp schools as school days are less and lessons are shorter comparing with non-camp schools.

Moreover, due to the variety of communicative classroom activities, more actual teaching time is needed when adopting communicative teaching comparing with traditional teaching methods (Rajab, 2013). It is worth mentioning that even with traditional methods of teaching being followed in camp schools, teachers were struggling to cover the whole curriculum in one academic year and were skipping many parts in the hope of saving time for covering more important ones. This means that to meet this rule of covering the curriculum, traditional methods of teaching had to be followed while executing the new CLT-based curriculum.

However, another element within the 'rule' node is proper implementation of the curriculum, which means that teachers should abide themselves by the new curriculum directions, including but not limited to communicative teaching. Clearly, teachers broke that rule as they were found to be teaching traditionally. Interestingly, CHAT has the power to explain why unlike the previous rule of covering the curriculum, accurate implementation of the curriculum was not met. As was explained previously, headteachers and field supervisors (representing part of the community node) were not concerned with whether teachers were teaching communicatively or not. Their main concerns were covering the curriculum and raising the students' success rate at final examinations.

Thus, meeting the 'covering the curriculum' rule while breaking its 'proper implementation' counterpart was necessary to reach a state of equilibrium. CHAT illustrates that activity systems are always under change and transformation due to the contradictions that take place within and between the nodes. Also, resolving one contradiction frequently leads to creating another. This process of resolving and creating contradictions continues until 'a new state of equilibrium is reached within the activity' (Forbes et al. 2009).

This was mentioned by many teachers who illustrated that many of their teaching goals were shifted not so long after they started teaching in camp schools. However, when the participating teachers were probed to explain what choices teachers in camp schools had to make teaching and learning more effective, they replied that given the complex nature of camp school settings, nothing could really be done. This means that a state of equilibrium was finally reached as none of the teachers, headteachers or supervisors was attempting to break this state.

Hence, if the participating teachers, for instance, rejected the 'covering the curriculum' rule and were attempting to achieve its 'proper implementation of the curriculum' counterpart, this would keep the contradiction or tension within the teaching activity (between the subject and community nodes) and prevent it from reaching such a state. In a sense, a state of equilibrium is reached when elements within the same node and nodes within the same activity reach a middle ground settlement.

Knowing that headteachers and/or supervisors have a higher power (when considering the division of labour within the Iraqi educational system) than teachers, it becomes understandable why it was the teachers who had to comply with the goals and objectives of their 'community' and not vice-versa. Looking at teaching in camp schools as an activity system helps us understand why certain rules were met and others were broken, or why teachers in camp schools were teaching traditionally and not communicatively.

The distribution of scores between written and oral skills (or between 'structure-oriented' and 'communicative and dialogic' parts of the curriculum) at final examinations was another rule that impacted teachers' selection of teaching methods and/or strategies. In fact, one of the main differences between the new and old curriculum is to what extent the communicative and dialogic parts of the language are being focused on. While the old Grammar-Translation based curriculum concentrated mostly on the structure-oriented parts of the language, the new curriculum gives the communicative and dialogic parts at least the same importance as their structure-oriented counterparts. However, the distribution of

scores between these two main parts at final examinations (or between written and oral skills) says otherwise.

To explain, while the Iraqi Ministry of Education introduced a new English language curriculum, no modification was made to the examination system to match the new curriculum's directions. Teachers stated that the new curriculum on the one hand, and questions in final examinations on the other hand do not have the same focus. They explained that the Ministry of Education asks that in final exams, 80 percent of the questions should be on grammar, reading and writing skills and only 20 percent on oral skills. That is, 80 marks are given to the written exam whereas 20 marks are allotted to the oral exam, which normally takes place few days before the written exam.

Importantly, this is the case with all the grades except the 9th and 12th grades where examinations are set nationally. In these national examinations, all the questions are written and there is no oral examination whatsoever. Hence, the oral parts of the curriculum form either zero or twenty percent of the total marks. Bearing in mind that one of the main community's concerns was raising the students' success rate, the participating teachers were mainly focusing on grammar and on other reading and writing skills as these parts form either 80 or 100 percent in final exams.

Hence, focusing on the structure-oriented parts of the curriculum even if at the expense of effective teaching was caused, at least to some extent, by the community. In other words, part of teachers' resistance to abandon traditional methods of teaching was the fact that communicative teaching could lower students' success rate and thus break this state of equilibrium between teachers and their community. As Mr. Khalid indicated:

> Now let us imagine that from now on I will mainly focus on speaking and listening skills. By the end of this year, many students will arguably be able to speak and understand better than their peers in other classes. However, when the final examinations come, many of my students will fail while those in other classes will pass. If the students' parents, the supervisor or

> even the headteacher ask me why the success rate in my classes is low, do you think that they will all be happy to hear something like it is true that my students fail, but they can speak and understand better than those who pass?

The impact of community on teachers' selection of teaching methods did not stop at this point. As was explained earlier, the majority of teachers in this research were found to have a very limited knowledge about the new curriculum goals and objectives. Teachers' understanding of their role and the nature of classroom activities under the new curriculum was also found to be confined. More importantly, what benefits students would gain from communicative teaching was also unknown to most teachers. The absence of training programmes can be argued to be the main reason behind this limited knowledge and understanding. That is, it is through these programmes that teachers in Iraq normally gain more knowledge and deeper understanding about any newly introduced curriculum.

As is known, it is the community (local district administration and Ministry of Education) that is responsible for providing these training programmes. The impact of not offering camp school teachers an opportunity to enroll in such programmes on their practices can best be seen through literature on curriculum innovation. To Iskandar (2014), it is quite unlikely that teachers would make a noticeable change in their practices when a new curriculum is introduced unless they deeply believe that the new curriculum can effectively work in their classroom settings, and that changing their teaching methods and/or practices will bring a better and a positive result for their students. Thus, as training programmes were being provided to non-camp school teachers only, the participating teachers' community was again partially responsible behind teachers' resistance to abandon traditional teaching methods.

Moreover, the absence of training programmes pushed many teachers to rely on other 'instruments' that might help them better understand the new curriculum. The main three instruments were YouTube channels, Facebook pages and leaflets (or mini-guidebooks). These channels and pages were run by other teachers through their private accounts. The same is true for leaflets which were written by other

teachers. Hence, those teachers were running channels, pages and were writing leaflets as a personal effort and there was no indication whatsoever that they had been trained, or even asked by anyone, to offer advice and guidance to other teachers.

Additionally, these channels, pages and mini-guidebooks were concentrating on the structure-oriented parts of the curriculum at the expense of the communicative and dialogic parts. With relation to leaflets, which can arguably be said to have a bigger influence on the participating teachers' practices than YouTube channels and Facebook pages, some teachers were entering the classroom with a leaflet instead of the textbook in their hands. They relied completely on those leaflets and neglected the teacher's book that comes with the curriculum.

As I went through two different leaflets that two teachers were using, I noticed that these leaflets did not tackle teaching practices or classroom activities at all. Instead, grammatical rules with lots of example for each rule and translation of words from English to Arabic made most of those mini guidebooks. When I asked Mr. Othman why he was using a leaflet instead of the teacher's book, he replied:

> I know that I am not supposed to use leaflets but when you are asked to implement a new curriculum without being offered any training programmes, these mini-guidebooks could be your best option. To be honest, and as I said, when I read the teacher's book, I find it so difficult to understand. You cannot easily conclude what the teacher's book is trying to communicate to you. However, when I use a leaflet, it is just there in front of me. I mean it tells me what to explain in today's class, with so many examples being provided.

Mr. Muhammad added to this discussion. He stated that most camp school teachers had a limited experience in teaching and had not been enrolled in any training programmes and, according to him, that is what made them believe that those who had written those leaflets or mini-guidebooks had more knowledge about English language teaching than themselves. To Mr. Muhammad, the absence of training programmes led many of his colleagues, especially those with limited teaching experience, to question their ability to

understand the curriculum on their own and consequently, relied on these leaflets which were concentrating solely on the structure-oriented dimensions of the English language.

However, this does not mean that traditional teaching methods were followed only because of the community's impact on the teachers. In fact, part of teachers' limited knowledge and understanding about the new curriculum was caused by a shortage of teacher's books (instruments), which provide much information about the curriculum including teachers' role and classroom activities.

Moreover, the contradictions existed between the 'instruments' and 'rules' nodes per se were impeding proper communicative teaching. That is, to meet the 'proper implementation of the curriculum' rule, certain tools are needed. From this, group work activities need proper seating arrangements that allow students to engage with their teacher and among themselves while facing each other. Similarly, proper sound insulation is critical so that communications can run smoothly.

By the same token, teachers have to be able to move from one group to another to keep the flow of conversations and/or activities running and offer advice and guidance when needed. As was discussed in the previous chapter, this was not the case in camp schools. Bench desks were fixed, and students were sitting on the ground due to the large class sizes. Hence, teachers could neither get their students seated properly nor move freely around the class. Moreover, due to the high level of noise inside camp schools' tents and caravans, conducting communicative activities was strongly challenging as such high noises would continuously break the flow of these classroom activities.

Thus, coupled with the community being mostly concerned with covering the curriculum and raising the students' success rate, the absence of training programme, the time-limitation, the shortage of teacher's books, the inappropriate seating arrangement and the large class sizes in camp schools had led camp school teachers rely heavily on a strict transmission-oriented teacher-centred mode of teaching. This means that teacher-fronted talk was dominating most of the class

time explaining mainly rules of grammar, or more generally the structure-oriented parts of the curriculum while ignoring to a large extent the speaking and listening-related parts.

Students, on the other hand, were just kept silent through most of the day. Their engagement in the class took mainly the form of short responses to close-ended questions raised by their teacher. The purpose behind these questions was mainly checking students' knowledge and understanding. Some of these questions were 'did you understand?', 'what's the meaning of this word?', 'can you give me a synonym (or an opposite) of this word?', 'can we use the present simple tense to refer to future?'. In most cases, students were answering chorally, and teachers rarely built on their students' answers. Teachers were either nodding their heads or otherwise pronouncing the right answer when wrong answers were given.

Hence, knowledge was not constructed and/or negotiated as communicative-curricula suggest (Novosadyuk, 2014). Rather, it was passively imparted to the students. Moreover, no real meaningful communication, negotiation and/or discussion was noticed to be made by any student. To put differently, teacher-students exchanges in all the lessons took the form of Initiation-Response-Follow-up (IRF) patterns where the initiation stands for questions asked by the teacher, then a response is given by students (individually and/or chorally) followed by a follow-up from the teacher, which mainly takes the form of evaluative feedback to the student's answer or response.

The findings of this research cohere with other studies (Gahin, 2001; Yamchi, 2006; Shamim, 2008; Vaish, 2008) which show that teachers do not simply change from traditional to communicative teaching methods where the teaching settings (availability of teaching resources, class size) do not match the instructions of communicative curricula and/or when the communicative curriculum and the examination system do not share the same focus.

In a study on the factors affecting the implementation of a communicative curriculum in Libyan secondary schools conducted by Hussein (2018), the researcher

found that teachers' understanding and perceptions of CLT, teachers' low salaries, teachers' beliefs, class management, time constraints, large classes, examination system and teachers' training were direct factors that could be the reasons behind teachers' resistance to abide by the rules of CLT. Needless to say, all of these factors were found in this study to be strongly affecting teachers' practices in camp schools.

Importantly, using CHAT as an analytical framework in this research helps in showing how different factors had taken parts in making teachers resort to traditional teaching methods. Teachers, as subject of the teaching activity, were under the influence of other elements (or nodes) that had the power to impact their choice of teaching methods. CHAT also shows that following traditional teaching methods in camp schools was a means to reach a state of equilibrium. It can thus be argued that a provision of a teaching environment governed by a homogeneous set of rules, that support and stand in line with communicative teaching strategies, is considered as one of the most critical factors that could encourage teachers to adopt communicative teaching strategies.

In relation to the present study, the opposite was just the case. Many tools (teacher's book, proper classroom furniture) were missing. Also, the two camp schools had no air-cooling (or heating) system whatsoever, leaving teachers and students understandably unwilling and unmotivated to actively engage in communicative activities in the class. Training programmes were not offered to camp-school teachers. Teachers were therefore left with very limited knowledge on the new curriculum aims and objectives and were kept unaware of their new role under the new innovation.

Also, covering the condensed curriculum under an extreme time limitation, and asking the teachers to put much concentration on oral skills (when implementing the new curriculum) whereas the distribution of scores between written and oral skills (on mid and/or final examinations) says otherwise can be seen as contradictory rules that had the power to affect teachers' choices of teaching methods.

Hence, CHAT helps us understand that following traditional methods of teaching in camp schools was an inevitable outcome rather than a choice. The participating teachers relied on traditional methods of teaching not because they believed that such methods were the most effective in any context. Rather, it was because other teaching methods were simply inapplicable, or at least would break the state of equilibrium.

In other words, what might look to an outsider as an ineffective teaching (due to traditional rather than communicative teaching and/or a homogenous rather than an individualized style of teaching being followed) was an inevitable outcome that camp school teachers could hardly be blamed for. This is because camp school teachers were compelled to adopt traditional teaching methods as coping mechanism against the challenging teaching environment in IDP camp schools.

6.3 Impact of camp school settings on teachers' agency

In relation to agency, the present research is mainly concerned with the question 'to what extent English language teachers are able to achieve agency in camp schools in terms of their responses to the new English language curriculum's demands?'. As was mentioned earlier, this research draws on the work of Mark Priestley et al. (2012, 2013, 2015). According to them, to what extent teachers are both enabled and constrained in their school settings determines the achievement of their agency. Hence, agency is not an individual capacity. Rather, it is the outcome of the interaction of the efforts that individuals make with the available resources and the contextual factors in a given context.

In relation to this research, to what extent the participating teachers were both enabled and constrained in their new teaching settings, IDP camp schools, will also be illustrated through the lens of CHAT. As was indicated in the previous section, the two-way arrows between the nodes (Figure 6.1) mean that each node influences and is influenced by the remaining nodes. This means that teachers are enabled and therefore their agency is achieved when they (representing the subject node) can effectively counteract the impact of the remaining nodes while building on their

individual capacities. By contrast, when teachers find themselves unable to effectively respond to the impact of the remaining nodes, then they are constrained more than enabled and their agency is thus limited.

Building on what has been discussed in the previous section, one can easily conclude that camp school settings were inhibiting a variety of effective teaching activities leading teacher agency to be limited more than achieved. To start with the role of the community on the achievement of teachers' agency, the impact of the community on the teachers was clearly stronger than the other way around. This means that through overpowering the teachers, the community was limiting teachers' agency as teachers were constrained more than enabled. Teachers were designing their classroom practices not in light of their professional experience or academic knowledge, but rather in accordance with their community's goals and demands.

Similarly, the severe shortage (or complete lack in many occasions) of many instruments (teaching and/or learning resources such as white boards, textbooks, appropriate classroom furniture, projectors, computers, speakers and so on) was contributing in limiting teacher agency as teachers in camp schools could not counteract the impact of this shortage on their practices. To take classroom furniture as an example, teachers could not respond effectively to the challenge of the fixed bench desks. That is, teachers were unable to find alternative ways to get their students sit in circles so that group activities could take place. This means that teachers' agency was limited as agency is 'largely about repertoires for manoeuvre, or the possibilities for different forms of action available to teachers at particular points in time' (Priestley et al, 2012, p. 36-37). Obviously, teachers ignored group work activities as they could not find alternative forms of actions that could help in carrying out communicative activities.

In their interviews, the participating teachers talked about their inability to effectively respond to this shortage of instruments. Mr. Khalid, for example, stated that given the large class sizes in camp schools, teaching can by no means be

effective. When he was asked about what teachers could do to deal with this big number of students, he replied:

> This school needs more caravans, more desks and more boards and if the government does not supply us with what we need, then I honestly cannot think of any strategy that teachers can do to make their teaching fruitful or more effective

Moreover, the new curriculum was introduced in a top-down approach and thus was imposed on camp school teachers. Hence, teachers were required to execute the curriculum in a context that is widely different from other 'normal' contexts that the curriculum was basically designed for. However, while it is true that teachers in camp schools did not fully abide themselves by this top-down curriculum directions as traditional teaching were eventually followed, this does not mean that their agency was achieved through coming up with alternative forms of action. This is simply because through their breaking of certain rules (such as concentrating on the communicative and dialogic parts of the curriculum and/or adopting communicative teaching methods), teachers were challenging more than supporting the curriculum.

As was explained earlier, teacher agency is achieved when teachers (upon the introduction of a new curriculum and through building on their individual capacities) act as agents of change. This happens when they bring change to their daily practices in classrooms. Therefore, as effective communicative teaching was unattainable in camp school settings, teachers carried on with traditional teaching methods. Hence, as camp school settings inhibited teachers from bringing change to their daily practices in classrooms, this means that the new teaching context limited teacher agency in the sense that bringing about change was not achievable.

The role of camp school settings in limiting the participating teachers' agency can also be noticed when teachers with more teaching experience stated that beside a better control of the classroom, their extended teaching experience did not give them any advantage over those with limited experience as only one form of teaching (traditional teacher-centered approach) seemed doable or compatible with camp schools settings.

Following almost an identical form of teaching by all camp school teachers clearly refers to the role of camp schools in limiting teacher agency. That is, people with more experience can logically respond to problematic situations better than others with limited experience. In relation to the present research, this means that teachers with more extended teaching experience (such as Mr. Abdullah, Mr. Jasim and Mr. Khalid) could rely on their long professional histories to come up with different strategies that would allow them to accurately implement the curriculum while counteracting the contextual difficulties. However, they did not build on their professional knowledge but rather followed traditional teaching methods and thus their agency was also limited as agency is not what individuals can have, but what they do (Biesta and Tedder, 2007).

Based on the above, it can be argued that given both the higher power of the community and the many difficulties that accompanied teaching and learning in camp schools, the participating teachers were looking at their academic role not as a set of choices to choose from to improve teaching and learning. Instead, they were more concerned with 'getting the job done' through following certain kind of teaching methods or actions that did not appear to them as choices, but rather as inevitable. This means that the new teaching context was paralyzing many forms of actions that could have helped teachers achieving their agency through bringing change to their daily classroom practices.

It is also worth mentioning that differences in teaching methods and strategies among teachers could have surfaced if a system of incentive was followed. In other words, when incentives are offered when effective and up-to-date methods of teaching are followed, or for any other end that contributes in developing and improving education, this could push teachers to maximize their efforts in an attempt to find alternative strategies that can help them counteracting the contextual difficulties. However, the opposite was the case in camp schools. The participating teachers frankly expressed their lack of desire to invest their times and efforts to look for alternative methods of teaching that could have proved more

effective than traditional ones. The late and low salary was one of the main reasons behind this lack of desire or motivation.

Also, the role of teachers' beliefs cannot be ignored when it comes to achieving agency. As was discussed earlier, teachers' beliefs regarding the purpose of education and the needs of the traumatized students in camp schools can either enhance or limit the achievement of their agency as part of teachers' short and long-terms goals are designed in accordance with their beliefs. According to agency theory (Priestley et al. 2015a), the achievement of teacher agency is oriented toward the achievement of a combination of some short and long-term goals and objectives.

With relation to the participating teachers, setting some effective, useful and practical short and long term aims helps in achieving their agency. An example of these goals and aims would be developing students' high-order thinking skills (such as critiquing, analyzing, synthesizing and arguing). However, as camp school teachers believed that what their traumatized students needed the most was not quality education, this was affecting their long-term goals. In their interviews, teachers were probed to talk about their goals behind teaching in camp schools. Surprisingly, none of their long-term goals were academic. Instead, their long-term goals were revolving around social coexistence and peace making.

The importance of having these non-academic goals whether to the students or to the bigger society cannot be underestimated. Nevertheless, the existence of such goals was limiting more than enhancing their agency as these goals deviated teachers from concentrating on being agents of change. Moreover, as their long-term goals were non-academic, teachers' short-term aims were limited to covering the curriculum and raising their students' success rate at final exams.

Thus, while a state of equilibrium was reached in camp schools and hence erased the tensions within and between the different nodes of the teaching activity, this state was limiting teachers' agency as well. That is, due to this agreed upon state of equilibrium, teachers adopted traditional methods of teaching as communicative

teaching would inevitably bring tensions back between them and their community. Importantly, this is not the case in non-camp schools where teachers have bigger opportunities to adopt communicative teaching methods while effectively counteract the impact of the remaining nodes, or in other words maintaining the state of equilibrium even with communicative teaching being adopted.

As was indicated earlier, headteachers and supervisors in non-camp schools take their role in encouraging teachers to deliver quality teaching. Training programmes are also held to non-camp school teachers to help them implement the new curriculum effectively. Hence, the community's power in non-camp school is used to push teachers to act as agents of change and thus increases the likelihood of achieving their agency. By the same token, classrooms in non-camp schools are supported with more 'instruments' or teaching and learning resources than in camp schools.

This, however, does not mean that teacher agency is always achieved in non-camp schools. Rather, teachers in non-camp schools can more efficiently respond to other nodes or factors as the impact of these nodes are less severe and hence can be counteracted while maintaining the state of equilibrium. For example, as teachers have more time in non-camp schools than in camp schools, this means that teachers in non-camp schools can cover the whole curriculum even with communicative teaching strategies being followed. Hence, teachers can successfully build on their individual capacities without creating tensions with their community.

Thus, a state of equilibrium in non-camp schools does not necessarily contribute to limiting teachers' agency. On the contrary, it might help in achieving teacher agency as teachers can and are encouraged to build on their individual capacities. Moreover, teaching in non-camp schools could also be geared towards achieving some useful and effective academic goals that support rather than challenge the curriculum.

6.4 Impact of camp school settings on teachers' identities

One of the main aims of this thesis is to examine how the new teaching context (IDP camp schools) has impacted teachers' identities. Based on the findings presented in the previous chapter, it can be argued that there is a twofold manifestation of the impact of the new teaching context on teachers' identities. First, there is a shift in the identity standard for English language teacher's role in camp schools. Second, teachers have taken up a new caring identity.

To start with the first point, Burke and Stets (2009: 3) illustrate that identity is a set of meaning. These meanings are what differentiate one role identity from another. According to Identity theory, when an individual takes on an identity, s/he should behave in line with its embedded meanings so that this role identity could be verified.

In relation to the present study, this means that to verify their teaching role identities, the participating teachers have to behave in accordance with the meanings held in their teaching role identity, or more broadly with what other people expect from them to do (as these meanings are culturally shared).

Generally, what people expect from English language teachers is an effective teaching that maximizes the students' capabilities, improves their command over the language and prepares them well for the examinations. Moreover, from my former experience as an English language teacher at secondary schools, English language teachers in Iraq normally evaluate their efficiency in terms of the extent they could improve their students' English language level, and their students' success rate especially at grade 9 and 12.

However, the findings show the opposite. Due to the complex teaching settings, the participating teachers carried on with traditional teaching methods as effective communicative teaching was unattainable in camp schools. Besides, the percentage of students who were passing the national examinations (especially for grade 9) was very low (in some classes it was below five percent). Nevertheless, teachers were

still satisfied about their teaching role identity as they did not consider effective teaching as a criterion that defines the effectiveness of their work.

Hence, as the participating teachers were unsuccessful in boosting their students' English language level, this did not collide with the impression they had about themselves as English language teachers. This indicates that their teaching role identities were verified even with other people's expectations being unmet. This means that trough erasing effective teaching from the criteria that define their role, teachers had shifted the meanings that define their teaching role due to the impact of the new teaching context.

To Stryker and Burke (2000), when self-verification fails to occur due to a mismatch between the perceived behaviors and meanings (or goals to be achieved), this generates negative emotion as this would lead people to have some doubts about their self-worth (low self-esteem) and may even engender other negative emotions such as distress and anger. When this happens, people counteract the discrepancy between their actions and the meanings held in the identity standard (Stets and Burke, 2003). This, however, could be accomplished either through changing their behaviors or the goals to be achieved in a given context.

As was mentioned previously, people tend to start firstly with changing their actions or behaviors. If changing actions is not an available option, due to the surrounding context such as their work conditions, they start modifying the meanings held in the identity standard, or in other words the meanings that define their teaching role. This can be argued to be the case with the participating teachers who, due to the complex working conditions, believed that their academic goals were just unachievable. In other words, the participating teachers indicated that camp schools are filled with difficulties that teachers cannot overcome through changing their actions. Hence, the only option left for a camp school teacher to counteract the discrepancy between their actions and the meanings held in their identity standard was changing the identity standard.

In their interviews, many teachers talked about this issue. They indicated that they do not blame themselves for the ineffective delivery of knowledge, nor for the low achievement of their students in national examinations, which refers to the change in their identity standards. Mr. Khalid stated:

> As a matter of fact, teachers in IDP camp schools are the last to blame. The class size is beyond thinkable. There are tens of students crammed inside each tent. The majority of students lack the desire to learn with many of them come to class without the textbooks. In such situation, not to mention that many students do not speak or even understand Arabic, how can teachers be blamed?

Mr. Jasim had a similar view. To him:

> Teachers in camp schools are confined by so many difficulties that do not allow them to apply what they believe to be a good teaching. When teachers find themselves in such a demanding and challenging context, I do not really think that there is much they can do to overcome these challenges. There is nothing you can change to make your teaching effective. Therefore, I am completely satisfied with myself as a teacher and deeply believe that none of the students' low achievement is my or my colleagues' fault.

To Stryker and Burke (2000), when self-verification occurs, people feel satisfied and do not change the way they behave. This was the case with the participating teachers who gave their role identities a new definition that could be verified in camp schools. This can be seen more clearly in Mr. Hasan's statement:

> when I first started my work as a voluntary teacher, I had so many goals in my head. I wanted to help the students through offering them quality teaching. Not so long after my first day in school, I realized that none of my goals is achievable. Nowadays, I am not even trying, to be honest, to have new goals or dreams because I know that unless the Iraqi Ministry of Education interferes, there is nothing teachers can do, and I do not blame myself for the low-quality teaching I am delivering to my students

The statement above shows obviously how Mr. Hasan changed the identity standard for his teaching role identity and then verified it. This was also the case with other teachers who indicated that they had added new meanings to their teaching role identities. Mr. Salah, for example, explained that teachers in camp schools do not

have to aim at delivering quality teaching anymore as this is something unachievable. Instead, they shall look for different aims such as promoting social coexistence and/or convincing the students not to leave schools.

Hence, the first impact of the new teaching context on teachers' identities was a shift in their teaching role identities. Interestingly, there is a clear connection between this shift of identity and the state of equilibrium discussed in the previous section. That is, as the 'proper implementation of the curriculum' element (within the rule node) was erased from the teaching activity system to reach a middle-ground settlement with the remaining nodes, it was necessary for teachers to also erase this element from the features that describe the effectiveness of their role so that their teaching role identities could be verified.

Concerning the second impact, it was found that in addition to their teaching role identities, teachers have taken up a caring identity. Following O'Connor (2008, p. 117), caring refers to those 'emotions, actions and reflections that result from a teacher's desire to motivate, help or inspire their students' and is 'demonstrated within the broader social context of teacher–student interactions in and out of the classroom situation'.

A critical point should be raised here. In relation to the present study, when a teacher takes up a new role identity, this does not presuppose a quantifying or stratifying between his/her traditional teaching role and its newly taken counterpart (teaching vs. caring identities) as it is eventually the same person who holds these two identities. Rather, while the teaching role identity refers to teachers' traditional role of teaching (along with all the academic-meanings and/or goals attached to their teaching identity), caring identity is used in this research to refer to the new roles that teachers had taken in their new teaching context. Hence, for ease of discussion, teachers' caring role identity is used in the present research to refer to the new non-academic meanings and/or goals that teachers added beside their traditional academic ones.

In relation to the participating teachers and following the disjuncture that happened after 2014 between Muslims and Yazidis, new meanings or goals that ultimately shape their identities were added. That is, the participating teachers indicated that entrenching social coexistence lies at the core of their responsibilities as teachers in camp schools. For this reason, they were regularly speaking with their students about the need and necessity of maintaining unity within the Iraqi society by differentiating between ISIS and moderate Muslims, and by understanding that the vast majority of victims that were killed by ISIS were Muslims themselves.

The participating teachers also mentioned that their priority was to help their traumatized students, mainly but not limited to psychologically, rather than be focused on their traditional role; teaching the English language. To such end and with no official training whatsoever, the participating teachers devoted a considerable time to the very serious pastoral needs of the students in the camps, even at the expense of being very focused on the curriculum. Some teachers were even meeting students out of the class to discuss some of the problems that the students were undergoing. Other teachers were devoting the first few minutes of each class to encourage students to keep moving, discuss their problems with someone who could help and to never lose hope in a better future.

Teachers' caring identity manifested itself through the participating teachers' assertion that these additional goals of helping their students were more important to them than their academic ones. Mr. Muhammad stated that he was teaching the English language only because he had to. He pointed out that if it was up to him, he would turn the classroom into a place where students can 'taste some true happiness' whether through conducting games or having friendly conversation. He added that this was what he wanted to do if only he was not required (by the Ministry of Education) to cover the curriculum.

The same with Mr. Khalid who asserted that schools should have a new set of goals for displaced students. To Mr. Khalid, none of these goals should relate to academic teaching. Instead, camp schools should simply be a place where social coexistence

is promoted and where students are offered genuine psychological help. Like Mr. Muhammad, he pointed out that he was teaching the English language subject only because he had to.

Through taking up a caring identity, the teachers had been emotionally engaged with their students. A review of the literature shows that emotions have always been part and parcel of teaching (Nias, 1986; Zembylas, 2003). Hargreaves (1994) stressed that emotions are at the centre of teachers' work as teaching always involves 'human nurturance, connectedness, warmth and love'. In his later work, Hargreaves (1998) stated that caring about and for students form a crucial aspect of teachers' identity. He explained that teachers are passionate beings who, as other individuals, bring their beliefs and personal commitment to their society to their workplace.

Nias (1989) and Forrester (2005) argued that teachers' work includes ethical and humanistic dimensions that act as a source of intrinsic motivation to encourage and push teachers to care for their students even when there are no economic benefits behind their caring. To Hargreaves and Goodson (1996), teaching is traditionally more of a 'caring' profession than a high-status one.

However, even with the emotions being at the heart of teaching, caring aspects are mostly ignored by teachers. To Dillabough (1999), such aspects are greatly ignored and normally not noticed because of the institutionalised standards that relegate teachers' emotions and subjugating teachers' private sphere, or in other words their own goals, aims and beliefs to the aims and goals of the system. The question raised here is why would camp school teachers challenge their institutionalised standards and show their caring aspects. According to O'Connor (2008), institutionalised standards are challenged, and caring aspects are brought up by teachers when students are in need for caring.

Thus, while 'the state of equilibrium' justifies the first impact of camp school settings on teachers' identities (a shift in the teaching role identities), the work of O'Connor (2008), or in other words the fact that students in camp schools were in

desperate need for help and care, explains the second impact of the new teaching context on teachers' identities.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.1 General summary and research questions

This research set out to examine the impact of the new teaching context, IDP camps, on teachers' implementation of the new English language curriculum, their identities and agency. To this end, the present research utilized two instruments to collect the data; semi-structured interviews and classroom observation. The sample of this study were eight male secondary school English language teachers divided into two camp schools in the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

In fact, there was only one female English language teacher in both of the two schools. The female teacher agreed to participate in this study and was interviewed twice and observed once, but then decided to withdraw for safety reasons as some religious and political issues were tackled during the second interview. However, she was asked if references could be made to her in this thesis and she agreed on the condition that no concrete evidence should remain in my possession. Hence, after taking some notes, all of the audio recordings for her interviews and observation were deleted. Nevertheless, some of her beliefs were stated in this research.

The data was gathered between March and April 2016. Three theories were used as lenses through which the present research data were analyzed; CHAT, Identity Theory and Teacher Agency. It was hoped that by relying on three different theories, an answer to the following research questions would be reached:

1. What is the impact of the new teaching context on the practices of the Iraqi secondary school EFL teachers in the IDP camp?

2. To what extent are teachers' agencies achieved in their new teaching context?

3. What is the impact of the new teaching context on IDP camp school teachers' identities?

7.2 Research findings and their implications

7.2.1 Implications for teachers' knowledge of curriculum objectives

In this research, more than half of the participating teachers had an extremely limited, and sometimes contradictive understanding of the new curriculum objectives. The goals behind introducing a new curriculum were reduced by many teachers to conduct more group work activities and to spend more time on oral skills in comparison to their traditional role. It has been found that one of the main reasons behind this was teachers' insufficient knowledge of the different teaching approaches upon which curricula are designed.

To the majority of the participating teachers, a curriculum is no more than content knowledge (textbooks) coupled with a set of practices. By the same token, language teaching is viewed by them as the mere teaching of four skills; speaking, listening, reading and writing. For example, many teachers were unfamiliar with other major differences between the new and the previous curricula, such as teacher-centeredness vs. student-centeredness and/or knowledge-constructed vs. transmission-oriented pedagogy. Some teachers stated that they had no professional knowledge on CLT. For those teachers, CLT was just unknown.

From this, it can be argued that a proper execution of a CLT-based curriculum generally starts with a proper understanding of the main tenets of a CLT approach. Also, being acquainted with the main principles of a CLT approach might not necessarily mean that teachers would change their teaching practices to align them with the directions of the newly adopted curriculum. Teachers should believe that through adopting a specific approach, real benefits to students would be gained. This view is supported by Morris et al. (1996) who stated that teachers do not normally take up a new innovation at early stages. Rather, they usually have a 'wait

and see' stance where they wait for their colleagues to adopt any new innovation initiative and then decide whether to accept or reject the innovation.

Similarly, Iskandar (2014) argued that teachers only 'accept innovative ideas once they have judged them'. This is why Fullan (1991) believed that the most important element that determines the success, or otherwise failure, of any educational change are teachers themselves as they might reject the innovation in the first place leaving no chance for the educational change to take place on the ground. Hence, when a new CLT-based curriculum is introduced, teachers should firstly be familiarized with CLT principles, and then made fully aware of how adopting communicative strategies would bring better results than traditional ones. Once these two steps are made, other issues that might challenge the execution of the new curriculum (such as contextual difficulties) can be tackled.

Without doing that, it is quite unlikely that teachers would change their current teaching methods since traditional teaching methods seem more promising to them. Some of the reasons that make traditional methods of teaching look more attractive are first, students' engagement can be kept under teacher's control which means better control of the class. Second, high level of English proficiency, especially oral fluency, is not required on the teachers' part. Third, less time is needed comparing with communicative teaching methods. Fourth, communicative teaching needs more preparation on the part of teachers as they need to prepare for the different classroom activities. Fifth, traditional teaching methods fit with the structure-based mid and final-year examinations (Brown & Yamashita, 1995, Al-Khwaiter, 2001, Yamchi, 2006; Rajab, 2013, Altaieb, 2013; Iskandar, 2014; Hussein, 2018).

Importantly, while the argument presented above applies directly to non-camp school teachers, it does not deny the impact of camp school settings on shaping teachers' practices. In fact, even teachers with sufficient professional knowledge on teaching approaches were found to be teaching traditionally. This means that while traditional teaching methods were followed by some of the participating teachers due to their lack of professional knowledge, these methods were favoured

by other teachers as coping mechanism against the complexity of their teaching context.

7.2.2 Implications for the role of examination system and other contextual factors on curriculum implementation

Relying on the findings of the present research, it can be argued that the role of the examination system and of other contextual factors cannot be underestimated when a new curriculum is introduced. To start with the examination system, curriculum designers should take into their account the nature of the examination system followed in the country for which the new national curriculum is designed. This means that a high correlation should be made between mid and final-year exams and the new curriculum as when the curriculum and the examination system do not have the same focus, it is quite unlikely that teachers will follow the curriculum directions.

Obviously, this can be justified when considering that teachers are mostly concerned about their students passing the exams so that they can continue their studies. When students fail to pass due to their teachers being focused only on the curriculum while ignoring the nature of the examination system, gaining many other benefits from following the curriculum strictly will not seem appealing, neither to the teachers nor to their students. Teachers in this study stated that preparing their students to pass the exams was by far more important than accurate implementation of the curriculum, not only to them and their students, but also to the students' families, the headteachers and the field supervisors.

In relation to the present research, the participating teachers stated that while oral skills in the new curriculum are given at least equal importance as the written skills, structure-oriented questions that have nothing to do with speaking and listening skills form 80 percent of the total score except for year 9 and 12 were oral skills are completely excluded and structure-oriented questions make up the total score. Consequently, teachers were skipping the oral parts of the curriculum as

their main goal is always raising their students' success rate. This coheres with other research (Gorsuch, 2000; Andrews, 2004; Brown, 2007; Rajab, 2013; Hussein, 2018) that shows how the distribution of scores in final exams influences teachers' implementation of any curriculum in such a way that more concentration and time are allotted to those parts which weigh the most in final examination.

To overcome this inconsistency, the Iraqi Ministry of Education could allocate more score to the oral skills in mid and final-year examinations, just like with the IELTS tests where speaking and listening sections are given equal score as reading and writing sections. Without raising the oral skill scores, teachers will keep dealing with speaking and listening as less important than their counter reading and writing skills.

In relation to the role and impact of contextual factors, the results of the present study are in line with other research (Gahin, 2001; Yamchi, 2006; Brown, 2007; Shamim, 2008; Rahimi, 2008; Altaieb, 2013; Ahmad and Rao 2013) that emphasizes the importance of different contextual factors in determining the success of a communicative curriculum. In this research, three contextual factors have been found to play a critical role in determining the possibility of teaching communicatively. These three factors are time, class size and teaching resources. As is known, communicative curricula are filled with classroom activities that need plenty of time (as all students should take part in these activities) and a variety of teaching resources such as cards, projector, appropriate furniture, speakers and the like. Communicative teaching therefore demands more time, smaller class sizes and more teaching resources than traditional teaching.

In an interesting study conducted by Abdel Latif (2012) to investigate the applicability of communicative curricula in Egypt, the researcher found that the curriculum was inapplicable in governmental secondary schools, and teachers were following traditional teaching methods as a result of the existence of some contextual difficulties including large class sizes and time limitations. However, different results were gained from private teaching centres where teachers had more time, classes were smaller (15 students as an average) and well equipped with

video and audio teaching aids. In these centres, communicative teaching was adopted, followed and applied effectively by teachers.

The study of Abdel Latif (2012) clearly shows that the role of context should never be underestimated as it plays a critical part in determining the fate of any curriculum. From this, it can be argued that with the very limited time and teaching resources, coupled with the large classes, communicative curricula are not only too ambitious for camp school settings, but also unworkable. This, however, does not guarantee that communicative curricula will automatically work in the right context as other factors, such as examination systems and teachers' understanding of the curriculum, have to be considered as well.

7.2.3 Implications for camp school teachers' identities

As the present study found that camp school teachers shifted their teaching role identities and took up new caring ones, this implies that the impact of teaching contexts on teachers goes beyond their choice of teaching methods to reach the meanings or goals teachers have in their minds. In other words, the study of teacher identity in this research implies that teaching contexts are places where existing meanings (or goals) could be maintained, modified or erased while new ones could be generated.

To start with existed meanings, the participating teachers erased communicative teaching from the criteria (or meanings represented in goals) that used to define their role. They also decreased the importance of teaching communicatively. This can be seen through the participating teachers' assertions that effective communicative teaching was not their main concern anymore as there were more important goals to achieve. That is, as communicative teaching was not attainable in camp schools, it also looked less appealing to teachers through decreasing its previous value. The participating teachers were evaluating their goals through their teaching context.

In relation to creating new meanings, taking up a new caring role identity simply means adding more meanings (or in other words new goals to achieve through taking certain roles) to oneself in a given context. That is, through taking up new caring identities beside their traditional teaching role, the participating teachers added new meanings or roles to themselves, represented in a set of new goals such as helping their students psychologically and promoting peaceful coexistence. Since the importance of having these extra roles cannot be underestimated in camp school settings, this implies that the participating teachers' answer to the 'what does it mean to be who we are?' question was significantly affected by their teaching environment.

Hence, it can be said that the participating teachers took up a new caring role as camp schools leveraged new meanings or goals on re-learning human relationships. As was indicated earlier (see section 5.6), many of the participating teachers looked at themselves as the only representatives of the Muslim community in the eyes of the displaced Yazidi students. Following the disjuncture that happened between Muslims and Yazidis after 2014, camp school contexts were therefore the appropriate contexts for taking up new role identities that tackle human relationships. Importantly, relaying on such understanding of the relationship between teaching contexts and teacher identity means that teachers in any context are under constant influence of modifying, erasing or adding meanings or goals. Consequently, teachers' traditional teaching role can be defined differently by different teachers in different contexts. By the same token, what roles teachers take also differ from one context to another.

Thus, while taking a new caring role might not seem needed in other contexts (as it reduced teaching quality since teachers were devoting considerable time to meet their caring role's goals), playing out such roles in the context of the present study was understandable and also beneficial not only to the students but to the bigger society as well. Interestingly, this is where Identity theory and CHAT meets. According to CHAT, the object of any activity can be misunderstood when the impact of context is neglected (see section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.1). Also, CHAT stresses

that rules and instruments are defined differently from one context to another. In relation to teacher identity, why teachers play out different roles (or meanings represented in goals) in different contexts might not be fully justified or understood when neglecting their surrounding environment.

In fact, teachers' new caring roles are what McCall and Simmons (1978) named as the idiosyncratic dimension of identities. As was argued earlier (see section 3.5.3), McCall and Simmons stated that there are two dimensions from which meanings that form individuals' identities are derived. While the conventional dimension refers to the agreed-on meanings that people share, the idiosyncratic dimension signals the individuals' distinctive understandings and interpretations of their roles. According to McCall and Simmons, individuals could heavily rely on the idiosyncratic dimension (rather than its conventional counterpart) to the extent that some role identities might become unrecognizable to others.

Thus, it can be argued that caring roles were the idiosyncratic dimension of teachers' identities. In other words, while it might theoretically seem to an outsider that camp school teachers were playing two separate role identities (teaching and caring role identities), these two role identities were arguably looked at differently by camp school teachers. To them, caring was not an extra role that they were playing. Instead, it was their distinctive understanding of what it meant to be a teacher in a camp school. This also shows the impact of IDP camps on teachers' identities as it led them to understand their role differently.

Importantly, looking at the relationship between teaching contexts and teacher identity in this way could be considered a productive line of inquiry for future research. This is because future work could examine the impact of other teaching contexts (such as non-camp schools in Iraq) on teachers' identities, or in other words on how meanings within that context are modified and/or created.

7.2.4 Implications for camp school teachers' agency

In relation to teacher agency, the present study found that the new teaching context (IDP camp schools) was characterized by a set of complex challenges that did not leave much place for teachers to overcome these difficulties, even with an encouraging professional history as with Mr. Abdullah and Mr. Jasim who both have more than 20 years of teaching experience. This means that camp schools rendered teachers' theoretical and pedagogical knowledge irrelevant. This can be seen with Mr. Jasim who in spite of showing more theoretical and pedagogical knowledge than the remaining participants, he was unable to put what he believed to be the best teaching techniques and/or methods into practice. Like the remining teachers, Mr. Jasim was pushed to adopt traditional teaching methods that appeared to him and his colleagues as inevitable rather than a choice.

Indications of the teachers' limited agency can be seen in, first, their assertion that without a direct interference from the Iraqi government (represented by the Iraqi Ministry of Education), teaching in camp schools would remain ineffective. This implies that camp school teachers could not manoeuvre pedagogically to meet the new curriculum goals and objectives. This can be seen through the participating teachers' assertion that they were implementing the new curriculum against their will.

Second, the absence of long-term goals was another indication of the teachers' limited agency. This is in line with other studies, for example Priestley et al. (2015b: 637) who stated that this 'narrowness of vision and purpose limits and delineates teacher agency'. Importantly, the present research argues that the absence of the long-term goals on the part of teachers was caused, though partially, by their new caring role. This is because the participating teachers' long-term goals were mostly related to entrenching social co-existence, rehabilitating the traumatized students psychologically and encouraging them not to leave school.

This interrelatedness between teachers' identities, agency and their classroom practices does not stop at this point. Arguably, one reason behind taking up this

new role was teachers' inability to execute the new curriculum properly, or in other words to teach effectively. This was mentioned by three teachers (Mr. Muhammad, Mr. Othman and Mr. Salah) who stated that given the fact that effective academic goals were challenging due to the complex set of contextual challenges, they decided to have some other goals (helping their students psychologically and entrenching social co-existence) as they wanted to do something useful rather than just killing time at their workplace. Hence, teachers' inability to implement the curriculum properly played a part in pushing the participating teachers towards taking a new role identity which in turn, impacted the achievement of their agency.

To conclude, results obtained from the present study imply that the new teaching context, IDP camp schools, was of a great influence on many levels. It made effective communicative teaching unattainable due to a complex set of contextual challenges. Also, due to the traumatized conditions of camp school students, and the peaceful coexistence between Muslims and Yazidis being on the verge of breaking down (during the time of data collection); new roles for teachers emerged and understandably looked more important to them than their traditional teaching role. This consequently affected the achievement of their agency as meeting the new curriculum objectives was no longer their priority. As agents of change, teacher agency is achieved when, among other factors, teachers' practices are set to be in line with and support the new curriculum directions, represented in the curriculum short and long-terms aims and objectives.

However, an important point to raise here is that teacher agency in camp school settings was limited only in relation to their role of executing the new English language curriculum. In other words, through taking new caring roles, the participating teachers did act as agents of change, even if in a different way. That is, as camp school teachers were supporting students psychologically and strengthening social cohesion, this clearly shows that they did set some short and long-term goals and they brought some sort of change to their daily classroom practices.

Moreover, through relying on their power within their workplace and building on their knowledge (represented in their general life experiences of helping others psychologically and entrenching social coexistence), certain actions were regularly being taken by camp school teachers to meet these goals. This clearly implies that camp school teachers did achieve some agency through their caring roles. Thus, while teacher agency in this research is argued to be limited, it is only limited in relation to whether teachers could manoeuvre pedagogically through their contextual challenges to meet the new curriculum objectives.

7.3 Limitations of this study

In relation to the present study, the first limitation is gender-imbalance in the sample. As was indicated earlier, the sample of the study consisted of 8 males. There was only one female who participated in the present study. However, before the end of data collection period, she decided to withdraw as she was anxious that her participation in this research might put her safety at risk, as the present research tackled some sensitive religious and/or political issues. In fact, this shows the complexity of conducting research in sensitive contexts (such as IDP camps) where the influence of religion and politics on research participants significantly increases.

Second, only two schools (in two different camps) were involved in the present research. Both schools, and hence the camps, are located outside the city of Duhok in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. It should be mentioned that at the time of data collection, there were many other camps in different locations in Iraq. Importantly, some of these camps were occupied exclusively by Muslims. Hence, issues related to teachers' goals (especially long-term ones) and their identities could be quite different. By the same token, contextual challenges differ from one camp to another. For this reason, the findings of this research cannot be overgeneralized to include all other camp schools in Iraq.

Third, data was collected over a period of two months, which could not be extended due to the regulations of my scholarship. Given the fact that teachers'

practices, identities and agency are always evolving (Deaux, 1992; Stets, 1995; Burke, 2006; Priestley et al., 2012d; Noonan, 2016, Hussein, 2018), more longitudinal or ethnographical studies are needed as more detailed findings on teachers' practices, identities and agency will ultimately be obtained.

Fourth, in relation to the practical-evaluative dimension of teacher agency, only the material aspect (represented in the shortage of teaching resources) was accounted for. Hence, more studies on the remaining two aspects (cultural and structural) are needed to see whether other dimensions of teacher agency could be achieved in camp schools.

7.4 Contributions to knowledge

The present research contributes to the literature on teachers' practices, identities and agency as it, first, has made the first attempt to build on the following three theories (CHAT, Identity theory and Teacher Agency) in a single study and more importantly, in a novel and a unique context. The interrelatedness between these three theories was discussed in this research. As was shown in the previous chapter, the outcome of the teaching activity system (from a CHAT perspective) is directly connected to teachers' identities and to the achievement of their agency. That is, CHAT has been found in this research to be directly connected to teacher agency as the two-way arrows between its nodes ultimately determine to what extent teachers are enabled and/or constrained in a given context (see section 6.3). Teachers have also been shown in this research to modify their identities (or in other words the meanings that represent their goals) in line with the outcome of the teaching activity system so that their teaching role identities could be verified.

Second, the present study contributes to the literature through investigating Iraqi English language teachers' implementation of the new curriculum. To date, no study has examined the applicability of the new English language curriculum in Iraq, whether in camp or non-camp schools. However, more studies on teachers' implementation of the new English language curriculum in non-camp schools are still needed.

Third, it is the first study that set out to examine the impact of camp school settings on teachers' practices, identities and the achievement on their agency. Clearly, the role of context in this research is extremely vital. Giving the fact that schooling inside IDP camps has never took place in Iraq before 2014, and that the available literature on teaching and learning in IDP camp schools is extremely limited, the present research contributes to literature on teachers' practices, identities and agency in camp school settings.

Also, the number of IDPs is increasing on a global level. Throughout its different reports, such as IOM (2019a) and IOM (2019b), International Organization of Immigration (IOM) stated that the number of IDPs only in Iraq was rapidly increasing over the last few years and stood at 1.8 million people by December 2018, large portion of whom do not intend to return to their homes in the near future. Research on IDPs is therefore important and needed.

7.5 Recommendations of the study

7.5.1 Recommendations for policy and practice

In relation to recommendations, and based on the findings of the present study, the following recommendations will be given. First, pre and in-service training programmes should be conducted and all camp school teachers should be given a chance to enroll in these programmes. Also, teachers should attain these programmes continuously and not on a 'one-shot' basis, as it is mostly given in Iraq.

It should be stressed that these programmes are only helpful in terms of achieving their goals when the focus of these programmes is on how to properly implement the new curriculum within the context of Iraqi schools rather than explaining how the curriculum can best be executed while ignoring all context-related factors. To elaborate, Mr. Jasim was enrolled in one of these programmes and was told that there should be no more than 22 students in the class, and that a variety of teaching aids should also be provided. Clearly, this is not the case with the Iraqi governmental secondary schools. Hence, training programmes should be designed in

such a way that proper implementation of the curriculum is reached when teachers effectively counteract context-related factors.

Moreover, teachers in these training programmes should not only be acknowledged of how to implement the curriculum, but also be made aware of how executing the curriculum properly can bring benefits to the students themselves. It is also recommended that supervisors and inspectors visit the schools periodically not only to ensure that teachers are applying what they have already learnt in these programmes, but to offer help and guidance on teaching methods and/or practices when needed.

Second, as teachers allocate most of their time to teach grammar (due to the fact that grammar-related questions weigh the most on mid and final-exams), it is recommended that part of the pre and in-service programmes focuses on how to integrate communicative aspects in teaching grammatical rules, through what is called as 'communicative grammatical competence' (Leech et al., 2002). This can be achieved when students are given questions on some grammatical rules and are asked to discuss their answer with their peers.

Third, in relation to the different focus of the curriculum and the examination system, it is recommended that the Iraqi Ministry of Education allocates more scores in mid and final-exams to the oral parts of the curriculum. This can take the form of many international tests, such as IELTS, where speaking and listening parts have the same weigh as reading and writing. This, however, is not an easy task to achieve as ensuring objectivity, especially in the speaking part, can be problematic and teachers need extensive training to such end.

Fourth, due to the many challenges that camp school teachers were facing including their inability to cover the curriculum due to time pressure, it is strongly recommended that a less condensed curriculum (that accounts for the complex set of contextual difficulties) should be designed for camp schools. Arguably, this is the only way to make an English language curriculum workable in such a challenging context. Again, designing a new curriculum for camp schools cannot be an easy task

to achieve. However, by explaining many of the difficulties that teachers in camp schools were facing, it is hoped that the findings of the present study will pave the way for other researchers, and/or for the Iraqi Ministry of Education, to start working on designing such a curriculum.

Fifth, one of the main findings of this study is that schooling in camp schools is governed by a set of contradicting and nonhomogeneous rules or factors. Arguably, the provision of a teaching environment governed by a homogeneous set of rules that stand in line with and encourage teachers to adopt communicative teaching strategies can be said to be the first step towards improving teaching and learning in Iraq. This means that introducing a new curriculum is only one step in the process of bringing about change in English language teaching and learning. However, real change happens when the teaching environment is governed by a homogeneous set of rules that effectively counteract the contextual factors.

Based on the above, it is strongly recommended that detailed longitudinal studies on context-related factors, in both camp and non-camp schools, should first be conducted if proper implementation of any curriculum is to be reached. Importantly, this would not only allow teachers to design their practices in line with the directions of the new curriculum but would also contribute in achieving their agency as when teachers counteract context-related factors, they are enabled rather than constrained and their capacities are built on rather than neglected.

Finally, as the participating teachers frankly expressed that they were lacking motivation for work, and since lack of motivation inevitably influence teaching and learning, it is recommended that financial incentives should be provided for camp school teachers. Arguably, this would increase teachers' motivation and thus, enhance teaching and learning.

7.5.2 Recommendations for future research

Relying on the present research findings, suggestions for future research are given in this section. First, as the present study shows that the new English language

curriculum is unworkable in camp schools, future research can build on the results gained from this research as a starting point towards designing a new context-sensitive English language curriculum where different contextual difficulties in camp schools are accounted for.

Importantly, more detailed studies on teaching and learning in IDP camps are needed if an effective designed-for-camps curriculum is to be reached. This is because teachers' perspectives were the main source of data upon which the findings of this study were reached. Therefore, more studies that account for students and supervisors' points of view about the new English language curriculum are also needed.

Second, research on Iraqi teachers' implementation of the new curriculum in non-camp schools are needed as to this date, no study has examined the applicability of the new curriculum in Iraqi non-camp secondary schools. Clearly, contextual challenges in non-camp schools in Iraq are less severe than those inside IDP camps as class sizes are smaller, teachers have more time and are working in better workplace conditions. Therefore, different results from such studies will be reached and will add more to literature on executing communicative-base curricula in Iraq.

Third, as all of the main cities in Iraq have been liberated from ISIS, a number of IDP camps were closed and teachers went back to their original schools. Hence, for those teachers who moved back to their non-camp schools, new research that track the shift in their identities and the achievement of their agency in non-camp schools are needed.

Fourth, as camp school teachers took new goals such as offering psychological help and entrenching peaceful coexistence, to what extent teachers were successful meeting these goals could be examined by future work. More generally, as the present research mainly concentrated on how camp school teachers' beliefs, values and identities were influenced by their society, more research that studies how teachers, or schools in general, influence society especially at times of emergencies will be valuable.

Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

College of Social Sciences

Dear Participant,

You are kindly invited to participate in my research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not, it is important to have an idea about what this research is about. Please read the following information carefully and feel free to further discuss it with others if you wish. For clarification or more information, I am more than happy to help.

Sincerely,
Ahmed Abduladheem Abdullah
PhD student
College of Social Sciences
School of Education
University of Glasgow
Supervisors: Professor Stephen McKinney, Dr. Lavinia Hirsu and Julie McAdam.

Title of the Project: Investigating Iraqi Secondary School English Language Teachers' Practices in IDP Camps.

What is purpose of this study?

The purpose of the study is to shed some light on the practices Iraqi secondary school EFL teachers are currently using in the IDP camps in Duhok. Moreover, I will investigate to what extent teachers' beliefs and attitudes about teaching English have been changed after being displaced.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen to take part since you are an English language teacher within the IDP camps. Another seven English language teachers within the IDP camps will take part in this study as well.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is voluntary. It is your right not to participate or to withdraw at any time.

What will happen to me if I take part?

- You will be interviewed twice by me, face-to-face. The first and the second interview shall be around 45 and 15 minutes respectively. Questions will be on your beliefs and attitudes about teaching English after displacement.
- I will also attend three of your classes to do classroom observation. The reason behind doing classroom observation is to have an idea about what pedagogical practices you use in teaching English.
- The interviews and the classroom observation will be audio-recorded.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Your participation will be in full confidence. All the data taken from participants will be anonymised. Only the researcher will have access to the data and information collected before removing your name. All research data will be deleted after completion of the project.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

You will receive, via email, a summary of results after completing my project.

Who has reviewed the study?

This project has been reviewed by the College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow.

Contact for further information

If I have any questions about this research, please contact the Principal Investigator Ahmed Abduladheem Abdullah (a.abdullah.1@research.gla.ac.uk). If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research project, you can contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix B: Consent form

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

1. Title of Project: Investigating Iraqi Secondary School English Language Teachers' Practices in IDP Camps

Name of Researcher: Ahmed Abduladheem Abdullah / Supervisor: Professor Stephen McKinney

☐ I, the undersigned, hereby affirmatively confirm that I have read and understood the Plain Language Statement/Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. I consent to interviews and classroom observations being audio-recorded. I, also, acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonym and there will be no effect on my employment arising from my participation or non-participation in this research. Concerning data storage, I agree that the data collected from this research will be stored securely with my personal details removed and agree for it to be held as set out in the Plain Language Statement. I understand that only the anonymised result could be shared with other genuine researchers

I agree to take part in this research study ☐

I do not agree to take part in this research study ☐

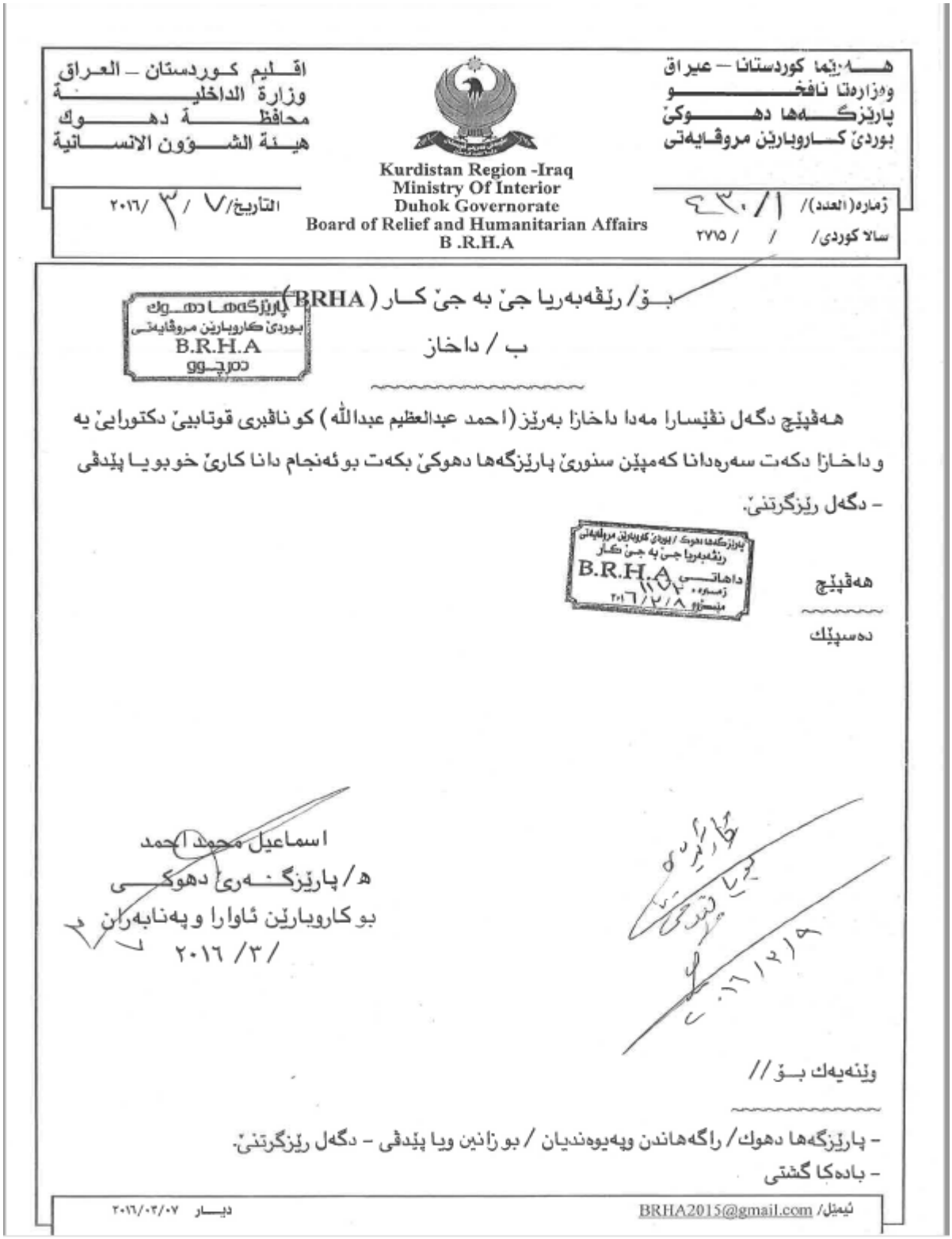
Name of Participant ……Signature ……

Date ……

Name of Researcher …… Signature ……

Date ……

Appendix C: The approved petition from the Duhok Governor's assistant



هـــەرێما کوردستانا – عیراق
وەزارەتا ناڤخـــــــو
پارێزگـــەها دهـــوکێ
بوردێ کـــاروبارێن مروڤـایەتی

اقـــلیم کـوردستان – العـراق
وزارة الداخليـــــــــة
محافظـــــــة دهـــــوك
هيـنة الشـــؤون الانســـانية

Kurdistan Region -Iraq
Ministry Of Interior
Duhok Governorate
Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs
B .R.H.A

ژمارە(العدد)/ ٤٣٠١/
سالا کوردی/ / ٢٧١٥

التاريخ/ ٣/ ٧ /٢٠١٦

بـــۆ/ رێڤەبەریا جێ بە جێ کـــار (BRHA)

ب / داخاز

پارێزگەها دهـــوك
بوردێ کاروبارێن مروڤایەتی
B.R.H.A
دهرچـــوو

هـەڤپێچ دگەل نڤیسارا مەدا داخازا بەرێز (احمد عبدالعظیم عبدالله) کو ناڤبری قوتابیێ دکتورایێ یە و داخـازا دکەت سەرەدانا کەمپێن سنوریێ پارێزگەها دهوکێ بکەت بو ئەنجام دانا کاریێ خوبو یـا پێدڤی

- دگەل رێزگرتنێ.

پارێزگەها دهوك / بوردێ کاروبارێن مروڤایەتی
رێڤەبەریا جێ بە جێ کار
B.R.H.A
داهاتـــی ژمارە ١١٥٢
٢٠١٦/٣/٨ مێژوو

هەڤپێچ

دەسپێك

اسماعیل محمد احمد
ه/ پارێزگـــەرێ دهوکـــی
بو کاروبارێن ئاوارا و پەنابەران
٢٠١٦ /٣/

وێنەیەك بـــۆ //

- پارێزگەها دهوك/ راگەهاندن وپەیوەندیان / بو زانین ویا پێدڤی - دگەل رێزگرتنێ.
- بادەکا گشتی

ئیمێل/ BRHA2015@gmail.com
دیـــار ٢٠١٦/٠٣/٠٧

Appendix D: A translated version of the approved petition from the Duhok Governor's assistant

Kurdistan Region – Iraq
Ministry of the Interior
Duhok Governorate
Board of Humanitarian Affairs

Serial No. 430/1 Date: 07.03.2016

Duhok governorate
Board of Humanitarian Affairs
Executive Directorate
Issue

To / Executive Directorate
Subject/ Petition

Herewith the petition submitted by the PhD student (Ahmed Abduladheem Abdullah) who requested to visit the camps within Duhok governorate borders to fulfill his duties. You are kindly requested to undertake the necessary procedures with regards.

Enclosure:
Related documents

Signed
Ismael Mohamed Ahmed
Assistant Duhok governor
In charge of displaced and emigrants
7/3/2016

Cc/

- Duhok Governorate/ Information & relationships/ you are kindly requested to implement the necessary action with regards.
- General file.

Gara bureau for translation - Court street - Duhok - Iraq - Phone# 07504870571- E-mail: garabureau@gmail.com

RATIFICATION
The legal & competent translator (Mohammed Jaafar Ahmed) under translation License No. 230 issued by Appeal Court on 25.02.2013 . ((The above translation is Identical to the original written in (Kurdish).

GARA BUREAU FOR TRANSLATION
DUHOK – IRAQ

Appendix E: The approved petition from the Executive Directorate, Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs

حکومة إقليم كوردستان-العراق
مجلس الوزراء
وزارة الداخلية
محافظة دهوك
هيئة الشؤون الانسانية
الدائرة التنفيذية

Kurdistan Region
Council of Ministers
Ministry of Interior
Duhok Governorate
Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs
B.R.H.A
Executive Directorate

حکومەتی هەرێمی کوردستان - عێراق
نەخوومەنی وەزیران
وەزارەتی ناوخۆ
پارێزگەها دهوك
بوردێ کاروبارێن مروڤایەتی
رێڤەبەریا جێ بە جێ کار

No:-
DATE
رێڤەبەریا جێ بە جێ کار
B.R.H.A
دهرچـــــوو

ژمارە :- ٤١٧
رێکەوت :- ٢٠١٧/٢/٩

بۆ / کارگێرێت کەمپا .....

ب/ رێپێدان

هەڤپێچ نڤیسارا پارێزگەها دهوك/بوردێ کاروبارێن مروڤایەتی ژمارە (٤٣٠/١) ل ٢٠١٦/٠٣/٠٧ێ سەبارەت قوتابیێ دکتورایێ (احمد عبدالعظیم عبدالله) داخازا ئاسانکاریێ کریە بو سەرەدانا کەمپێن سنوریّ پارێزگەها دهوکێ بو ئەنجامدانا کارێ خو بویا پێتڤی و ئاسانکاری دگەلدا -دگەل رێزگرتنێ.

ادریس نبی صالح
رێڤەبەرێ جێ بە جێ کار

وێنەیەك بو/...
- پارێزگەها دهوك/بوردێ کاروبارێن مروڤایەتی بو زانین-دگەل رێزگرتنێ.
- پروگرامێ ئاوارە و پەنابەرا لپارێزگەها دهوکێ بو زانین.
- دەرچوو

Appendix F: A translated version of the approved petition from the Executive Directorate, Board of Relief and Humanitarian Affairs

Kurdistan Region – Iraq
Council Of Ministers
Ministry of the Interior
Duhok Governorate
Board of Relief & Humanitarian Affairs
Executive Directorate

Serial No. 412 **Date: 09.03.2016**

Duhok governorate
Board of Humanitarian Affairs
Executive Directorate
Issue

To/ The Camp Directorates
Subject/ Admission

Herewith the letter of Duhok governorate, Board of Relief Humanitarian Affairs numbered (1/430) on 07.03.2016 regarding the student (Ahmed Abduladheem Abdullah), who requested to facilitate his mission to visit the camps within Duhok government borders. You are kindly requested to undertake the necessary procedures concerning his PhD research.

Signed
Idris Nabi Salih
Executive director

Cc/

- Duhok governorate/ Board of Relief & Humanitarian Affairs. For your kind information with regards.
- Refugee and displaced Programme in Duhok governorate. For your kind information with regards.
- Issue section.

Gara bureau for translation - Court street - Duhok - Iraq - Phone# 07504870571- E-mail: garabureau@gmail.com

RATIFICATION
The legal & competent translator (Mohammed Jaafar Ahmed) under translation License No. 230 issued by Appeal Court on 25.02.2013 . ((The above translation is Identical to the original written in (Kurdish).

GARA BUREAU FOR TRANSLATION
DUHOK – IRAQ

List of References

Abdel Latif, M. (2012). Teaching a Standard-Based Communicative English Textbook Series to Secondary School Students in Egypt: Investigating Teachers' Practices and Beliefs. *English teaching: Practice and critique, 11*(3), 78-97.

Abdesslem, H. (1987). An Analysis of Foreign Language Lesson Discourse: With Special Reference to the Teaching of English In Tunisian Secondary Schools. University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

Addison, J., Dancer, J., Montague, J. and Davis, P. (1999). Ambient noise levels in university classrooms: detrimental to teaching and learning. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 89,* 649-650.

Aden, A. O. S. (2016). Education System in the Doomeey Internally Displaced Camp in Beletweyne: Challenges & Opportunities. High-quality Research Support programme (HQRS). Retrieved September, 2018, from: http://ocvp.org/docs/Cahort1/Abdifatah.pdf

Ahmad, S. and Rao, C. (2013). Applying Communicative Approach in Teaching English as a Foreign Language: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Porta linguarum, 20*, 187-203.

Ahmed, T. (2014). A Cultural Historical Activity Theory framework for understanding challenges experienced by Student-teachers of science at secondary level of education in Bangladesh. Educate, 14 (2), 2-12.

Akef, H. D. (2015). Evaluating the English Textbook "IRAQ OPPORTUNITIES" Book 6 for the 2nd Intermediate Stage. *Al-Ustath Journal,* 215(1), 105-132.

Al-Halwachi, S. A. (1990). Professional development of teachers of English as a foreign language in Bahrain: with particular reference to in-service provision for secondary school teachers. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Warwick.

Al-Khwaiter, J. (2001). Communicative Language Teaching and Curriculum Innovation in The Teaching of English As A Foreign Language In Qatar a Study Of The Classroom And Its Socio-Cultural Context. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of De Montfort.

Alshenqeeti, H. (2014). Interviewing as data collection method: a critical review. *English Linguistics Research, 3(1),* 39-45.

Altaieb, S. (2013). Teachers' Perception of the English language Curriculum in Libyan Public Schools: An investigation and assessment of implementation process of English curriculum in Libyan public high schools. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Denver.

Altrichter, H., Posch, P. and Somekh, B. (2007, 2nd edition) Teachers Investigate Their Work: An introduction to action research across the professions (Routledge: London).

Altufaili, I. R. (2016). Education policy and practices of English as a foreign language (EFL) in Iraq. Unpublished MSc Dissertation. Missouri State University.

Amasuomo, J. O and Onyia, A. U. (2014). Thermal discomfort in the school workshop as a stress factor affecting students' tasks performance in workshop practice. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies, 3*(4), 465-471.

Anderson, G. (1998). Fundamentals of educational research. London: Falmer Press.

Andrews, S. (2004). Washback and curriculum innovation. In: Cheng, L. and Watanabe, Y. (eds.). *Washback in Language Testing*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Mahwah, New Jersey, 37-50.

Archer, M. (1988). *Culture and agency: The place of culture in social theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. (1995). *Realist social theory: The morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. (2000). *Being human: The problem of agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Assalahi, H. (2015). The Philosophical Foundations of Educational Research: A Beginner's Guide. *American Journal of Educational Research, 3(3),* 312-317.

Atkinson, B., Health, A., and Chenail, R. (1991) Qualitative Research and the Legitimacy of Knowledge. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 17*(2), 175–180.

Auduc, J. (1998). *Training teachers to work in schools considered difficult*. Paris, France: International Institute for Education Planning, UNESCO.

Bedny, G., Seglin, M., & Meister, D. (2000). Activity theory: History, research and application. *Theoretical Issues in Ergonomics Science,* 1(2), 168–206.

Benedict, M., & Hoag, J. (2004). Seating location in large lectures: Are seating preferences or location related to course performance? *Journal of Economic Education, 35*(2), 215-231.

Berg, B. L. (2007). Qualitative research methods for the social sciences. London: Pearson.

Berg, F. (1993). Acoustics and sound systems in schools. San Diego: Singular Publishing Group.

Berry, R. S. (1999). Collecting data by in-depth interviewing. Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference, University of Sussex at Brighton, September 2 – 5.

Beswick, K., Watson, A., & DeGeest, E. (2010). Comparing theoretical perspectives in describing mathematics departments: complexity and activity. *Journal of Educational studies in Mathematics,* 75(2), 153-170.

Betts, J. R., & Shkolnik, J. L. (1999). The behavioral effects of variations in class size: the case of math teachers. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis,* 21(2), 193-213.

Biesta, G.J.J & Tedder, M. (2006). *How is agency possible? Towards an ecological understanding of agency-as-achievement*. *Working paper 5.* Exeter: The Learning Lives project.

Biesta, G.J.J. and Tedder, M. (2007). Agency and learning in the lifecourse: towards an ecological perspective. *Studies in the Education of Adults,* 39, 132-149.

Billett, s. (2006) Relational Interdependence Between Social and Individual Agency in Work and Working Life. *Mind, Culture, And Activity*, 13(1), 53–69.

Blatchford, P., & Mortimore, P. (1994). The issue of class size in schools: what can we learn from research? *Oxford Review of Education,* 20 (4), 411-428.

Blatchford, P., Moriarty, V., Edmonds, S., & Martin, C. (2002). Relationships between class size and teaching: A multimethod analysis of English infant schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 39*(1), 101-132.

Blatchford, P., Bassett, P., & Brown, P. (2011). Examining the effect of class size on classroom engagement and teacher-pupil interaction: Differences in relation to pupil prior attainment and primary vs. secondary schools. *Learning and Instruction,* 21 (6), 715-730.

Blunden, A. (2007). Modernity, the individual, and the foundations of cultural-historical activity theory. *Mind, Culture and Activity*, 14(4), 253-265.

Boreham, N., Samurçay, R. and Fischer, M. (Eds.) (2002). Work Process Knowledge. London: Routledge.

Bradey, S. (2015). How experienced university teachers make decisions about teaching with technology in a complex learning environment: An activity theory analysis. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, James Cook University, Townsville.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Breen, M. P. (1985). The social context for language learning—a neglected situation? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 7, 135–158.

Breen, M. & Candlin, C. (1980). The essentials of a communicative curriculum in language teaching. Journal of Applied Linguistics, 1 (2), 89-112.

Brewer, J. D. (2016). The ethics of ethical debates in peace and conflict research: Notes towards the development of a research covenant. *Methodological Innovations,* 9: 1–11.

Brighton, C. M. (2003). The Effects of Middle School Teachers' Beliefs on Classroom Practices. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted, 27*(2/3), 177–206.

Brophy J.E. & Good, T.L. (1974). Teacher-student relationships: causes and consequences. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston

Brown, D. (2007). Principles of Language Learning and Teaching (5 ed.). New. York: Pearson Education.

Brown, J. D., & Yamashita, S. O. (1995). English language entrance examinations at Japanese universities: What do we know about them. *JALT Journal, 17*(1), 7-30.

Bryman, A. (1992). Quantity and quality in social research. London: Routledge.

Bryman, A. (2004). Social research methods (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2012). Social research methods (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buckland, P. (2006). Post-Conflict Education: Time for a Reality Check. Forced Migration Review, 7-8.

Budge, D. (2000). Secret is in the seating. Times Educational Supplement, No. 4396, 26-27.

Bümen, N. T., Çakar, E. and Yildiz, D. G. (2014). Curriculum Fidelity and Factors Affecting Fidelity in the Turkish Context. *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice, 14*(1), 219-228.

Burke, P. J. (1980). The self: Measurement implications from a symbolic interactionist perspective. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 43, 18–29.

Burke, P. J. (1991). Identity Processes and Social Stress. *American Sociological Review,* 56(6), 836-849.

Burke, P. J. (1996). Social identities and psychosocial stress. In H. B. Kaplan (Ed.), *Psychosocial stress: Perspectives on structure, theory, life-course, and methods* (pp. 141–74). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Burke, P. J. (2003). Relationships among multiple identities. In P. J. Burke, T. J. Owens, R. T. Serpe, and P. A. Thoits. (Eds.), *Advances in identity theory and research* (pp. 195–214). New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum.

Burke, P. J. (2006). Identity change. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 69, 81–96.

Burke, P. J., and Cast, A. D. (1997). Stability and change in the gender identities of newly married couples. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60, 277–90.

Burke, P. J. and Donald C. Reitzes. (1991). An Identity Theory Approach to Commitment. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 54, 239-51.

Burke, P. J., Owens, T. J., Serpe, R. T. and Thoits, P., A. (2003). Advances in Identity Theory and Research. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Burke, P. J. and Reitzes, D. C. (1981). The link between identity and role performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 44(2), 83–92.

Burke, P. J. and Stets, J. E. (1999). Trust and Commitment Through Self-Verification. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62, 347-66.

Burke, P. J. and Stets, J. E. (2009). Identity Theory. New York: Oxford University Press.

Burke, P. J. and Tully, J. C. (1977). The measurement of role identity. *Social Forces,* 55(4), 881–97.

Cahill, H., Beadle, S., Mitch, J., Coffey, J., & Crofts, J. (2010). Adolescents in emergencies, Background Paper. Youth Research Centre, University of Melbourne.

Callero, P. L. (1985). Role-identity salience. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 48, 203–14.

Campbell, S. (2017). Ethics of Research in Conflict Environments. *Journal of Global Security Studies, 2*(1), 89–101.

Cast, A. D., Stets, J. E. and Burke, P. J. (1999). Does the self conform to the views of others? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62(1), 68–82.

Cazden, C. B. (1988). Classroom discourse: the language of teaching and learning. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Clark, A. M. (1998). The qualitative-quantitative debate: Moving from positivism and confrontation to post-positivism and reconciliation. *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 27, 1242-1249.

Clark, C. M., & Elmore, J. L. (1981). Transforming curriculum in mathematics, science, and writing: A case study of teacher yearly planning (Research Series No. 99). East Lansing: Michigan State University Institute for Research on Teaching.

Clarke, M. A. (1994). The dysfunctions of the theory/practice discourse. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*(1), 9-26.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2000). Research methods in education (5th ed.). London: Falmer Press.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morison, K. (2007). Research Methods in Education (6th ed.). London: Routledge.

Cole, M., & Engeström, Y. (1993). A cultural-historical approach to distributed cognition. In Salomon, G. (Ed.), *Distributed cognitions: Psychological and educational considerations* (pp. 1-46), Cambridge University Press: New York, NY.

Cooper, H. M. (1989). Does reducing student-to-teacher ratios affect achievement? *Educational Psychologist, 24*(1), 79-98.

Cousin, G. (2009). Researching Learning in Higher Education: An Introduction to Contemporary Methods and Approaches. New York: Routledge.

Creswell, J. W. (1994). Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Thousand Oaks. CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (1998) Qualitative inquiry and Research design: Choosing Among Five Traditions. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative. and Mixed Methods Approaches. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. Los Angeles: Sage.

Crisp, J., Talbot, C. and Cipollone, D. (Eds.) (2001). *Learning for a Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*. Geneva, UNHCR.

Cronin, A. A; Shrestha, D.; Cornier, N.; Abdalla. F.; Ezard, N. and Aramburu, C. (2008). A review of water and sanitation provision in refugee camps in association with selected health and nutrition indicators - The need for integrated service provision. *Journal of Water and Health,* 6(1) 1 – 13.

Cross, R. (2010). Language teaching as sociocultural activity: Rethinking language teacher practice. *The Modern Language Journal,* 94 (3), 434-452.

Crotty, M. (1998) The Foundations of Social Research. London: Sage.

Crotty, M. (2003). The foundations of social research. Meaning and perspective in the research process. London: SAGE.

Dakers, J. (2011). Activity Theory as a pedagogical framework for the delivery of technology education. In M. Barak & M. Hacker (Eds.), *Fostering human development through engineering and technology education* (Vol. 6, pp. 19–34). Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Daniels, V. I. (1998). How to manage disruptive behaviour in inclusive classrooms. *Teaching Exceptional Children, 30*(4), 26–31.

Davis, C., & Fox, J. (1999). Evaluating environmental arrangement as setting events: Review and implications for measurement. *Journal of Behavioral Education, 9*(2), 77-96.

Davydov, V. (1999). A new approach to the interpretation of activity structure and content. In: CHAIKLIN, Seth, HEDEGAARD, Mariane, JENSEN, Uffe Jull (orgs.). Activity theory and social practice: cultural-historical approaches. Aarhus (Dinamarca): Aarthus University Press, p. 39-50.

Deaux, K. (1992). Personalizing identity and socializing self. In G. M. Blackwell (Ed.), *Social psychology of identity and the self-concept* (pp. 9–33). London: Surry University Press.

Deaux, K. (1993). Reconstructing social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* 19, 4–12.

Denscombe, M. (2007). The good research guide for small-scale social research projects. Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.

Denzin, N. K., & Uncoln, Y. S. (2000). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1-28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005) The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Devereux, S. (2006). Vulnerable Livelihoods in Somali Region, Ethiopia, IDS Research Report, no 57, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton.

Dillabough, J. A. (1999). Gender politics and conceptions of the modern teacher: Women, identity and professionalism. British Journal of Sociology, 20, 373–394.

Doughty, C., and Pica, T. (1986). "Information gap" tasks: Do they facilitate second language acquisition? *TESOL Quarterly, 20*(2), 305-325.

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2011) *Refugee education: a global review*. Geneva: UNHCR.

Dusenbury, L., Brannigan, R., Falco, M. and Hansen, W. B. (2003). A review of research on fidelity of implementation: Implications for drug abuse prevention in school settings. *Health Education Research,* 18, 237-256.

Earthman, G. I. (2004). Prioritization of 31 criteria for school building adequacy. Baltimore, MD: American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Maryland.

Earthman, G.I. and Lemasters, L.K. (2009). Teacher attitudes about classroom conditions. *Journal of Educational Administration, 47*(3), 323-335.

Edwards, C. (2000). Classroom Discipline and Management. New York, NY: Wiley

Ehrenberg, R. G., Brewer, D. J., Gamoran, A. and Willms, J. D. (2001a). The Class Size Controversy (CHERI Working Paper No. 14). Cornel University, ILR School. Retrieved March 2018, from: https://www.ilr.cornell.edu/sites/ilr.cornell.edu/files/WP14.pdf

Ehrenberg, R. G., Brewer, D. J., Gamoran, A. and & Willms, J. D. (2001b). class size and student achievement. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 2(1), 1–30.

El-Khani, A., Ulph, F., Redmond, A. and Calam, R. (2013). Ethical issues in research into conflict and displacement. *The Lancet* 382(9894), 764–765.

Ellis, R. (2005). Principles of instructed language learning. *System, 33*(2), 209-224.

Ellis, V., McNicholl, J., Blake, A. and McNally, J. (2011). The Work of Teacher Education: Final Research Report for the Higher Education Academy (Bristol: ESCalate Subject Centre for Education).

Emirbayer, M. & Mische, A. (1998). What is agency? *The American Journal of Sociology,* 103, 962-1023.

Engeström, Y. (1987). Learning by expanding an activity – theoretic approach to developmental research. Helsinki: Orienta-Konsultit Oy.

Engeström, Y. (1993). Developmental studies of work as a testbench of activity theory: The case of primary care medical practice. In S. Chaiklin & J. Lave (Eds.), *Understanding practice: Perspectives on activity and context* (pp. 64-103). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Engeström, Y. (1999). Activity theory and individual and social transformation. In Y. Engestr¨om, R. Miettinen, & R.-L. Punamaki-Gitai (Eds.), *Perspectives on activity theory: Learning in doing* (pp. 19–38). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Engeström, Y. (2000). Activity theory as a framework for analysing and redesigning work. *Ergonomics,* 43(7), 960-974.

Engeström, Y. (2001). Expansive Learning at Work: toward an activity theoretical reconceptualization. *Journal of Education and Work,* 14 (1), 133- 156.

Engeström, Y. (2005). Developmental Work Research: Expanding Activity Theory in Practice. Berlin: Lehmanns Media.

Engeström, Y. (2007) Putting Activity Theory to Work: The Change Laboratory as an Application of Double Stimulation in: B. Daniels, M. Cole, and J. V. Wertsch (Eds) *The Cambridge Companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 363 -382). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Engeström, Y., & Escalante, V. (1996). Mundane tool or object of affection? The rise and fall of the Postal Buddy. In B. A. Nardi (Ed.), *Context and consciousness: activity theory and human-computer interaction* (pp. 325–374). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Enmarker, I. and Boman, E. (2004). Noise annoyance responses of middle school pupils and teachers. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 24*(4), 527-536.

Estacion A., MacMahon T., Quint J., Melamud B., Stephens L. (2004). Conducting Classroom Observations in First Things First Schools. MDRC Working Paper on Research Methodology. New York: MDRC.

Evans, G. & Hygge, S. (2007). Noise and cognitive performance in children and adults. In L. Luxon & D. Prasher (Eds.), *Noise and its effects* (pp. 549-566). Chichester, England: Wiley.

Faicán, J. and Guncay, R. (2011). Communicative approach to foster speaking in an EFL classroom at an intermediate level. Unpublished research paper, The University of Cuenca.

Feldman, A. & Weiss, T. (2010). Understanding change in teachers' ways of being through collaborative action research: A cultural-historical activity theory analysis. *Educational Action Research,* 18(1), 29-55.

Fereday, J. and Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(1), 80–92.

Fernandes, A., Huang, J. and Rinaldo, V. (2011). Does Where A Student Sits Really Matter? - The Impact of Seating Locations on Student Classroom Learning. *International Journal of Applied Educational Studies, 10*(1), 66-77.

Ferris, E., & Winthrop, R. (2010). Education and Displacement: Assessing Conditions for Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons affected by Conflict. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011, The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education, UNESCO.

Fink, D. and Stoll, L. (2005). Educational change: Easier said than done. In A. Hargreaves (Ed.), Extending educational change (pp. 17–41). Dordrecht: Springer.

Finn, J. D., Pannozzo, G. M., & Achilles, C. M. (2003). The "why's" of class size: student behavior in small classes. *Review of Educational Research,* 73(3), 321-368.

Fisher, K. (2001). Building Better Outcomes: The impact of school infrastructure on student outcomes and behaviour, *Schools Issues Digest,* Canberra: Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, Australia. Retrieved July, 2018, from: http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED455672

Fisher, R. (2012): Teaching writing: a situated dynamic. British Educational Research Journal, 38(2), 299-317.

Fleer, M. (2010). Early Learning and Development: Cultural-historical concepts in play. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Flutter, J. (2006). 'This Place Could Help You Learn': student participation in creating better learning environments. *Educational Review, 58*(2), 183-193.

Forbes, C.T. (2009). Preservice elementary teachers' development of pedagogical design capacity for inquiry – an activity theoretical perspective. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan.

Forbes, C. T., Madeira, C. A., Davis, E. A, and Slotta, J. D. (2009). Activity-theoretical research on science teachers' learning: Challenges and opportunity. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, April, 2009, San Diego, CA.

Forrester, G. (2005). All in a day's work: Primary teachers 'performing' and 'caring'. Gender and Education, 17(3), 271–287.

Freese, L. and Burke, P. J. (1994). Persons, identities, and social interaction. *Advances in Group Processes,* 11, 1–24.

Fry, H., Ketteridge, S., and Marshall, S., (2009). A Handbook for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education: Enhancing Academic Practice. New York: Routledge.

Fullan, M. G. (1991) *The New Meaning of Educational Change*. 2nd edition. London: Cassell Educational.

Fullan, M. G. (1993). *The complexity of the change process*. In Change forces: Probing the depth of educational reform, pp. 19-41. Falme Press.

Fullan, M. (2001). *The new meaning of educational change*. (3rd Edition). New York: Teachers College Press.

Fullan, M. (2005). The meaning of educational change: A quarter of a century of learning. In A. Lieberman (Ed.), International handbook of educational change: The roots of educational change (Vol. 1, pp. 202-216). The Netherlands: Springer.

Fullan, M. (2006). Change theory: A force for school improvement. Centre for Strategic Education, Seminar Paper No. 157. Victoria: Centre for Strategic Education.

Fullan, M. (2007). The new meaning of educational change (4th ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.

Fullan, M., & Stiegelbauer, S. (1991). *The new meaning of educational change*. 2nd ed. New York: Teachers College Press.

Gahin, G. (2001). An Investigation Into EFL Teachers' Beliefs And Practices in Egypt: An Exploratory Study. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, the University of Exeter.

Gallup, A. (1986). The 18th annual Gallup poll of the public's attitudes toward the public schools. *Phi Delta Kappan, 68*(1), 43-59.

Gecas, V. (1989). The social psychology of self-efficacy. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 15, 291–316.

Gedera, D. S. P., & Williams, P. J. (Eds.) (2016). Activity Theory in Education Research and Practice. The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Gilavand, A. and Jamshidnezhad, A. (2016). The Effect of Noise in Educational Institutions on Learning and Academic Achievement of Elementary Students in Ahvaz, South-West of Iran. *Int J Pediatr,* 4(3), 1453-63.

Givoni, B. (1981). Man, Climate and Architecture (2nd ed.). Applied Science Publishers, London.

Glesne, C. (1999). Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction (2nd ed.). Don Mills, Ontario, Canada: Longman.

Gliner, J. A. and Morgan, G. A. (2000). Research Methods in Applied Settings: An Integrated Approach to Design and Analysis. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Gorsuch, G. J. (2000). EFL educational policies and educational cultures: Influences on teachers' approval of communicative activities. *TESOL Quarterly, 34*(4), 675-710.

Grix, J. (2004). The Foundations of Research. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In: N. K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Guskey, T. R. (1988). Teacher efficacy, self-concept, and attitudes toward the implementation of instructional innovation. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 4*(1), 63–69.

Haara, F. O. (2010). Unveiling teachers' reasons for choosing practical activities in mathematics teaching. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Bergen.

Hannah, R. (2013). The effect of classroom environment on student learning. Western Michigan University, Honors Theses. Paper 2375.

Hardman J. (2007). An activity theory approach to surfacing the pedagogical object in a primary school mathematics classroom. *Critical Social Studies,* 9(1), 53-69.

Hardman, J. (2008). Researching pedagogy: Activity theory approach. *Journal of Education,* 45: 2-32.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). Changing teachers, changing times: Teachers' work and culture in the postmodern age. London: Cassell.

Hargreaves, A. (1998). The emotional practice of teaching. Teaching and Teacher Education, 14, 835–854.

Harmer, J. (1991). *The Practice of English Language Teaching*. London, New York: Longman.

Harmer, J. (1998). How to teach English: An introduction to the practice of English language teaching. Harlow: Longman.

Hoyles, C., Kent, P., Noss, R. and Guile, D. (2004) Techno-mathematical literacies in the workplace: visibility and communication of mathematical practices. In: (Proceedings) British Educational Research Association annual conference.

Hassin, A. and Al-Juboori, M. (2016). Humanitarian challenges in Iraq's displacement crisis. A report produced as part of the Ceasefire project.

Ceasefire centre for civilian rights. Retrieved March, 2017, from: https://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1788_1483364807_irk.pdf

Hamed, A. (2014). Exploring the effectiveness of extensive reading on incidental vocabulary acquisition by EFL learners: an experimental case study in a Libyan University. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nottingham.

Hatch, J. A. (2002). Doing qualitative research in education settings. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Hawes, H. (1979). *Curriculum and reality in African primary schools*. Harlow: Longman.

Herriotts-Smith, S. (2013). A socio-cultural activity theory analysis of inter-agency working between educational psychologists and education welfare officers in relation to complex extended school nonattendance (CESN-A) with implications for improved service delivery. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham.

Higel, L. (2016). Iraq's Displacement Crisis: Security and protection. A report produced as part of the Ceasefire project. Ceasefire centre for civilian rights. Retrieved March, 2017, from:

http://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/CEASEFIREreport_ENGLISH_march-2016_210x297mm_WEB.pdf

Holliday.A., (2007). Doing and Writing Qualitative Research. London: Sage.

Hudson, L., and Ozanne, J. (1988). Alternative Ways of Seeking Knowledge in Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 14*(4), 508–521.

Hussein, S. (2018). Factors affecting the implementation of communicative language teaching in Libyan secondary schools. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Sheffield University.

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In Pride, JB and Holmes, J. (eds), *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Iskandar, I. (2014). EFL Curriculum Implementation in Primary Schools in South Sulawesi Province in Indonesia. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Curtin University.

IOM, (2019a). Introduction to Special Issue on Displacement in Iraq. A report Published by Rochelle Davis. Retrieved May 2019, from: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/imig.12560

IOM, (2019b). The Politics of IDP Education Provision: Negotiating identity and schooling in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. A report Published by Kelsey Shanks. Retrieved May 2019, from: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/imig.12545

Jackson, E. (2013) Choosing a Methodology: Philosophical Underpinning, Practitioner Research in Higher. *Education Journal, 7*(1), 49-62.

Jamshed, S. (2014). Qualitative research method-interviewing and observation. *Journal of Basic and Clinical Pharmacy, 5*(4), 87 – 88.

Javadi, M. and Zarea, K. (2016). Understanding thematic analysis and its pitfall. *Journal of Client Care, 1*(1), 33-39.

Jia, Y. (2004). English As a Second Language Teachers' Perceptions and Use of Classroom-Based Reading Assessment. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Texas A&M University.

Jin, G. (2008) Application of communicative approach in college English teaching, Asian Social Science, 4(4), 81–85.

Jita, L. (1998). Resources for transforming science teaching in schools. *Education Africa Forum*. Education Africa.

Ju, F.-a. (2013). Communicative language teaching (CLT): A critical and comparative perspective. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies, 3(9),* p. 1579-1583.

Kaptelinin, V. (2005). The object of activity: making sense of the sense-maker. *Mind, Culture and Activity,* 12(1), 4–18.

Karavas-Doukas, E. (1995). Teacher identified factors affecting the implementation of an EFL innovation in Greek public secondary schools. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 8*(1), 53-68.

Karousiou, C. P. (2013). An exploratory study into primary teachers' professional identity at a time of educational reform in Cyprus. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester.

Kaya, N., & Burgess, B. (2007). Territoriality: Seat preferences in different types of classroom arrangements. *Environment and Behaviour, 39*(6), 859-876.

Kincheloe, J. and Berry, K. (2004) Rigour and Complexity in Educational Research - Conceptualizing the Bricolage. Maidenhead: OUP.

Kirk, J. and Winthrop, R. (2007). Promoting Quality Education in Refugee Contexts: Supporting Teacher Development in Northern Ethiopia. *International Review of Education,*53(5), 715-723.

Knecht, H. A., Nelson, P. B., Whitelaw, G. M. and Feth, L. L. (2002). Background noise levels and reverberation times in unoccupied classrooms: predictions and measurements. *American Journal of Audiology*, 11, 65–71.

Koosha, A. and Yakhabi, M. (2013). Problems Associated with the Use of Communicative Language Teaching in EFL Contexts and Possible Solutions. international journalof foreign language teaching and research, 1(2), p. 63-76.

Kristiansen, J., Lund, S. Persson, R. and Nielsen, P. (2012). Effects of classroom acoustics on teachers' well-being and perceived disturbance by classroom noise. Joint Baltic-Nordic Acoustics Meeting (BNAM), June 18th-20th, Odense, Denmark.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (1994). The postmethod condition:(E) merging strategies for second/foreign language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*(1), 27-48.

Kuutti, K. (1996). Activity theory as a potential framework for human-computer interaction research. In B. Nardi (Ed.), *Context and consciousness: Activity theory and human-computer interaction* (pp. 92–117). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Kuzborska, I. (2011). Links between teachers' beliefs and practices and research on reading. *Reading in a Foreign Language, 23*(1), 102–128.

Kvale, S. (1996). InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2000). Techniques and principles in language teaching (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leech, G. N., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (2002). *A Communicative Grammar of English*. Essex: Prentice Hall.

Legrand, J.C. (1999). *Lessons Learned from UNICEF Field Programmes for the Prevention of Recruitment, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Child Soldiers*. New York: UNICEF.

Leont'ev, A. N. (1978). Activity, Consciousness, and Personality (M. J. Hall, Trans.). Englewood Cliffs - NJ: Prentice Hall.

Leontyev, A. N. (1981). The Development of Higher Forms of Memory. (Orig. 1931) In A. N. Leontyev, Problems of the Development of the Mind (pp. 327-365). Moscow: Progress.

Li, D. (2001). Teachers' perceived difficulties in introducing the communicative approach in South Korea. In D. R. Hall and A. Hewing (Eds.), Innovation in English language teaching: A reader (pp.149-166). London: Routledge.

Littlewood, W. (1984). Foreign and second language learning, language acquisition research and its implications for the classroom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Littlewood, W. (2007). Communicative and task-based language teaching in East Asian classrooms. Language Teaching, 40(03), 243-249.

Lloyd, C., El-Kogali, S., Robinson, J. P., Rankin, J. y Rashed, A. (2010). Schooling and Conflict in Darfur: A Snapshot of Basic Education Services for Displaced Children. New York, Population Council: Women's Refugee Council.

Locke, L.F., Silverman, S.J. and Spirduso, W.W. (2010). Reading and understanding research (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers.

Longmore, M. A. and DeMaris, A. (1997). Perceived inequity and depression in intimate relationships: The moderating effect of self-esteem. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60, 172–84.

Lotan, R. and Navarrete, C. (1986). "The Process of Mutual Adaptation: A Study of an Innovative Program", ERIC document 273580, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Lucas, J. (1981). Effects of noise on academic achievement and classroom behavior. Sacramento, CA: California Department of Health Services.

Luff, P., Hindmarsh, J. and Heath, C. (Eds) (2000). Workplace Studies: Recovering work practice and informing system design. Cambridge University Press.

Machel, G. (1996). The UN study on the impact of armed conflict on children. New York: Department of Information United Nations.

Manzano, A. (2016) The craft of interviewing in realist evaluation. *Evaluation, 22*(3), 342–360.

Markus T. A. and Morris E. N. (1980). Buildings, climate and energy. London: Pitman Publishing Limited.

Marx, A., Fuhrer, U., & Hartig, T. (2000). Effects of classroom seating arrangements on children's question asking. *Learning Environments Research, 2*, 249-263.

Maykut, P. and Morehouse, R. (1994). Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide, London: Falmer.

McBrien, J. L. (2005). Educational Needs and Barriers for Refugee Students in the United States: A Review of the Literature. *Review of Educational Research, 75*(3), pp. 329-364.

McCall, G. J. and Simmons, J. L. (1978). Identities and interactions. New York: Free Press.

McNicholl and Blake (2013). Transforming teacher education, an activity theory analysis. *Journal of Education for Teaching,* 39 (3), 281-300.

Mead, G. (1934). Mind, Self, and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Melrose, R. (1991). The Communicative Syllabus: A Systemic-Functional Approach to Language Teaching. London and New York: Printer Publishers.

Merriam, S.B. (1998). Qualitative research and case study applications education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B. (2002). Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B. (2009). Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation (2nd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Midraj, S., Jendli, A. & Sellami, A. (Eds.). (2007). Research in ELT Contexts. Dubai: TESOL Arabia Publications.

Miettinen, R. (2001). Artefact mediation in Dewey and in cultural-historical activity. *Mind, Culture, and Activity,* 8(4), 297-308.

Mills, A., & Murgatroid, S. (1991). Organisational rules: A framework for understanding organisational action. Philadelphia, (England): Open University Press.

Mintah, E. K. (2014). Using Group Method of Teaching to Address the Problem of Large Class Size: An Action Research. *International Journal of Learning & Development,* 4(2), 82-97.

Mirowsky, J. and Ross, C. E. (1989). Social causes of psychological distress. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Molnar, A., Smith, P., Zahorik, J., Palmer, A., Halbach, A., & Ehrle, K. (1999). Evaluating theSAGEprogram: a pilot program in targeted pupil teacher reduction inWisconsin. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis,* 21(2), 165-177.

Mong'are, A. (2011). The Right to Education for Children in Conflict Situation: How Responsive is Kenya? Unpublished LL.M. Thesis, University of Nairobi.

Morris, P., Adamson, R., Au, M. L., Chan, K. K., Chan, W. Y., Ko, P. Y., Lai, A. W., Lo, M. L., Morris, E., Ng, F. P., Ng, Y. Y., Wong, W. M., & Wong, P. K. (1996). Target-Oriented Curriculum Evaluation Project: Interim Report. Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

Morris, R. (1979). Conceiving the self. New York: Basic Books.

Natalie, W. (2014) An exploration of the concept and practice of active learning in higher education. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow.

Nias, J. (1986). Teacher socialisation: The individual in the system. Victoria: Deakin University Press.

Nias, J. (1989). Primary teachers talking: A study of teaching as work. London & New York: Routledge.

Nicolai, S. (2003). *Education in emergencies: A tool kit for starting and managing education in emergencies*. London: Save the Children.

Nieto, S. (1999). The light in their eyes: Creating multicultural learning communities. New York: Teachers College Press.

Nieto, K. (2003). What Keeps Teachers Going? New York: Teachers College Press.

Noonan, J. (2016). Teachers Learning: Engagement, Identity, and Agency in Powerful Professional Development. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University.

Novosadyuk, M. O. (2014). Communicative language Teaching: Managing the learning process. *Studia Anglica Resoviensia*, 60-71.

Nunan, D. (1991). Communicative tasks and the language curriculum. *TESOL Quarterly, 25*(2), 279-295.

O'Connor, K. E. (2008). ''You choose to care'': Teachers, emotions and professional identity. Teaching and Teacher Education 24(1), pp. 117–126.

Olavarría, R. B. (2015). Using Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (Chat) To Study the Relationship Between School Leadership and Organisational Change. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Queensland University of Technology.

Oliver, P. (2010). Understanding the Research Process. London: Sage.

O'Neal, C., Atapattu, R., Jegathesan, A., Clement, J., Ong, E. & Ganesan, A. (2018). Classroom Management and Socioemotional Functioning of Burmese Refugee Students in Malaysia. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation, 28*(1), 6-42.

Patton, J., Snell, J., Knight, W., & Gerken, K. (2001). A survey study of elementary classroom eating designs. Annual Meeting of the National Association of School Psychologists, Washington, DC.

Patton, M. Q. (1985). Quality in qualitative research: Methodological principles and recent developments. Invited address to Division J of the American Educational Research Association, April 1985, Chicago.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Pearlin, L., Lieberman, M., Menaghan, E. and Mullan, J. (1981). The stress process. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior,* 22, 337–56.

Perkins, K., & Wieman, C. (2005). The surprising impact of seat location on student performance. *The Physics Teacher, 43*, 30-33.

Phakisi, M. E. (2008). Factors affecting the implementation of the new Junior Secondary Science curriculum in Lesotho. Unpublished MSc Dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand.

Pigozzi, M. J. (1999). *Education in emergencies and reconstruction: A developmental approach*. New York: UNICEF.

Priestley, M., Biesta, G. and Robinson, S. (2011). Mapping teacher agency: an ecological approach to understanding teachers' work. *Oxford Ethnography and Education conference, 20 September 2011, Oxford*, 20.9.2011, Oxford.

Priestley, M., Biesta, G. and Robinson, S. (2012a). *Understanding teacher agency: The importance of relationships*. A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Vancouver, Canada, 13-17 April 2012.

Priestley, M., Biesta, G. and Robinson, S. (2012b). Teacher Agency, Performativity and Curriculum Change: Reinventing the Teacher in the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence?. In: Jeffrey B, Troman G (ed.). *Performativity in UK education: ethnographic cases of its effects, agency and reconstructions,* (pp. 87-108). Painswick: Ethnography & Education Publishing.

Priestley, M., Biesta, G. and Robinson, S. (2012c). Teachers as agents of change: An exploration of the concept of teacher agency. In Teacher Agency and Curriculum Change. Working paper retrieved from University of Stirling website:

http://dspace.stir.ac.uk/bitstream/1893/9266/1/What%20is%20teacher%20agency-%20final.pdf

Priestley, M., Biesta, G. and Robinson, S. (2013). Teachers as agents of change: teacher agency and emerging models of curriculum. In: Priestley M. and Biesta, G. J. J. (eds.). *Reinventing the curriculum: new trends in curriculum policy and practice* (pp. 187-206). London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Priestley, M., Biesta, G. and Robinson, S. (2015a). Teacher Agency: An Ecological Approach. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Priestley, M., Biesta, G. and Robinson, S. (2015b). The role of beliefs in teacher agency. *Teachers and Teaching, 21*(6), 624-640.

Priestley, M., Edwards, R., Miller, K. and Priestley, A. (2012d). Teacher agency in curriculum making: agents of change and spaces for manoeuvre. *Curriculum Inquiry,42*(2), pp. 191-214.

Qu, S. and Dumay, J. (2011). The qualitative research interview. *Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management, 8*(3), 238-264.

Rahimi, M. (2008). What do we want teaching-materials for in EFL teacher training programmes? *Asian EFL Journals, 31*(1), 1-35.

Rajab, T. (2013). Developing whole-class interactive teaching: meeting the training needs of Syrian EFL secondary school teachers. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of York.

Reynolds, K.M. (2015). Approaches to inclusive English classrooms: A teacher's handbook for content based instruction. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Rice, J.K. (1999). The impact of class size on instructional strategies and the use of time in high school mathematics and science courses. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis,* 21 (2), 215–229.

Richards, J. C. (2006). Communicative Language Teaching Today. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J. C., & Rodgers, T. S. (2001). *Approaches and methods in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, K. (2003). Qualitative Inquiry in TESOL. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ring, H. & West, A. (2015). Teacher retention in refugee and emergency settings: The state of the literature. *The International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives,* 14 (3), 106-121.

Riordan, N. (2016). Internal Displacement in Iraq: Internally Displaced Persons and Disputed Territory. *New England Journal of Public Policy,* 28(2), 1–17.

Rivlin, L. and Weinstein, C. (1984). Educational Issues, School Settings and Environmental Psychology. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 4*(4), 347-364.

Rochelle, J. (1998). Activity theory: A foundation for designing learning technology? *The Journal of the Learning Sciences,* 7(2), 241 – 255.

Rogers, E. (1995). Diffusion of Innovations. (4th ed.). New York, NY: The Free Press.

Rondinelli, D., Middleton, J. and Verspoor, M. (1990). *Planning education reform in developing countries. A contingency approach.* Duke University Press.

Rosenberg, J.P. and Yates, P.M. (2007). Schematic representation of case study research designs. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 60(4),* 447-452.

Roth, W.-M., & Tobin, K. (2002). Redesigning an "Urban" teacher education program: An activity theory perspective. *Mind, Culture, and Activity,* 9(2), 108–131.

Roth, W.-M. (2004) Activity Theory and Education: An Introduction. *Mind, Culture, And Activity,* 11(1), 1-8.

Roth, W., and Lee, Y. (2007). Vygotsky's neglected legacy: Cultural-historical activity theory. *Review of Educational Research,* 77(2), 186–232.

Sahlberg, P. (2006) Curriculum change as learning: In Search of better implementation. In P. Sahlberg (Ed.), *Curriculum reform and implementation in the 21st Century: Policies, Perspectives and Implementation*. Proceedings of the International Conference on Curriculum Reform and Implementation (pp. 18-30). Ankara: Ministry of National Education.

Saklan, E., Erginer, A. (2017). Classroom Management Experiences with Syrian Refugee Students. *Education Journal,* 6(6), 207-214.

Sanchez, H. S. (2010). An Investigation into the Relationships among Experience, Teacher Cognition, Context, and Classroom Practice in EFL Grammar Teaching in Argentina. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Warwick.

Satterfield, B. K. (2002). The History of Adult Education in Kirtland, Ohio, 1833-37. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Idaho.

Savignon, S. J. (2002). Interpreting communicative language teaching: Contexts and concerns in teacher education. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sawchuk, P. (2003). Adult learning and technology in working-class life. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, M. (2002). Do school facilities affect academic outcomes? National clearinghouse for educational facilities. *Environmental Education, 1*(3), 167–173.

Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research: Relating Ontology and Epistemology to the Methodology and Methods of the Scientific, Interpretive, and Critical Research Paradigms. *English Language Teaching, 5(9),* 9-16.

Seetha, P., Karmegam, K., Ismail, M., Sapuan, S., Ismail, N. and Moli, L. (2008). Effects to teaching environment of noise level in school classrooms. *Journal of Scientific & Industrial Research, 67*(9), 659-664.

Serpe, R. T. and Stryker, S. (1987). The Construction of Self and Reconstruction of Social Relationships. In Edward Lawler and Barry Markovsky (eds), *Advances in Group Processes.* Greenwich, CT: JAI, pp. 41-66.

Shamim, F. (1996). In and Out of the action zone: location as a feature of interaction in large ESL classes in Pakistan. In K. m. B. a. D. Nunan (Ed.), Voices from the Language Classroom (pp. 123- 144). Cambridge: CUP.

Shamim, F. (2008). Trends, issues and challenges in English language education in Pakistan. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 28*(3), 235-249.

Shield, B. and Dockrell, J. (2003). The effects of noise on children at school: A review. *Building Acoustics, 10*(2), 97-116.

Shield, B. and Dockrell, J. (2004). External and internal noise surveys of London primary schools. *J Acoustical Society of America, 115*(2), 730-738.

Shriberg, J. (2007). Teaching Well? Educational Reconstruction Efforts and support to teachers in postwar Liberia. New York: International Rescue Committee (IRC).

Sikes P. (2004). Methodology, procedures and ethical concerns. In: Opie, C. (Ed.), *Doing Educational Research* (pp. 15-33). London: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2006). Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analyzing talk, text, and interaction. London: Sage.

Sinclair, M. (2001). Education in emergencies. In Learning for a future: Refugee education in developing countries, ed. J. Crisp, C. Talbot, and D. Cipollone, 1–83. Geneva: UNHCR.

Sinclair, M. (2002). Planning education in and after emergencies (Fundamentals of educational planning no. 73). Paris: IIEP-UNESCO.

Smith-Lovin, L. (2003). Self, identity, and interaction in an ecology of identities. In P. J. Burke, T. J. Owens, R. T. Serpe, and P. A. Thoits. (Eds.), *Advances in identity theory and research* (pp. 167–78). New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum.

Snape, D. and Spencer, L. (2003). The Foundations of Qualitative Research. In J. Ritchie and J. Lewis. (Eds), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 1-23), London, Sage Publications.

Sofou, E. and Tsafos, V. (2010). Preschool teachers' understandings of the national preschool curriculum in Greece. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 37*(5), 411-420.

Spencer, S. J., Josephs, R. A. and Steele, C. M. (1993). Low self-esteem: The uphill struggle for self-integrity. In R. F. Baumeister (Ed.), *Self-esteem: The puzzle of low self-regard* (pp. 21–36). New York: Plenum Press.

Sreehari, P. (2012). Communicative Language Teaching: Possibilities and Problems. *English Language Teaching,* 5(12), pp. 87-93.

Stake, R. E. (1995) The Art of Case Study Research. California: SAGE.

Stake, R. E. (2005) Qualitative case studies. In: N. K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 443-466). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stasz, C. & Stecher, B.M. (2000). Teaching mathematics and language arts in reduced size and non-reduced size classrooms. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis,* 22(4), 313–329.

Stets, J. E. (1995). Role identities and person identities: Gender identity, mastery identity, and controlling one's partner. *Sociological Perspectives,* 38, 129–50.

Stets, J. E. and Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 63(2), 224-37.

Stets, J. E. and Burke, P. J. (2003). A Sociological Approach to Self and Identity. In R. Leary and J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of Self and Identity* (pp. 128-152). New York: The Guilford Press.

Stets, J. E., and Burke, P. J. (2005). New Directions in Identity Control Theory. *Advances in Group Processes,* 22, 43-64.

Strauss A, Corbin J (1998) Basics of Qualitative Research. Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stryker, S. (1980). Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version. Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin Cummings.

Stryker, S. (2000). Identity Competition: Key to Differential Social Movement Participation? In S. Stryker, T. Owens, and R. White Self (Eds.), *Identity, and Social Movements* (pp. 21–40). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Stryker, S. (2002). Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version. Caldwell, NJ: Blackburn press. (Original work published 1980).

Stryker, S. and Burke, P. (2000). The past, present, and future of an identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 63(4), 284-297.

Stryker, S. and Serpe, R. (1982). Commitment, Identity Salience, and Role Behavior: A Theory and Research Example. In W. Ickes and E. S. Knowles (Eds.), *Personality, Roles, and Social Behavior* (pp. 199-218). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Stryker, S. and Serpe, R. (1994). Identity Salience and Psychological Centrality: Equivalent, Overlapping, or Complementary Concepts? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57, 16-35.

Tabulawa, R. (1997). Pedagogical classroom practice and the social context: The case of Botswana. *International Journal of Educational Development, 17*(2), 189-204.

Tesch, R. (1990). Qualitative research: Analysis types and software tools. New York: Falmer Press.

Tew, M. (2007). School Effectiveness: Supporting Success Through Emotional Literacy. London: Paul Capman.

Thoits, P. A. (1986). Multiple identities: Examining gender and marital status differences in distress. *American Sociological Review,* 51, 259–72.

Tikkakoski, S. (2015). Communicative language teaching as English pronunciation teaching method: Developing exercises. Unpublished thesis, University of Oulu.

Tolman, C. W. (1999). Society versus context in individual development: Does theory make a difference? In Y. Engeström, R. Miettinen, & R.-L. Punamaki (Eds.), *Perspectives on Activity Theory* (pp. 70-86). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tsushima, T. and Burke, P. J. (1999). Levels, agency, and control in the parent identity. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 62, 173–89.

Uden, L., and Kumaresan, A. (2007). Usable collaborative email requirements using activity theory. *Informatica,* 31, 1-83.

UNESCO (1999). *The right to education: an emergency strategy*. UNESCO, Paris.

Vaish, V. (2008). Interactional patterns in Singapore's English classrooms. *Linguistics and Education, 19*(4), 366-377.

Valsiner, J., and Veer, R. (2000). The Social Mind: Construction of the Idea. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Venkat, H., & Adler, J. (2008). Expanding the foci of activity theory: Accessing the broader context and experiences of mathematics education reform. *Educational Review,* 60(2), 127-140.

Virkkunen, J., & Kuutti, K. (2000). Understanding organisational learning by focusing on "activity systems". *Accounting of Management and Information technologies,* 10(4), 291-319.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). Mind in society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. 1987. Thinking and Speech (N. Minick, Trans.). (Orig. 1934) In R. W. Rieber & A. S. Carton (Eds.), The Collected Works of L.S. Vygotsky. Volume 1: Problems of General Psychology (pp. 37-285). New York: Plenum Press.

Wa-Mbaleka, S. (2012). Teaching in extreme conditions: A study of refugee teachers in Central Africa. *International Forum Journal*, *15*(1), 59-73.

Wang, C., (2002). Innovative teaching in foreign language contexts. In: Savignon, S. (Ed.), Interpreting Communicative Language Teaching. (pp. 131– 153), Yale University Press, New Haven.

Wannarka, R. and Ruhl, K. (2008). Seating arrangements that promote positive academic and behavioural outcomes: a review of empirical research. *Support for Learning*, *23*(2), 89-93.

Wells, G. (1999). Dialogic Inquiry. Towards a sociocultural practice and theory of education. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, J. H. (2001). On School Quality and Attainment. In Learning for a future: Refugee education in developing countries, ed. J. Crisp, C. Talbot, and D. Cipollone, 1–83. Geneva: UNHCR.

Willington, J. (2000). Educational research: Contemporary issues and practical approaches. London: Continuum.

Wilson, V. (2014). Examining teacher education through cultural-historical activity theory. *Teacher Education Advancement Network Journal (TEAN),* 6 (1), 20-29.

Wood, E. (2006) The ethical challenges of field research in conflict zones. Qualitative Sociology 29: 373–386.

Woolner, P. and Hall, E. (2010). Noise in Schools: A Holistic Approach to the Issue. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 7*(8), 3255-3269.

Yamchi, N. (2006). English Teaching and Training Issues in Palestine. *TESOL Quarterly*, 40(4), 861-865.

Yelkpieri, D., Namale, M., Esia-Donkoh, K., Ofosu-Dwamena, E. (2012). Effects of Large Class Size on Effective Teaching and Learning at the Winneba Campus of the UEW (University of Education, Winneba), Ghana. *US-China Education Review A* (3), 319-332.

Yin, H. B. (2013). Societal culture and teachers' responses to curriculum reform: Experiences from China. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 14*(3), 391–401.

Yin, R. K. (1984) Case study research: Design and methods (1st ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Yin, R. K. (2003) Case study research: Design and methods (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zembylas, M. (2003). Emotions and teacher identity: A poststructural perspective. Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 9(3), 213–238.