



College of Social
Sciences

**Pedagogy in an Urban Syrian Refugee School in Turkey: approaches,
perspectives, and performances**

by

Iman Sharif, BA, MA

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**School of Education
College of Social Sciences
University of Glasgow
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Abstract

One of the devastating impacts of the Syrian war is displacing the largest number of refugees in recent time. There are over 3.6 million Syrian refugees in Turkey, almost half of them are children in the preschool or primary school stage. This research primarily intends to provide an in-depth understanding of the quality of refugee education provided to Syrian children at one of the Syrian schools operated by Syrian teachers in Turkey within the scope of temporary protection. Using a qualitative case study methodology, this research examines teachers' understandings of quality education in the refugee context within their realities and capacities. In addition, the research investigates the extent Syrian teachers' beliefs and practices compare to the international understandings of appropriate pedagogy in refugee contexts such as the standards set by the International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) in its *Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a) which defines good practices internationally and offers guidelines for supporting educational quality in refugee situations.

To achieve the aims of research and address the research questions, this study explores teachers' pedagogical practices, beliefs and experiences as well as the image the school projects of its practices in the refugee context using four qualitative sources. The study analyses teachers' perceptions of the differences and similarities in their teaching practices and beliefs in the Syrian context prior to the war to understand the adaptations in instructional techniques teachers believe they made in the refugee context in response to pupils' needs and developmental levels. Moreover, the study investigates the contextual influences and challenges affecting the educational provision for refugee children to prepare them for returning to a new Syria. Finally, the study discusses teachers and administrative staff's understandings of and attitudes to adopting learner-centred pedagogy in line with the INEE international standards.

Key research findings suggest that Syrian teachers changed their priorities in the refugee context, adopted a flexible teaching style and used a variety of teaching methods along the continuum to support the learning of refugee pupils. Although the findings indicate that the school's social media platform focused on showing learner-centred practices, doubts are raised about the suitability of learner-centred education as 'best practice' in the refugee context because of many complex contextual influences and implementation challenges.

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Dedication

With love and appreciation, I dedicate this thesis to my role models:

My remarkable late father and my wonderful mother who passionately devoted their time and effort to support my siblings' education and mine.

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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: Iman Sharif

Signature:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Iman Sharif', written in a cursive style.

Abbreviations

Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE)

Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD)

Education For All (EFA)

Education in Emergencies (EiE)

Education Management Information System (EMIS)

English Language Teaching (ELT)

International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE)

International Rescue Committee (IRC)

Learner-Centred Education (LCE)

Ministry of Education (MoE)

Ministry of Education of the Interim Syrian Government (MoE ISG)

Ministry of National Education (MONE)

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)

Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

United Nations (UN)

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugee in the Near East (UNRWA)

World Education Services (WES)

Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Personal and Academic Rationale

The catalyst for this research study has been my personal interest in the field of refugee education as an academic from a refugee background with teaching professional experience in Syria before and during the Syrian civil war. The war which started in March 2011 has profoundly impacted Syrian education and posed many challenges for educating Syrian children and youth inside and outside Syria. Before the war started, I was working as a teacher in Syria for several years and continued teaching for almost two years during the ongoing war. I observed the dramatic impacts of the conflict on Syrian education inside Syria as my professional teaching experiences and personal life were significantly influenced by the war.

When I had to flee to Turkey because of the intensity of the war, the Syrian community where I lived were talking about a new flourishing type of urban Syrian schools which mostly were established with support from United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in urban communities in response to the schooling challenge. Syrian schools recruited Syrian teachers and provided free education for Syrian refugees using Arabic, the mother tongue, and the curriculum which is followed in Syria. During my stay in Turkey, I was very keen on inquiring about Syrian schools as a mother in exile looking for the best education for my children and as a teacher with professional experience in teaching Syrian students pushed by the necessity to contribute and help my conflict-affected community.

However, there were many discussions about the quality of education provided at Syrian schools in Turkey. For some, the quality was good and even better than it was in Syria, whereas for others the schools were unable to meet the needs of refugee pupils. When I reviewed the literature, which was very scarce at that time, I noticed that several research reports expressed concerns regarding the uneven quality of education at Syrian schools (Dinçer et al., 2013; Chatty et al., 2014; Dorman, 2014; Save the Children, 2014). As a result, what makes quality education particularly in my context and the way quality is understood in different contexts have become the key drivers of this research.

Many authors who examine education in times of conflict indicate that this human right is a critical need in conflict situations (Machel, 1996; Pigozzi, 1999; Sinclair, 2001, 2002; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Smith and Vaux, 2003; Davies, 2004; INEE, 2010a; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Chatty et al., 2014; UNESCO, 2014a). For example, Sinclair (2001, p. 2) describes education as a “central pillar” of humanitarian response in emergencies. Refugee families world-wide prioritise education for its various advantages (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010; Mendenhall et al., 2015). Nevertheless, while acknowledging the enormous benefits of education and its broad functions, various authors caution that some forms of schooling are not always good particularly in conflict time (Rutter, 1998; Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Smith and Vaux, 2003; Davies, 2004; Harber, 2004; Tawil and Harley, 2004; Schweisfurth, 2006; Save the Children, 2017).

Rutter (1998); for example, indicates that in conflict educators can be biased and the content of education may be used to exacerbate or mitigate tension. Therefore, there have been numerous calls to critically examine and monitor the role of education in conflict because education is a double-edged sword and conflict gives prominence to the two faces of education (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Smith and Vaux, 2003; Tawil and Harley, 2004; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; INEE, 2010a; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2013). In this way, education in emergencies (EiE) literature has witnessed a growing awareness of the linkages between education and conflict as many authors indicate such as Tawil and Harley (2004), Blumör and Buttlar (2007), Smith (2010), UNESCO-IIEP (2010), and Kirk (2011).

As refugee children are five times more likely to miss schooling than non-refugee children, providing quality education in refugee settings is a pressing need (Save the Children, 2017). Providing quality education has been emphasised in the literature to offer children and their community protection, security, social cohesion and prevent conflicts (Sinclair, 2002; Midttun, 2006; INEE, 2010a, 2010b; UNESCO, 2011). However, defining quality education particularly in emergencies is very challenging because there are various interpretations of quality which change in different contexts based on the values and priorities of different stakeholders (Williams, 2001; UNESCO, 2005; Midttun, 2006; Box, 2012; Alexander, 2015; Sayed and Ahmad, 2015). Moreover, as many authors have extensively discussed, ensuring quality education is affected by various factors in different contexts (Brown, 2001; Williams,

2001; Sommers, 2002; UNESCO, 2005; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Box, 2012; Mendenhall et al., 2017; Save the Children, 2017).

In refugee contexts, learner-centred education (LCE) is central to the discussion of quality education because using this pedagogy is promoted by international aid agencies as an indicator of achieving quality education. The International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), which guides the delivery of quality education in emergencies including refugee situations, supports LCE implementation as one of its Minimum Standards in Education in Emergencies. It is argued that LCE can play a special role in emergencies because it can support children's learning, promote their critical thinking skills, facilitate psychological healing and avoid conflict (Pigozzi, 1999; Williams, 2001; Sinclair, 2002; UNESCO, 2005; Midttun, 2006; INEE, 2010a/b; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2013).

However, a growing body of the literature highlights the complex interrelated factors which comprise pedagogy, affect teachers' practices and pose many challenges to LCE implementation particularly in refugee settings and developing countries. These include, for example, the local cultural context, class size, the availability of support and monitoring strategies, resources, time, teacher education and training, teachers and learners' beliefs, relationships, motivation and experiences, curriculum and assessment as well as government policies (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Alexander, 2000; Williams, 2001; Brown, 2003; Kain, 2003; Tabulawa, 2003; O'Sullivan, 2004; Kagawa, 2005; Sternberg, 2007; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Guthrie, 2011, 2015; Sriprakash, 2012; Schweisfurth, 2013; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Stott, 2018; Brinkmann, 2019).

Within this case study research, in line with Alexander (2004, p. 13), pedagogy is conceptualised as "a somewhat more complex enterprise than may be recognised by those who reduce effective teaching to 'what works', or 'best practice' lessons downloaded from government websites." Likewise, education quality is not constrained to indicators which can be measured (Alexander, 2008), but rather it is grounded in the contextual reality of Syrian refugee education and children's perceived needs.

As a summary, the primary motivation for researching urban Syrian refugee education in Turkey stems from my personal, professional and academic interest and experience in the field. I have become very eager to investigate the quality of education at an urban Syrian school personally as a Syrian refugee who lived in an urban community in Turkey after leaving Syria, professionally as a teacher who worked in the field for a long time in Syria before and during the war and academically as a researcher from a refugee background. Driven by my interest in teaching and prior teaching experiences in Syria before and during the war, I decided to focus on examining the pedagogical aspects of teaching in one Syrian refugee school because what teachers do, know, believe in and the way they teach affect pupils' educational experiences and the quality of their education system (Entz, 2007; Husbands and Pearce, 2012).

1.2 Aims and Objectives

At the time I carried out this research, education for Syrian refugees in Turkey was provided in two types of schools: Turkish public schools in host communities which teach the Turkish curriculum, and temporary education centres which were supported by UNICEF inside and outside refugee camps (Samuk, 2018). In urban settings, temporary education centres were commonly known as 'Syrian schools' because they were run by Syrian refugee teachers and used Arabic, the mother tongue, as the main medium of instruction.

This research aims to contribute to the growing discussion on LCE suitability worldwide as 'best practice' through examining the quality of education at an urban Syrian refugee school in Turkey as provided by Syrian refugee teachers within the scope of temporary protection. The research provides an in-depth exploration of Syrian refugee teachers' vision of good pedagogy in the refugee context within their realities and capacities. The findings are used to compare Syrian teachers' beliefs and practices to the international understandings of appropriate pedagogy in refugee contexts such as the standards set by the INEE in its *Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a), which defines good practices internationally and offers guidelines for supporting educational quality in refugee situations. It is important to clarify that I am using the term 'urban' as a general term to refer to schools out of refugee camps.

1.3 Research Significance

The significance of this study lies in its attempt to examine the quality of refugee education at an urban setting in Turkey with a particular focus on teaching pedagogies adopted by Syrian refugee teachers at an urban Syrian school outside war-torn Syria with support from UNICEF. The study intends to understand the provision of refugee education, the changes the teachers said they made in their instructional techniques, and teachers' understandings of and attitudes to adopting learner-centred approaches in line with the INEE *Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a). In addition, the study situates the pedagogical practices in the Syrian context within the broader context of refugee education in times of conflict.

At the time this research began, there had not been any published research which investigated the pedagogical approaches used at urban Syrian schools in Turkey. While collecting the research data, the temporary education centres supported by UNICEF were gradually closed to facilitate integrating refugee pupils by joining mainstream classes in Turkish public schools (Taştan and Çelik, 2017). By 2018, shortly after the period of fieldwork, all Syrian schools were closed, and Syrian pupils became educationally integrated in Turkish public schools. A study by Stephanie Dorman (2014) investigated urban Syrian refugees' educational needs in Turkey and my study intends to build on the findings of this research. However, like most research on Syrian refugee education in Turkey which is commonly focused on camp settings, Dorman's (2014) study researched Syrian refugees' access to education, the barriers to participation and the educational services provided by different organisations. However, this research particularly analyses the processes of learning and teaching at an urban Syrian school to understand teachers' responses to urban pupils' needs, the changes in their teaching methods, teachers' understanding of LCE which is promoted by international aid agencies and their attitudes to implementing more learner-centred techniques in their classes.

Although providing education for conflict-affected children is as old as history, there is a flourishing interest in researching education in conflict and emergencies and the number of publications in this field has been increasing (Blumör and Buttlar, 2007; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011). In EiE literature, research validates the view that conflict lays the ground for positive change to improve the educational systems, teach new values and skills as well as transform society (Carr and Hartnett, 1996; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; INEE, 2010a;

King, 2011; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011). According to Carr and Hartnett (1996, p. 12), the processes of democratic change and educational change go hand in hand because, as they put it, “[c]learly, if new educational institutions are always to be judged by criteria devised by and for old institutions, they are bound to fail.”

Along similar lines, Tomlinson and Benefield (2005) doubt the legitimacy of governments and their curricula especially in civil war. They believe that in times of political crisis or after crisis, education plays a positive role in community life in terms of providing security, ordinariness and improvement of curriculum to include peace or citizenship education. Introducing pedagogical change in emergencies by promoting dialogic pedagogies may be attempted as part of offering quality education which as INEE (2010a, p. 2) argues, “provides physical, psychosocial and cognitive protection that can sustain and save lives.”

Based on the INEE Minimum Standards (2010a) which provides a widely-cited framework of good practice in emergencies, providing relevant and supportive education may require adapting the content of education, teaching methods and providing training for teachers to use new pedagogies:

Access to education is only meaningful if the education programmes offer quality teaching and learning. Emergencies may offer opportunities for improving curricula, teacher training, professional development and support, instruction and learning processes and assessment of learning outcomes so that education is relevant, supportive and protective for learners (INEE, 2010a, p. 76).

For education to be effective, it should be related to learners’ present lives and needs. Teachers are expected to adapt or change their teaching methods to meet the rights, needs, age, disabilities and capacities of their refugee learners in the new context (INEE, 2010a). As INEE (2010b) explains, the needs of learners, teachers, and the wider community may change dramatically during emergencies. To address these changing needs, United Nations (UN) agencies and other international organisations which provide a unified structure that establishes global standards for education powerfully espouse LCE and play a supporting role in endorsing it (Schweisfurth, 2013). For instance, the main principles of quality education specially developed by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) are in line with LCE principles, and INEE (2010a) clearly adopts LCE as a minimum standard in itself (Schweisfurth, 2013).

Nevertheless, linking a certain pedagogy with quality teaching is contested because there is no agreement on what makes quality teaching as many authors such as Williams (2001), Alexander (2008a), Vavrus (2009); Sriprakash (2012) and Schweisfurth (2015) point out. The appropriateness of LCE in all contexts worldwide has been questioned and some problems of implementations have been identified (Guthrie, 1990; Sommers, 2002; Tabulawa, 2003; O’Sullivan, 2004; Kagawa, 2005; Vavrus, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2013). The local context plays a major role in facilitating or hindering the implementation of LCE (Sternberg, 2007; Alexander, 2008a; Vavrus, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2013).

The contribution of this study is, therefore, understanding appropriate teaching pedagogies in the Syrian refugee context and the challenges of pedagogical change in the direction of more learner-centred practices in the refugee context. In the global discussions of quality of education, Schweisfurth (2015, p. 259) indicates that pedagogy “continues to be a neglected priority.”

1.4 Research Questions and Methodology

The main research questions I aim to address using a qualitative case study methodology are:

- What are the practices at a Syrian school in the refugee context?
- What image does the school project of its practices in this context?
- How far do Syrian teachers say they have changed their practices in the new context to meet pupils’ emerging needs, as they understand them? How do they justify these changes?
- How is quality understood by the different stakeholders in the refugee context? How do teachers’ beliefs and practices compare to the international understandings of appropriate pedagogy in refugee contexts such as the INEE standards?

To best answer these questions, I collected the research data in one case study school using four qualitative sources: classroom observations, interviews with school teachers, interviews with administrative staff, and analysing the school’s social media platform. The data gathering was originally planned to be conducted face-to-face. However, because of imposing new visa restrictions on Syrian nationals suddenly, my access to Turkey was

denied and an alternative plan was developed to carry out real-time online observations and interviews via Skype. The initial findings from classroom observations and Facebook data were used for discussions in interviews with the participants which facilitated exploring the various pedagogical decisions the teachers said they made, the challenges they encountered, and the changes in their practices in the new context to prepare refugee pupils to return to a new Syria.

1.5 Thesis Structure

I organised the thesis into eight chapters. In Chapter One, I introduce the background of the study and justify the research aims and significance. I present the main research questions and methodology and outline the structure of the thesis. In Chapter Two, I review some of the related literature to understand the broader context of refugee education and the delivery of quality education in times of conflict. In addition, I examine the two faces of education to understand the paradoxical role of education in conflict times. I investigate the importance of providing the right type of education. Providing quality education for refugees is explored primarily through analysing the *INEE Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a) and the *Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning* (INEE, 2010b). I also indicate the influences and challenges of providing quality education in refugee settings.

I explore models of pedagogy and their underpinning learning theories in Chapter Three. I analyse the strengths and limitations of the two broad models of pedagogy on a continuum. In addition, I examine the challenges of implementing learner-centred pedagogies in developing countries and refugee contexts. In Chapter Four, I provide detailed background information on the context of the study. As part of understanding the provision of education to Syrian refugees in Turkey and the changes in teachers' pedagogies in the new context, I provide some background information on education in Syria before the war. Moreover, I explain the impacts of Syrian conflict on Syrian children and the challenges of educating them in Turkey.

In Chapter Five, I outline the methodology and methods which guided this research. I explain the philosophical and theoretical stances. I justify the use of a case study approach in an interpretative qualitative research design in the lights of the literature and the research

questions. Furthermore, I present the research data collection and analysis processes. I explain the research validity, reliability and ethical considerations. In Chapter Six I provide the combined analysis and findings of the four sources of qualitative data to understand the pedagogical techniques used in the Syrian refugee context as they were observed, self-reported by teachers and administrative staff as well as publicised by the school's social media platform.

In Chapter Seven, I discuss the research findings in relation to the research questions and the literature. Finally, Chapter Eight provides the conclusion to the study. I summarise the main findings which address the aims of research. I explain the research challenges and limitations. I highlight the study's contribution to knowledge. I also suggest some recommendations for further research and reflect on undertaking this research. Figure 1.1 below shows the structure of the thesis:

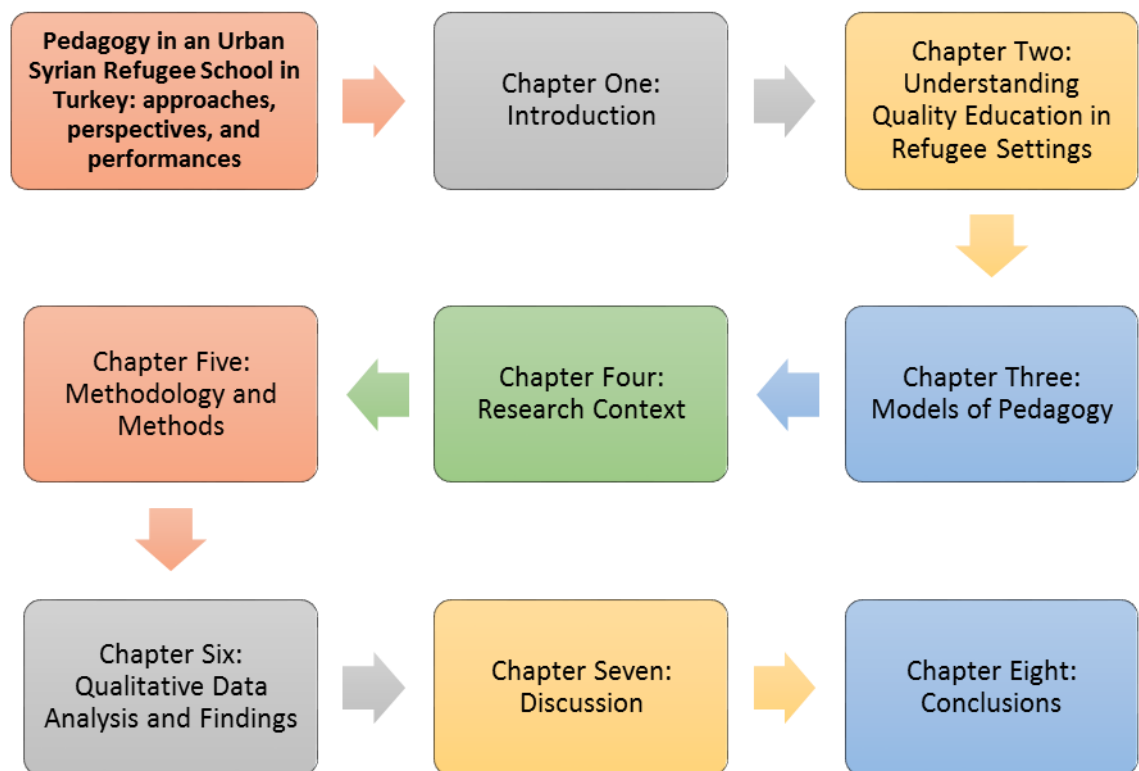


Figure 1.1: Thesis structure.

The purpose of the next chapter is to provide a review of the literature to understand the broader context of refugee education and the delivery of quality education in times of conflict.

Chapter Two: Understanding Quality Education in Refugee Settings

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of education in emergencies (EiE) particularly in refugee situations. I examine the paradoxical role of education in conflict times uncovering the positive and negative faces of education. I clarify the risks involved in some forms of schooling and highlight the importance of providing the right type of education to refugees which plays a constructive role in promoting peace and psychosocial wellbeing in conflict-affected communities. Next, I explore the provision of quality learning opportunities primarily through analysing the International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) *Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a) and INEE *Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning* (2010b) which indicate the minimum level of educational quality and access as well as provide a widely-cited framework of good practice in emergencies internationally. I investigate the influences and challenges which affect achieving quality education in refugee settings. Finally, while analysing the INEE's international standards, I discuss the limitations and critiques of INEE's educational interventions.

2.2 Refugee Education in Conflict Times

Before World War II, organisations such as Save the Children provided education for children in emergencies, but after the War the provision of refugee education became more popular and a coherent field of refugee education was established (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Supporting refugee education had been a part of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s mandate since 1945, but by the mid-1960s, UNESCO had little capacity to carry out field-level responsibility because of its focus on national-level policy (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Therefore, since then refugee education became a part of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) agenda and UNHCR had education officer posts at the field level while getting some expertise and technical support from UNESCO (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Box, 2012).

However, Dryden-Peterson (2011) points out that funding for refugee education was limited. UNHCR mainly provided post-secondary scholarships and refugees themselves established their own education systems. At the end of 1980s, UNHCR directed more attention to primary education and created education systems in camp settings instead of providing individual scholarships (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Box, 2012). Following the eruption of several conflict in different parts of the world in the 1990s, many organisations assisted education in conflict-affected communities, and the concept “education as a humanitarian response” became popular as Sinclair (2007, p. 52) indicates. The UNHCR’s intervention strategy and an encampment policy also became common (Box, 2012). The UNHCR’s approach to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provides an example of the organisation’s universal intervention which set the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in September 2015 (UNHCR, 2017).

Since 2000, the field of refugee education has become part of the broader field of EiE which includes the education of refugees, internally-displaced, non-displaced children living in conflict and/or fragile settings, and children affected by natural disasters (Sinclair, 2002; Dryden-Peterson, 2011). The development of the field of EiE in 1990s was motivated by stressing the education needs of conflict-affected children within the global Education For All (EFA) movement and recognising the critical importance of inter-agency coordination to address similar, but context-sensitive educational needs of children affected by conflicts (Kagawa, 2005; Dryden-Peterson, 2011). The EFA movement, adopted by The Dakar Framework in April 2000 at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, is a global commitment led by UNESCO to offer quality basic education for all children, youth and adults by 2015 (UNESCO, 2015). As Tawil and Harley (2004) point out, in 1990 the World Declaration on Education for All highlighted that armed conflicts hinder meeting the basic education needs and stressed again the right of children and adults in conflict-affected communities to basic education.

Many authors illustrate that the education system is disrupted in emergencies; as for instance, schools may be damaged, targeted or used as a temporary accommodation, there is a lack of funds to pay teachers, poor educational quality, or students and teachers are displaced, all of which profoundly affect education in various ways (Pigozzi, 1999; UNESCO, 2004; Sinclair, 2007; Boyacı and Öz, 2018). Therefore, as Davies (2004) highlights education is not at its best in times of war. Brown (2001), Davies (2004) and Mundy and Dryden-Peterson

(2011) emphasise that the provision of education can be very poor and sketchy. In many cases teachers lack sufficient training and the indicators of learning measure inputs rather than outcomes which makes them ineffective (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). There are much more important matters for authorities to care about than education (Davies, 2004). In addition, the pressures of the growing number of refugee students along with their economic and integration problems add more troubles. As just discussed then, because of civil wars, the education system becomes divided in a way which is hard to reintegrate (Davies, 2004).

Compared to children living in countries not affected by conflict, Brown (2001) and Mundy and Dryden-Peterson (2011) argue that children in conflict zones get poorer quality education and experience marginalisation in education because of poverty, gender, and ethnicity which affect their access to education. Nonetheless, improvements in education quality should be always pursued regardless of its low standards in refugee settings (Brown, 2001). Because of the importance of education, UNESCO (2004) and Kagawa (2005) point out, education in emergencies is highlighted as one of the nine EFA flagship initiatives.

In refugee settings, Dryden-Peterson (2016) indicates that the UNHCR supports education in coordination with the governments of countries in which refugees live based on the laws, policies, and practices in place in each national context. United Nations (UN) agencies and other international or national non-governmental organisations (NGOs) often support educational interventions (Burde et al., 2017). Examples of international NGOs which support the development of structured formal education in emergencies include Save the Children, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), International Rescue Committee (IRC) and Jesuit Refugee Service (Sommers, 2002).

With the aim of improving response to education in emergencies, a group of educators affiliated with UN agencies and IRC developed several strategies to support education as part of the traditional humanitarian support in countries affected by conflict and disaster primarily by establishing the Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) in 2000 following the World Education Forum (UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Burde et al., 2017). The INEE's weblink is provided below in Figure 2.1:

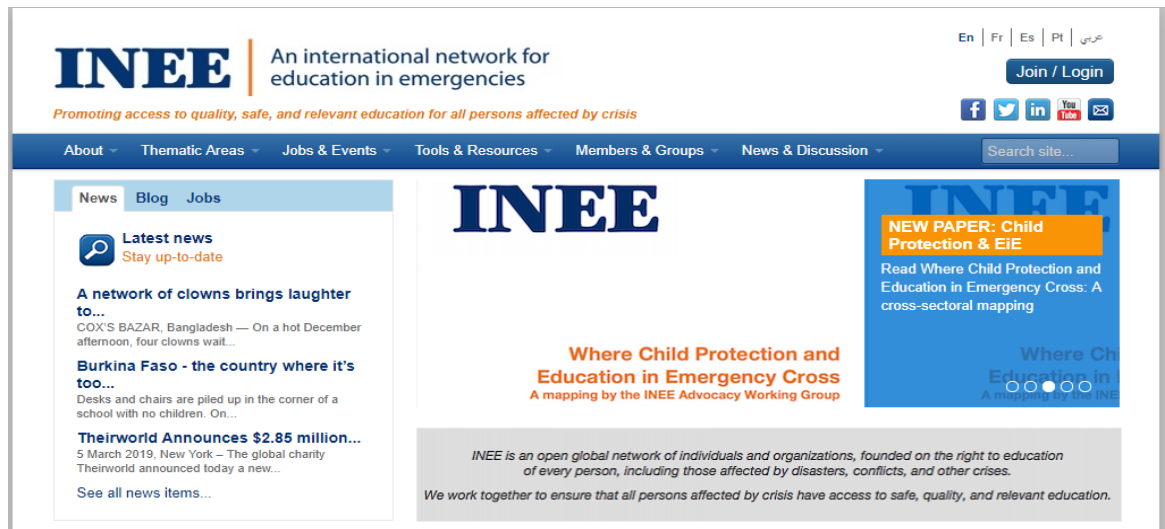


Figure 2.1: INEE’s Website (Weblink: <https://www.ineesite.org/en>).

As Dryden-Peterson (2011) indicates, the flourishing field of EiE has focused on the INEE which provides assistance to the UNHCR educational support because of the absence of educational capacity within the organisation. However, as I will explain later in the chapter, many authors such as Tabulawa (2003), Burde (2007) and Sriprakash (2012) raise doubts about the purposes of the educational interventions of aid agencies including the INEE in emergencies which may serve to control and/or empower those targeted by their support by promoting global standards.

In emergency situations, immediate restoration or establishment of learning opportunities is emphasised because education is a child’s right, a development activity and a critical need which brings normalcy and reduces psychosocial stresses caused by the sudden changes in the children’s social environments (Pigozzi, 1999; Sommers, 1999; UNESCO, 2004; Bromley and Andina, 2010). However, as many authors point out, even though the enormous benefits and broad functions of education are acknowledged, the EiE literature has witnessed a growing awareness of the linkages between education and conflict (Tawil and Harley, 2004; Kagawa, 2005; Blumör and Buttlar, 2007; Smith, 2010; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Kirk, 2011).

Tawil and Harley (2004) and Kagawa (2005), for example, illustrate that there has been a change in focus in the international discourse of education in emergency situations since 2000 from responding to the impact of conflicts such as preventing access to basic education

to acknowledging the dialectical relationship between schooling and society and the role of education in perpetuating social inequalities, which were discussed previously by Freire (1970). Therefore, despite the common emphasis on providing immediate access to education as a child right, various authors caution that existing formal forms of education are not always a good thing because of the negative sides of schooling particularly in conflict time (Rutter, 1998; Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Smith and Vaux, 2003; Davies, 2004; Harber, 2004; Tawil and Harley, 2004; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; Schweisfurth, 2006; Smith, 2010; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2013; Burde et al., 2017).

In the next section, I will investigate the complex role of education in conflict and show the two faces of education to clarify the constructive and destructive impacts of education in conflict-affected societies and to continue to “do the right thing” and to “stop doing the wrong thing” as Bush and Saltarelli (2000, p. 35) put it.

2.3 The Complex Relationship Between Education and Conflict

In *The Two Faces of Education in Conflict*, Bush and Saltarelli (2000, p. vii) brought to light “the constructive and destructive impacts of education – the two faces of education.” Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argue that destructive educational practices may breed violence and lead to conflict. Examples of destructive practices which Bush and Saltarelli (2000) identify include the uneven distribution of education, the use of education as a weapon in cultural repression, the denial of education as a weapon of war, manipulating history for political purposes, manipulating textbooks, self-worth and hating others, segregated education to ensure inequality, lowered esteem and stereotyping.

Showing the positive and negative views of education challenges the assumptions about the value of education, highlights its dark side and raises questions about how education is administered in some contexts (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005). Many authors such as Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003), Smith and Vaux (2003), Davies (2004), and Harber (2004) were among those who unveil the real value of education. For instance,

Davies (2004) investigates the link between conflict and education, the effect of conflict on education and how education responds to conflict. Davies argues that education may contribute to the promotion of peace or war. Even in peacetime, education contributes to war more than education in conflict time as Davies (2004) believes that education tends to be more about exclusion and competition in times of peace.

Along similar lines, King (2011) examines the complex relationship between education and conflict exemplified by the practical experience of Rwandan teachers who witnessed the violence promoted by education and then education's role in promoting peace through teaching about peace education. King (2011) identifies six major relationships between education and conflict based on research findings conducted in Rwanda in 2006 as shown below:



Figure 2.2: The relationships between education and conflict (Source: King, 2011).

King (2011) argues that across these relationships, education and conflict play positive and negative roles in society. In their roles, education and conflict sometimes support each other while at other times work in opposite directions (King, 2011). In general, education is controlled by politicians and is used to promote their views to control their nations (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Schweisfurth, 2013). In conflict time, in particular, education plays paradoxical roles sometimes promoting peace while other times intensifying hatred and

division (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Tawil and Harley, 2004; Smith, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2013). Therefore, Tawil and Harley (2004) indicate that attention to the educational content, structure and delivery is a primary concern of the international community within the framework of the EFA goals.

2.3.1 Education Can Fuel Conflict

According to Bush and Saltarelli (2000, p. 33), “in many conflicts around the world, education is part of the problem not the solution, because it serves to divide and antagonize groups both intentionally and unintentionally.” Educators can be biased, and they may use school curricula to exacerbate or mitigate tension (Rutter, 1998). In Yugoslavia; for example, Rutter (1998) mentions that curriculum was used to inflame conflict. As a result, education can encourage hate and textbooks can be used to suppress children’s thinking and obstruct their attempts to deal with conflict constructively (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). The paradoxes of education become clearly heightened during crisis, the time when rights are disturbed; however, curricula and pedagogy which teach, support and develop learners’ rights play a constructive role in getting them back (Schweisfurth, 2013).

As I explained above, because education can be biased, in conflict time the constructive role of education is questioned. In Rwanda, for instance, Schweisfurth (2006) illustrates that education was part of the problems and solutions. Teachers used the content of the curriculum to reinforce stereotypes and stir up hatred and revenge (Schweisfurth, 2006). Smith (2010) and UNESCO (2011) similarly indicate that education might be a primary cause of conflict; for example, by supporting certain beliefs and attitudes which lead societies into conflict. Failing to teach young people the necessary skills they need to obtain a proper job in the future might be another example of how education contributes to conflict (UNESCO, 2011).

According to Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003), Smith and Vaux (2003), and UNESCO (2011), when education is politicised, and it is used to promote intolerance and inhibit critical thinking, it becomes responsible for pushing societies to violence. Denying certain groups’ access to education develops feeling of injustice, hinders their participation in the social and economic life of their country, and prevents them from getting access to employment all of

which play a role in fuelling conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Smith and Vaux, 2003; UNESCO, 2011). Therefore, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) believe that limiting certain groups' access to education can be a sign of imminent deteriorations that require international attention and intervention.

Davies (2004) analyses the connection between conflict in the wider society and school-based conflict. The serious concern raised as a result is that conflict exists in education systems all over the world, not only in conflict-affected societies but also in peaceful ones:

There are grave omissions-or contradictions- in the curricula of both stable and conflictual societies, omissions which contribute to a continued acceptance of war. There are also elements of the process and ethos of schooling which foster a lifelong predisposition to hostility-also often glossed over (Davies, 2004, p. 5).

In a similar vein, Harber (2004, p. 8) explores the risks involved in education and concludes that "formal schooling has often been harmful to children and their wider societies in the form of both being violent and helping to reproduce and perpetrate violence." Harber (2004) proposes that education is not naturally good nor necessarily full of value for societies as many good things and bad things happen under the term 'education' depending on what is taught and how it is taught. In this perspective, school curriculum can be used to promote certain ideologies and deepen social division.

Curriculum content particularly the representation of history and social identity require special attention due to their role in fuelling conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Smith and Vaux, 2003; UNESCO, 2011). The way history is taught and national story is defined might be subjective, biased and manipulated for political purposes (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Smith and Vaux, 2003; King, 2011). According to Smith (2010), how history is taught in conflict time has a special significance as it highlights what the education system aims at teaching, content and syllabuses or skills and learning outcomes:

When curriculum is conceived narrowly as the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next, it may be perceived as an extremely powerful tool to promote particular political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values and traditions. The contemporary trend in many countries is to 'modernise' the curriculum so that it is defined in terms of 'learning outcomes' where learning outcomes refer to skills, attitudes and values as well as factual knowledge. This may include the development of 'generic skills' such as communication skills, the ability to draw on multiple sources

of information and evaluate conflicting evidence, the development of media literacy, critical thinking and moral development (Smith, 2010, p. 17).

Hence, some authors argue that enhancing the development of children's skills offers them protection and sustains their social and health education which are believed to contribute to the process of building peace (Smith and Vaux, 2003; Smith, 2010). Some forms of education promote the superiority or inferiority of certain ethnic groups and nations which affects the decisions and judgments of the people from these groups as Bush and Saltarelli (2000) and Smith and Vaux (2003) also indicate. Teachers from the majority culture group might be intolerant, they may ignore the talents of students from minority groups and act in a way that affects them (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Excluding minority groups' culture and tradition from curriculum might add to tension and contribute to conflict (Smith and Vaux, 2003).

Not only curriculum can play a role in provoking conflict, but also Smith and Vaux (2003) and Burde et al., (2017) argue that the language used can be a contributing factor to crisis. For instance, language might be politicised and governments may decide to use the majority group language as the main medium of instruction ignoring minority groups which adds to tension and division in society (Smith and Vaux, 2003; UNESCO, 2011). Even using certain vocabulary to describe people, events and places might be politicised and exacerbate conflict, as for example Smith and Vaux (2003, p. 29) illustrate, using words like "rebels", "freedom fighters" or "terrorists".

Based on the above, Smith and Vaux (2003) argue that educators are responsible for the implicit messages indicated by the language they use to fuel or mitigate conflict. The relationship between education and conflict then should be considered when developing educational policy in peacetime (Smith and Vaux, 2003). When conflict occurs, educational policy and the views of government on the type of education provided are subject to question (Carr and Hartnett, 1996; Smith and Vaux, 2003).

As a summary, in the literature there is an emphasis on the leading role of the wrong type of education in provoking conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Smith and Vaux, 2003; Smith, 2010; UNESCO, 2011). According to Davies (2004), Harber

(2004), and UNESCO (2011), curriculum content, pedagogy, and the way education is financed and delivered can have positive or negative impacts. Therefore, in emergency situations, one of the main challenges is the promotion of education activities which do not serve children's best interest (Pigozzi, 1999).

As a response, there have been numerous calls to critically examine and monitor the role of education in conflict because as shown above education is a double-edged sword and conflict gives prominence to the two faces of education (Pigozzi, 1999; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Smith and Vaux, 2003; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2013). Accessing good quality education particularly in conflict times is emphasised to benefit from the positive sides of education and support peacebuilding (UNESCO, 2011; UNESCO, 2014a). I will examine quality education as defined in EiE literature while exploring the positive role of education and the importance of providing education to refugees in conflict times.

2.3.2 The Destructive Impacts of Conflict on Education

The direct impact of conflict on education varies depending on the nature and dynamics of violence, but there is a general agreement that conflict challenges, disrupts educational opportunities and sometimes reverses educational gains (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Sinclair, 2002; Anderson et al., 2006; King, 2011; UNESCO, 2011). In conflict zones, the inevitable impacts of conflict are targeting school children and their participation as soldiers in armed conflict which makes getting education during conflict dangerous for both students and education staff (Machel, 1996; Davies, 2004; UNESCO, 2011). Therefore, education activities may place students at risk and threaten their well-being in conflict zones (Machel, 1996; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Winthrop and Kirk, 2008). Armed groups may intentionally target school sites and attack students and teachers, turning schools into unsafe places (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Harber, 2004; Winthrop and Kirk, 2008).

In Rwanda, for example, Schweisfurth (2006) says that schools were purposefully targeted during the genocide of 1994. In addition, in conflict times schools can become places of violence and fear due to military recruitment and gender-based violence as was the case in Rwanda and all over Africa (King, 2011). There are various reasons for attacking educational

institutions. One reason which UNESCO (2011) suggests is because schools are considered as representing state authority which justifies targeting them, particularly when revolting groups are against the type of education supported by governments such as school attacks which happened in Afghanistan. Another reason may be because of using schools for military purposes by armed forces which subjects schools to attacks by conflicting groups as was the case in India, Somalia and Yemen (UNESCO, 2011). In Syria, Save the Children (2014) also indicates that schools are among the most dangerous places. In 2014, a fifth of schools in Syria were destroyed, the number of students being attacked or even dying in school or on their way to school was on the rise (Chatty et al., 2014). Similarly, Smith and Vaux (2003) cite examples of attacking teachers in Nepal and Cambodia because they are intellectuals who represent a threat.

By bringing children together in school, education provides an easy access to children and makes them more vulnerable to military recruitment (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003). In this way education may become linked to recruitment. Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003) argue that emergency education programmes are unlikely to prevent school attack and child recruitment, but they may play a role in reducing their risks by increasing the security of emergency education programmes, monitoring school attendance, making sure that children have a safe journey to school, and teaching children in inhibited areas. Another harmful impact of conflict on education is affecting the school environment which can become more threatening as teachers are more stressed because of conflict and they may use corporal punishment as their disciplinary tool (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003).

As UNESCO (2011) explains, the damage caused by armed conflict is not restricted to destroying schools, but also killing the hopes of a whole generation of children. The huge number of children out of school is also one of the most devastating impacts of conflict (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Smith and Vaux, 2003). In times of conflict due to undermining the economic growth of the country, government expenditure on education becomes negatively affected (UNESCO, 2011). Progress in education which is considered central to progress in child health, well-being, economic development and conflict prevention is blocked (UNESCO, 2011; Watkins and Zyck, 2014). Baxter and Bethke (2009) and King (2011) point out that the disruption in education can result in children's loss of years of schooling. This was the case of Rwandan students for example whose education was interrupted, and schools were destroyed during Rwandan civil war (King, 2011). Some

Rwandan students lost approximately one year and others had to repeat classes. Tomlinson and Benefield (2005) and Watkins and Zyck (2014) argue that the loss of education weakens the whole society and affects its recovery and reconstruction.

The catastrophic impacts of conflict on refugee children's health and psychological well-being are well documented in the literature. Although it is sometimes difficult to measure the impact of conflict on children, many authors indicate that conflict damages children at varying levels and affects their development physically, psychologically, emotionally, socially, culturally and intellectually (Machel, 1996; Jones and Rutter, 1998; Yule, 1998; Pigozzi, 1999; Sinclair, 2002; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Davies, 2004; Baxter and Bethke, 2009; UNESCO, 2011). For instance, children may witness or experience violence against themselves or their family members (Pigozzi, 1999; Baxter and Bethke, 2009; UNESCO, 2011). According to Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003), fear and violence bring about psychological damage, with varying degrees from child to child, most of the time accompanied by profound impacts on the child's social, emotional, and cognitive development as well as critical thinking, literacy and numeracy skills. Conflict subjects children to trauma, insecurity and displacement which affect their ability to learn at school, cope and adapt to the impacts of conflict (Machel, 1996; Davies, 2004; UNESCO, 2011).

As Machel (1996) explains, children's reaction to the stress caused by conflict depends on various factors related to children's own personality and circumstances. Depending on the traumatic events children experience, their ability to adapt will be affected. The more children experience traumatic events, the more it will be difficult for them to settle in a new society or learn a new language (Yule, 1998). Examples of the problems that children may have because of the impacts of conflict and the traumatic events which accompany it may include aggressive behaviour, social withdrawal, depression, sleep difficulties and nightmares, inability to concentrate, and difficulties in remembering things (Yule, 1998; Sinclair, 2002). If the horrifying impacts on children's growth are left unsupported or unhealed, the future of the conflict society as a whole will be severely affected (UNICEF, 2014a). Even if children are in a supportive environment, Davies (2004) indicates that full recovery from the horrifying impacts of war may not occur.

2.3.3 The Constructive Role of High Quality Education

Providing the right type of education is considered an effective tool for human development with transformative power from which all children and young people can benefit (Smith and Vaux, 2003; INEE, 2010a; UNESCO, 2014a). From a human rights perspective developed and promoted by UN agencies, achieving quality education is essential for realising sustainable development goals (UNESCO, 2015). From a social justice perspective which extends the human rights approach as Tikly and Barrett (2011) argue, quality education can develop learners' capabilities which enable them to become economically productive, develop sustainable livelihoods, contribute to peaceful and democratic societies and promote individuals' wellbeing. In this perspective, quality education "develops whatever capabilities society and individuals have reason to value" as Tikly and Barrett (2011, p. 12) put it.

UNESCO (2014a) describes education as a lantern that shines a light on every stage of life leading to a better life. Many authors who focus on the positive aspects of education including Pigozzi (1999), Sinclair (2001), Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003) and UNESCO (2014a) point out that education not only enhances human rights, but it also helps people claim their other rights by learning the obligations which they entail. Furthermore, some authors argue that education plays a significant role in reducing poverty and helping people avoid being caught in poverty because education improves the chances of getting prosperous well-paid jobs which in turns increases the economic growth of society (Bascia and Hargreaves, 2000; Smith and Vaux, 2003; UNESCO, 2014a; Save the Children, 2017). According to Smith and Vaux (2003), education equips people with the necessary skills, knowledge and values needed for personal, social and economic development.

To take advantage of the wider benefits of education and realise all development goals, UNESCO (2014a) points out that children should be provided with good quality education. Sinclair (2002) argues that the provision of good quality education is vital to facilitate the challenging task of rebuilding the disturbed society. Another significant advantage of quality education is promoting healthier societies through raising people's awareness of health, the ways to avoid diseases and how to treat them (UNESCO, 2014a).

Nevertheless, UNESCO (2014a) indicates that even though having a low level of education does not necessarily lead to conflict, it might be a contributing factor. Therefore, in the literature there is an emphasis on providing the right type of education which plays a major role in reducing and preventing armed conflicts, as well as healing their consequences when they occur (Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; Anderson et al., 2006; INEE 2010a; UNESCO, 2014a).

For recovery and building a better future, Sinclair (2002) and Midttun (2006) emphasise that offering relevant learning is a critical need in emergencies more than in normal situations. Nevertheless, there is a lack of a universal definition of quality education particularly in emergencies despite recognising the importance of providing quality education in the literature (Williams, 2001; UNESCO, 2005; Midttun, 2006; Vavrus 2009; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Box, 2012; Sriprakash, 2012; Alexander, 2015; Sayed and Ahmad, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2015). According to Williams (2001), quality is a complex term as the meaning of quality education differs based on the values and priorities of different stakeholders. Quality is a subjective term whose meaning is defined differently by different organisations (Box, 2012). Therefore, it is important that educators, leaders and national planners attempt to define the specific elements of quality, the standards and indicators which can be used for evaluating and improving it (UNESCO-IIEP, 2010).

To understand quality, for example, UNESCO (2005) provides a framework of educational quality which showed the various variables of education quality. Based on UNESCO (2005), there are five essential dimensions in UNICEF and UNESCO's approach to quality: learners, environments, content, processes and outcomes as shown below in Figure 2.3:

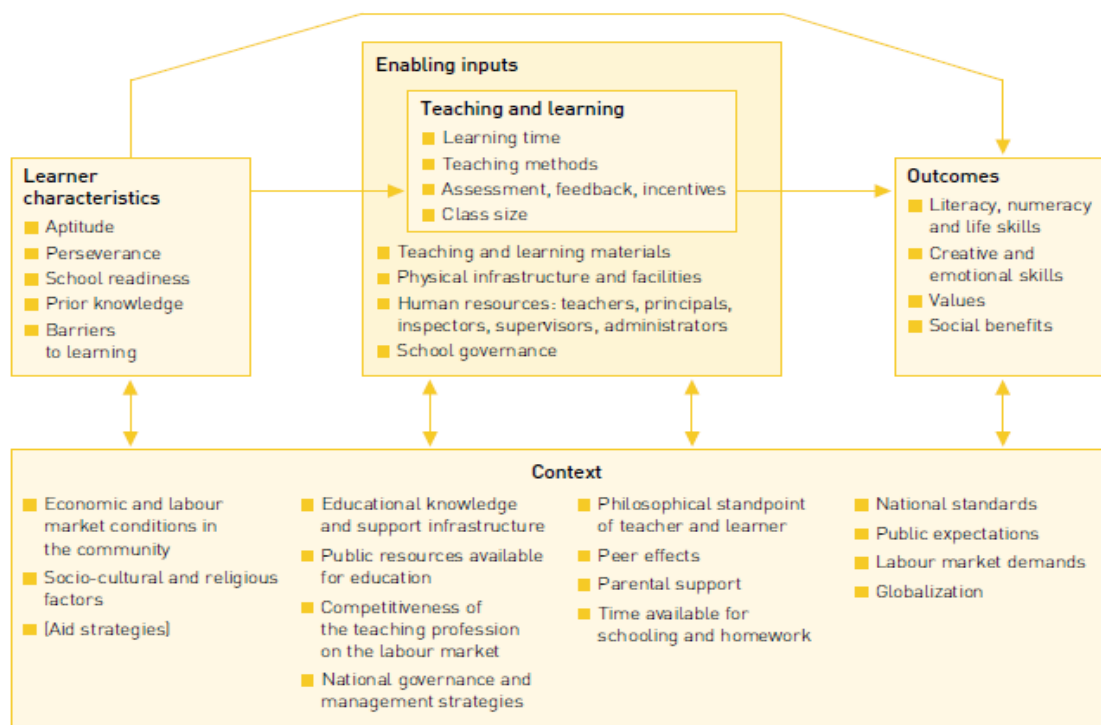


Figure 2.3: UNESCO's framework for understanding quality (Source: UNESCO, 2005, p. 35).

In UNESCO's framework, quality includes access, teaching and learning processes and outcomes which are influenced both by context and by the range and quality of inputs provided. The characteristics of learners and their capacities for learning, getting supporting inputs and their learning environments can all affect the quality of education.

Although UNESCO's framework is extensively cited, Sayed and Ahmad (2015) argue that its underlying notion of education quality remains contested. As a term, Alexander (2015) indicates that quality is elusive and loosely defined. It is even for Alexander (2015, p. 251) "no more than a slogan, offering limited purchase on what quality actually entails." Therefore, he indicates the need for a close examination of the description and analysis of quality. Defining quality and relevant education depends on the context; therefore, having an agreed definition can be challenging:

Relevance and quality can be defined in many ways. Relevant education would probably include meaningful knowledge and skills that cater for survival, livelihood, self-reliance and influence in the actual situation and environment. The definition of what is relevant will change when people move from home to exile, from camp to settlement or from an acute phase to the transition to development (Midttun, 2006, p. 4).

In this view, therefore, the relevance and quality of education change when learners are settled or displaced. Many authors point out that there are various influences and challenges which affect the provision of quality education in different refugee situations (Brown, 2001; Williams, 2001; Sommers, 2002; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Box, 2012; Mendenhall et al., 2017; Save the Children, 2017). For example, in refugee settings, ensuring the availability of safe learning environments is paramount (Williams, 2001; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). Learners' educational experiences are affected by their traumatic experiences and the availability of support from their families and communities (Williams, 2001; Box, 2012; Mendenhall et al., 2017).

The needs of refugees in camp and urban settings and teachers' educational experiences, qualifications and training vary (Sommers, 2002; Baxter and Bethke, 2009; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Mendenhall et al., 2017; Save the Children, 2017). Due to considering refugee camps as a temporary solution in emergencies, there is usually low funding for education which results in a lack of resources for teachers and learners (Baxter and Bethke, 2009; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Box, 2012; Mendenhall et al., 2017; Save the Children, 2017). Therefore, there may be a poor provision of school and classroom structures (Sommers, 2002). Classrooms may be overcrowded (Mendenhall et al., 2017). The lack of appropriate funding may also lead to school closures (Brown, 2001).

Bromley and Andina (2010) indicate that there is a fear of supporting education in emergencies because the provision of refugee education for example may attract larger numbers of refugees, create a sense of permanence among refugees and cause anger among host country population who may themselves lack access to education. Some aid agencies prioritise providing health, food and shelter because of their limited view of emergency relief (Bromley and Andina, 2010). Furthermore, there is a lack of coordination between the different key actors in the provision of refugee education which affects funding and results in inconsistency in the provision (Sommers, 2004; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Save the Children, 2017). In refugee settings, Sommers (2004) explains, tension and competition may arise between the different international NGOs who play an influential role in providing educational support and whose interventions may often be unregulated. Consequently, there are several influences and challenges which impact on the provision of quality education and lead to variations in different refugee contexts.

According to Sinclair (2001), supporting the immediate provision of education in emergency situations lessens the psychosocial impact of trauma and displacement and protects vulnerable groups. Children are vulnerable and they are developing mentally, psychologically, emotionally and socially, thus, any interruption may harm their development, affect the whole generation and makes it difficult to avert conflict (Sinclair, 2001). By attending school regularly, Machel (1996) and Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003) point out that teachers pay attention to children and their needs and identify the ones who require special help. Moreover, engaging parents and other community members in educational activities can facilitate building family and community cohesiveness again (Pigozzi, 1999).

It is argued education may offer protection because refugee children's various cognitive and psychosocial needs are met, their social skills, literacy and numeracy are promoted, peacebuilding and lifesaving messages can be conveyed and peaceful ways of responding to conflict may be taught (Sinclair, 2001, 2002; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Anderson et al., 2006; Smith, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; UNESCO, 2014b). All of these contribute to building a peaceful society (Davies, 2004). However, Sommers (2002), Kagawa (2005) and INEE (2010a) discuss the limitations of these views mainly because of targeting schools in conflict zones which, as I presented in the previous section, may turn them to unsafe places during conflicts.

The relative safety of school may motivate children to express their feelings and as a result help those traumatised recover (Davies, 2004). Besides providing a sense of normalcy, routine and purpose, relevant education brings security and hope to refugees' life when everything is unstable around them (Machel, 1996; Pigozzi, 1999; Sinclair, 2001; Davies, 2004; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; Smith, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Winthrop and Kirk, 2011; Chatty et al., 2014; Save the Children, 2014; UNESCO, 2014b; Watkins and Zyck, 2014). Regular routine can support children's development and their psychological and social well-being, minimise further psychosocial risk as well as help treat them from the trauma of violence (Sinclair, 2001; Sommers, 2002; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Kagawa, 2005; King, 2011; Winthrop and Kirk, 2011).

Sinclair (2001) points out that to some extent education can compensate for the lack of interaction between children and adults in the family who might be unable to accommodate their children's needs and support them, which are considered important for refugee children. Through positive interactions with teachers and peers in school, students' social skills are enhanced and their abilities to deal with life difficulties are developed (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008). Moreover, for refugees, especially unaccompanied children, education can be the sole compensation for everything they have gone through (Williamson, 1998).

Rapid restoration of education can help refugees benefit from the considerable advantages of education such as participation in economic development, preparing for reconstruction and bringing social stability (Machel, 1996; Sinclair, 2001; Save the Children, 2014; Watkins and Zyck, 2014). Through education; therefore, many authors argue that children link the present and future and their education becomes the aspiration for a promising future whether socially, economically and psychologically (Sinclair, 2002; Davies, 2004; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Watkins and Zyck, 2014).

To conclude this section, for its promising advantages, Sinclair (2002, p. 27) argues that providing the right type of education can be "an investment in solutions to crises, as well as being the fourth pillar of humanitarian response." The promotion of the right type of education should be encouraged to prevent conflict and support peacebuilding (UNESCO, 2011). In recognition of the paradoxical role of education in conflict, evaluating the content and structure of education which includes curriculum, language and relationships between actors have been highlighted (Tawil and Harley, 2004; Dryden-Peterson, 2011). In the next section I investigate quality education in conflict times as primarily promoted by INEE whose network supports education in times of emergencies.

2.4 Delivering Quality Education in Conflict Times

Many authors including Sinclair (2002), Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003), Midttun (2006) and Box (2012) point out that education in emergencies has special characteristics which distinguish it from education in times of peace because of the disruption which affects people's lives and education systems. The war impacts on the educational environment of a school community in a way which makes teaching and learning more challenging and

prioritises the recognition of psychosocial needs (Sommers, 2002). Children affected by conflict usually have variable educational needs depending on their contexts and experiences which requires variable educational responses (Baxter and Bethke, 2009). For instance, Baxter and Bethke (2009) add, some children are able to re-access formal education when available, some may lack knowledge and skills to enter at a level which may suit them socially and those who may have missed some learning time may not be willing to enter school with young children.

Education in emergencies as Sinclair (2001) argues, takes into consideration the conflict-affected children's psychosocial needs, develops their intellectual skills and raises their awareness of the dangers of certain diseases that usually become wide-spread in conflict time such as HIV and AIDS. In agreement with Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003), Winthrop and Kirk (2011) indicate that in conflict contexts, children need to develop their academic and social skills to support their prosperity and development. To use their term, children need "social learning" alongside knowledge of traditional subject areas (Winthrop and Kirk, 2011, p. 103). Therefore, ministries and agencies, and the international institutions that support the education of children affected by crisis are required to learn, value and apply a set of skills (Sommers, 2002). Creativity, adaptability, teachers' needs and capacities as well as enriching curricula and teacher training are needed in conflict times to meet the psychosocial needs of learners, teachers and their wider communities and address the violence in their lives (Sommers, 2002).

In refugee situations, the quality and types of education need to be prioritised, developed and examined together along with increasing refugee children's enrolment, levels of literacy and numeracy (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Smith and Vaux, 2003; Kagawa, 2005). The need for quality education is critical particularly in protracted situations in refugee camps to develop a self-sustaining population that can flourish in the future when it is possible to support durable solutions whether repatriation, integration or resettlement (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Box, 2012).

However, based on INEE's *Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning* (INEE, 2010b), ensuring children's access to education has received much attention compared to attending to the content of education, the teacher training and teaching methodologies, and the

evaluation of learning achievements which is too often unsatisfactory. The limited data available indicate that refugee children gain very little learning despite aspiring to achieve quality education (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Mendenhall et al., 2015). As I discussed in the above section, the major risk posed when education lacks substance, relevance and/or quality is contributing to intensifying hatred, causing new tensions and provoking conflicts (INEE, 2010b). Poor quality education affects children's enrolment (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008). Therefore, INEE (2010a), Dryden-Peterson (2011), and UNESCO (2011) highlight the importance of ensuring the provision of quality education in conflict times to provide protection and prevent conflicts as well as meet EFA goals.

In refugee situations, Sinclair (2007) explains, NGOs mostly support education provision because of locating refugee camps in remote rural areas due to the lack of space in local schools. In other emergencies, the international community usually supports the national government in restoring access to education (Sinclair, 2007). Based on the types, different stages of an emergency and the needs of the target groups, donors, agencies and educators supporting educational interventions use certain approaches and types of involvement (Kagawa, 2005; Sinclair, 2007). For instance, Sinclair (2007) illustrates that when lots of refugees arrive from a neighbouring country and are put up in camps in a remote location, schools are founded quickly in camps. Volunteer teachers from the refugee population often give simple lessons for young children using improvised blackboards and teaching materials. Upon getting security permits, international NGOs usually support establishing refugee schools quickly, in cooperation with the host government and UNHCR, and supported by donor governments. In situations of prolonged repatriation, Sinclair (2007) adds, developing a full range of education activities becomes needed as in the refugee camps of northern Kenya and Uganda where formal primary and secondary refugee schools were founded for refugees from South Sudan, Somalia and elsewhere, and funded mainly by UNHCR.

In the following subsections, I examine the *INEE Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a) which provides guidance in emergencies in five domains and *INEE Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning Handbook* (2010b) which supports attaining quality teaching in emergencies. I provide critiques of the Minimum Standards illustrating their limitations and challenges to implementation. In addition, I present examples of applying these standards to achieve quality education in refugee contexts worldwide as reported in the literature. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasise at this point, in agreement with Williams (2001)

and UNESCO-IIEP (2010), there is not one way to achieve quality education due to having different understandings of quality. The adoption of certain strategies to improve quality is based on the particular approaches of quality promoted by different organisations.

2.4.1 The INEE Minimum Standards for Education (2010a)

INEE is an open and global network of UN agencies, NGOs, donors, governments, universities, schools, and affected populations who collaborate to guarantee people's right to quality education in emergencies and post-crisis recovery with more than 15,000 individual members and 130 partner organisations in 190 countries (UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; INEE, Website). The inclusion of education and its advocacy in all humanitarian response are the main priorities of INEE (Anderson et al., 2006; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). Pushed by the need for developing the work of the network in 2002, INEE members who have implemented emergency education programmes for children since the 1990s such as the humanitarian agencies Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), the IRC, Save the Children, the NRC, UNHCR and UNICEF gathered and shared their understanding of "the life-sustaining and lifesaving nature of quality education" (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 2). The agencies also expressed their disappointments over the lack of coordination of their efforts, limited finding, the lack of standard good practice on which to base their interventions, and the demand for linking improved quality and accountability to advocacy (Anderson et al., 2006).

In 2003, a Working Group on Minimum Standards was formed. The Group facilitated a global consultative process which engaged national authorities, practitioners, policy-makers, academics and other educators from different parts of the world and led to the development of the broadly promoted *Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction* (INEE, 2004) which were updated in 2010 (INEE, 2010a). The INEE standards are available in many different languages such as English, Spanish, French, Arabic, Dari, Bahasa Indonesian, Japanese, Portuguese, and Urdu and have been used in emergencies as in Pakistan following the 2005 earthquake, and in the conflicts in Darfur and northern Uganda (Bromley and Andina, 2010).

The purposes of developing the standards are, as INEE (2010a, p. 4) argues, “to enhance the quality of educational preparedness, response and recovery, increase access to safe and relevant learning opportunities and ensure accountability in providing these services.” According to Anderson et al., (2006, p. 3), the standards are “the first global tool to define a minimum level of educational quality in a manner that reinforces the right to life with dignity.” Therefore, UNESCO-IIEP (2010) describes them as one of the most remarkable developments in the field of EiE. Nevertheless, as I will discuss below, the standards have been criticised in the literature and some challenges to implementation have been identified.

The standards cover five domains shown below in Figure 2.4 with a brief explanation of their aims:

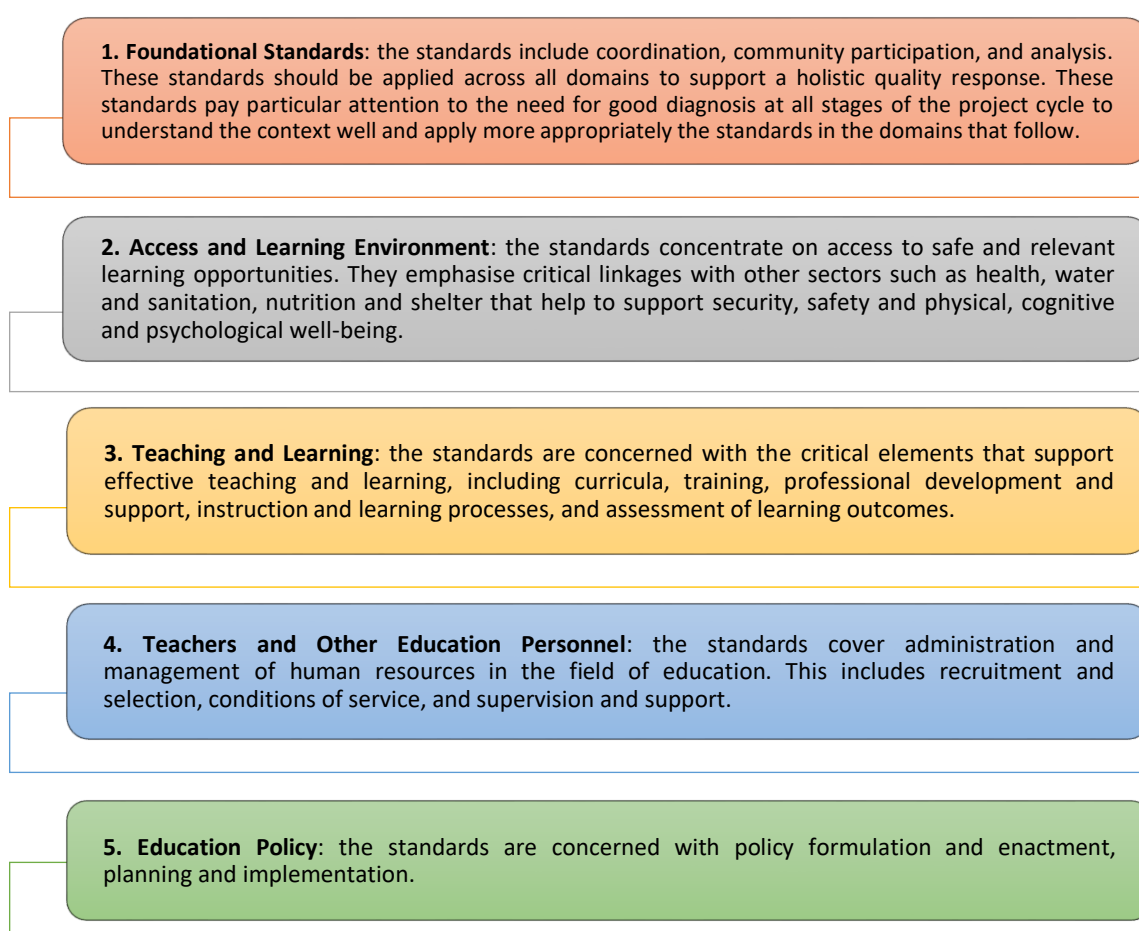


Figure 2.4: The INEE Minimum Standards Domains (INEE, 2010a, pp. 7-8).

The INEE handbook (2010a) explains the five domains of educational work, provides key actions which illustrate the specific steps needed to meet each standard, and identifies necessary linkages to other relevant standards or guidance notes in other domains to provide

a holistic view of quality education in emergencies. In addition, INEE (2010a) provides some examples of good practice in the field of education and emergencies. INEE (2010a) argues that meeting the standards is possible and the INEE handbook has made a difference in the contexts where it has been used:

Since its launch in 2004, the INEE Minimum Standards Handbook has proved to be an effective tool in over 80 countries for the promotion of quality education from the start of an emergency through to recovery (INEE, 2010a, p. 13).

Increasingly donor agencies have used the handbook as a quality and accountability framework for education projects that they assist (INEE, 2010a). However, INEE (2010a) indicates that using the standards depends on every local context so their implementations may be impeded because of some local factors, which is one of their limitations. In addition, tension may arise when universal standards which are based on human rights are applied in practice (Bromley and Andina, 2010; INEE, 2010a). Therefore, INEE (2010a) points out that adaptation may be required when the standards are applied in different contexts.

Along similar lines, Sommers (1999) and Williams (2001) recommend considering and adapting educational approaches to suit local contexts and warn against adopting prescriptive solutions in response to refugees' educational needs. In some contexts, applying the standards and key actions may require external assistance from agencies such as UN agencies and national and international NGOs depending on the ability and willingness of the relevant local and national authorities to fulfill their obligations (INEE, 2010a). According to Williams (2001) seeking external assistance may offer a broader perspective on school quality while developing the educational quality on site.

Based on Anderson et al., (2006), case study research indicates some challenges and criticisms of the implementation of the INEE standards in practice upon evaluating programmes in Uganda and Darfur despite reporting their usefulness. For example, Anderson et al., (2006) illustrate that applying the standards in the programmes in Uganda required specific guidance from technical experts at headquarters and tools to use and adapt the standards in local context. As for Darfur, although the respondents said that they used the standards, the way they applied them in practice was not clear. Another critique of implementing the standards in Uganda and Darfur which Anderson et al., (2006) point out

is the absence of specific guidance which makes the standards open to different interpretations and possibly affects the quality of the standard and/or its indicator.

In the same vein, Bromley and Andina (2010) argue that using general and flexible discourses in the standards to make them applicable internationally presents a challenge upon implementing the standards in local contexts. For instance, some terms are vague which makes them interpreted differently in different contexts as for instance the term “education authority” which was used as a flexible term may be to refer to government authorities and “vulnerable groups” which included different groups in different contexts (Bromley and Andina, 2010, pp. 584-585).

Based on INEE (Website), the minimum standards are not expected to solve all of the problems of educational response. Therefore, they should be used as a tool to back the effectiveness and quality of the educational support provided by humanitarian agencies, governments and local populations in emergencies. International NGOs’ use of the standards is voluntary, non-binding and often there is a lack of clear mechanisms for their implementation (Bromley and Andina, 2010). Despite the promises they offer, there are lots of challenges faced when delivering education in refugee situations that no practice on its own can provide solutions (Save the Children, 2017). Therefore, it is possible not to achieve the standards and key actions in the short term because of local factors (INEE, 2010a).

In response, INEE (2010a) advises considering and understanding the gap between the standards and key actions presented in the handbook and the reality in the local context. Realising the standards requires investigating the challenges, identifying strategies for change, and then developing programme and policy strategies to reduce the gap (INEE, 2010a). Therefore, effective improvement strategies are better developed on site in collaboration with stakeholders (Williams, 2001). A figure which summarises the domains and standards provided by the INEE (2010a) is shown below:

Foundational Standards			
Community Participation Standards: Participation and Resources – Coordination Standard: Coordination – Analysis Standards: Assessment, Response Strategies, Monitoring and Evaluation			
Access and Learning Environment	Teaching and Learning	Teachers and Other Education Personnel	Education Policy
<p>Standard 1: Equal Access – All individuals have access to quality and relevant education opportunities.</p> <p>Standard 2: Protection and Well-being – Learning environments are secure and safe, and promote the protection and the psychosocial well-being of learners, teachers and other education personnel.</p> <p>Standard 3: Facilities and Services – Education facilities promote the safety and well-being of learners, teachers and other education personnel and are linked to health, nutrition, psychosocial and protection services.</p>	<p>Standard 1: Curricula – Culturally, socially and linguistically relevant curricula are used to provide formal and non-formal education, appropriate to the particular context and needs of learners.</p> <p>Standard 2: Training, Professional Development and Support – Teachers and other education personnel receive periodic, relevant and structured training according to needs and circumstances.</p> <p>Standard 3: Instruction and Learning Processes – Instruction and learning processes are learner-centred, participatory and inclusive.</p> <p>Standard 4: Assessment of Learning Outcomes – Appropriate methods are used to evaluate and validate learning outcomes.</p>	<p>Standard 1: Recruitment and Selection – A sufficient number of appropriately qualified teachers and other education personnel are recruited through a participatory and transparent process, based on selection criteria reflecting diversity and equity.</p> <p>Standard 2: Conditions of Work – Teachers and other education personnel have clearly defined conditions of work and are appropriately compensated.</p> <p>Standard 3: Support and Supervision – Support and supervision mechanisms for teachers and other education personnel function effectively.</p>	<p>Standard 1: Law and Policy Formulation – Education authorities prioritise continuity and recovery of quality education, including free and inclusive access to schooling.</p> <p>Standard 2: Planning and Implementation – Education activities take into account international and national educational policies, laws, standards and plans and the learning needs of affected populations.</p>
<p>Key Thematic Issues: Conflict Mitigation, Disaster Risk Reduction, Early Childhood Development, Gender, HIV and AIDS, Human Rights, Inclusive Education, Inter-sectoral Linkages, Protection, Psychosocial Support and Youth</p>			

Figure 2.5: The INEE Minimum Standards Domains and Standards (Source: INEE, 2010a, p. 134).

As I am particularly focusing on analysing the processes of teaching and learning in conflict times, I will examine the standards in Domain Three “Teaching and Learning” (INEE, 2010a) and the *INEE Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning Handbook* (2010b) in the next subsection.

2.4.2 Teaching and Learning in Conflict Times

In the *Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning*, INEE (2010b) indicates that the notes describe good practices which are designed to help governments, NGOs and other education stakeholders plan and implement high quality education programmes in emergencies. As I mentioned in section (2.3.3), the meaning of quality differs from one organisation to another. Therefore, it is important to understand the way INEE perceives quality education in conflict setting. INEE (2010b, p. iii) defines quality education as “education that is relevant, effective, efficient, comprehensive in scope and participatory in delivery.” To ensure quality teaching, the four standards in Domain Three tackle critical issues related to curriculum development and adaptation, teacher training, professional development and support, instruction and learning processes, and assessment of learning outcomes:

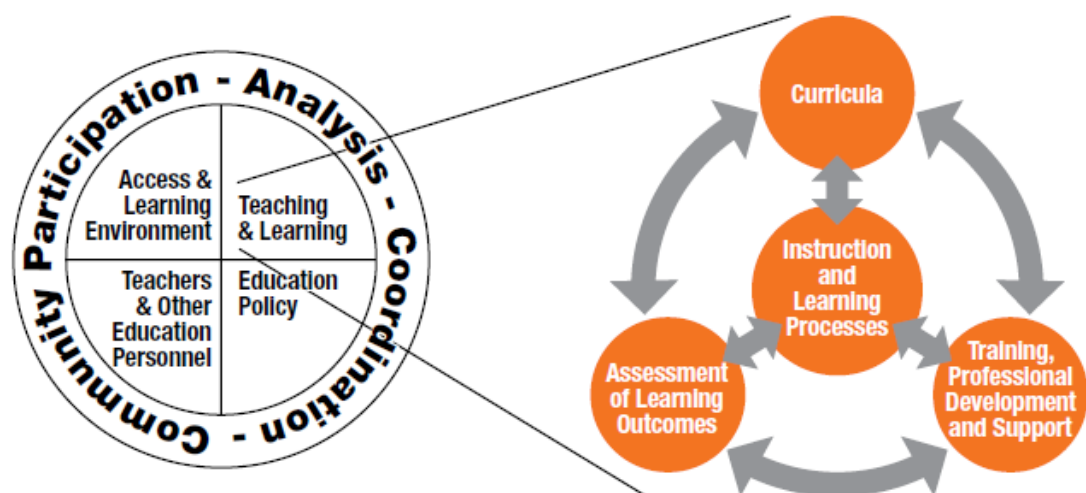


Figure 2.6: The INEE Minimum Standards Domains (left) and the Teaching and Learning Process (right) (Source: INEE, 2010b, p. iv).

As shown in Figure 2.6 above, INEE (2010b) visualises the teaching and learning process as cyclical. Each standard affects and enables the success of the others. Therefore, achieving each standard depends on considering the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats within the other standards (INEE, 2010b).

As INEE (2010b) explains, in the first standard Curriculum presents the relevant knowledge, attitudes, skills and learning outcomes that learners are expected to learn. In the second standard, Training, Professional Development, and Support for teachers and educators relies on expected curricular learning outcomes and their assessment, as well as the specific needs of learners. Regarding the third standard, Instruction and Learning Processes includes the interaction between learners and teachers. This standard is planned according to the Curricula and made possible through Training. Finally, the Assessment of Learning Outcomes is directly defined by and planned together with Curricula to make sure that learning outcomes are relevant, measurable and identify changing needs (INEE, 2010b).

When teaching refugees, the first important decision which education providers need to consider to provide quality education in line with the INEE standards is the type of curriculum used and the focus of learning priorities which may be highly controversial to define as Kagawa (2005) indicates.

2.4.2.1 Types of Curriculum in Refugee Situations

The first standard INEE (2010a, p. 77) sets to promote quality education indicates that “[c]ulturally, socially and linguistically relevant curricula are used to provide formal and non-formal education, appropriate to the particular context and needs of learners.” INEE (2010a) defines a curriculum as a plan of action used in formal and non-formal education programmes to improve learners’ knowledge and skills. It includes learning objectives, learning content, assessments, teaching methods and materials. Based on this standard, the curriculum should be relevant and adaptable to all learners. In addition, it should be appropriate to learners’ context, age and developmental levels. In emergencies, INEE (2010a) indicates that age and developmental levels may vary greatly within formal and non-formal education. Therefore, the curricula and teaching methods used need adaptation. Providing teachers with support to adapt their teaching methods to be appropriate to the needs and levels of their learners is also needed.

INEE (2010a) suggests that in refugee situations curricula may need review, development or adaptation, which is a long and complex process. The processes of reviewing the curriculum comprehensively require resources, national commitment, legitimate educational authorities, expertise in curriculum development processes and curriculum writing, capacity building for staff, and reasonable time to undertake reform (UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). The purpose of the review process as INEE (2010b) explains is to meet the needs and rights of all learners and their changing environments. Teaching methods should be compatible with the proposed changes to curriculum (UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). Freeing curricula from biases, conflict-provoking materials and ideologically-loaded content or integrating important thematic issues such as life skills which include health promotion, psycho-social support, conflict resolution, and environmental awareness are examples of immediate needs in emergencies (INEE, 2010b; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). Besides healing, tackling protection issues in curricula can promote peace and avoid provoking conflict in societies as Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003) believe.

To provide children with protection and initiate behaviour change, a large and growing body of the literature supports enriching curriculum during emergencies to include non-traditional topics such as various life skills, health education, safety, environment awareness, education for peace, conflict resolution, tolerance, human rights and citizenship (Sinclair, 2002;

Davies, 2004; Midttun, 2006; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; UNESCO, 2014). The reason is that, as Nicolai and Triplehorn (2003) clarify, education has the power of conveying critical messages that children mostly need at conflict time to protect them from danger and help them cope with conflict and make decisions. Learners need to actively think about what is happening in their lives to deal with conflict issues and curricula should be reviewed for bias and promote peace (Nicolai and Triplehorn 2003; Smith and Vaux, 2003). In this way, adding new subjects may contribute to achieving quality education (Midttun, 2006).

According to INEE (2010a), the review and development process should be led by accepted and appropriate education authorities. Some authors including Bush and Saltarelli (2000) and Smith and Vaux (2003) argue that modifying offensive content particularly in history textbooks during crises raises doubts about the subjectivity of such process. The fear is that the way other groups are portrayed and described in books may lead to conflict (Davies, 2004). According to INEE (2010a), recognised national primary and secondary school curricula should be used upon re-introducing formal education programmes during or after emergencies. If they are not, INEE (2010a) highlights the importance of developing or adapting curricula quickly.

As engaging learners and encouraging their school attendance depend on the relevance of education to their lives, UNESCO-IIEP (2010) recommends revising curriculum during and shortly after emergency to delete divisive elements and brightening it by adding relevant information that fulfils children's immediate needs, supports their development and teaches them good moral values. In refugee situations, INEE (2010a) advises that the development or adaptation process may be based on curricula from the host country or the country of origin. Sommers (1999) for instance, reports that with Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in Guinea a hybrid curriculum was developed. In other emergency cases, INEE (2010a) suggests adapting appropriate curricula from comparable emergency settings.

Education for repatriation, which became recognised in the 1990s, necessitates depending on the curriculum of the country of origin and using the native language as the main medium of instruction (Kagawa, 2005). The rationale for this approach as Sinclair (2001, 2002), Williams (2001), Kagawa (2005), and UNESCO-IIEP (2010) point out is that it is practical to use familiar teaching materials and languages of instruction, it helps learners re-enter their

own education system upon returning to their country, and psychologically it provides refugees with relief and gives them a sense of identity. However, as Ferris and Winthrop (2011) indicate, there are challenges to the administration and recognition of the national curriculum by the host country in addition to the lack of textbooks and learning materials. Sinclair (2007) explains that Mozambican refugees in Malawi and Zimbabwe in the 1980s used the Mozambican curriculum and textbooks supplied by the Mozambique Ministry of Education and took school exams set by this ministry. As a result, they gained the essential Portuguese language skills for reintegration into schools after repatriation. Since that time, encouraged by the success of this approach, UNHCR used education for repatriation policy based on the curriculum of the home country if this is acceptable to the refugees.

However, Sinclair (2007) indicates that South Sudanese refugees in Uganda and Kenya decided to adopt the curriculum of the host countries because they were similar to the previous curriculum of southern Sudan. The South Sudanese refugees expected a similar curriculum in South Sudan after returning to their home country. In Angola in 1995, UNICEF and the NRC offered educational support for formal schooling in war zones in collaboration with education officials in both the national government and the UNITA opposition by developing a 'neutral' primary education curriculum (Sommers, 2002). The programme was considered successful, but for reasons of security due to intense fighting the programme had to be stopped in UNITA-held areas (Sommers, 2002).

According to Sinclair (2001), using home country language and curriculum not only motivates refugee students to continue their education upon returning to their country but also employs the literate refugees as teachers. Choosing teachers from the same refugee community and providing them with training are considered signs of a good practice in refugee assistance programmes (Sinclair, 2002). Moreover, Sinclair (2001) argues that recognisable learning materials and teachers give students a sense of security and identity. Having teachers from the same community helps children develop a sense of normalcy as they are familiar with the language and method of teaching (Sinclair, 2002).

In most cases, refugees are not sure about the possibilities of returning to their home country and when (Kagawa, 2005). Hence, to pave the way for voluntary repatriation, INEE (2010a) indicates that curricula need ideally to be acceptable in both the country of origin and the

host country in refugee situations, which needs significant regional and inter-agency coordination, consideration of language competencies and recognition of examination results for certification for instance. However, there are possibilities of distancing successive generations from home culture when having curricula accepted in both the host country and home country (Kagawa, 2005).

Regarding the content of the curricula of formal and nonformal education programmes, INEE (2010a) advises enriching it with knowledge and skills specific to the emergency context. Identifying core competencies should be done before developing or adapting learning content and teacher training materials. It is important that life skills and key concepts are appropriate to the age, different learning styles, experience and environment of the learners and they need to promote learners' ability to lead independent and productive lives. INEE (2010a) stresses the importance of promoting understanding between groups in communities affected by conflict through conflict resolution and peace education content and methodologies which may offer communication skills to support reconciliation and peace-building.

When developing and implementing educational activities, INEE (2010a) highlights the importance of promoting diversity and equity of opportunities in ways that are age-appropriate and culturally sensitive at all stages in emergencies to recognise and respect the rights of others. Therefore, curricula, instructional materials and teaching methodologies need to be free from bias and support equity to include various aspects, as for instance gender, ethnicity, religion, learners with special education needs, multi-age and multi-level education, and learning capacity (INEE, 2010a; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). Support for teachers may be needed to adapt existing materials and teaching methods if textbooks and other materials need revision or develop if necessary (INEE, 2010a). Training teachers and educators to confirm the validity of the revised curriculum has been also suggested by Sinclair (2002) and UNESCO-IIEP (2010).

Meeting the psychosocial needs, rights and development of learners, teachers and other education personnel should be considered at all stages of emergency through to recovery as Sommers (2002) and INEE (2010a) indicate. Training education personnel to recognise signs of distress in learners and providing clear guidelines for teachers, education support

staff and community members on providing psychosocial support to learners inside and outside the class are required (Smith and Vaux, 2003; INEE, 2010a). Teachers and other education personnel may experience distress like their learners which should be tackled through training, monitoring and support (INEE, 2010a). For learners who have suffered distress, INEE (2010a) and UNESCO-IIEP (2010) advise teaching within a predictable structure, using positive disciplinary methods and shorter learning periods to improve concentration. Moreover, they indicate the importance of engaging all learners in cooperative recreational and learning activities. INEE (2010a) argues that suitable teaching methods and content provide learners with increased self-confidence and hope for their future.

INEE (2010a) points out that language of instruction may cause disagreement in multilingual countries and communities. Therefore, consensus between the community, education authorities and other relevant stakeholders is needed when decisions about language(s) of instruction are made. Teachers need to be able to teach in language(s) understood by learners and to communicate with parents and the broader community. In case of teaching refugees, INEE (2010a) indicates that host countries may demand that refugee schools comply with their standards, as for instance using their language(s) and curricula. INEE (2010a) highlights the importance of understanding the rights of refugee learners and considering their future opportunities to allow them to continue their education in host or home communities after an emergency. When displacement is prolonged, learners need to be provided with opportunities to learn the language of the host community to facilitate accessing education and opportunities and enable them to function within the host community (INEE, 2010a).

2.4.2.2 Training, Professional Development and Support

With the aim of providing quality education, in the second standard, INEE (2010a, p. 83) advises that “[t]eachers and other education personnel receive periodic, relevant and structured training according to needs and circumstances.” Ensuring an adequate supply of good quality teachers and retaining them requires providing teachers with training, constant supervision, compensation and certification (Dryden-Peterson, 2011).

Teachers play an integral role in providing quality education at refugee schools so providing them with good training to develop learners intellectually, psychologically and physically is one of the most important ways of attaining quality education (Brown, 2001; Midttun, 2006; Smith, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Box, 2012; Save the Children, 2017). As Dryden-Peterson (2011, p. 54) explains, in refugee settings sometimes “there is no building, no administration, but there is a teacher. It is these teachers who determine the effectiveness of refugee education.” Teachers play an influential role in conveying values, modelling behaviour and socialisation and they may have a role in building peace post-conflict (Smith, 2010).

However, teaching refugees is very demanding and often teachers are not trained nor prepared to deal with traumatised children and the troubles caused by trauma (Jones and Rutter, 1998; Brown, 2001; Mendenhall et al., 2015). Therefore, to improve the quality of education, Preston (1991), Midttun (2006), Sinclair (2007), INEE (2010b) and UNESCO (2014a) indicate that providing training opportunities for experienced and inexperienced teachers is essential particularly in emergencies because many teachers lack confidence, are underqualified, new to the profession, and are untrained in emergency response.

In refugee situations in particular, teachers work in difficult contexts and get the lowest levels of support, training, supervisions, materials or compensations (Save the Children, 2017). Teachers may lack motivation to teach in camp schools (Box, 2012). Teachers’ work with refugees may be stressing them out and they might be overwhelmed by the refugees’ experiences. As a result, they might experience what refugees have experienced; as for instance, feelings of isolation, fragmentation, anger and helplessness and require assistance and advice (Bolloten and Spafford, 1998).

Like their community members, teachers and their families are affected by the crisis and they have similar needs for basic services, stability and support (INEE, 2010b). In emergencies, as INEE (2010b) explains, teachers are often considered natural community leaders and so they are given additional responsibilities. Therefore, INEE (2010b) stresses the obligation of governments and practitioners to recognise, assess and respond to teachers’ personal and professional needs comprehensively to enable teachers to function as community leaders and instructors of future generations.

INEE (2010a) indicates that education authorities should take the responsibility for designing and implementing formal and non-formal teacher training activities when it is possible. In case the education authorities are unable to lead the training, an inter-agency coordination committee can offer guidance and coordination. According to INEE (2010a), training needs to be convenient for the context and reflect learning objectives and content. In addition, it should be carried out by qualified trainers and recognised, accepted and accredited by relevant education authorities to ensure quality and recognition of teacher training in the emergency through to recovery.

In refugee situations, education authorities in the host or home country decide whether the training is acceptable and adapted to learners and teachers' needs (INEE, 2010a). However, offering training for teachers is not by itself a good measure of quality teachers because improving the quality of teaching demands providing the right form of teacher training (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Based on Dryden-Peterson (2011), the training teachers mostly receive in refugee settings is in-service training organised by NGO IPs (who signed an agreement with UNHCR to implement certain activities) which consists of short courses of three months or less, commonly carried out during school holidays. In addition, long courses are often run during school holidays, but they extend for multiple years. The minimum recommended length of training for an initial period at the beginning of emergency is ten days, but Dryden-Peterson (2011) criticises this form of short training and indicates the need for a more adequate standard following the results of research which suggested prevalent failure to learn in primary schools.

Regarding the content of training and its methodology, INEE (2010b) highlights the importance of reflecting learners' needs and preparing teachers to address the changing needs of the context. INEE (2010a) provides some examples of the content of training illustrated below in Figure 2.7:

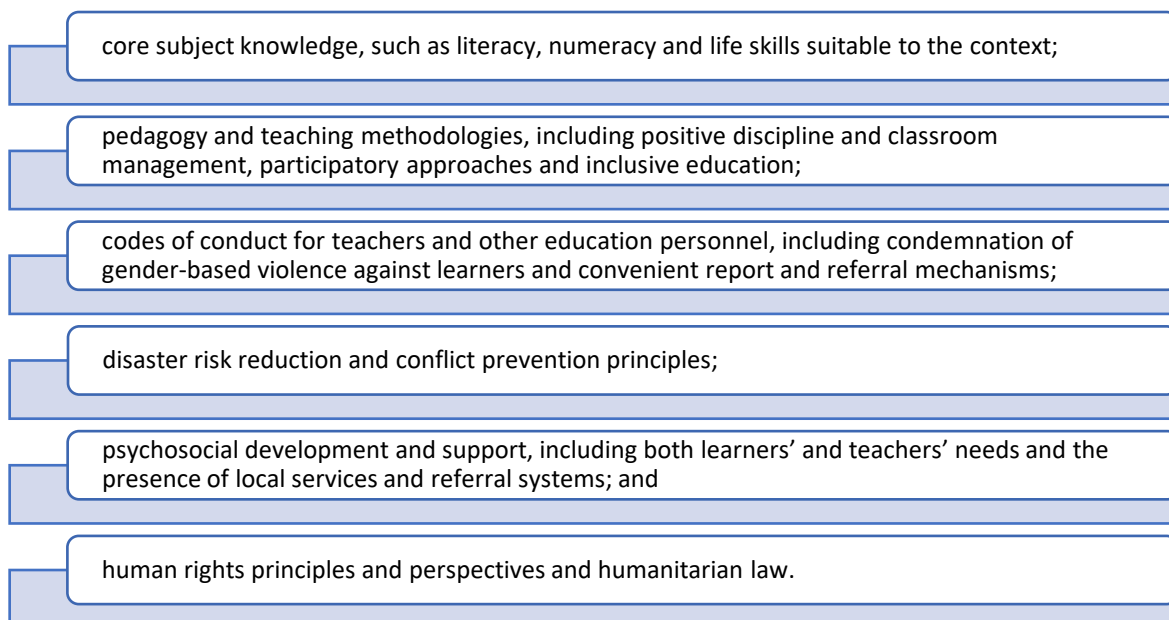


Figure 2.7: Examples of formal teacher training curricula and content (INEE, 2010a, pp. 83-84).

As INEE (2010a) indicates, training is not limited to include the above suggested content, but also it may include other content based on the context. According to Sinclair (2002), having a limited exposure to modern teaching methods may affect the teaching methods of trained teachers so they encourage rote learning instead of comprehension. Therefore, Sommers (2002) argues that replacing authoritarian methods of teaching with participatory ones is considered important in teacher training programmes during emergencies. In this way, conflict may lay the ground for positive change in teachers' practices by creating an opportunity to introduce a new approach to teacher training, which can facilitate developing the professional skills needed for teachers to teach effectively while accommodating the particular needs of children who experienced some traumatising events (Sinclair, 2002; Midttun, 2006).

However, Brown (2001) points out that there are contextual challenges which may impede teachers' attempts to implement child-centred methods. As I will explain in detail in the next section associating child-centred methods with quality teaching and promoting them as a universal pedagogy particularly in emergencies has been criticised widely in the literature (Tabulawa, 2003; Kagawa, 2005; Alexander, 2008a; Sriprakash, 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019).

In addition to having contextual influences which may restrict the implementation of child-centred approaches, the use of these approaches may not improve learning. For example, Dryden-Peterson (2011) reports the outcomes of a Save the Children evaluation in conflict settings, but not with refugees, following the provision of short courses of training. The evaluation highlights the effective role of the three-month training in transforming teacher pedagogy toward a child-centred approach in which teachers learned how to teach which improved their relationship with their learners as evaluated by listening to learners, helping learners deal with problems, addressing individual learners by name, and praising them (Dryden-Peterson, 2011).

Nevertheless, Dryden-Peterson (2011) argues that the training did not impact on learning outcomes. Therefore, developing a longer-term strategy for teacher training has been attempted to have a better impact on learning outcomes as United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugee in the Near East (UNRWA) has done in partnerships with local universities in Jordan, the West Bank, Gaza, Syria, and Lebanon (Dryden-Peterson, 2011).

INEE (2010a) argues that training teachers and supporting them continuously helps teachers become efficient facilitators in the learning environment, using participatory methods of teaching and teaching aids. Teachers need to be trained to identify needs for specific teaching aids based on the curriculum and they create efficient and suitable appropriate teaching aids using locally available materials (INEE, 2010a). To prevent conflict, teachers need training and support to provide them with information and skills which help their learners and their broader community avoid conflict and respond to possible hazards which may happen in the future (INEE, 2010a).

Maintaining the quality of teachers after emergencies is very important because as INEE (2010b) explains providing child-friendly education may indicate profound shifts in teaching approaches. Bringing about these shifts is hard to get in short-term cascade models of training. Therefore, INEE (2010b) recommends enhancing mentoring and support systems at the local level and providing mechanisms in the long-term to make sure that national teacher training programmes are always adapted to address the developing needs of teachers, schools and students.

2.4.2.3 Instruction and Learning Processes

As an indicator of quality education, in the third standard which is central to this research, INEE (2010a, p. 87) recommends that “[i]nstruction and learning processes are learner-centred, participatory and inclusive.” Teachers in conflict-affected societies usually adopt traditional authoritarian teaching methods, which some authors argue increase the sense of powerlessness that learners already feel (Sinclair, 2002; Sommers, 2002; Harber, 2004; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005). Williams (2001) argues that traditional whole-class, teacher-centered instruction, lecturing and rote learning are less effective than more participatory and varied teaching strategies in supporting the learning of children. Learner-centered approaches to teaching are advocated in emergencies as an influential element in quality education which support refugee children’s learning and promote their critical thinking skills (Pigozzi, 1999; Williams, 2001; Sinclair, 2002; UNESCO, 2005; Midttun, 2006; INEE, 2010a/b; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). I will thoroughly examine and question the broad models of pedagogy in the next chapter.

Nevertheless, the key points highlighted in the discussions about effective pedagogies are firstly, by promoting certain teaching methods in refugee situations, teachers are required to change their approaches “in a context of increased difficulties” (Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005, p. 13). Secondly, to address the various needs of learners and their wider community, INEE (2010a) advises using learner-centred methods. This has been criticised in the literature mainly for presenting learner-centered education (LCE) as a “one-size-fits-all pedagogical approach” ignoring in this way the local context (Tabulawa, 2003, p. 9).

In emergencies, the needs of learners, teachers and the community may drastically change (INEE, 2010b). Therefore, INEE (2010b) indicates that to provide quality education, carrying out a comprehensive analysis of the particular needs of learners, teachers, and their communities is a prerequisite. Still, it is argued that LCE can play a special role in emergencies as it can help facilitate psychological healing and avoid conflict (Pigozzi, 1999; Midttun, 2006; Schweisfurth, 2013). However, adopting new methods can be very challenging in emergencies particularly during the early stages and Tabulawa (2003), Kagawa (2005), UNESCO-IIEP (2010), INEE (2010a) and Schweisfurth (2013) caution that LCE should be introduced with discretion.

As I will explain in detail in the next chapter, there are many challenges to LCE implementations particularly in developing countries and refugee settings. Changing classroom interaction between teachers and learners may be difficult to carry out even in stable and rich countries:

Unlike supply of inputs and policy change, both of which can largely be managed from a central office, changes to the teaching and learning process require that teachers act differently, in ways that are poorly understood and difficult to bring about on a large scale, even in resource-rich countries such as the United States (Williams, 2001, p. 98).

There are several interrelated factors which affect changing teachers' practice, therefore, teacher training alone is not enough to improve quality if for example suitable materials and textbooks are unavailable (Williams, 2001). The process of changing the ways of teaching may be slow as Sommers (2002) for example indicates when reporting the results of evaluating the NRC's human rights education programming in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Furthermore, although INEE (2010a) promotes LCE and participatory learning, Dryden-Peterson (2016) argues that in countries of first asylum refugee education remains teacher-centered. Based on research carried out in primary schools educating Somali and Sudanese refugees in Nairobi and Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, lecturing is the primary teaching method (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Using new participatory methodologies is extremely challenging and may cause stress for teachers who lack support, materials and training (Kagawa, 2005; INEE, 2010a). Introducing new methodologies may also impact learners, parents and community members. Therefore, INEE (2010a) advises that initiating changes requires the approval, coordination and support of education authorities. Time is needed for the school and community to understand change and accept it. In addition, introducing change requires responding to the concerns of parents and other community members and familiarising teachers with new content and with changes expected in their awareness and behaviour (INEE, 2010a).

UN agencies particularly UNESCO and UNICEF advocate LCE because they are interested in translating child and human rights into their education programme as for instance the right to express views freely, children's right to education that supports their development, and

their right to take and give information (Schweisfurth, 2013). However, the attempts to relate LCE with quality teaching have been much criticised and Tabulawa (2003), Burde (2007), Alexander (2008a, 2015), Vavrus (2009), Sriprakash (2012), and Westbrook et al., (2013) among many others have questioned aid agencies' intentions for advocating LCE.

According to Alexander (2008a, 2015) and Sriprakash (2012), linking a certain pedagogy with quality or effective teaching is contested because there is no agreement on what makes quality teaching. Along a similar line, Schweisfurth (2013) indicates that the arguments which advocate LCE as an effective method have been used against LCE. For example, in non-refugee settings, countries which adopt LCE in their educational policy would be always expected to have the highest test scores in cross-national tests of achievement such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Schweisfurth, 2013). However, proving LCE effectiveness through improving learning outcomes internationally indicates having mixed results (Schweisfurth, 2013).

As I mentioned in the previous section, Dryden-Peterson (2011) reports that training teachers in learner-centred methods in conflict settings did not show an impact on learning outcomes. Moreover, Tabulawa (2003) argues that international donor agencies promote participatory learning for political and ideological reasons rather than for pedagogical reasons because it promotes democracy through education. Therefore, Tabulawa (2003) accuses aid agencies of having a hidden agenda for supporting LCE implementation in their programmes. For instance, favouring LCE may be to achieve economic, social and political goals rather than cognitive gains; hence, this pedagogy is not considered value-neutral (Tabulawa, 2003, 2013; Sriprakash, 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013).

According to Tabulawa (2003, 2013), aid agencies' interest in LCE is intended to support liberal democracy in periphery states and to spread capitalist ideology supported by globalisation. Similarly, while analysing educational reforms in Tanzania, Vavrus (2009) questions the promotion of social constructivist pedagogies by international aid agencies based on their promised cognitive gains. According to Vavrus (2009), there are various underlying conditions which facilitate the adoption of LCE. However, instead of supporting the creation of these conditions, international aid agencies only promote implementing this pedagogy in Africa (Vavrus, 2009).

Burde (2007) analyses the purposes of aid agencies' educational interventions including the INEE to understand whether they aim to control and/or empower those they support. However, according to Burde (2007, p. 56), "INEE and the education in emergencies movement is neither an exclusively controlling nor empowering network. Instead, they may serve both purposes, at different times, under different conditions, and a dichotomy may not exist at all."

Furthermore, Schweisfurth (2013) argues that aid agencies may have some hidden agendas and some donors make it clear that they intend to affect educational policies. Still, this does not mean this is part of a conspiracy. The potential social and economic gains LCE promises to bring encourage its adoption and governments might be attracted to borrow LCE from more developed countries as part of modernising their education (Schweisfurth, 2013). It is important to remember; however, the various influences on the provision of education I discussed in sections (2.3.3 and 2.4) above particularly in conflict-affected communities whose children and teachers are dealing with the trauma of conflict and disruption in their lives.

According to INEE (2010a), the teaching methods need to be appropriate to learners' age, developmental level, language, culture, capacities and needs. The teaching methods teachers adopt when teaching children affected by conflict should include predictable structure, shorter learning periods to increase concentration, and positive disciplinary methods (UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). Furthermore, UNESCO-IIEP (2010) emphasises that teachers' methods should encourage children's active engagement in learning activities, develop their critical thinking skills and be compatible with the proposed changes to curriculum.

As part of the healing process, children's imagination through different kinds of activities and play should be encouraged (Davies, 2004; INEE, 2010a). There should be lots of opportunities which actively engage children in play, support their development and encourage their interaction (INEE, 2010a). The learning environment, teachers and their methods should encourage learning and school attendance (Midttun, 2006). The learning environment may be very basic or well founded, but what is important is that it is supportive, inclusive, protective and safe to reduce stress, facilitate recovery for learners and their wider community and build their self-esteem (INEE, 2010b). Teachers' professional skills and

understanding of the content of the lesson should be visible when interacting with learners (INEE, 2010a). Moreover, the learning content and teaching methods should be sensitive to the psychosocial aspect of learners and help them build their self-esteem (Sommers, 2002; Kagawa, 2005). They also need to be understood and approved by parents and community leaders (INEE, 2010a).

Examples of developmentally appropriate teaching and learning methods which INEE (2010a) provides to ensure learners' active engagement may include group work, project work, peer education, role-play, telling stories or describing events, games, videos or stories. Finally, INEE (2010a) advises incorporating these methods into teacher training, school textbooks and training programmes as well as adapting curricula to fit active learning strategies into their instruction.

2.4.2.4 Assessment of Learning Outcomes

In the final standard, INEE (2010a, p. 89) indicates that “[a]ppropriate methods are used to evaluate and validate learning outcomes” to achieve quality education and promote accountability amongst teachers, communities, education authorities, organisations, and donors. Providing structured and continuous assessment of progress and potential changing needs of learners are critical for the success of education programmes (Preston, 1991; INEE, 2010b). Assessing the outcomes of learning necessitates measuring learner progress against identified learning objectives and benchmarks from the curriculum (INEE, 2010b). The content of assessments should be directly relevant to the materials that have been taught rather than a standard curriculum to reflect actual learning (INEE, 2010a). A fair and reliable code of ethics should be used to develop and carry out assessment and evaluation (INEE, 2010a). The assessment of learning facilitates gaining essential information to the teachers, learners, and parents or guardians and provides headteachers, inspectors, and donor agencies with indicators regarding the extent an education system is addressing learners' needs (INEE, 2010b).

Williams (2001) differentiates between four types of assessments. The first, which INEE (2010a) recommends, is continuous classroom assessment which facilitates getting feedback for teachers and their supervisors to improve instructional quality by understanding learner

strengths and weaknesses and whether learners are getting the intended curriculum knowledge. The proper analysis of information gained from this type of assessment, as INEE (2010a) argues, can result in greater learner achievement. Nevertheless, Williams (2001) indicates that classroom assessment is undertaken simply to grade learners rather than to improve instruction. The second type is class examinations which are typically done at the end of a school term to grade learners and measure the extent they have learned certain material. The third and fourth types of assessment are commonly combined: standardised examinations learners undertake at different points in the school career, and selection examinations used to select learners for higher levels of education (Williams, 2001).

INEE (2010a) suggests that teachers use appropriate and simple assessment tools and methods to assess learning outcomes. Employing a variety of methods is essential so that the results more accurately reflect learning achievements (INEE, 2010b). Providing teachers with guidance and training in the use of assessment tools to support their effectiveness is recommended (INEE, 2010a). According to INEE (2010a), recognising learners' achievement and providing credits or course completion documents are important.

Finally, the methods of assessment and evaluation should be fair, reliable and non-threatening to learners. They should be conducted in a safe and appropriate setting. Moreover, INEE (2010a) emphasises that the assessment and evaluation methods should be consistent and relevant to learners' future educational and economic needs. The frequency of assessment and evaluation depends on the emergency itself. As INEE (2010a) adds, the results of assessment need to be recognised by education authorities and in refugee situations gaining recognition of learners' achievements and examination results from the education authorities in the country or area of origin is required.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter I examine the provision of refugee education based on the EiE literature. I explain the complex role of education in conflict times. While exploring the positive and negative faces of education I highlight the importance of providing good quality education particularly at times of conflict. However, I indicate that defining quality is challenging because its meaning differs from one context to another. Defining quality also depends on

stakeholders' interests and values. Quality consists of different complementary elements which need to be examined and targeted at the same time to develop it. In addition, improving the quality of education depends on varied influences which differ from one refugee context to another.

In this chapter I investigate the provision of quality education as promoted by the INEE in refugee contexts. I analyse the INEE minimum standards (2010a) which plays a central role in providing guidelines for supporting education in refugee situations globally. Based on the INEE's international framework, delivering quality education depends on having appropriate materials for teaching and learning, skilled and well-trained teachers who use participatory methods of instruction, and assess learning outcomes using appropriate tools. However, providing less specific guidance which is appropriate for local contexts is one of the limitations of the INEE standards. In this chapter, I indicate that providing general guidelines which require adaptation may pose some challenges when the standards are implemented. Finally, I explain that associating LCE with quality education as promoted by the INEE has been criticised. This association has also raised doubts about the intentions of international aid agencies for promoting LCE in emergency situations.

This study will help illuminate the different understandings of quality education in the Syrian refugee context. In the coming chapters I will explore the various influences affecting the provision of quality education in the Syrian context. Moreover, I will examine the appropriateness of the INEE standards and their implementation. In the next chapter, I will thoroughly provide a review of the broad models of pedagogy on a continuum and their underpinning learning theories. The particular focus of investigation will be on LCE implementation in refugee settings internationally.

Chapter Three: Models of Pedagogy

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of the chapter is to explore the broad models of teaching and learning and their underpinning theories. Firstly, I investigate various perceptions of pedagogy and present its different dimensions. Secondly, I examine the two broad models of pedagogy on a continuum of practices: from less learner-centred to more learner-centred. While unpacking the strengths, limitations and critiques of these models, I define the behaviourist, constructivist and social constructivist theories of learning which inform the broad pedagogic models. Thirdly, I analyse the reasons for promoting learner-centred education (LCE) universally as a travelling policy in the context of quality education in peacetimes and emergencies. Fourthly, I investigate the critiques of LCE and the challenges facing its implementation particularly in developing countries and refugee contexts. Finally, I define the main principles of LCE which provide the conceptual framework for this study.

3.2 Understandings of Pedagogy

A survey of the literature indicates that the term ‘pedagogy’ is contested, defining it is complicated because of its complex nature so often the term is vague or broadly defined (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Ireson et al., 1999; Watkins and Mortimore, 1999; Westbrook et al., 2013). Pedagogy is sometimes used synonymously with teaching. As Loughran (2006, p. 2) puts it, pedagogy is used as “a catch-all term” to talk about teaching procedures, teaching practice, and instruction. However, Watkins and Mortimore (1999) and Murphy (2008) point out that there have been changing perceptions of pedagogy over time in a complex way, besides having a fluctuating status in different cultures. Therefore, understanding the definitions of pedagogy is important.

Watkins and Mortimore (1999) note that using the term pedagogy is less popular in English-speaking academic communities than in other academic European communities such as the French, German and Russian. Alexander (2004) analyses the reasons for the limited use of the term in England and points out that pedagogy has been narrowly defined in England to connote with the practice of teaching. Therefore, due to cultural differences, England has

been criticised for ignoring pedagogical studies (Watkins and Mortimore, 1999; Alexander, 2009).

Pedagogy was defined as “the science of teaching” or as only referring to teaching techniques and strategies in schools which Watkins and Mortimore (1999) and Hall et al., (2008) criticise as a narrow definition of pedagogy which relies on readers’ interpretations of ‘science’ and ‘teaching’. Watkins and Mortimore (1999, p. 3) provide a definition of pedagogy which identifies pedagogy as “any conscious activity by one person designed to enhance learning in another.” From Watkins and Mortimore’s (1999) perspective, this definition takes the learner into consideration while drawing attention to teaching.

In another definition of pedagogy, Alexander (2000) highlights the relationship between culture and pedagogy arguing that culture is a strong shaper of education. According to Alexander (2000), culture influences everything that happens in classrooms whether it was noticeable on the walls for example or invisible in children’s heads. In line with Alexander (2000), there is lots of emphasis in the literature on the importance of understanding pedagogy within the specific cultural and historical context where it happens (Tabulawa, 2003, 2013; Sternberg, 2007; Vavrus, 2009; Guthrie, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2013, 2015; Guthrie, 2015; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019).

Based on Alexander (2000, 2008b, 2009), there are many components which constitute pedagogy such as teachers’ knowledge, skills and values, the purposes of education, the learning processes as well as the interaction between teachers, students, the learning environment and the world outside. Alexander (2000, p. 551) argues that “[p]edagogy contains both teaching as defined there and its contingent discourses about the character of culture, the purposes of education, the nature of childhood and learning and the structure of knowledge.” Therefore, Alexander (2000) redefines pedagogy in a more comprehensive way which I adopt in this research. This is reflected in my methodology which embraces teachers’ beliefs, the learning context, and wider understanding of positive practice.

Alexander (2008b, p. 3) argues that teaching is “an act” whereas pedagogy is “both act and discourse”. In this perspective, pedagogy is a broad term which includes the performance of

teaching, the theories, beliefs, policies and controversies that underly, influence and explain teaching. Furthermore, pedagogy relates the act of teaching which is seemingly self-contained to the culture, structure and means of social control. Consequently, based on Alexander (2008b), pedagogy is not only a technique as it reflects the values of teachers and the values of their culture.

Alexander (2008b) criticises Watkins and Mortimore's (1999) definition of pedagogy which I have just presented above. According to Alexander (2008b), Watkins and Mortimore's perception of pedagogy which focuses on the learner is part of his definition of 'teaching' which excludes the theories, beliefs, policies and controversies from pedagogy. Alexander (2009) points out that as a field of practice, theory and research, pedagogy is multidimensional. Alexander (2009) stresses that pedagogy is related to the act of teaching, its policies, supporting theories, and encompasses the knowledge, skills, and values that teachers have and need to be equipped with to make and explain their different teaching decisions which makes pedagogy and teaching interdependent:

I distinguish pedagogy as discourse from teaching as act, yet I make them inseparable. Pedagogy, then, encompasses both the act of teaching and its contingent theories and debates. Pedagogy is the discourse with which one needs to engage in order both to teach intelligently and make sense of teaching - for discourse and act are interdependent, and there can be no teaching without pedagogy or pedagogy without teaching (Alexander, 2009, p. 4).

In Alexander's (2009) definition, pedagogy is not restricted to understanding what happens inside the classroom only because it requires an awareness of the interaction between teachers, students, the learning environment and the world outside. Along similar lines, Hall et al., (2008) define pedagogy from a sociocultural perspective to broaden the definition of pedagogy to include the relationship between methods and the cultural, institutional, and historical contexts in which the methods are used. This deeper and broader view of pedagogy as Hall et al., (2008) indicate, emphasises the identities which are valued, reproduced, and transformed in different ways as people participate in activity.

The implications that arise from the broader definition of pedagogy as suggested by Alexander (2000, 2008b, 2009) and Hall et al., (2008), which are relevant to the purposes of this research, are regarding the ways different models of pedagogy are perceived and promoted in different contexts. At the heart of the encompassing definition of pedagogy is

that what works in one context may not simply work in another context. Therefore, Alexander (2004), O’Sullivan (2004), Sternberg (2007), Vavrus (2009), Guthrie (2015) and Schweisfurth and Elliott (2019) argue that pedagogy is a complex enterprise which cannot be uncritically limited to forms of ‘best practice’ based on what is considered as effective methods in certain contexts.

Nevertheless, as I discussed in the previous chapter the International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) espouses the learner-centred model as a minimum standard in emergencies (see section 2.4.2.3). In addition, the INEE promotes pedagogical change in emergencies to the direction of LCE which has been criticised in the literature for various reasons detailed in the previous chapter. Many authors including Alexander (2000, 2004, 2008b, 2015, 2017), Kain (2003), O’Sullivan (2004), Barrett (2007), Cornelius-White and Harbaugh (2010), Guthrie (2011) and Schweisfurth (2013) argue in favour of using a combination of teaching methods whether in peacetimes or emergencies because of the complexity of learning. In the next section I examine the two main models of pedagogy on a continuum of practices, the learning theories which inform them, and their strengths and limitations.

3.3 Models of Pedagogy and Learning Theories

As Gipps and MacGilchrist (1999) point out, over the past years there have been remarkable changes in learning theories. To align with the shift in the views of how learning occurs, many different models of pedagogy have been developed (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Carroll, 2014). The different theories of learning suggest different roles for teachers and learners (Tabulawa, 2013; Hattie and Zierer, 2018). The two broad models of pedagogy explored in this research are the ‘teacher-centred’ models which are underpinned by behaviourist learning theories and ‘learner-centred’ models which are informed by social constructivist learning theories. These models are also known by several varying terms which I explain below.

In the past, the two broad models were viewed as dichotomous, but a few years ago pedagogical research abandoned the polarised views of pedagogy (Alexander, 2009). Presenting the pedagogic models as opposites oversimplifies the realities of the process of

learning and fails to consider the various strategies involved (Bennett and Jordan, 1975; Barrett, 2007). Therefore, as Carroll (2014, p. 41) indicates, “[t]hese models are not mutually exclusive but rather represent a diversity of approach that lies at the heart of good quality teaching and learning.” Since the primary concern of this research is understanding quality education in refugee contexts, this research is guided by the view of pedagogic models on a continuum with LCE as one end of a continuum in line with many authors such as Alexander (2008c, 2017), Schweisfurth (2013) and Mendenhall et al., (2015):

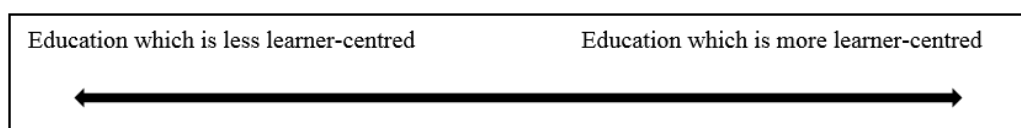


Figure 3.1: Learner-centred education as a continuum (Source: *Schweisfurth, 2013, p. 11*).

Viewing teachers’ practice on a continuum abandons polarising teacher-centred and learner-centred education to provide a more practical overview of educational practice. Along this continuum, a range of potential relationships between teachers and learners may develop, from more authoritarian to more democratic and at the two ends learners either have full or no control over their learning and the classroom environment (Schweisfurth, 2013). As Schweisfurth (2013) and Mendenhall et al., (2015) point out, with this continuum, teachers choose their approaches with greater or lesser ease based on the task they are working on and their education, training, and experience. Hence, any classroom can be described as more or less learner-centred at any given moment.

Although as I mentioned earlier the models of pedagogy can be used together to deliver quality teaching and they may share some similarities, some authors contrast the broad models to understand them (Elen et al., 2007; Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010). However, in Tabulawa (2013) the pedagogical models are contrasted due to viewing them as diametrically opposed to each other. In the following subsections, I will unpack the main models of pedagogy and their underlying learning theories indicating their strengths, limitations and critiques.

3.3.1 Teacher-centred Models

Surveying the literature reveals that there have been several terms associated with these models such as teacher-controlled, traditional, objectivist, or to use Bernstein's (2000) term "performance" models. As the term suggests, in a teacher-controlled class, the teacher is at the centre of the learning process. Bernstein (2000), who categorises the models as dichotomous, refers to these models as the performance or visible model because teachers' pedagogic control is clearly visible to the students as the teachers tell their students the content of learning and how they learn in a strongly structured lesson. Moreover, the focus of learning is on the specific output, the particular text students are expected to construct and the skills they need to produce the expected output or text (Bernstein, 2000).

Teacher-centred models are heavily influenced by the behaviorist learning theory which enhances teacher's authoritative role in class and whole-class didactic teaching, while it minimises students' choice and interaction (Tabulawa, 2013; Westbrook et al., 2013; Carroll, 2014). As a theory of learning, behaviourism originated from the work of Thorndike (1911), Pavlov (1927) and Skinner (1957) and prevailed in the 1960s and 1970s (Westbrook et al., 2013; Zhou and Brown, 2015). The behaviourist model of learning is influenced by the scientific laws of stimulus response and the use of trial and error (Westbrook et al., 2013; Zhou and Brown, 2015).

Success in learning, Zhou and Brown (2015) clarify, relies on the stimulus and response as well as on the associations that students make. Hence, teachers' role is to encourage the intended behaviour by creating a stimulating environment which places the attention in the learning process on teachers. Therefore, Liu et al., (2006) and Hattie and Zierer (2018) indicate that the assumption in these models is that students are passive, and teachers are required to look for incentives so that students react to stimuli and learning happens. However, in their study of life in Botswana classrooms, Fuller and Snyder (1991) argue that although Botswana classrooms were predominantly teacher-centred, pupils were not always passive and silent. Teachers may try to motivate their pupils and encourage their participation even if that means they depend on asking factual questions (Fuller and Snyder, 1991).

In teacher-centred classes, Zhou and Brown (2015) point out that rewarding the desired response is essential for learning to happen. For example, Carroll (2014) explains that models influenced by behaviourism reward students' appropriate responses by using various praise systems such as verbal praise, awards and ticks in jotters due to the belief that this is how students learn best. Punishments are also used to discourage inappropriate behaviours (Zhou and Brown, 2015). However, in Guthrie's (2011) teaching styles model, domineering teachers who enforce obedience using physical sanctions such as corporal punishments are called 'authoritarian'. Authoritarian teachers are different from 'formalistic' teachers as Guthrie (2011) explains in that formalistic teachers control learning and use negative sanctions as low marks, but they may occasionally offer students an active role and may be flexible in their methods.

Westbrook et al., (2013) provide examples of practices which models shaped by behaviourism usually adopt including lecturing, demonstration, rote learning, memorisation, choral repetition, and imitation or copying. In teacher-centred classrooms, the goals of learning are selected and knowledge is transferred from teachers to students accompanied by a strict control of classroom behaviour (Elen et al., 2007; Carroll, 2014). In addition, there might be some limited teacher-student and student-student interactions which are controlled by teachers (Guthrie, 1990, 2011). In formalistic teaching, Guthrie (2011) points out that teachers ask closed-ended questions in whole-class settings. Westbrook et al., (2013) and Carroll (2014) indicate that students' minds are viewed as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge. Therefore, direct instruction is the most common method teachers use in teacher-centred classes (Brown, 2003).

However, Westbrook et al., (2013) differentiate between direct instruction which is teacher-led from teacher-centred practices in that direct instruction often follows a certain scripted and even prescriptive sequence, but later in the lesson they may develop into more learner-centred activities. According to Mendenhall et al., (2015), direct instruction is one of the most important teacher-centred strategies in education. In a study which was primarily motivated by the prevalence of recitation, Clark et al., (1979) analyse the impact of teacher behaviour in classroom recitations. Based on Clark et al., (1979), using direct instruction is effective when used with an appropriate balance of questions. The study suggests that low soliciting which involves asking students only about 15% higher order or reasoning

questions can be effective in inducing achievement on both lower order and higher order achievement test questions for which only the teacher is the main provider of information.

As I have just mentioned above, due to the influence of the behaviorist theory of learning, in teacher-centred models, the teacher is in control of learning and what actually happens in class (Kain, 2003; Schweisfurth, 2013; Westbrook et al., 2013). In these models, teachers show their expertise in content knowledge (Brown, 2003). The teacher is the thinker and controller of what and how students learn, while students' role is to memorise information (Brown, 2003). The relationship between teachers and students is hierarchical (Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010). However, Guthrie (2011) argues that the hierarchical relationships may not be authoritarian as most of teachers are not violent or otherwise enforcing of their control. In addition, Carroll (2014) points out, these models promote the view of knowledge as something external and in their most extreme form the curriculum is developed as containing a fixed body of knowledge which students must learn. Because teacher-centred models usually follow a fixed curriculum and depend on transferring knowledge from teachers to students, these models are associated with knowledge transmission through teacher-talk, worksheets and textbooks (Brown, 2003; Schweisfurth, 2013; Carroll, 2014).

In teacher-centred curriculum, students' achievements are prioritised over meeting their needs (Brown, 2003). Assessment is exam-oriented, so objective tests are used to measure students' achievements (Brown, 2003; Westbrook et al., 2013). According to Cornelius-White and Harbaugh (2010), learning is characterised by competition and individualism. There is a heavy reliance on teaching content rather than focusing on the learning process (Brown, 2003; Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010). The outcome of covering content then is teachers' limited use of open questioning or work on problem-solving tasks (Brown, 2003). Therefore, it is argued that teacher-centred models limit students' active engagement in the process of learning (Kaufman, 1996; Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010). Furthermore, it is argued that teacher-centred models do not support deep learning (Elen, et al., 2007).

The main criticisms of behaviourism include disregarding students' individual differences and experiences and adopting the "one-size-fits-all" approach (Westbrook et al., 2013, p. 9).

In addition, Zhou and Brown (2015) and Hattie and Zierer (2018) point out that behaviourism has been criticised for its oversimplification of the complexity of human behaviour and disregarding the internal psychological or mental process in learning. Therefore, one of the limitations of behaviourism is viewing learning as a passive process (Hattie and Zierer, 2018).

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, several authors such as Sinclair (2002), Sommers (2002) and Dryden-Peterson (2016) point out that refugee education is mostly teacher-centered (section 2.4.2.3). Because of the many challenges facing teachers such as the increasingly growing needs of students, variations in learning styles, and advances in technology, Brown (2003) indicates that the use of the universal approach may no longer be effective. Along similar lines, Williams (2001) argues that based on research teacher-centered models are less effective in supporting children's learning in refugee contexts. Limiting teaching to drilling, reciting and/or imparting knowledge only may not possibly provide children with the cognitive challenge they need (Alexander, 2017).

Nevertheless, surveying the literature reveals that teacher-centred models still predominate in classrooms particularly in low-income countries and refugee contexts (Kaufman, 1996; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Alexander, 2017). The behaviourist learning theory can be used in different contexts (Westbrook et al., 2013). Moreover, the literature reports some benefits of these models for students and teachers. For instance, authors including Bennett (1976), Clark et al., (1979), Guthrie (1990, 2011), Bernstein (2000), Brown (2003), Zhou and Brown (2015) and Alexander (2017) have shown some of the positive sides of these models. While examining teaching styles using survey methods, Bennett (1976) suggests that learning in a structured environment may make students feel more secure. Alexander (2017) also indicates that drilling, recitation and teacher explanation provide teachers with security as they can control both the content of the lesson and classroom events. Moreover, giving power in class to teachers minimises the risk to teachers of exposing and testing their own knowledge (Alexander, 2017). Similarly, Guthrie (1990) argues that teachers and students may be comfortable with using formalistic teaching as a starting point in many situations.

Using teachers' expertise in the learning context is one of the strengths of these models which can be valued as Brown (2003) points out because of teachers' ability to understand the fuller picture and mastery of the content. Furthermore, teacher-centred models are considered time and cost-effective as the training of teachers does not require much theoretical base compared to the other models (Bernstein, 2000; Westbrook et al., 2013). Teaching in a teacher-centred class, Westbrook et al., (2013) indicate, requires having fewer resources including less skills and teaching experiences. Therefore, Guthrie (1990) suggests that these pedagogic models may be used in schools where teachers have to teach large classes, teachers do not have time to innovate and they lack good resources or facilities. Guthrie (1990) adds, traditional styles may also be more appropriate in many developing countries whose educational systems cannot deal with revolutionary change.

Guthrie (1990, 2011) provides some explanation for the predominance of formalistic teaching styles in some societies. Guthrie (1990, 2011) argues that in many educational and cultural contexts, formalistic teaching is considered effective and appealing although many modern educationists disagree with it. Therefore, the use of this model is appropriate in societies which consider respect for knowledge and authority as valuable and ritual as meaningful. In addition, Guthrie (1990, 2011) explains that implementing this model is compatible with formalistic teacher training, inspections, and examination systems so it provides coherence in many educational systems. Particularly with lower cognitive levels, Guthrie (1990) argues that traditional teaching is useful at promoting learning in primary and secondary schools. Moreover, according to Guthrie (2011), this type of teaching can support student engagement and lead to high academic standards that go beyond memorisation. To support his arguments, Guthrie (2011) reports the high educational achievements of Chinese students on international tests. Although Chinese students are taught in large formalistic classes, the teachers who control the classes are able to mentally engage students in an active way to understand the underlying meaning in depth (Guthrie, 2011).

According to Zhou and Brown (2015), some students may be motivated to learn in classes influenced by the behaviourist learning theory which can be satisfying for both teachers and students. Change in behaviour may be the result of students' work to satisfy their desire to get things which provide them with positive feelings and support from people they admire.

Repeated behaviours may help some students develop habitual behaviours which helps keep them away from behaviors they associate with unpleasantness (Zhou and Brown, 2015).

3.3.2 Learner-centred Models

Like the teacher-centred models, lots of varying terms have been associated with learner-centred models and sometimes used interchangeably despite the differences between them such as progressive, constructivist, humanistic, participatory, or democratic education, problem-based or enquiry-based learning, and child-centred learning (Tabulawa, 2003; Schweisfurth, 2013; Sriprakash, 2012; Lattimer, 2015). Tabulawa (2003) illustrates that the common themes uniting these terms are focusing on activity, the significant role of learners in the learning process, and being developed upon the social constructivist learning theory. The difference; however, might be related to emphasising different degrees of learner autonomy (Tabulawa, 2003).

As one manifestation of learner-centredness, another example of these differences is that child-centred education, Schweisfurth (2013, 2015) explains, is specifically about children and particular understandings of childhood and adult-child relations, while LCE extends beyond childhood. Furthermore, Westbrook et al., (2013) point out that child-centred education is informed by constructivist learning theory, whereas LCE is underpinned by the social constructivist learning theory. Westbrook et al., (2013) relate child-centred models to Bernstein's (2000) competence or invisible models in which teachers respond to students' individual needs and there is a lack of clear structure in the learning process as well as hidden learning outcomes.

As a theory of learning, constructivism originated mainly from the work of Dewey and Piaget (Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010). The difference between constructivism and behaviourism as Westbrook et al., (2013) explain is about the nature of knowledge. Therefore, they indicate that in constructivism, the mind is inherently structured to develop concepts and learn language. Based on the constructivist theory of learning, learning is an active and interactive process (Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010). Weimer (2002) indicates that students need opportunities to discover and relate information to their own experience regardless of their level of expertise. Therefore, students are actively responsible

for learning, making sense of input, organising information and adapting it to their existing knowledge or schemas (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Murphy, 2008; Westbrook et al., 2013).

In constructivism, progress in thinking happens through two processes: assimilation and accommodation of knowledge. When existing knowledge or schema is ready to deal with a new object, situation or problem, learning happens by a process of assimilation which means incorporating new information to pre-existing knowledge (Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010; Westbrook et al., 2013). However, when existing knowledge does not work, Westbrook et al., (2013) illustrate, learners modify their existing schema to fit new information through a process of accommodation. Therefore, models influenced by constructivism provide activities which suit students' developmental stage to develop their existing knowledge and challenge them to make progress using the process of accommodation (Westbrook et al., 2013). As Zhou and Brown (2015) indicate, instruction is adapted to suit learners' development level and teachers facilitate learning through the provision of different experiences. To develop new knowledge, discovery learning is encouraged in constructivist classes as it offers learners opportunities for exploration and experimentation with knowledge (Struyven et al., 2010; Zhou and Brown, 2015).

The constructivist view of learning emphasises less teacher telling and more student exploration of knowledge (Weimer, 2002). Unlike behaviourism which suggests that learning occurs by directly transferring knowledge from teachers' heads to students', in constructivism, Gipps and MacGilchrist (1999) point out that learning is a continuous process of knowledge construction. Learning is no longer a process of transmission. It is an active process of adapting and constructing knowledge which happens through interacting with students and teachers (Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010; Carroll, 2014). Murphy (2008) indicates that students' existing knowledge, how they acquire knowledge and feel about it are all important in learning. Nevertheless, Weimer (2002) argues that in this theory of learning less knowledgeable and experienced learners approach content in less intellectually powerful ways of thinking.

Carroll (2014) indicates that models influenced by constructivism offer students opportunities to engage in learning actively with their peers. Therefore, Westbrook et al.,

(2013) suggest that individual and group work activities focused on problem solving are considered suitable in these models. In addition, constructivist teachers nurture learning in a stimulating environment through providing hands-on and minds-on learning experiences (Carroll, 2014; Zhou and Brown, 2015). Constructivist teachers also develop new understanding through using concrete props and visual aids and providing relevant examples to facilitate understanding more complex ideas (Struyven et al., 2010; Zhou and Brown, 2015). The provision of relevant and real-life activities is favoured for younger students, whereas activities offered for older students include symbolic and abstract thought (Westbrook et al., 2013). In these models, Carroll (2014) adds, acquiring knowledge and skills is more important than covering curriculum.

It is important to mention that the constructivist view of learning is in line with social constructivism. The difference between these theories; however, is that social constructivists emphasise the social aspect in learning (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010). For social constructivists learning is primarily a social process and knowledge is socially constructed by using language and “cultural tools” (Westbrook et al., 2013, p. 10). Knowledge is not only discovered nor handed on, but also it is part of a process of co-construction as Carroll (2014) clarifies.

The social constructivist theory of learning has been developed from the work of Lev Vygotsky. Based on the Vygotskian perspective of learning, students’ development is influenced by culture and the social environment where they live (Carroll, 2014; Zhou and Brown, 2015). According to Zhou and Brown (2015), the cultural and social influences may be inherent or direct and they affect students’ beliefs towards learning, schooling, and the education philosophy. As a result, the social constructivist models emphasise that culture does not only teach students what to think, but also how to think (Carroll, 2014). In addition, Zhou and Brown (2015) point out that student-teacher relationships have a significant role in learning. Therefore, based on Carroll, (2014), discussion with others is central for learning as understanding knowledge happens through students’ collaborative social engagement rather than transmission.

The teachers’ role in social constructivist models is to design suitable activities and experiences which generate discussion and offer students chances to express their

understanding (Carroll, 2014; Zhou and Brown, 2015). Classrooms may often be noisy because of the importance of discussion in the learning process (Carroll, 2014). Moreover, Cornelius-White and Harbaugh (2010) and Carroll (2014) illustrate, in social constructivism all students can learn when they are supported within a zone of proximal development (ZPD). According to Vygotsky (1978), ZPD is the distance between what students can do supported by the guidance of a more capable peer or adult and what they cannot do yet by themselves. To construct students' knowledge in the ZPD, Vygotsky indicated that students needed guided support in learning.

In social constructivist classes, learning happens through engaging students in problem-solving activities supported by knowledgeable others as teachers (Carroll, 2014). The temporary support which students get when they need assistance is called scaffolding which may include a skilful mix of teacher explanation, demonstration, praise, asking focused questions, using prompts, hints, minimisation of error, practice and direct instruction (Westbrook et al., 2013; Carroll, 2014; Zhou and Brown, 2015). According to Cornelius-White and Harbaugh (2010), in scaffolding teachers purposefully provide activities which students can do without help and others which they require some support to be able to do. Examples of class activities which social constructivism encourage include small groups, pair and whole class interactive work, higher order questioning, teacher modelling, reciprocal teaching and co-operative learning (Westbrook et al., 2013). Therefore, Cornelius-White and Harbaugh (2010) and Westbrook et al., (2013) point out that LCE has been developed from the constructivist and social constructivist ideas of adaptation, ZPD, and scaffolding.

Like behaviourism; however, Vygotsky's social constructivist theory of learning has not gone without criticism. Zhou and Brown (2015) indicate that Vygotsky based his findings on observation and testing without doing empirical work to confirm them. Although social interaction is significant to Vygotsky, he did not specify the types of social interaction which best support learning. Moreover, some critics argue that learning can happen gradually or passively and not necessarily because of active engagement in knowledge construction:

Some children, regardless of how much help is given by others, may still develop at a slower rate cognitively. This suggests that there are other factors involved such as genetics (Zhou and Brown 2015, p. 36).

Another critique of Vygotsky's learning theory which Zhou and Brown (2015) point out is regarding the assumption that it can be applicable universally in all cultures. Rogoff (1990, cited in Zhou and Brown, 2015) argues that scaffolding may not be equally effective universally for all types of learning because learning certain skills effectively may be better achieved through observation and practice rather than relying heavily on verbal instruction. It is important to note that I will extensively explore the critiques and challenges of implementing learner-centred pedagogy which is informed by social constructivism in a separate section below.

Nevertheless, in the literature, learner-centred environments are presented positively more than teacher-centred environments because of the promising advantages the pedagogy claims to offer (McCombs and Whisler, 1997; Brown, 2003; Kain, 2003; Elen et al., 2007; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Struyven et al., 2010). According to Liu et al., (2006), the assumption in learner-centred models is that students are active and they have an unlimited capacity for individual development. Through inquiry and discovery, students are involved with the curriculum which is based on their interests (Mendenhall et al., 2015).

In learner-centred classes, McCombs and Whisler (1997) indicate that the different perspectives of learners are encouraged and respected. Therefore, McCombs and Whisler (1997) and Brown (2003) argue that these models respect learners' cultures, abilities, needs and styles as well as place them at the centre of the learning process. Westbrook et al., (2013) indicate that in learner-centred models teachers respond to students' emerging needs in class. In addition, students work on tasks individually or in pairs and groups to meet their needs (Brown, 2003). The organisation of lessons and learning depend much on teachers' ability to take advantage of what learners bring to class and their language use, which makes this pedagogy more complex and challenging as Shepherd (2012) highlights.

Murphy (2008) and Carroll (2014) indicate that the learner-centred models and their underpinning theories of learning have changed teacher's dominant role into a guide who facilitates students' learning. Therefore, the relationships between teachers and students are re-examined in learner-centred classes (Liu et al., 2006). The usage of teachers' directions and instructions is minimised, and interactive work in pairs, groups or in whole class activities is more encouraged (Westbrook et al., 2013). Learners do not only decide what to

learn, but also the way they learn (Schweisfurth, 2013). In addition, Carroll (2014) points out that in these models, curriculum is developed as a process rather than a fixed body of knowledge. The primary focus of teachers is on learning and outcomes (Mtika and Gates, 2010). Furthermore, Mtika and Gates (2010) add, teachers promote critical learning environments and aim to challenge their learners and encourage their creativity.

Because learning is based on dialogue, learner-centred pedagogy has been regarded democratic and has often been affiliated to “participatory”, “democratic”, “inquiry-based”, and “discovery” methods (Tabulawa, 2003, p. 9). The common belief in these models is that children are capable of taking charge of their learning if their learning environment is supportive (Murphy, 2008). Directing attention on students’ own potential, Murphy (2008, p. 30) argues, has brought in the idea of “individualized” pedagogy instead of whole-class pedagogy. In learner-centred pedagogy, McCombs and Whisler (1997) stress that decision-making in class is both informed and developed by the dual focus on individual learners and learning:

learner-centered perspective is one that couples a focus on individual learners—their heredity, experiences, perspectives, backgrounds, talents, interests, capacities, and needs—with a focus on learning—the best available knowledge about learning and how it occurs and about teaching practices that are most effective in promoting the highest levels of motivation, learning, and achievement for all learners (McCombs and Whisler, 1997, p. 9).

In learner-centred models, Westbrook et al., (2013) indicate that teachers are expected to share the same language and culture of their students, accept a more democratic and less authoritative role, and be skilled to organise effective group work and tasks and to provide skilful supported instruction when needed. Moreover, the arrangement of flexible grouping requires space and respect of students’ right to talk and participate in the learning of their peers (Westbrook et al., 2013).

For all of the above, the literature indicates that LCE is considered a complex and challenging pedagogy for several reasons. Firstly, as several studies show, LCE requires teachers and learners’ efforts, commitment and motivation for its success; secondly, it depends on coming up with learning opportunities in class and teachers and learners’ immediate response to them; finally, the increased expectations from teachers require more time for teachers to plan their teaching approaches, create resources and know their learners’

individual needs and interests as well as the provision of adequate teacher training (Brown, 2003; Shepherd, 2012; Sriprakash, 2012; Schweisfurth, 2013).

Modern LCE is derived from European philosophy and the recent advancements in countries such as the UK and USA (Schweisfurth, 2013). However, according to Schweisfurth (2013) because of his ideas on the liberating concept of education, Freire is believed to be one of the leading educationists who promoted the practice of LCE in different contexts. In his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire (1972) uses the terms ‘banking education’ and ‘problem-posing’ or ‘liberating education’ to refer to the two main models of pedagogy. Freire, who is a critical theorist and an adult educator, analyses teacher-student relationship and criticises narrative education in which teachers depend on filling students’ heads with the contents of their narration instead of communication and encourage students to memorise and repeat information. Consequently, education becomes merely “an act of depositing” which is why Freire calls this method banking education (Freire, 1972, pp. 45-46).

In banking education, it is assumed that teachers are very knowledgeable whereas students are completely ignorant:

Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence. The students, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teachers’ existence—but, unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher (Freire, 1972, p. 46).

Freire emphasises that education is used as a means of social control and which can be used as a means of social change as well. For example, traditional forms of education encourage students to receive information and store it without challenging it. This makes them accept their passive role in school and society as a whole (Freire, 1972). Disempowering students and minimising their creativity are in the service of their oppressors as Freire (1972) believes.

For education to promote social change and be the practice of freedom, Freire (1972) argues that the contradictory relationship between teachers and students should be reconciled. In

contrast to the banking method, liberating education views teachers and students as equals who engage in dialogue to make sense of the world around them (Freire, 1972). According to Freire (1972), true education is based on dialogue and communication which stimulate critical thinking. In the liberating concept of education, teachers are always ‘cognitive’ rather than narrative, and they are always encouraged to update their reflections in the light of their students’ reflections (Freire, 1972). As for students, they are no longer passive listeners. They are critical thinkers who through dialogue with their teachers co-investigate reality, (Freire, 1972).

Liberating education, as Freire (1972) points out, is based on creativity, continuous reflection and action which correspond to the true nature of human beings. Unlike banking education which stresses permanence and the fatalistic perception of reality, liberating education considers these a problem as it rejects having a pre-planned future. Hence, Freire (1972, p. 57) considers this method as “revolutionary futurity” and “prophetic” in a way that it is agreement with the historical nature of human beings. It is a humanist and liberating method based on dialogue and it advocates overcoming authoritarianism all of which are against the interests of the oppressors (Freire, 1972).

The reasons for supporting the use of learner-centred models both in peacetimes and emergencies will be examined in the next section.

3.4 Advocating Learner-centred Education in Peacetimes and Emergencies

The movement to LCE has been widely promoted universally and supporting its adoption has been often associated with calls for pedagogic reforms to improve the quality of education particularly in many Education For All (EFA) settings (Tabulawa, 2003; UNESCO, 2005; Alexander, 2008a; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Sriprakash, 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Schweisfurth and Elliott 2019). According to Schweisfurth (2013, 2015), the main principles of quality education developed by international aid agencies particularly the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) are in line with LCE principles. Therefore, international

aid agencies perceive LCE as ‘best practice’ and endorse its implementation in developing countries to improve the quality of education (Tabulawa, 2003; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Lattimer, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2015).

As I discussed in Chapter Two, the INEE Minimum Standards for Education (2010a) supports implementing LCE as part of delivering quality education in emergencies (see section 2.4.2). Therefore, international aid agencies recommend employing LCE in refugee contexts arguing that this pedagogical approach develops refugee children’s learning, responds to their varying needs, facilitates psychological healing and promotes their critical thinking skills (Pigozzi, 1999; Williams, 2001; Sinclair, 2002; Midttun, 2006; INEE, 2010b; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010).

However, as I highlighted in the previous chapter, defining quality education is challenging, associating certain pedagogies with quality such as LCE has been widely criticised and the intentions of aid agencies for supporting LCE in emergencies have been questioned (see sections 2.3.3 and 2.4.2.3). Furthermore, as I will explore in the next section, like teacher-centred models, learner-centred models have limitations and the literature reveals many criticisms of LCE as a concept and a policy as well as challenges to its implementation internationally particularly in developing countries and refugee contexts (Brown, 2001; Williams, 2001; Sommers, 2002; Tabulawa, 2003, 2013; Kagawa, 2005; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2013; Jordan et al., 2014; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Stott, 2018; Brinkmann, 2019; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019).

In her extensive review of research on LCE reforms internationally, Schweisfurth (2013) explores LCE as a concept and its implementation in school settings in different contexts world-wide. Schweisfurth (2013) explains the arguments of LCE proponents to encourage the adoption of this pedagogical approach which correspond with the views about LCE’s social, economic and political intentions through education. Schweisfurth (2013) highlights three main overlapping narratives that LCE proponents use to justify incorporating LCE into educational policy and advocate teachers to adopt it. These are: the cognitive, the preparatory, and the emancipatory narratives.

Based on Schweisfurth (2013), the cognitive view argues that when people take charge of their own learning, they become more motivated to learn and they learn effectively. The effectiveness of learning is the main focus of the cognitive perspective. This argument is set within the social constructivist view of teaching; that is, people learn better when they construct meaning through social interaction with others (Schweisfurth, 2013). Nevertheless, as I detailed in the above section, the social constructivist theory has been criticised because some learning may happen passively and gradually (Zhou and Brown, 2015). Applying this learning theory may not be equally appropriate in all contexts internationally due to the various underlying influences on pedagogy such as culture, curriculum, assessment, teachers and students' beliefs about learning, the quality of teacher education and organisational constraints (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Watkins and Mortimore, 1999; Alexander, 2000; O'Sullivan, 2004; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2013; Tabulawa, 2013; Westbrook et al., 2013; Zhou and Brown, 2015; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019). I will provide a detailed examination of the influences which may restrict the implementation of LCE in the next section.

The second argument used by promoters of LCE is the preparatory perspective which is related to economic development (Vavrus, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2013). According to Schweisfurth (2013), proponents of LCE argue that LCE equips learners with the knowledge and skills needed for the present and future life as economic development requires open-mindedness and critical thinking skills to accompany life changes. Life and the nature of knowledge keep changing so people require more flexible and personal forms of learning and metacognitive skills which are nurtured by LCE. Therefore, Schweisfurth (2013) indicates that, by supporting diversity which denies having fixed bodies of knowledge and responding to learners' diverse needs and priorities, it is believed that LCE makes people ready for the post-modern life.

As for the emancipatory narrative, Schweisfurth (2013) points out that the primary focus is on freeing people from the controls of their oppressors who use pedagogical approaches which inhibit their thinking, diminish their hopes, and keep them ruled by their oppressors. The goal of LCE within this perspective is to nurture the knowledge, skills and attitudes that prepare learners for democratic societies (Vavrus, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2013). The emancipatory argument, according to Schweisfurth (2013), is an example of using education as a means of social change. An example of a country which has experienced transition from

apartheid regime to democracy and adopted LCE as a policy weapon against injustice in South Africa.

Because constructivist pedagogy is believed to support democracy, many LCE principles used by the UN and other international aid agencies are situated within the emancipatory argument (Schweisfurth, 2013; Tabulawa, 2013). However, as I indicated in the previous chapter, several authors express doubts about the intentions behind international aid agencies' promotion of LCE (Tabulawa, 2003; Vavrus, 2009; Sriprakash, 2012; Westbrook et al., 2013). For instance, Tabulawa (2003) argues that promoting LCE is not intended to achieve pedagogical gains but rather political and ideological gains.

The use of education as a means of social change is at the heart of critical pedagogy which originated from Freire's theory presented in the above section (Weimer, 2002; Westbrook et al., 2013). Therefore, using cooperative and transformative rather than teacher-centred education to support social justice and power is based on critical and social justice pedagogy (Cornelius-White and Harbaugh, 2010). According to Tabulawa (2003), adopting a certain pedagogy as a political instrument is usual since education itself is a political activity. In this way, following authoritarian or democratic pedagogies may either support or challenge the political systems (Tabulawa, 2003). Along a similar line, Sriprakash (2012) points out the colonial state use of a tightly controlled pedagogy which inhibits students' critical thinking to keep social order. The 'colonial legacies' common in Indian education nowadays are, as Sriprakash (2012) indicates, rote learning, moral instruction and depending on textbooks.

Despite the promises and desirability of LCE, surveying the literature reveals critiques of this pedagogy and implementation difficulties in different contexts internationally particularly in developing countries and refugee contexts (McCombs and Whisler, 1997; Williams, 2001; Brown, 2003; Kain, 2003; Tabulawa, 2003; O'Sullivan, 2004; Kagawa, 2005; Deakin Crick and McCombs, 2006; Elen et al., 2007; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Shepherd, 2012; Sriprakash, 2012; Schweisfurth, 2013; Lattimer, 2015; Mendenhall, 2015; Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Stott, 2018; Brinkmann, 2019; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019). In the next section, I will analyse examples of the critiques, influences and challenges which may restrict using LCE in practice. It is important to mention that examining LCE implementation difficulties in developing countries is relevant to the purposes of this

research which is primarily focused on refugee contexts because Syria is a developing country.

3.5 Critiques of Learner-centred Education and Implementation Challenges

One of the main critiques of LCE which several authors have raised is the problem of its definition (Bennett and Jordan, 1975; Kain, 2003; Schweisfurth, 2013; Thompson, 2013; Lattimer, 2015). Schweisfurth (2013) argues that LCE is a vague and loosely used term, which has affected understanding and using this model of education. Along a similar line, Thompson (2013) and Lattimer (2015) indicate that the literature suggests different interpretations of LCE and the term has been associated with various related terms such as those I mentioned above in section (3.3.2). As a result, Schweisfurth (2015) cautions that to explain policy or practice anything might be called learner-centred which may make the meaning of the comprehensive term unclear.

In addition to the lack of a clear definition of LCE, critics of this pedagogic model argue that there are many complex issues which affect LCE implementation; therefore, numerous studies question its appropriateness globally in all situations as the ‘best practice’ particularly in developing countries and refugee contexts (Brown, 2001; Tabulawa, 2003, 2013; O’Sullivan, 2004; Alexander, 2008b, 2009; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Guthrie, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2013; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Stott, 2018; Brinkmann, 2019; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019).

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (section 3.2), many authors including Alexander (2000), Sternberg (2007), Vavrus (2009) and Guthrie (2011, 2015) argue that culture is a powerful shaper of education. Therefore, Sternberg (2007) highlights that understanding pedagogy and the goals of education should be only within their cultural contexts. Examples of other factors which comprise pedagogy and affect LCE implementation whether in developing countries or refugee contexts include the availability of resources, having enough support and monitoring strategies, having time to innovate, class size, teacher-learner relationship, the quality of teacher education and training, teachers and

learners' beliefs about teaching and learning, teachers and learners' motivation and experiences, curriculum and assessment and government policies (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Williams, 2001; Kain, 2003; Kagawa, 2005; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Guthrie, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2013, 2015; Westbrook et al., 2013; Lattimer, 2015; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Brinkmann, 2019).

According to Sternberg (2007), when students learn in a way which is in harmony with their culture, this positively affects their school performance. For example, Schweisfurth (2013) explains that as part of their cultural beliefs, learners in some contexts do not question their teachers as a sign of respect and showing loyalty. Therefore, introducing pedagogy which challenges teachers, learners and parents' cultural beliefs may be met with resistance (Schweisfurth, 2013; Westbrook et al., 2013). Applying a new pedagogy in any context requires considering its relevance in the existing national, institutional and professional culture and adapting it to suit the local context otherwise there will be implementation difficulties (Sternberg, 2007; Schweisfurth, 2013, 2015).

Based on Schweisfurth (2013), the local context affects LCE interpretation and implementation. For example, in different contexts, LCE might be represented differently or it might take different shapes which may result in tensions upon transferring ideas or materials uncritically from one context to another. As evidenced by various studies, the history of LCE suggests that there have been lots of challenges in implementing LCE internationally because of cultural factors (Guthrie, 1990, 2011; Brown, 2001; Tabulawa, 2003, 2013; O'Sullivan, 2004; Vavrus, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2011, 2013; Lattimer, 2015; Stott, 2018; Brinkmann, 2019; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019).

As Schweisfurth (2013) illustrates, LCE reduces teacher control in class and gives students more control over their learning affecting consequently adult-child power relationships which are profoundly shaped by cultural expectations. In addition, O'Sullivan (2004) indicates that LCE encourages questioning and exploration as it aims to promote children's critical skills. However, in some contexts, for cultural reasons, there might be reservations about reducing and questioning teacher authority because they are not accepted by teachers, learners, parents and their community as a whole (Schweisfurth, 2013). For example, Brown (2001) points out the difficulty of applying LCE in Bhutan's refugee schools since culture

and religion strongly impact people's lives. Education has religious significance, learning is respected, teachers are revered as religious leaders and schools are respected as temples by the community. Therefore, Brown (2001) explains that the Bhutanese culture fosters traditional forms of teaching by which students do not question teachers and listen to them respectfully which made it difficult for teachers to implement learner-centred methods in refugee classes.

Along similar lines, Westbrook et al., (2013) report LCE implementation difficulties in studies from East Africa, India and Burma due to challenging cultural beliefs about teacher's role in class. In Namibia, O'Sullivan (2004) also indicates that the Namibian culture does not encourage children to question adults. Therefore, O'Sullivan (2004) argues that the LCE is not appropriate in the Namibian culture. Several authors such as Tabulawa (2003, 2013), O'Sullivan (2004) and Guthrie (2011) argue that LCE is a Western approach which may not be appropriate in all contexts. Therefore, these authors doubt the relevance of LCE across the world particularly in developing countries.

According to O'Sullivan (2004), LCE has been developed in the West and it better suits the Western focus on the individual. The progressive values that LCE promote may have culturally unacceptable influences (Guthrie, 2011). Individual differences in learning which vary between cultures and the way teachers manage them in class can be barriers to applying LCE in some contexts (Schweisfurth, 2013). As a result, several authors including Alexander (2000, 2008a/b, 2009), Tabulawa (2003, 2013), O'Sullivan (2004), Sternberg (2007) and Vavrus (2009) warn against transferring what is considered a successful pedagogy in one context to another without determining its appropriateness in the target context. Similarly, Brinkmann (2019) argues that implementing the western model of LCE requires an alignment with teachers' underlying beliefs otherwise it will be met with resistance. Based on Brinkmann (2019), the principles of LCE are incompatible with teachers' cultural beliefs in India which is one of the main challenges to LCE implementation.

Williams (2001) argues that bringing about changes to teaching and learning demands that teachers teach in different ways which are not well understood and difficult to achieve even in resource-rich countries. O'Sullivan (2004) explains that LCE implementation demands having well-qualified and experienced teachers. In addition, to become aware of and attend

to various learning needs, styles and preferences, LCE expects teachers to develop rich teaching repertoires which enable them to guide learners and requires having certain classroom arrangements, enough time, several resources, some materials, guides, equipment and small class sizes as well as training for teachers all of which may make this pedagogy an expensive option in developing countries whose classes are usually under-sourced, have a big number of students and teachers are poorly trained (Guthrie, 1990; O'Sullivan, 2004; Kagawa, 2005; Schweisfurth, 2011; Sriprakash, 2012). As an example, O'Sullivan (2004) reports the challenges to implementing LCE in Namibia because of contextual constraints such as the unavailability of the demands that LCE require. Sriprakash (2012) also points out the difficulties of training teachers and the lack of resources in the global south upon analysing pedagogical change towards LCE there.

Brinkmann (2019) indicates that implementing LCE requires having a systematic alignment between pedagogy, curriculum and assessment and the provision of high quality teacher education programmes which are unavailable in the Indian context. Besides having contextual constraints such as the lack of resources and large class sizes, Brinkmann (2019) argues that the curricula, textbooks, examinations and teacher supervision systems are often in conflict with LCE prospects. According to Schweisfurth (2013), having a fixed curriculum which is framed in behaviorist ways challenges applying LCE since LCE is based on learning through negotiating information which is not static. Therefore, the nature of curriculum and how flexible it is taught and described affect the success of LCE implementation. Furthermore, even when teachers have some freedom in teaching the prescribed curriculum, pressures from content-driven assessment can inhibit the successful implementation of LCE as Vavrus (2009) and Schweisfurth (2013) indicate. Mtika and Gates (2010) also show that teachers in Malawi face similar challenges when implementing LCE because the education system is exam-oriented.

Despite offering training for teachers in using LCE, in Brinkmann's (2019) study of 60 government primary teachers in India, the quality was poor which affected teachers' understanding and implementation of LCE. Therefore, the provision of training in using LCE does not necessarily result in its successful implementation. As Schweisfurth (2013) points out, teacher training might be theoretical and teachers might fail to apply what they have been trained to because of poor teacher motivation, lack of administrative support or because of contextual constraints. In developing countries and conflict situations, Schweisfurth

(2013) explains that teachers may lose motivation because they are badly-paid or they have to teach in bad working conditions. Moreover, lots of teachers choose teaching only because of their qualifications which affects their motivation. If teachers are not competent or feel comfortable while teaching using a certain language, they might resort to asking closed questions and controlling the content and discourse in the classroom to hide their linguistic incompetence (Schweisfurth, 2013).

In refugee contexts, the challenges to implementing LCE may be particularly more prominent (Mendenhall et al., 2015). As I discussed in the previous chapter (section 2.4.2.3), pedagogical change towards LCE can be more problematic due to the complexity of teaching traumatised children, the unavailability of well-trained teachers, the lack of resources and materials, having social and cultural conditions, and the difficulty of managing education and monitoring policy implementation (Williams, 2001; Kagawa, 2005; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; INEE, 2010a; Schweisfurth, 2013; Mendenhall et al., 2015). Educating refugee children outside their country of origin means having to deal with the troubles of trauma, reintegration and other accompanying challenges caused by the impact of conflict (Williams, 2001; Davies, 2004; Kagawa, 2005).

Tomlinson and Benefield (2005) point out that refugee teachers may not be familiar with learner-centred methods. Teachers themselves might be overwhelmed and influenced by the chaos of refugee life (Williams, 2001). Therefore, teaching refugees is very demanding and usually teachers are not trained nor prepared to deal with traumatized children and the troubles caused by trauma (Jones and Rutter, 1998). Furthermore, in conflict situations, the economic context constrains applying LCE because of the limited budget allocated to education (Schweisfurth, 2013). All these factors may hinder LCE implementation in refugee contexts and Tabulawa (2003), Kagawa (2005), UNESCO-IIEP (2010), INEE (2010a) and Schweisfurth (2013) advise introducing LCE with discretion.

Teachers and students' views of teaching and learning which are affected by multiple complex factors such as culture, experience and education all influence LCE implementation as numerous studies suggest (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Kain, 2003; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2011; Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Exploring teachers' views of learning and their beliefs about how children learn has become highly important as

these can provide information on classroom decisions and pedagogic approaches as well as foretell teachers' readiness to try new approaches (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Alexander, 2008b). Teachers usually get their views from their previous experiences as school students and from the approaches encouraged in their teacher education, school curriculum and their colleagues' classrooms (Westbrook et al., 2013). Sometimes the proposed change in pedagogy contradicts teachers' beliefs about effective teaching which makes implementing the required change more difficult in practice (Wedell, 2009).

According to Tabulawa (2003) and Schweisfurth (2013), LCE challenges teacher authority and depends on learners' active participation in learning through dialogue and collaboration with teachers and peers. The assumption is then in learner-centred classes, learners are intrinsically motivated to collaborate with peers in groups, work independently, and respect the rules of the democratic class (Schweisfurth, 2013). However, Kain (2003) indicates that learners may not be equally motivated to use learner-centred methods. In their study of trainee teachers' ability to implement LCE in Malawi, Mtika and Gates (2010) suggest that students did not show enthusiasm for the adoption of LCE which made it difficult for teachers to use LCE strategies such as group work and role play. The students were used to teacher-centred methods which made them resist its implementation in the Malawi context.

As another example of the discrepancy between teachers and students' views of teaching and learning in refugee contexts, Dryden-Peterson (2016) indicates that Somali refugee students in a Kenyan school classroom did not have experience with learner-centred methods such as group work, initiating questions and self-directed exploration in their home country. As students were behaving in what may have been considered appropriate classroom behaviour in their home country, the teachers supposed that refugee children were silent and unable to ask questions because they did not have much contributions to make in class. In this way, refugee children resist learner-centred methods because of their views which are influenced by their home culture.

According to Schweisfurth (2013), a teacher's own need for security and the cultural expectations about their roles as authorities play a major role in the success of LCE implementation. As Schweisfurth (2013) explains, implementing LCE may create challenges for teachers as they try to keep order and control of classroom time while

respecting the ideals of learner freedom. The fear is confusing democracy with permissiveness. Therefore, Schweisfurth (2013) indicates that teachers need to negotiate classroom rules and discipline with their learners to learn in a democratic class, which requires teachers to be competent to avoid learners' abuse of power.

Having enough administrative capacity and continuing support from school management and ministries of education may also affect LCE implantation otherwise teachers may get back to the traditional ways of teaching as Guthrie (1990), Schweisfurth (2013) and Lattimer (2015) note. In Kenya for example, Lattimer (2015) points out that although national policy makers and NGOs' representatives make promising statements about LCE reforms, they provide very little specific guidance for applying LCE in classrooms. For all of the aforementioned challenges, Guthrie (1990, 2011), Tabulawa (2003), and Vavrus (2009) doubt the appropriateness of LCE in developing countries. Given the cultural values of teachers and students and the realities of classroom conditions, Guthrie (1990) argues that teacher-centred methods may be more appropriate in developing countries contexts. Furthermore, as I mentioned in the previous chapter (section 2.4.2.3), Tabulawa (2003) and Vavrus (2009) question the reasons for promoting LCE by international aid agencies in developing countries arguing that they have hidden agendas.

Nevertheless, it is important to mention that questioning the appropriateness of LCE in developing countries has not gone unchallenged (O'Sullivan, 2004; Barrett, 2007; Schweisfurth, 2011, 2013; Thompson, 2013). For example, Barrett (2007) illustrates the use of a combination of teaching methods to improve the quality of education in under-resourced systems based on the findings of her fieldwork in Tanzania. According to Barrett (2007), the national assessment and curriculum were performance-based, the classes were overcrowded, and some teachers' views of knowledge were compatible with teacher-centred models. Despite mainly relying on teacher-centred methods, Barrett (2007) argues that teachers were mixing pedagogies and there was a significant variation in the quality of pupil-teacher interactions. As a result, Barrett (2007) emphasises that implementing constructivist principles in whole-class teaching as in Tanzanian classes challenges the polarised views of teacher-centred and learner centred pedagogies in low-income countries.

Thompson (2013) similarly challenges the arguments which claim that LCE is a Western model through encouraging the ‘cultural translation’ of LCE. To facilitate successful implementation of LCE, several authors including Alexander (2000, 2015), O’Sullivan (2004), Vavrus (2009), Mtika and Gates (2010), and Schweisfurth (2011, 2013, 2015) recommend analysing the context as a whole and adapting LCE selectively to fit the local context and meet teachers and learners’ views, needs and aspirations. Numerous studies recommend mixing pedagogies to improve the quality of education while being attentive to the contextual constraints rather than promoting one model of pedagogy as exemplified by the ‘mixed-mode approach to teaching’ Gipps and MacGilchrist (1999) suggest depending on the purposes of teaching, O’Sullivan’s (2004) *learning-centred* rather than learner-centred approach which encourages teachers to use the methods which best support students’ learning within the realities of their classrooms, Vavrus’s (2009) call for adopting ‘contingent constructivism’ which considers the cultural, economic, and political conditions in the teaching context and Schweisfurth’s (2013) ‘minimum standards’ for LCE which will be discussed below.

In the next section, I present the guiding principles which facilitate analysing teaching pedagogies along a continuum in the particular context of this study.

3.6 From Less Learner-centred to More Learner-centred Pedagogies

To respond to the critiques of LCE and understand classroom practices as well as analyse them, the literature abounds with frameworks provided by various authors such as O’Sullivan’s (2004) learning-centred approach, Alexander’s (2008c, 2017) framework for dialogic teaching, Guthrie’s (2011) five teaching styles continuum, and Schweisfurth’s (2013) minimum standards for LCE. Due to criticising international aid agencies’ approach to LCE as an absolute rather than as part of a continuum (Tabulawa, 2003; Schweisfurth, 2005; Alexander, 2008a, 2015; Vavrus, 2009; Sriprakash, 2012), I will use a combination of four frameworks I mentioned above to examine the teaching practices at a Syrian refugee school in Turkey from different perspectives. In addition to drawing on these frameworks to guide the research, I will compare Syrian teachers’ beliefs and practices to the INEE *Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a) which outlines international understandings of

appropriate pedagogy in refugee contexts. I believe that analysing the teaching practices at a Syrian refugee school using multiple lenses will help understand the complexity of refugee education and will provide much more significant insights than using one framework alone.

As I mentioned in the above section, the notion of learning-centred approach which O'Sullivan (2004) proposes based on the findings of a three-year research study provides an adaptive approach to LCE which is sensitive to the realities of the classroom context. Adopting the learning-centred approach which supports teachers' use of any appropriate methods to improve learning may offer teachers with a practical solution within the existing contextual constraints they face (Brinkmann, 2019). Therefore, O'Sullivan's (2004) learning-centred approach is used to inform this study to allow considering a range of contextual factors based on the realities of the teachers in the case study school.

The learning-centred approach is compatible with Alexander's (2017) framework for dialogic teaching. In Alexander's dialogic teaching, learning talk is the prime concern because it establishes the ground for effective learning. Alexander's research-based framework, which considers the dichotomous view of pedagogic models as inadequate, includes a wide range of justifications, repertoires, classroom indicators and guiding principles which can help understand and evaluate dialogic teaching that supports effective learning. Therefore, I will use Alexander's framework to examine learning talk in fifteen refugee classrooms.

From five kinds of teacher talk which include rote, recitation, instruction, discussion and scaffolded dialogue, Alexander (2017) argues that the last two types provide children with the greatest cognitive challenge they need to develop their learning, understanding, confidence and engagement. However, these kinds of talk require high teachers' skills and subject knowledge. When teachers need to make practical choices about classroom teaching, Alexander (2017) suggests that the five kinds of talk may be used depending on their suitability:

There are times when we may need to use repetition in order to commit a fact, spelling or formula to memory. There are times when a clear and vivid explanation is essential. There are times when the broad open question ('Now who can tell me ...?') or a rapid sequence of cued questioning and competitive bidding may serve to get things going on a cold morning and take us back into yesterday's theme. But if that is all we do,

then children will learn and understand far, far less than they could or should (Alexander, 2017, p. 31).

Alexander's framework is also consistent with Guthrie's (2011) teaching styles continuum. In his continuum, Guthrie (2011) sets five classroom teaching styles in a continuum from conservative to progressive. The five teaching styles are Authoritarian, Formalistic, Flexible, Liberal and Democratic. The styles are characterised based on four variables: teacher role, student role, content approach and reinforcement. Table 3.1 below presents Guthrie's teaching styles model:

Variables	Authoritarian	Formalistic	Flexible	Liberal	Democratic
Teacher Role (authoritarian to democratic)	Formal and domineering, imposing rigid norms and sanctions.	Formal with well established routines and strict hierarchical control.	Uses variety in methods and some relaxation of controls, but still dominant.	Actively promotes student-centred class room. Encourages pupil participation in decisions.	Leader of democratically based group. Coordinator of activities.
Student Role (passive to active)	Passive recipient of teacher-defined roles in behaviour and learning. Little overt interaction.	Passive, although some overt interaction.	More active role within constraints defined by teacher.	Works within fairly wide boundaries, especially in learning decisions.	Actively participates in decisions. Increasingly responsible for own actions.
Content Approach (teaching to learning)	Teaching of prescriptive syllabus with closely defined content for rote learning.	Organised processing of syllabus with emphasis on memorisation.	Some flexibility in use of syllabus and textbooks, with attention to learning problems.	Wide degree of curricular choice. Emphasis on learning processes rather than content.	Strong emphasis on student learning at individual pace. Teacher a resource.
Reinforcement (negative to positive)	Strict teacher control with strong negative sanctions (e.g. corporal punishment) enforcing obedience.	Strong teacher-based negative sanctions, especially focussed on learning.	Greater attempts to use positive reinforcement, backed by strong negative sanctions.	Increased emphasis on positive reinforcement.	Positive response to internal motivation, although with latent teacher authority.

Table 3.1: Guthrie's classroom teaching styles model (Source: Guthrie, 2011, p. 205).

For the purposes of this research, I believe that using the teaching styles continuum will help understand teachers' and students' roles in the classroom, the use of textbook and reinforcement. Moreover, according to Guthrie (2011), the boundaries between the styles are arbitrary and teachers may use any or all the styles separately or in combination

depending on their appropriateness. Therefore, Guthrie's (2011) model supports teachers' adoption of various methods in different phases of their lessons.

In the same vein, Schweisfurth (2013) proposes seven culturally-adaptive minimum standards for LCE which facilitate understanding and evaluating learner-centred practices while considering the local contexts of learning. The standards which are research based and set within a Rights framework are in line with the most basic principles of LCE (Schweisfurth, 2013, 2015). However, as Schweisfurth (2013) points out, the standards may be interpreted differently in different contexts. Schweisfurth's (2013) minimum standards highlight learner cognitive engagement and motivation which may differ from one context to another, respectful classroom relationships, building on learners' current knowledge and skills, promoting high quality classroom talk, using relevant curriculum and pedagogy and meaningful assessment which improves learning. The minimum standards are also consistent with O'Sullivan's (2004) learning-centred approach (Schweisfurth, 2015). In line with Alexander's (2008c, 2017) framework and Guthrie's (2011) continuum, Schweisfurth's (2013) framework stresses that LCE is on a continuum of practices from less learner-centred to more learner-centred practice. Therefore, in this continuum teachers may use less learner-centred methods to promote quality education.

To synthesise the essential elements of contextualised LCE and define the conceptual framework guiding this study, Figure 3.2 below provides a summary of the main characteristics of LCE which can support children's learning:

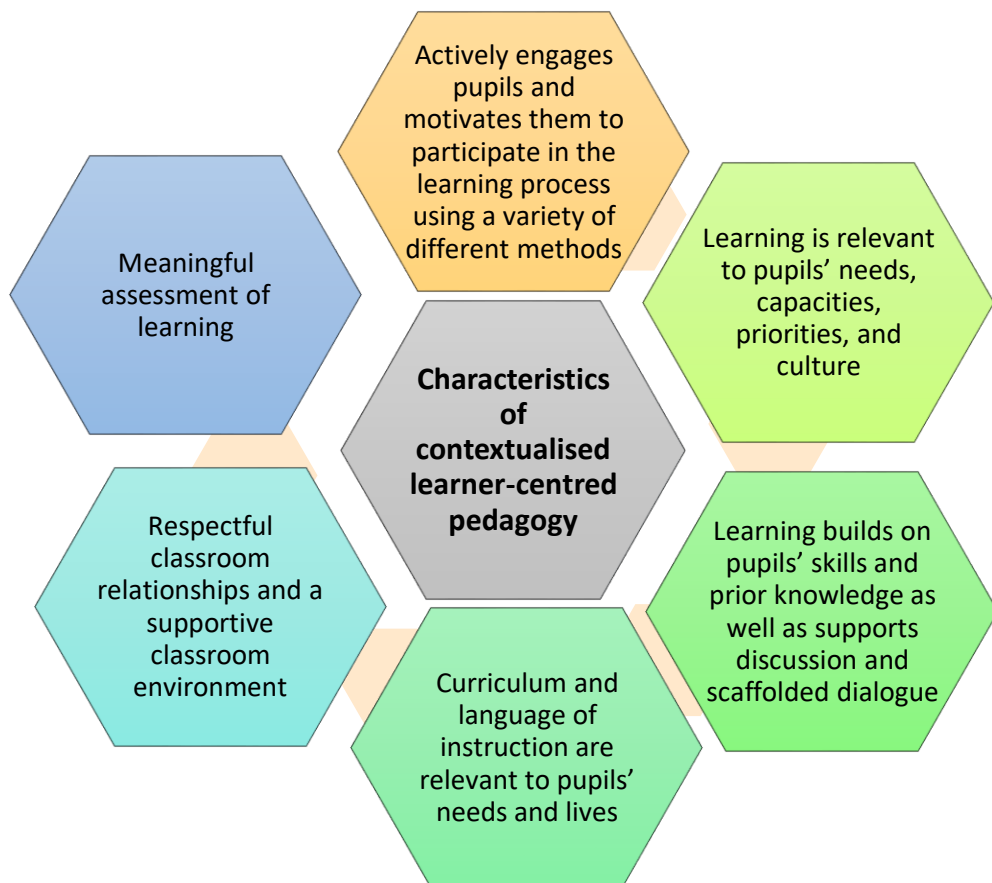


Figure 3.2: Main characteristics of contextualised LCE (Sources: *O'Sullivan, 2004; Alexander, 2008c, 2017; INEE, 2010a/b; Guthrie, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2013*).

The final section provides a summary of the main issues I examined in this chapter.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, I investigate the main models of pedagogy and their underlying behaviourist, constructivist and social constructivist theories. I present the different views of pedagogy and its various influences. I analyse the strengths and limitations of the broad models of pedagogy and provided their critiques. I examine the reasons for advocating LCE internationally and highlight its critiques and implementation difficulties in various contexts internationally particularly in developing counties and refugee contexts. Finally, I define the core elements of context-sensitive LCE on a continuum of practices to facilitate understanding quality education in refugee contexts. The purpose of the next chapter is to provide some background information on the context of this research study.

Chapter Four: Research Context

4.1 Introduction

The war in Syria which started in March 2011 is considered the most violent conflict in contemporary time, displacing the largest number of refugees and risking the lives of millions of children (Chatty et al., 2014; UNICEF, 2014a). The devastating effects of the conflict have harmed Syrian children's wellbeing and their school attendance (UNHCR, 2014). As of May 2019, the estimated number of Syrian refugees registered in Turkey exceeds 3.6 million (UNHCR, Website). A bit more than half of these refugees are in the preschool or primary school stage which makes considering the educational services in Turkey very important (Tunç and Can, 2018).

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the educational setting of this study outlining key challenges encountered in the provision of education for Syrian refugees in Turkey over the years 2011-2018. However, as the discussions on the provision of education in Syria before the war are relevant to the purposes of this study, the chapter begins with presenting some key background information on education in Syria prior to the war.

4.2 Education in Pre-War Syria

Education in Syria was protected by the State as a right since 1973 and all education was free (World Bank, 2008; UNESCO and IBE, 2011). Education was compulsory from Grades 1-9; that is, between the ages 6 to 15. The school year was divided into two terms at all stages. Excluding examination periods each term was about 32 working weeks. Schools operated full-time or two-shifts. They could be coeducational, only for boys or only for girls depending on the availability of schools, number of students, available teachers, and the prevalent culture in each area. The Ministry of Education (MoE) was responsible for all public and private schools as well as UNRWA schools for Palestinian refugees. MoE determined the educational policy, implemented educational plans, and defined curricula, textbooks and teaching methods (UNICEF, 2008). In addition, MoE provided teachers with discipline-specific teacher manuals in each school subject which specified pedagogic objectives, methods, techniques, and sample classes.

Regarding pedagogic methods, although several studies indicate that they varied by discipline, using didactics alone or with questions was common (UNICEF, 2008). Student responses were limited to comprehension and memorising, but sometimes they used higher intellectual skills which include analysis, composition, evaluation, inference, induction, exploration, and self-learning (UNICEF, 2008). Despite the continuous attempts of Syrian government to expand access to education and train teachers to use up-to-date methodology, the quality of education remained open to question and requested further development as several reports including UNICEF (2008), World Bank (2008) and UNDP (2010) point out.

Based on the above-mentioned reports, the majority of Syrian teachers demonstrated satisfactory competence and performance. Nevertheless, most teachers failed to apply properly what they had been trained for due to having a big number of students in class (30-40 students), traditional seating arrangement, the lack of appropriate teaching aids and inadequate teacher training (UNICEF, 2008). Another characteristic of Syrian education was that it was exam-oriented and many teachers adjusted their practices to help students pass key national exams at Grades 9 and 12 (Rajab, 2013). Therefore, based on UNICEF (2008) and UNESCO and IBE (2011), teaching was didactic, student participation was restricted by rote learning, and depending on teachers and textbooks for transmission of information was the most common practice.

In the national development plans, improving education was a priority to reduce poverty and modernise the economy of the country. To achieve these aims several achievements were recorded. As UNICEF (2008) and UNDP (2010) highlight, the realisation of educational development plan was best reflected by increasing the net enrolment rate in basic education schools (Grades 1-9). For example, in 1990 the net enrolment rate in primary education was 95.4%, in 2006 it increased to 98% and then reached 99% in 2008 (UNDP, 2010). Syria's target, as UNDP (2010, p. 27) anticipated, was to "[e]nsure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling."

Based on a MENA development report, Syria had the most equitable education system concerning gender parity and education Gini coefficients, in addition to having the most equal education distribution in the Middle East and Africa (World Bank, 2008). For instance,

the net enrolment rate in primary education in 2001-2002 reached 96.4% for boys and 89.6% for girls (UNICEF, 2008). Over time, Syrian education system had been reformed repeatedly to improve and modernise the standards of Syrian education (Ménacère, 2010). Along with introducing curriculum changes, teaching foreign languages and computer literacy skills became mandatory at certain stages. English was taught from Grade 1, French and Computer Literacy were taught from Grade 7 as compulsory subjects since 2004. Based on UNICEF (2008), the new curricula and textbooks introduced expected teachers to use new methods which differed from those they used, which represented a challenge for teachers and required providing them with training and monitoring their use of the new methods.

However, Syria's pride of its achievements particularly the near-universal primary school enrolment and gender parity was short-lived and undermined as soon as the civil war began in 2011 (UNICEF, 2013b). Like any education system at times of war in the world, the catastrophic consequences of Syrian crisis have posed many challenges on educating Syrian children and youth inside and outside Syria. In startling contrast to the constant attempts to invest in the future of Syria and reaching nearly high standards, the war has changed Syrian education dramatically and reversed its progress (Stuster, 2013; UNICEF, 2014b; Watkins and Zyck, 2014).

Just before the war started, UNICEF (2015) indicates that Syria had a 106 % gross enrolment rate in basic education. However, in 2015, contrary to UNDP's (2010) anticipation quoted above, about five million children and youth were out of school, a big number of children lost more than two school years and school enrolment rate became alarmingly low (UNICEF, 2015). Therefore, Syria's children are in danger of becoming "a lost generation" (UNICEF, 2013c, p. 2). To counteract the collapse in Syrian education and the sharp decline in school participation, UNICEF launched "No Lost Generation" initiative:

This strategy targets about 6 million children across the region. Through formal and informal programmes, through schools and learning spaces, and with a guarantee that the education they obtain will be recognised when they return home, partners will seek to reverse the large number of children dropping out of schools. School-feeding programmes, voucher schemes, teacher training and psychosocial support will complement efforts to boost access and quality (UNICEF, 2014a, p. 5).

Since this study is focused on educating Syrian refugees in Turkey, the lights will be shed on the provision of refugee education there in response to the UNICEF's initiative.

4.3 Education for Syrian Refugees in Turkey

At the time of the field research, accessing precise information regarding the provision of education for Syrian refugees was very challenging as the number of Syrian refugees was constantly growing, the refugee context was in a state of rapid transition, and published information was scarce. As several reports emphasise, the sheer number of refugees has impacted both the provision and quality of education in Turkey and other host countries, besides having a huge gap between in and out of camps education (Qabbani, 2013; RRP5, 2013a; Dorman, 2014; Kirişçi, 2014; Save the Children, 2014).

In its February 2014 report, Mapping the Education Response to the Syrian Crisis, INEE (2014, p. 11) summarises the main challenges facing refugee education in Turkey as follows:

- the lack of a coherent effort to provide education to Syrian refugees;
- a new Turkish legislation that has made implementing a response to the education issue more challenging;
- the lack of actors in Turkey providing education to Syrians; and
- the lack of quality processes that ensure quality education staff, education management, and education methods, access and availability of school areas in host communities, language barriers, and teacher salaries.

Between 2011-2014, the provision of education for Syrians was characterised by having no clear policy framework as maintaining an integrated education response was confined by Syrians' legal status in the country (Dinçer et al., 2013; Kuğu and Okşak, 2013; Nielsen and Grey, 2013; Chatty et al., 2014; INEE, 2014). Syrians in Turkey have not been registered officially as 'refugees'. At the onset of the Syrian crisis, Çelik and İçduygu (2018) and McCarthy (2018) indicate that the presence of Syrians was assumed to be temporary. The Turkish government referred to Syrians first as 'guests' and then registered them under Temporary Protection Directive. This confusion in status has resulted in an absence of a clear administrative strategy towards educating Syrians, contributed to neglecting the education of refugee students out of camps and hindered cooperation among educational services (Dorman, 2014; Çelik and İçduygu, 2018; McCarthy, 2018). In this study, however, in line with Kirişçi (2014), regardless of their official status in Turkey, 'refugees' is used to refer to Syrians who fled to Turkey during the war to keep consistency with literature reports.

From the outbreak of the Syrian conflict, between 2011-2012, Syrian children could enrol in Turkish public schools. Syrian accommodation centres in Turkey used the Turkish curriculum to educate Syrian refugees with support of Arabic interpretation (UNICEF, 2015). However, based on a synthesis of research, there were several challenges which hindered Syrian refugees' access to education so that school enrolment was appallingly low (Dinçer et al., 2013; Chatty et al., 2014; Dorman, 2014; INEE, 2014; Kirişçi, 2014; Save the Children, 2014; UNHCR, 2014; UNICEF, 2014b; Watkins and Zyck, 2014; 3RP, 2015; UNICEF, 2015; Aras and Yasun, 2016). As these reports illustrate, most Syrians have expressed their intention to get back to Syria when the conflict is over. Therefore, the language of instruction (Turkish as opposed to Arabic) discouraged refugee students from attending Turkish public schools. Some refugee students may have lost some years of education because of displacement resulting in large age gaps between them and their peers in their grade levels. In addition, due to policy restrictions such as not having the required official documentation or residence permits students were denied access to Turkish public schools. Other reasons identified include public schools' over-crowdedness, the lack of schools in certain areas, financial reasons, and child labour.

As a response to these challenges, the exceptionally large number of Syrian refugees who mostly settled out of camps contributed to creating an education system for Syrian children with a revised Syrian curriculum as UNICEF (2015) states. Statistics show that in 2017, over 3.1 million Syrians were registered in Turkey, out of whom 8% were hosted in refugee camps, and 92% were living in host communities (3RP, 2017). More than half of the Syrian refugees are children (İli, 2018). It was estimated, around 70% of children residing out of camps had no access to education (3RP, 2015). Therefore, UNICEF has played an integral role to allow using the Syrian curriculum in Turkey which has increased school enrolment. Therefore, from 2012-2017, two types of education systems provided education for Syrians, even though McCarthy (2018) points out that having two systems contradicted the Turkish national education law which is based on mono-cultural education content:

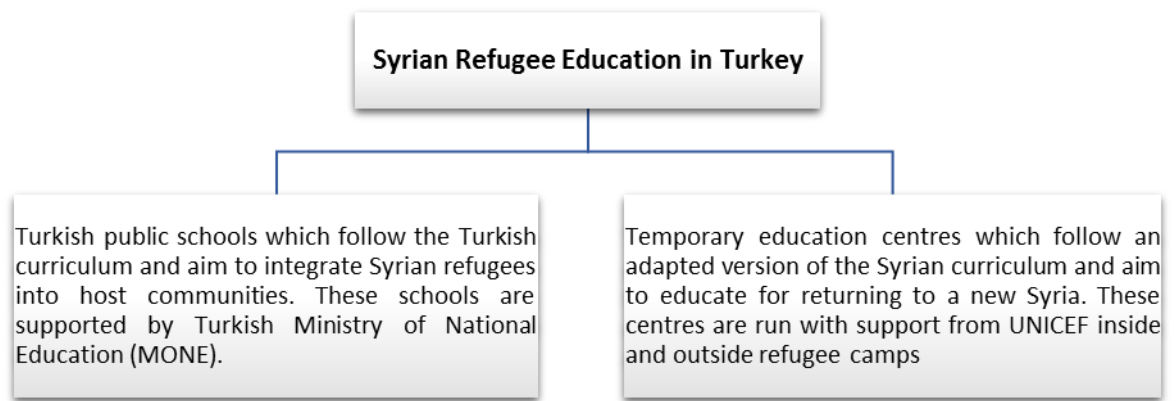


Figure 4.1: Providing education for Syrian refugees in Turkey.

As there were over three million Syrian refugees with about one million school aged children in Turkey by 2016–2017, the temporary education centres were run by non-state actors to address the educational needs of Syrian children (3RP, 2017; İli, 2018; McCarthy, 2018). Temporary education centres which were primary and secondary centres operated both in refugee camps and urban communities providing access to education for refugee students who lacked documentation to enrol in Turkish schools. As several reports indicate, camp schools were run by the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD) which was involved in Syrian refugee response including educational planning and implementation under the supervision of the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MONE) (Nielsen and Grey, 2013; Chatty et al., 2014; Dorman, 2014; Popović et al., 2014; UNHCR, 2014; UNICEF, 2015; Samuk, 2018).

Camp schools followed an adapted version of Syrian national curriculum provided by the Ministry of Education of the Interim Syrian Government (MoE ISG). These schools depended mainly on volunteering teachers who were mostly refugees themselves in addition to having some Turkish teachers. Reports published between 2012-2014 indicate that these schools were not officially accredited, so refugee students did not get officially-recognised diplomas which was a major concern for students at that time (Dinçer et al., 2013; Dorman, 2014; Save the Children, 2014). However, a UNHCR report (3RP, 2015) announced that there were some plans to address this issue and recognise Syrian schools' certificates.

As for schools out of camps, they consisted of national and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), local municipalities or private donors' schools. These schools were

commonly called ‘Syrian schools’ because they were run by Syrian teachers and used Arabic, the mother tongue, as the main medium of instruction. Syrian schools used diverse types of curricula (Popović et al., 2014). For example, from 2012-2014, some Syrian schools followed MoE ISG curriculum, curriculum of the official Government of Syria, or the Libyan curriculum. Other schools used multiple curricula or modified and printed their own textbooks and teaching materials. Like camp schools, urban Syrian schools were not accredited. The majority of these schools were operating illegally and were running under threat of closure because of their use of a language and curriculum other than Turkish (Nielsen and Grey, 2013; Chatty et al., 2014; Dorman, 2014; Popović et al., 2014; UNHCR, 2014; McCarthy, 2018; Samuk, 2018).

However, in September 2013 an important circular entitled ‘Education services for the Syrians under temporary protection’ was issued with the intention to regulate, accredit and standardise educational facilities for Syrian students in and out of refugee camps by planning, coordinating and monitoring them only by MONE (McCarthy, 2018). In April 2014, as the war was prolonged, Çelik and İçduygu (2018) and McCarthy (2018) point out that a new immigration law was made to change Turkey’s national immigration policies and give the provision of education for Syrian refugees a legal formal basis. Syrian students could legally register at public schools and temporary education centres with a foreigner’s credentials document rather than a residency permit (Tunç and Can, 2018). Furthermore, MONE formed a team to exclusively be concerned with the education of Syrian children. A new comprehensive Education Management Information System (EMIS) was being built to register students and teachers as well as monitor their performance (RRP6, 2014a).

Hence, since 2014, temporary education centres became supervised by MONE. In a joint management strategy developed by MONE and UNICEF, it was proposed that in each centre, at least one principal or deputy head was appointed by the Ministry locally as a MONE coordinator in an attempt to control the growing number of unlawful Syrian schools while allowing NGOs to provide financial support (UNICEF, 2015; McCarthy, 2018). The appointed deputy heads who seconded from Turkish schools on a short-term temporary basis provided support with administrative, teaching and teacher support duties as UNICEF (2015) illustrates. The regulated schools followed MoE ISG curriculum which was modified by MONE (3RP, 2017).

Although 78% of Syrian refugee students attended temporary education centres based on 3RP (2017), a significant change of policy which happened while conducting this research was the gradual closure of these centres to facilitate integrating Syrian refugees in Turkish public schools (Taştan and Çelik, 2017; McCarthy, 2018). This decision was motivated by the gradual acceptance of Syrians as permanent residents in Turkey (Çelik and İçduygu, 2018). By 2018, shortly after the period of fieldwork, all Syrian schools were closed and Syrian pupils have been incorporated into Turkish public schools.

In the next section I present detailed information about Syrian schools in host communities, their types and quality of education they provided based on several research studies.

4.4 Urban Syrian Schools

According to Nielsen and Grey (2013) and Save the Children (2014), Syrian schools emerged in response to the gaps in the provision of refugee education at Turkish public schools and the limitations of camp schools. Syrian schools were established with the aims of addressing the schooling challenge caused by the inability to accommodate refugee students' huge number in Turkish schools, meeting the diverse educational needs of the refugee population, preventing any loss of learning whether refugee students return to Syria or continue their education in Turkey and in recognition of Syrians' right to use their language and curricula (Save the Children, 2014; McCarthy, 2018). Therefore, McCarthy (2018) argues that Syrian schools did not only aspire to educate for repatriation, but also served as supportive compensatory education to integrate refugee students into Turkish public education system.

The various types of Syrian schools out of camps, their strengths and limitations, teachers' qualifications and training, modified Syrian curriculum and pedagogy are explained in the following subsections.

4.4.1 Types of Urban Syrian Schools

UNICEF (2015) outlines the various types of urban Syrian schools between 2012-2015:

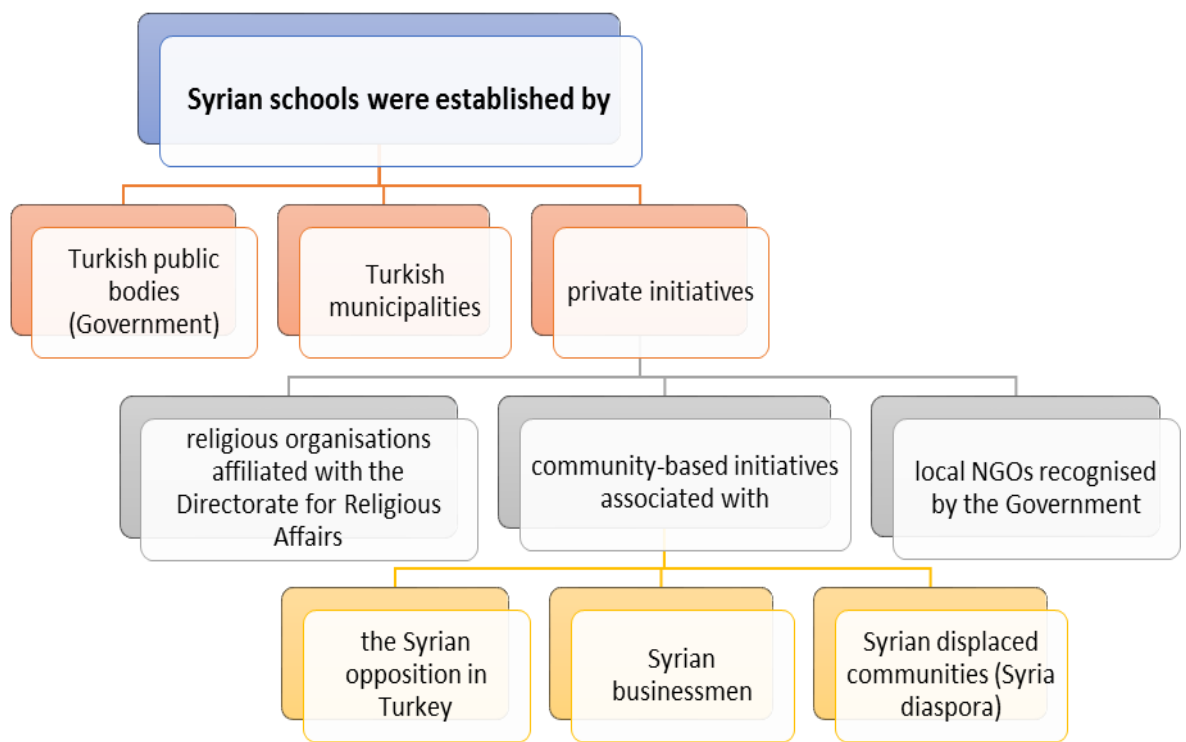


Figure 4.2: Types of Syrian schools out of refugee camps based on UNICEF (2015).

At the beginning of this research, accurate data on the number of these schools, the number of students and teachers as well as the quality of education they provided was not available because most of them were operating illegally and were unregulated by MONE (RRP5, 2013b; Amnesty, 2014; Chatty et al., 2014; Dorman, 2014). Therefore, between 2012-2014 examining the quality of Syrian schools has received little attention from MONE and researchers although some reports have emphasised their growing popularity among Syrian refugees (Amnesty, 2014; Chatty et al., 2014). However, as I previously mentioned, Save the Children (2014) points out that MONE started mapping Syrian schools to acknowledge the ones reaching acceptable academic standards in 2014. The certificates issued by unregistered schools were considered invalid by Turkish authorities (UNICEF, 2015).

As of March 2014, UNICEF (2015) reports that there were at least 35 Syrian schools, whereas Dinçer et al., (2013) and Amnesty (2014) talk about having 55 Syrian schools which they criticise as insufficient to accommodate the ever-increasing number of the refugee population. However, McCarthy (2018) relies on MONE figures which during 2014-2015 school year suggest that 232 urban Syrian schools existed in 19 provinces. The total enrolment at that year was 101,257 which reached 247,844 by February 2016. The most extensive type of Syrian schools is community-based as UNICEF (2015) indicates.

However, some of these schools were run in private homes or buildings, often with unsatisfactory school premises and little quality assurance (UNICEF, 2015). As for schools run by local authorities, they used public buildings (McCarthy, 2018). According to Aras and Yasun (2016), a big number of the schools they visited lacked recreational areas including outdoor areas. Determining the placement of refugee students in suitable classrooms depended on proving the students' academic trajectory in Syria or doing a placement exam which differed from one school to another (Aras and Yasun, 2016).

4.4.2 Strengths and Limitations

Surveying the available research conducted on urban Syrian schools suggests that concerns have been raised about the quality and content of education they provided particularly at private and community-based schools (Dinçer et al., 2013; Chatty et al., 2014; Dorman, 2014; Save the Children, 2014; UNICEF, 2015; Aras and Yasun, 2016; Boyacı and Öz, 2018; Çelik and İçduygu, 2018; McCarthy, 2018). The poor quality of education as these reports argue is caused by many reasons such as curricular and textbook choices and teachers' recruitment, training and teaching methods. In addition, Syrian schools' infrastructures, overcrowded classrooms, and the lack of sustainability which Turkish public schools have the benefit of, coordination, monitoring and support may have affected the quality of education as the reports highlight. At first the fear, however, was that absence of monitoring, Chatty et al., (2014), Dorman (2014) and Kirişci (2014) warn, may subject education at Syrian schools to politicisation whether in content or delivery which affects the quality of learning.

Most Syrian students are suffering from concentration problems and learning difficulties caused by psychological disturbance (Save the Children, 2014; Watkins and Zyck, 2014; Boyacı and Öz, 2018). As a result, students require psychosocial support particularly those who have shown high levels of trauma. Furthermore, there are some Syrian teachers who, like their students, are suffering from trauma themselves and are in need of personal and professional support in order to teach effectively (Save the Children, 2014). Nevertheless, Dorman (2014) highlights the absence of psychological support and stress management techniques at Syrian schools. Similarly, Aras and Yasun (2016) indicate that some of the researched schools did not have or had an inadequate number of counsellors who provide support for traumatised students. The student/counsellor ratio among their researched

schools which had counsellors was considerably high, ranging between 128 students per counsellor to 960 students per counsellor.

UNICEF (2015) reports that the academic performance of Syrian refugee students is relatively weak as anecdotal evidence indicates. In addition, the quantity and quality of Turkish language courses are reportedly low (Çelik and İçduygu, 2018). Some schools required students to pay monthly and yearly fees to pay the rents of the buildings which Çelik and İçduygu (2018) and McCarthy (2018) criticise for the great burden they impose on refugee families who are already in a disadvantaged situation. The uncertain future of Syrian schools has also affected the motivation of Syrian teachers and influenced the quality of education particularly as many qualified teachers quit because of threats of school closure (Çelik and İçduygu, 2018). Even though they are invaluable keeping alive the hope for returning back home, Qabbani (2013) argues that Syrian schools were unable to address the growing needs of refugee students and needed adequate support.

Nevertheless, research in the Syrian refugee context has shown some positive aspects of attending Syrian schools. For Dorman (2014), Syrian schools offered a temporary solution for educating the war-affected refugees who had to continue their education while their future was uncertain. Besides maintaining refugees' cultural links and Syrian identity, using Arabic in Syrian schools encouraged students to continue their education and most parents expressed their desire to send their children to these schools as Turkish language and curriculum can be difficult to follow (Dinçer et al., 2013; Amnesty, 2014; Chatty et al., 2014; Çelik and İçduygu, 2018). The enormous challenge posed by the content and substance of Turkish curriculum is emphasised by Kirişçi (2014) who points out the marked cultural, societal, and historical differences between Syria and Turkey which are echoed in the curricula followed by these two countries.

Employing Syrian teachers also has benefits as Syrian teachers understand refugee students and have experience of teaching them in Syria (UNICEF, 2015). Communication between students and teachers is easier as they teach familiar curriculum, use their native language and have been through similar experiences (Save the Children, 2014). Syrian parents indicate that Syrian schools “represent a familiar place in a foreign land, in which they know the ‘rules of the game’” as Çelik and İçduygu (2018, p. 6) put it. This familiarity facilitates

transmitting Arabic language, culture and knowledge to Syrian children which minimises parents' concerns and anxieties within the field of education at least (Çelik and İçduygu, 2018). Examples of other advantages gained by the consistency between home and school include making it easier for parents to interact with schools and monitor their children's academic performance, providing Syrian students with a sense of belonging and encouraging their attachment to and agency in the school environment as Çelik and İçduygu (2018) explain.

4.4.3 Teachers' Qualifications and Training

According to UNICEF (2015), teaching personnel at Syrian schools is composed of:

- Syrian teachers;
- Syrian teaching personnel;
- Turkish (Arabic and non-Arabic speaking) teachers assigned by MONE; and
- Turkish (Arabic and non-Arabic speaking) teachers (not employed by MONE).

Based on research conducted by Aras and Yasun (2016), all Syrian teachers at the schools they visited were university graduates and 97.9% were accredited teachers in Syria, while a small number of them had other occupations as lawyers. It is important to note, however, Aras and Yasun (2016) indicate that the qualities of teachers at Syrian schools were not thoroughly inspected by MONE. As for Turkish teachers, Çelik and İçduygu (2018) state that they were mostly volunteers in the Turkish language classes. Those teachers did not work on a regular basis and were not well qualified to teach Turkish to non-native students.

Available data shows that before November 2014, Syrian teachers worked as volunteers at schools run by NGOs and other organisations, but they received varying amounts as incentive pay for their work (UNICEF, 2015). The major sources for incentive payment were UNICEF, NGOs, and private donations (Çelik and İçduygu, 2018). However, after signing an agreement protocol between UNICEF, the MONE and PTT (postal bank) in November 2014, standardised incentives were offered to Syrian teachers, both in and out of camps as UNICEF (2015) points out.

Before mapping urban Syrian schools in 2014, providing teacher training on class management and psychosocial support for refugee students, which was an essential need as RRP6 (2014b) indicates, was restricted to camp schools only at that time. However, research shows that after registering Syrian schools who met the acceptable standards, MONE provided orientation programmes to Syrian teachers directed at offering psychological support for students who experienced war, coping with trauma, managing crowded classes, and carrying out reflective teaching and class-based activities (Aras and Yasun, 2016).

4.4.4 Curriculum and Pedagogy

At the time they were founded, Syrian schools aimed to educate Syrian students for returning to a new Syria within the scope of temporary protection (Nielsen and Grey 2013; Kirişci, 2014). To educate for repatriation, most Syrian schools depended on the Syrian national curriculum which was very newly introduced in 2011, the same year the civil war broke out, as part of implementing the comprehensive Curriculum Upgrading Project which started in 2004 in Syria. UNICEF (2015, p. 28) indicates that the curriculum reform aimed to make learning “more child-centred and interactive”. In addition to promoting active learning, UNICEF (2015) points out that the reform intended to reduce the teacher-pupil ratio to 1:35 and gradually change the double-shift system through building new schools.

The new curriculum based on active learning, UNICEF in 2008 argued, represents a challenge for Syrian teachers since they are not used to implementing these methods (UNICEF, 2008). As new textbooks in Grades 1–4, 7 and 10 came out in 2011-2012 and the rest of grades followed in 2012-2013, UNICEF (2015) emphasises that not all teachers were trained to use the new active learning pedagogy. By 2013, UNICEF (2015) points out that only around 100 schools in six Syrian cities had been chosen to participate in the training to apply active learning, which for UNICEF suggests that active learning had not yet been promoted in all schools and classrooms in Syria. The Syrian war impacted on education reform at a time the education system was striving to comprehensively implement the new curriculum in all areas (UNICEF, 2015).

Against this background information on Syrian education reform, in Turkey, the Syrian Education Commission which is a Syrian civil society organisation registered in Turkey

adapted twice the Syrian national curriculum by removing all glorification of the current regime, and this version was authorised by the Turkish Government (Kirişci, 2014; UNICEF, 2015). Eliminating references to the Syrian regime, McCarthy (2018) suggests, was needed because of the political stance of the Turkish Government in support of Syrian Opposition groups.

In its first revision in mid-2013, Syrian education specialists and teachers provided their support and the Syrian Opposition Council approved it (UNICEF, 2015). Examples of the changes made include images of symbols of Syria under Assad rule, historical events, names of places, and teaching civic education instead of teaching the subject of ‘national education’. The symbols used by The Syrian Opposition replaced the symbols used in the Syrian national curricula (McCarthy, 2018). In addition, Turkish language classes were integrated in the revised curriculum (UNICEF, 2015). However, a second revision of the Syrian curriculum was made because of adapting the official Syrian curriculum which added to the complications of curriculum use as UNICEF (2015) indicates.

The content analysis carried out by UNICEF suggests that the revisions made in the Education Commission’s textbooks were mainly of a pedagogical nature (400 changes), followed by political (119 changes) and then religious changes (22 changes) mostly in the Arabic, science and math textbooks (UNICEF, 2015, p. 10). However, across the different grades, there was a lack of consistency and coherence in the pedagogical changes made to each subject:

Although the changes in the science books promoted inquiry and critical thinking, the approach was not maintained consistently throughout the science textbooks and was not integrated in other textbooks, including history and social studies. The Grades 1 and 2 Arabic textbooks were revised with an underpinning similar vision. But the Grade 10 book, on the contrary, presented minor and insignificant changes, keeping to the underlying philosophy and strategies that appear in the official textbook (UNICEF, 2015, p. 44).

According to UNICEF (2015), the lack of consistency may be attributed to the absence of a clear vision when revising the textbooks, which is also evident in the absence of a mission or an overall statement to inform the revision. Furthermore, UNICEF (2015) argues that the revised curriculum did not integrate any life skills, mine risk education or psychosocial programme and was clearly not adapted to the new situation of displacement that Syrian

students abroad were living. Based on field research, Dorman (2014) and Aras and Yasun (2016) argue that Syrian teachers employ teacher-centered methods with heavy emphasis on memorisation.

Finally, it is important to note that before regulating Syrian schools, some schools followed the version adapted by the Syrian Education Commission, used the same exam structure in Syria, and taught English as the main foreign language and Turkish instead of French as a second foreign language (Ackerman, 2014; Chatty et al., 2014). However, other schools followed the same Syrian curriculum taught in Syria without making any amendments. For Grades 9-12, in addition to the adapted Syrian curriculum, with the aim of enabling Syrian students pursue higher education at Turkish universities, the Syrian Education Commission and MONE decided to follow the Post-Gadhafi Libyan curriculum (Kirişci, 2014). The main reasons for choosing this curriculum are because it is in Arabic and it is accredited in Turkey. However, like differences between Syria and Turkey, there are major differences between Syria and Libya in terms of culture, history and education.

4.5 Research School Context

Based on the information the Syrian headteacher provided in the interview, the community-based Syrian school involved in this research was established in 2013 solely by Syrian businessmen. However, in 2014, the school became run under supervision of MONE and received support from UNICEF as it was one of the biggest Syrian schools in its area. Therefore, there were two functioning headteachers, one was Turkish appointed by MONE and the second was Syrian, the one who primarily founded the school.

At the beginning, in 2013, the school's capacity was 250 pupils which massively increased in three months to cater for 1200 Syrian pupils. A very few Iraqi pupils also attended the school. All the teaching staff were Syrians, most of them with experience in teaching Syrian pupils in Syria. The school which provided primary and secondary education operated in two residential buildings:



Figure 4.3: The community-based Syrian school.

It is important to mention that for confidentiality purposes, the particular location of the school in Turkey will not be disclosed throughout research.

The school taught the Syrian curriculum adapted by the Syrian Education Commission discussed in the above section because of the headteacher's beliefs that the war in Syria would be over soon. However, because the school's certificates were not accredited in the first year, the Libyan curriculum was taught in Grade 12 to allow Syrian pupils to continue their higher education at Turkish institutions and universities. As in Syria, English and French were taught as foreign languages, but because of a sudden change in MONE's policy in 2016-2017, carrying out educational services at the school was affected. MONE increased Turkish language classes at the school with the aim of preparing Syrian pupils to continue their education at Turkish schools. Therefore, because of time constraints French classes were replaced by Turkish since then.

As the school aimed to represent the moderate Syrian community, the Syrian headteacher emphasised that the school functioned independently from politics and religion. At the time of field research, the school had been operating for four years. The Syrian school was part of The Syrian Schools' Committee which represented 17 schools operating in the area and aimed to encourage their coordination. However, as I mentioned before, three months after

the period of field research, the school was permanently closed as part of implementing a decision to close all temporary education centres.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I present essential background information on the context of this research. I briefly explain the provision of education in Syria before the war due to its relevance to the discussions on the provision of education for Syrians in Turkey. I outline the key challenges in educating the large number of Syrian refugee students in Turkey and the measures MONE took to address these challenges. I examine the types of Syrian schools which were established out of camps, their positive and negative aspects, curricula choices and pedagogical practices as reported in different research studies conducted in Turkey. Finally, I provide some information on the school researched in this study. The contextual information I present in this chapter demonstrates the complexity of education provision for Syrian refugees in Turkey, its inconsistency and the challenges within which schools such as the school studied were operating.

In the next chapter, I discuss the research methodology and methods which guide this study.

Chapter Five: Research Methodology and Methods

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the research methodology and methods I used to collect and analyse the research data. I begin the chapter explaining the epistemological stances and theoretical underpinnings of this study. Next, I justify the choice of a qualitative case study approach which is informed by interpretivism to guide this study. After that, I detail the data collection and analysis procedures. I also explain the research challenges I faced while designing this study. Then, I discuss research trustworthiness and reliability of data. Finally, I present the ethical procedures I followed during research to protect the rights of participants.

5.2 Research Methodology and Philosophical Stances

Methodology refers to the rationale and the philosophical stances which underpin the research, whether qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods (Savin-Baden and Tombs, 2017). In line with Creswell (2014) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016), in this research the three types of research are viewed on a continuum. With the aim of obtaining richer descriptions and a deeper understanding of quality education in the Syrian refugee context from different perspectives, I employed a qualitative case study methodology. Before understanding the main characteristics of qualitative research, the significant advantages this research offers and its limitations, it is important first to understand its philosophical foundations.

5.2.1 Interpretivism and Constructionism

Based on the methodological literature, there should be a compatibility between the way the research questions are answered and the research method used to collect data which is connected to underlying assumptions (Brannen, 1992; Punch, 2009; Bryman, 2012; Neuman, 2014; Punch and Oancea, 2014). According to Cameron (2011), Neuman (2014) and Punch (2016), researchers are expected to be aware of these assumptions and be explicit about them. Therefore, it is important to explain the concept of paradigm and identify the ontological and epistemological assumptions which underpin this research. However, based

on Crotty (1998), Punch (2009), and Merriam and Tisdell (2016), the ways methodological terms are defined in the literature are inconsistent because different authors used various names to refer to the same concept.

Punch (2009, p. 15) defines paradigms as a set of “assumptions about the nature of the reality being studied, assumptions about what constitutes knowledge of that reality, and assumptions about what therefore are appropriate ways (or methods) of building knowledge of that reality.” In other words, Punch (2009) indicates, paradigms inform us about what reality is like (ontology), what the relationship is between the researcher and that reality (epistemology), and what methods can be used for studying this reality (methodology). Therefore, based on Punch (2009), on the one hand, methods depend on and derive from paradigms. On the other hand, paradigms influence the methods used to answer research questions. However, in the literature, the extent epistemological issues influence the choice of methods is contested (Brannen, 1992).

Generally, Neuman (2014) indicates, most social research is based on positivist or interpretive paradigms which are associated with different social theories and various research techniques. Brannen (1992) and Punch (2009) suggest that positivism mostly tends to be associated with quantitative research and interpretivism is likely to be associated with qualitative research. Positivism is defined as the approach of natural sciences (Neuman, 2014). Positivism considers science as the provider of the clearest possible ideal of knowledge (Cohen et al., 2015). The belief in positivism as Crotty (1998) and Punch (2009) explain is that it is possible to give objective accounts of knowledge. Getting knowledge is not done speculatively, but rather through scientific observation (Crotty, 1998; Bassey, 1999).

Positivists believe that the social world is rational and through research it is possible to understand it as Bassey (1999) explains. There is one version of reality (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Complex information can be presented as numbers while information which is hard to quantify is often ignored because positivists pursue general rules (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Testing theories through analysing numbers from measures is important (Bassey, 1999; Bryman, 2012; Neuman, 2014). Therefore, the focus is on conducting experiments,

standardised tests and measurement to gain knowledge (Crotty, 1998; Hammersley, 2012). Surveys and statistics are mostly used by positivist researchers (Neuman, 2014).

However, as Hammersley (2012) indicates that the term ‘positivism’ is often used in a very negative way. Positivism has been criticised for various reasons such as its reductionist, biased and restrictive views of nature and dehumanising people through presenting them using numbers (Hammersley, 2012; Cohen et al., 2015). Based on Cohen et al., (2015), positivism considers human behaviour as passive and controlled. It rejects notions such as choice, freedom and individuality which have received much criticism.

Furthermore, Cohen et al., (2015) indicate that positivism defines life in measurable terms instead of focusing on inner experience. The risk is that positivism becomes limited to explaining behaviour. Positivism also fails to consider our unique ability to interpret our own experiences. The findings of positivistic research are often not useful for those they are intended for such as teachers, social workers, and counsellors. Therefore, Cohen et al., (2015) point out that using the positivist paradigm to understand the complexity of human behaviour may be less successful particularly in classroom and school contexts where there are various problems of teaching, learning and human interaction.

In the interpretive paradigm, Cohen et al., (2015) point out that the focus is on the individual. Understanding the subjective world of human experience in its natural setting is the main concern (Bryman, 2012; Neuman, 2014; Cohen et al., 2015). Understanding the behaviour of people or the reasons certain institutions exist and function in particular ways require understanding the distinctive nature of their perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes as Hammersley (2012) explains. Meaning is rarely explicit, so it requires a thorough investigation of the text, consideration of its many messages and making connection among its parts (Neuman, 2014).

Interpretivists believe that there is no single reality (Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). People understand and construct the worlds often in similar ways, but these understandings are not necessarily the same (Bassey, 1999). Therefore, Bassey (1999) and Creswell (2014) indicate, reality is varied and multiple which invites researchers to explore

the complexity of views instead of narrowing meanings into a few ideas. As Bassey (1999, p. 43) puts it, “[i]nstead of reality being ‘out there’, it is the observers who are ‘out there’.” However, researchers are expected to suspend their prior cultural assumptions and attitudes and be willing to learn the culture of the people researched (Hammersley, 2012).

According to Hammersley (2012) and Cohen et al., (2015), the main criticisms of interpretivism are: firstly, the descriptions interpretivism promotes are vague or inconstant to be used as a base for comparing the orientations of different people or the characteristics of different situations. Secondly, interpretivism fails to provide specific means which show that particular factors produce certain outcomes. Meanings are considered as psychological factors inside people’s heads and rely on researchers’ perceptions, so the conclusions may be biased or inaccurate. Thirdly, the focus is on producing a coherent narrative in the analysis and findings. Therefore, critics raise doubts regarding the validity of interpretations made. Fourthly, studying a small number of cases which interpretivism encourages restricts the provision of broader conclusions, which is vital in social science. Finally, in providing explanations, interpretivism heavily focuses on cultural factors instead of material or social structural. Nevertheless, Hammersley (2012) argues that these criticisms make assumptions, like all criticisms, which may be open to question.

The main purpose of this research is to understand teachers’ pedagogical practices at an urban Syrian school in Turkey. The research aims to explore teachers’ beliefs and experiences of teaching Syrian refugee pupils and the adaptations in teaching methods in the new context from teachers’ perspectives. The research intends to understand teachers’ perspectives on quality education, the influences affecting their practices and their attitudes to quality education as promoted by the INEE Minimum Standards (2010a) which provides a widely-cited framework of good practice in emergencies.

As this research intends to construct meaning by interpreting the views and experiences of Syrian teachers and administrative staff as well as their public classroom practices to better understand quality education in the refugee context, the philosophical stances of this research, using Bryman (2012), fit into constructionism or constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology. Therefore, as I will detail in the next section, the choice of the qualitative approach is appropriate for the purposes of this research. It is important, however,

to mention that in the literature constructivism and interpretivism are sometimes used interchangeably as Creswell (2014) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016) indicate. The reason may be as Gray (2014) points out because they are related in terms of epistemology.

According to Bryman (2012), in constructionism, social phenomena and their meanings are constantly constructed and revised by social actors through social interaction. Because it focuses on constructing and reconstructing meaning through social interactions, constructionism may share some characteristics with interpretivism (Hammersley, 2012). However, some authors differentiate between constructionism and interpretivism such as Hammersley (2012) who points out that in constructionism understanding people or even ourselves is not possible as constructionism emphasises multiple realities. Because meaning is not discovered, Crotty (1998, p. 9) indicates that “different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon.” Therefore, researchers present a particular version of social reality (Bryman, 2012). It is also influenced by the researchers’ experiences and background (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

The choices of the philosophical stances of constructionism and interpretivism are best suited to the purposes of this research and my own ontological and epistemological understanding of the social world because I believe that constructing meaning about the phenomenon researched, quality education in the Syrian context, depends on the way Syrian teachers and administrative staff give it meaning. It is important to mention that the philosophical orientations of this research have influenced the research questions. Interacting with teachers and understanding their views of quality education demanded modifying the initial research questions throughout the research. Primarily, the research questions were based on understanding quality education as reported in the refugee literature. However, because different people construct meaning differently, constructing meaning through interaction with Syrian teachers demanded modifying the original questions to suit the local context of this research. The research questions I presented above have guided my choices of the qualitative research methodology, case study approach and data collection techniques. In the next section, I define the main characteristics of qualitative research and provide a rationale for using qualitative approaches to conduct this research.

5.2.2 Qualitative Research

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), having a simple definition of qualitative research is challenging due to the underlying philosophical, disciplinary, and historical influences. As Hammersley (2013) and Cohen et al., (2015) indicate, there are many varieties of qualitative research and various definitions have been provided to define it. Naturalistic or interpretive research are also two other terms which sometimes have been used to refer to qualitative research (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Along similar lines, Denzin and Lincoln (2018, p. 10) suggest that because of its complexity, qualitative research “means different things in each of these moments.” Nevertheless, Denzin and Lincoln (2018) provide a generic definition of qualitative research:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including fieldnotes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018, p. 10).

Based on this definition, qualitative researchers are mainly concerned with understanding people’s experiences, and the ways people understand their world as they happen normally in their natural settings, how people interpret what they experience, the meanings they provide to their experiences and how they construct their worlds (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Therefore, Miles and Huberman (1994) and Cohen et al., (2015) point out that participants’ voices are recognised and the underlying issues beneath behaviour and action are examined in qualitative research. In its focus on interpreting how people understand their social worlds, qualitative research is set apart from the practices and norms of the natural scientific model and of positivism (Bryman, 2012).

In qualitative research, Bogdan and Biklen (1992) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016) indicate that the researcher is the fundamental instrument for data collection and analysis. Because qualitative research is primarily concerned with understanding, there are many advantages of using the human instrument as a means of data collection and analysis. For example, Merriam and Tisdell (2016) illustrate, researchers can process information immediately, respond, clarify and summarise materials, expand understanding through verbal and

nonverbal communication, check with respondents for accuracy of information, and explore unexpected responses.

However, researchers' subjectivity and biases which may influence the study are among the disadvantages of using the human instrument (Bryman, 2012; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Bryman (2012) indicates that qualitative findings mostly depend on what researchers consider as significant and important as well as their personal relationship with participants. Researchers' views are often unsystematic and the reasons for selecting certain areas to focus on during research are unclear (Bryman, 2012). To address this limitation, Merriam and Tisdell (2016) highlight that researchers need to identify and consider their own potential influences in relation to the theoretical framework or lens which guide their research and their own interests.

Miles et al., (2014, p. 11) emphasise that one of the strengths of well-collected qualitative data is "their richness and holism". Denzin and Lincoln (2000), Cohen et al., (2015) and Patton (2015) illustrate that qualitative research facilitates gaining rich descriptions and deep understanding of meanings, actions, attitudes, intentions, behaviors and observable or non-observable phenomena. Therefore, the final written report is highly descriptive and may include descriptions of the context, research participants, and the activities of interest (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Researchers support their findings using quotes and excerpts (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Data is presented in a coherent and consistent way (Neuman, 2014). Moreover, Creswell (2014) adds, the report is characterised by having a flexible structure. The flexible design which characterises some qualitative studies facilitates responding to changing conditions during the research process as Merriam and Tisdell (2016) indicate.

Researchers undertaking qualitative research, as Creswell (2014, p. 4) suggests, "support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation." According to Miles et al., (2014), qualitative research is mostly suited for discovery, exploring new areas and generating hypothesis. Qualitative research is often conducted to inductively learn in the field because current theories are lacking or they do not appropriately define a phenomenon (Merriam and

Tisdell, 2016). However, based on Bryman (2012) and Miles et al., (2014), qualitative research may be also used to test theories.

In qualitative research, Miles et al., (2014) and Neuman (2014) explain, the social and historical contexts are considered central for understanding the meaning of a social action, event, or statement. Studying an event, social action, or conversation in isolation from its social context may result in misrepresenting its meaning and changing its social significance as Neuman (2014) points out. In addition, the same activity or behaviour may have different results because of different contextual meanings. Bryman (2012) emphasises that in qualitative research social reality is viewed as continuously changing depending on meanings that individual people create. Therefore, engaging with qualitative data is a very complex process which demands lots of care and self-awareness from researchers (Miles et al., 2014). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) advise that qualitative researchers approach their study with a questioning stance, be careful observers, ask good open-ended questions and be able to deal with ambiguity caused by the flexible design of qualitative research.

Miles et al., (2014) point out that one of the strengths of qualitative data is that it is normally collected over a sustained period. Often researchers spend a significant amount of time in close contact with participants (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Therefore, Miles et al., (2014) argue that qualitative data is powerful for studying any process including history. Qualitative research usually involves a small number of participants who are typically purposefully selected (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Qualitative data includes various types of things. Qualitative data is mostly in the form of words, but it may also be in the form of images from documents, artefact, sound recordings, observation records and notes, and transcripts (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Bryman, 2012; Neuman, 2014; Punch and Oancea, 2014). Therefore, Punch and Oancea (2014) note that qualitative researchers have a wider variety of possible sources of data than quantitative researchers. Punch and Oancea (2014, p. 113) highlight that for some qualitative researchers, “literally everything is data”. Moreover, researchers usually combine multiple sources in their qualitative study (Punch and Oancea, 2014). Because of the wide variety of data collection times and methods as research progresses, qualitative research is characterised by inherent flexibility, which Miles et al., (2014) argue, gives researchers further confidence that they really understand what is happening.

The qualitative research process includes emerging questions and procedures (Creswell, 2014). Qualitative data is analysed inductively starting from specific to general themes (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014; Neuman, 2014). Qualitative researchers develop concepts in the form of themes, categories, motifs, generalisations, and taxonomies (Neuman, 2014; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). When researchers are engaged in making meaning from the data, interpretations are constructed (Neuman, 2014; Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). Qualitative researchers create narrative which interprets the meaning of data using their field experience (Creswell, 2014).

Researchers form measures depending on the specific situation studied and are often particular to the individual setting or researcher (Neuman, 2014). Therefore, Bryman (2012) and Neuman (2014) point out that replicating research procedures is very rare. This is different from measurement in quantitative research in which researchers, using Punch and Oancea's (2014) terms, "structure-before" which means researchers impose their own codes, categories or concepts on the data. According to Punch and Oancea (2014), one of the general criticisms of pre-structured data is that it does not allow people to express meanings and understandings using their own terms. At the same time, making standardised comparisons depending on people's terms and understandings can be difficult without a pre-structured set of codes.

Despite its complexity, I employed qualitative research because this study is principally concerned with "meaning" and "participant perspectives" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992, p. 32). I use qualitative research to better understand how teachers usually educate refugee children, what teachers believe they do, teachers' attitudes to teaching in refugee situations, the reasons they provide to justify what they do, the types of practices they share online with public viewers, the underlying influences and challenges affecting the teaching and learning process and how Syrian teachers' practices compare to similar practices internationally. In other words, the primary aim of this study is to provide an in-depth understanding of quality education in the refugee context as perceived and experienced by Syrian teachers as well as publicised by the school's social media officer in their school setting.

In addition to the richness and depth of qualitative data, Miles et al., (2014) indicate that it has a "strong potential for revealing complexity". The complexity of human nature which

contrasts with the regularity of the natural world is “nowhere more apparent than in the contexts of classroom and school where problems of teaching, learning and human interaction present the positivistic researcher with a mammoth challenge” as Cohen et al., (2015, p. 7) argue. For these reasons, understanding the complexity of teaching and learning particularly, using Fraenkel et al., (2012, p. 427) terms, “how things occur” in the refugee school context necessitates carrying out qualitative rather than quantitative research so that the focus becomes both the process and product of research.

Employing qualitative approaches in this study to provide answers to the research questions benefits from the flexibility which characterises qualitative designs. Particularly, using qualitative research facilitates understanding quality education in the Syrian context from different perspectives using various sources of data such as classroom observations, interviews, images and videos the school’s social media officer posted online showing classroom practices as well as fieldnotes and memos. Furthermore, the advantage of using qualitative research is using the researcher as a primary tool of data collection and analysis. Given that the refugee context is a very sensitive context which is in constant transition, using qualitative research facilitates clarifying, understanding and responding to many unexpected changes and challenges which both the participating school and I faced during the research process. I will explain examples of these changes and challenges later in this chapter.

To understand “how” Syrian teachers educate children at the refugee school and “why” they teach in particular ways (Yin, 2003), I use the case study approach as a research strategy.

5.3 Case Study Approach

There are various approaches to qualitative research which differ in their ways of collecting and analysing data (Yin, 2003; Creswell et al., 2007; Fraenkel et al., 2012; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). According to Yin (2003), each approach has advantages and disadvantages based on three criteria: the types of research questions, the researcher’s control over events, and the focus of the research on contemporary rather than historical phenomena. The most common types of qualitative research which Merriam and Tisdell (2016) identify are shown below in Figure 5.1 with a brief explanation of their main characteristics:

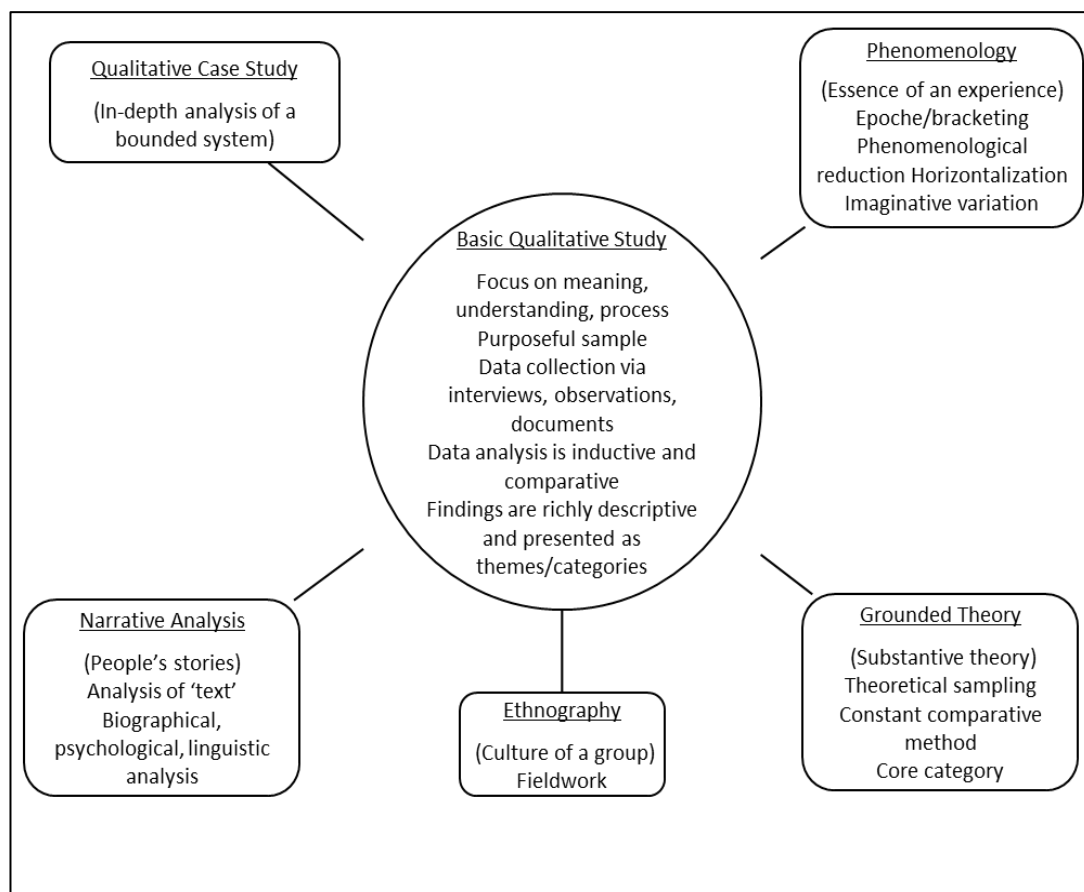


Figure 5.1: Types of qualitative research (Source: Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p. 42).

In contrast with phenomenology which is concerned with individuals' experience of some phenomenon, or ethnography which is focused on mainly aspects of culture, or grounded theory which aims to develop an explanatory theory, case study research is more diverse (Johnson and Christensen, 2004). As a research strategy, case study is most commonly used in educational research (Lichtman, 2011; Yazan, 2015). However, Bassey (1999) and Punch (2009) point out that there are various definitions of case studies which makes defining the case study challenging. For example, Creswell et al., (2007) provide the following detailed definition:

Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports) and reports a case description and case-based themes (Creswell et al., 2007, p. 245).

This definition is in line with Bogdan and Biklen (1992), Stake (1995), Lichtman (2011) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016) who indicate that the most important characteristic of case study research is providing a thorough examination of a bounded system; that is, the case. The case

study aims to understand the case in detail and its natural setting while recognising its complexity and context (Punch, 2009). Because it is concerned with understanding the wholeness, unity and integrity of the case, Punch (2009) indicates that the case study is a strategy which organises data rather than a method.

Stake (1995) and Fraenkel et al., (2012) explain that a case may be one individual, a child, a teacher, a classroom, a school, or a programme. It may also be an event, activity or an ongoing process (Lichtman, 2011; Fraenkel et al., 2012; Creswell, 2014). What is important as Merriam and Tisdell (2016) highlight is that the case should be a single entity around which there are boundaries. To assess the boundedness of a case, Merriam and Tisdell (2016) suggest considering whether there would be a limit to the data collected such as the number of people observed or interviewed. If there is no limit, this means that the phenomenon is not bounded enough to be considered as a case (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016).

However, Yin (2014) offers a less tight definition of the case arguing that the boundary lines between the phenomenon and its context may not be clear enough. The most important feature as Yin (2014) argues is setting the case in its real-life context. Therefore, providing very detailed descriptions is one of the distinguishing features of case studies (Cohen et al., 2015). Because the complex explanations that case studies provide are written in a narrative style, Creswell (2014) and Neuman (2014) emphasise that cases are bounded by time. Based on Stake (1995), the time researchers spend studying a case may be one day or one year. Creswell et al., (2007) illustrate that in case studies, the focus is not entirely on the individual, but rather it is on the issue with the individual case that researchers choose to understand the issue.

Cohen et al., (2015) indicate that there are lots of variables operating in each case study research. Therefore, to develop a comprehensive contextual understanding of the case, researchers use more than one data collection tool and multiple sources of data (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003; 2014; Creswell et al., 2007; Cohen et al., 2015). There are many different types of case studies (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Some case studies can be single or multiple, and some may use both qualitative and quantitative methods (Johnson and Christensen, 2004; Yin, 2014; Cohen et al., 2015; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016).

Bassey (1999) and Punch (2009) point out that one of the main criticisms of case studies is related to their generalisability since the study is based on one case. However, Stake (1995) argues that the aim of case study is not generalisation, but particularisation:

The real business of case study is particularisation, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself (Stake, 1995, p. 8).

Therefore, case studies do not intend to produce generalisations, but some cases may result in what Stake (1995, p. 8) calls “valid modification of generalization”. According to Stake (1995), there are three types of qualitative case studies: intrinsic, instrumental and collective case studies. In intrinsic case studies, researchers are concerned with investigating a particular case to learn about it specifically rather than learning about some general problem (Stake, 1995). The case may be very important, interesting or misunderstood, so it is worthy of study (Punch, 2009). In the instrumental type of cases, researchers aim to obtain a general understanding of an issue or to refine a theory and use one bounded case to detail this issue (Creswell et al., 2007; Punch, 2009). In this type of cases, Stake (1995, p. 3) points out that case study becomes instrumental to understand something else, other than understanding a particular teacher for example. As for collective or multiple case studies, Cohen et al., (2015) explain, groups of single case studies are conducted to provide a comprehensive understanding of the issue which researchers are concerned with. The purpose of using multiple cases is often to provide different perspectives on the issue as Creswell et al., (2007) clarify. Generalisation is not the aim of the first two types of case studies (Punch, 2009).

According to Yin (2003; 2014), doing case studies is mostly preferable in three situations: when the key research questions are “how” or “why” questions, a researcher has little or no control over behavioural events, and the focus of the study is a contemporary phenomenon. Employing case studies when asking explanatory questions such as “how” and “why” questions is appropriate because these types of questions are concerned with operational links which require to be tracked over time, rather than just frequencies or incidence (Yin, 2003).

The purposes of conducting this research conform to Yin's (2003; 2014) criteria because this study is concerned with understanding how refugee education is provided at a refugee school in its everyday life context, why teachers there do what they say they do, how their teaching practices differ and/or resemble what they did in pre-war Syria, and how teachers justify the changes, if any, in their teaching practices in the refugee context. Moreover, this research intends to understand how Syrian teachers understand quality education in their natural setting and how their beliefs and practices compare to the INEE international standards and practices in similar situations.

In this research, I focus on building a detailed understanding of one refugee school in an urban setting as a case. Using Yin's (2003) terms, the Syrian refugee school is the primary unit of analysis in a single case design. Teachers, administrative staff and the school's social media platform are the subunits of analysis within the case. To obtain rich data and provide an in-depth explanation and analysis of this case, I rely on using three data collection tools and four sources of data. The main sources I use are classroom observations, interviews with teachers, interviews with administrative staff, and the school's online documents on their Facebook page:



Figure 5.2: Studying a Syrian refugee school in Turkey as a case (Source: School's Facebook page).

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016) when observation is combined with using interviews and document analysis, this facilitates understanding the phenomenon under investigation holistically. Dealing with various sources of evidence such as observations, interviews and documents is the case study's "unique strength" (Yin, 2003, p. 8). This makes the choice of a case study approach more encouraging to use than other approaches. The

refugee school case fits into the instrumental type of case study as Stake (1995) identifies. The primary purpose of this research is to provide a deep understanding of the quality of refugee education as provided in one Syrian refugee school to “get insight into the question” (Stakes, 1995, p. 3).

In the next section, I provide detailed information on the research methods and data collection process outlining the challenges I faced while carrying out this research.

5.4 Data Collection Process

Researching the Syrian refugee context which was experiencing constant transition has posed several challenges in conducting this research and necessitated developing alternative plans for carrying out fieldwork. By the time I had to submit my application to the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee in June 2016, there had been lots of policy changes in Turkey which significantly affected the research data collection process. At the time I started my PhD study in January 2015, Syrian nationals were exempted from visa requirements for travels to Turkey. However, the political decision to regulate Syrian nationals’ entry to Turkey from January 2016 as part of implementing an agreement with the European Union raised the possibility of being refused entry to do face-to-face fieldwork. Therefore, I had to devise two research plans simultaneously, one for carrying out face-to-face observations and interviews on school sites and another plan for conducting this research remotely using social media platforms.

While waiting to receive the ethical approval for both research plans, I submitted an application to enter Turkey. Despite providing a letter from my supervisors to explain the purposes of research and support my application, my application was rejected like lots of Syrian applicants at that time without providing any explanation:

Unfortunately your visa application has been rejected by Interior Minister of Turkey. We do not know on what ground they have refused it as they did not mention why. Thus we cannot give you a clear reason why that might be (Email from Turkish Consulate, 04/11/2016).

As my access to Turkey was denied, I had to carry out my fieldwork remotely. According to Hine (2005a), understanding research methods has been challenged by the arrival of the Internet. James and Busher (2009) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016) explain that advances in internet technology have made it possible for researchers to adapt the traditional research designs and methods to be used in the virtual environment (James and Busher, 2009). Although the features of the Internet limit the types of research methodologies which can be used, Hewson et al., (2003) indicate that there exists a vast range of research tools, instruments, techniques and domains which can be adapted. Some information and communication technologies enable having a complete range of visual and verbal exchange (Salmons, 2012). Therefore, James and Busher (2009) point out that depending on the Internet as a research tool in recent times has become very popular.

Andreotta et al., (2019) suggest that new ways of collecting data have become possible along with the popularity of the Internet and social media technologies which are considered impractical through more traditional qualitative methods. Therefore, Hine (2005a) and Mann (2016) note that for many researchers using the Internet can be a useful resource. Similarly, Hewson et al., (2003, p. 42) highlight that the Internet raises the possibilities for carrying out research “that take us beyond the scope of traditional methods”. For example, when it is not possible to access participants and interview them face-to-face, the Internet facilitates carrying out research to gather relevant information (Mann and Stewart, 2000; Hewson et al., 2003; James and Busher, 2009). Contrary to the stereotype, Hine (2005b, p. 17) argues that “online interactions can be socially rich interactions” for qualitative researchers. Along a similar line, James and Busher (2009) argue that getting rich data in an online research setting is achievable provided that the practice of the online researchers is reflexive and rigorous. Exactly like face-to-face interactions, researchers are required to make use of their present social abilities and develop new skills as Hine (2005b) points out. Moreover, researchers need to be competent at making relaxing spaces for their participants to share their experiences and deal with the ethical responsibilities relating to online research (Hine, 2005b).

The potential gains of using the Internet as a means of research include reaching various populations of research subjects, researching people who are difficult to locate, researching sensitive topics, while being considered time and cost-effective (Mann and Stewart, 2000; Hewson et al., 2003; Hine, 2005a; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016; Brinkmann, 2018). According

to Mann and Stewart (2000), when access to participants is constrained because of disability or language and communication differences, the Internet minimises the restrictions of space and time. Although it is not always guaranteed, researchers may benefit from the general tendency for people to reveal more about themselves online within a research setting (Hine, 2005b; Joinson, 2005).

Nevertheless, there are some limitations to conducting online research relating to response rates, representativeness of sample population and quality of data (Hewson et al., 2003; Hine, 2005a). In addition, James and Busher (2009) indicate that only those who have access to the internet and experience in using it can participate in online research. Some technical problems may arise when carrying out internet-based research (Mann and Stewart, 2000; Hewson et al., 2003; 2016; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). For example, Hewson et al., (2016) suggest that during busy times, the network may be slow. It is also possible for hardware and software items to experience some faults. Therefore, some participants may lose access to the internet during research (Mann and Stewart, 2000). However, during this research I prepared an alternative plan to get around these potential problems by having two different providers of internet service both in Scotland and Turkey.

Hewson et al., (2003) and Hine (2005a) indicate that there is a controversy regarding the ethics of online research. Therefore, what is considered ethical Internet research is debatable (James and Busher, 2009). Getting participants' informed consent may be difficult, anonymity, confidentiality and the distinction between public and private domains may be vague (Hewson et al., 2003; Hine, 2005a; James and Busher, 2009). To minimise the potential limitations while conducting this research, I was very attentive to the ethical considerations and followed the ethical procedures as specified by the ethics in Internet-mediated research (Hewson et al., 2003; Hine, 2005a/b; Salmons, 2012) and the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee, which I will detail later in the chapter.

In the next subsections I will explain the difficulties of securing access to the Syrian school, sampling procedures, and the processes of gathering data from the school's Facebook page, classroom observations and interviews.

5.4.1 Access to the Syrian School

Another challenge which I faced at the beginning of my fieldwork was the changes in the educational policy in providing refugee education in Turkey which I discussed in the previous chapter. At that time, there were lots of discussions about closing temporary education centres in Turkey as the war in Syria was prolonged. The provision of Syrian education was planned within the scope of temporary protection. There were many difficulties in regulating the content and quality of education provided at different urban Syrian schools as well. As a result, lots of schools doubted the intentions of outside researchers visiting their schools.

After sending invitations to participate in research to five Syrian schools in different locations in Turkey, one school accepted the invitation. After browsing the internet, I purposefully targeted the Syrian schools which were keen on posting class activities on Facebook because of their relevance to the goals of this research. The school headteachers said that they could accept participating in face-to-face research only after providing many documents which proved my identity. Therefore, the lack of trust, fear and insecurity caused by the civil war in Syria decreased my chances of accessing schools which did not know me in person particularly those run by the National Coalition for Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces. Because some members of my family were pupils at one of the contacted schools, the headteacher accepted the invitation to participate. In the school's approval letter (Appendix 1), the administrative staff expressed their willingness to facilitate carrying out research.

5.4.2 Participant Sampling

Because qualitative research is focused on studying relatively small numbers of people, interactions, situations or spaces, it is highly important that researchers carefully select them for good analytic reasons (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011; Rapley, 2014). To understand quality education in the refugee context and allow for comparisons in teaching practices and experiences in Syria before the war and in Turkey during the ongoing war, I used purposeful sampling which is very common in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012, Salmons, 2012; Rapley, 2014; Patton, 2015). According to Patton (2015, 659), purposeful sampling “involves studying information-rich cases in depth and detail to understand and illuminate

important cases rather than generalizing from a sample to a population.” In purposeful sampling, Bryman (2012) and Rapley (2014) indicate that the selection of the unit of analysis is directly related to the research questions.

Due to access restrictions to the school site, I asked the headteacher of the Syrian school to help invite 15-20 teachers with prior expertise in teaching children in Syria before conflict to voluntarily participate in this research. I translated the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 2) and Consent Form (Appendix 3) into Arabic with help from a professional translator to clarify the purposes of conducting this research and highlight teachers’ voluntary participation. After distributing the forms, some teachers needed more information in relation to coding their names and protecting their personal information particularly during the ongoing war in Syria. The teachers contacted me on the phone number I provided in the Participant Information Sheet. One of the teachers appeared sceptical about the real purposes of my research and requested evidence from the university to decide whether to participate or not. After providing relevant documents and the university website link, the teacher decided to participate.

As my relationships with teachers developed during the research process, more teachers contacted me and expressed their willingness to participate. At the end of the research, I managed to involve fifteen teachers in the study. In Table 5.1 below, I present teachers’ codes, qualifications, training and teaching experiences:

Teachers	Qualifications	Teaching experience in Syria	Teaching experience in Turkey	UNICEF Training
Andy	Postgraduate Diploma in Education BA in Education	3 years	3 years	-
Iona	BA in Sciences	3 years	3 years	-
Rose	BA in Arabic Language and Literature	4 years	3 years	✓
Jane	BA in Arabic Language and Literature	9 years	2 years	-
Grace	Teacher Preparation Institute	13 years	4 years	-
Hannah	Education: 4 th year undergraduate student	1 year	2.5 years	✓
Julia	Arabic Language and Literature: 3 rd year undergraduate student	7 years	4 years	✓
Anna	BA in Education	1 year	4 years	✓
Maggie	BA in English Language and Literature	5 years	3 years	✓
Leah	BA in Islamic Law	2 years	2 years	✓
Lucy	BA in English Language and Literature English Language Teaching (ELT) Training	2 years	3 years	✓
Cara	BA in Arabic Language and Literature	15 years	3 years	✓
Amy	BA in Mathematics	11 years	4 years	✓
Lily	BA in Sciences	5 years	2 years	✓
Sarah	Postgraduate Diploma in Education BA in English Language and Literature	7 years	2 years	-

Table 5.1: Teachers' qualifications, experiences, and training.

In coding teachers' names, I purposefully used Western names to completely ensure anonymity while researching a very sensitive context. With the aims of adding variability to the data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and helping understand the case (Stake, 1995), I invited three administrative staff to participate in this research. Their codes, roles in school, qualifications, training and experiences are shown below:

Administrative staff	Role in school	Qualifications	Teaching experience in Turkey	UNICEF Training
James	Social media officer	BA in Media studies	-	-
Skye	Deputy headteacher	BA in Sciences	4 years	✓
William	Headteacher	BA in Sciences	4 years	✓

Table 5.2: Administrative staff's role, qualifications, experiences, and training.

None of the school staff had access to training in Turkey to deal with traumatised children prior to teaching at the refugee school. However, before moving to Turkey, Hannah indicated that she attended a UNICEF training in Syria which focused on providing internally-displaced children with psychosocial support. UNICEF provided training on the INEE minimum standards for all the staff at the school two years after opening. The two-week

training, which was offered during the summer school break, focused on using LCE in classrooms, providing psychosocial support, and using time management techniques. The trainers provided teachers with examples of topics to focus on in class. The training was delivered by teachers who had attended the UNICEF training at another school two weeks before. Some teachers did not attend the training because they were teaching at another school at that time.

It is important to point out that not all Syrian teachers had formal preparation to teach as part of their degree course in Syria. Prior to 1999, teachers of the second cycle of basic education (Grades 5-9) completed a two-year post-secondary programme at an intermediate institute (World Education Services, hereafter referred to as WES, 2016). From 1999, formal teacher training programmes were mainly offered to student teachers at faculties of Education at Syrian universities. Student teachers were required to complete a four-year bachelor's degree which addresses teaching methodologies, subject specialisation, and provides practical training (WES, 2016). Graduates of education could teach all levels (Grades 1-12). Prospective teachers who held bachelor's degrees in other fields could complete a one-year post-graduate programme offered at faculties of education which leads to a teaching certificate called a Diploma in Education (WES, 2016). Nevertheless, some teachers could be appointed without completing the qualifying Diploma in Education.

As Table 5.1 above shows, Grace had a teaching certificate from a teacher preparation institute. Andy, Hannah, and Anna received formal teacher education over the course of four academic years. Andy and Sarah completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Education. Lucy said that she studied pedagogy and was trained to teach in schools as part of her bachelor's degree in English language and literature at one of the seven public universities in Syria. However, this was different from Maggie's and my own experience as graduates of English language and literature, where no formal teacher training was offered as part of the degree course. As for the rest of the teachers, they did not receive any formal teacher training as part of their undergraduate studies. Therefore, nine out of fifteen teachers did not have formal teaching qualifications and were not offered training at the beginning of their teaching career. The deputy headteacher and headteacher who were teaching at the time of research did not have formal teaching qualifications either. Finally, James who administered the school's Facebook page did not have any teaching responsibilities at the school. His role was purely administrative as he indicated.

In the next section I discuss the main three research instruments I used to collect the data with the aim of building a deeper understanding of quality education in the refugee context.

5.4.3 Data Collection Tools

To gather the research data, I used three data collection instruments: online documents, real-time online observations and interviews. The primary sources of data were classroom observations and follow-up interviews with teachers and administrative staff. Documents were used to support observation and interview data. I collected observation and interview data in two months while collecting online documents lasted for much longer time till refining the final findings of research to ensure their accuracy.

Adequate access to the internet was provided in the Syrian school. It was expected that research participants were technology literate as in Syria computer literacy has been taught as a compulsory subject in schools since 2004. As Savin-Baden and Tombs (2017, p. 26) argue, “going online is not a discrete experience; it is part of us”. Using Skype as a means of communication with family and friends is very popular among Syrians particularly after the Syrian war began. Both teachers and pupils were used to the presence of the camera in their classes because the school was a very active user of social media on Facebook.

In the next subsection, I provide detailed information on the strengths and limitations of each instrument as well as the research procedures.

5.4.3.1 Online Documents

The use of social media nowadays is considered one of the most powerful communication channels (Bredl et al., 2012). In particular, the popularity of Facebook and Twitter has provided them with a favourable position in educational research studies (Savin-Baden and Tombs, 2017). Patton (2015) and Hewson et al., (2016) point out that all kinds of social media postings are examples of qualitative documents. For qualitative researchers, based on Andreotta et al., (2019), social media provides an innovative opportunity to gather an extensive range of varied content without requiring intrusive nor intensive data collection

procedure. However, Hewson et al., (2016) indicate that the usefulness of online documents for research relies on the specific purposes and aims of research. In addition, the suitability of online documents for qualitative research depends on the richness of data gathered from online sources (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011; Hewson et al., 2016). Often the outcomes of document analysis are summarised narratively or combined into tables which explain important results (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011).

Guided by the conceptual framework of this research which I discussed in Chapter Three (section 3.6, Figure 3.2), I examined classroom photos and videos which the social media officer posted on the school's open Facebook page. Most of the photos and videos showed teaching and learning activities, layout, pupils, and some teachers both inside and outside the class. At the time of writing this research, access to the Facebook page has been open to all online visitors. Therefore, no special account or permission is needed to visit the Facebook page nor download the online documents. Hewson et al., (2003) suggest that the data which is purposefully and voluntarily provided in the public internet domain should be ethically acceptable for researchers to use if anonymity is protected. Along a similar line, Merriam and Tisdell (2016) indicate that gathering public data which does not require passwords is considered acceptable. Nevertheless, I obtained permission from the administrative staff and teachers to use their online documents in this research. I also concealed the identities of participants and the particular setting of the school. It is important to note that throughout this research I use "Facebook data" to refer to the school's publicised documents.

According to Hancock and Algozzine (2011), when documents are used to enhance observation and interview data, they offer a rich source of information. To achieve this aim, I collected Facebook data across three different phases: before and after each observation as well as following interviews. At the beginning, I collected some data to familiarise myself with the school context, get to know potential teachers and understand the kinds of publicised classroom practices the school's social media officer was keen to demonstrate. Following each observation, I focused on collecting data from the observed class whenever possible to identify teachers' publicised activities and use them in discussions in the interview. Discussing with teachers their Facebook class activities helped develop a rapport with them as I showed awareness of their class work. At the same time, they were used as tools for reflection on teachers' practices (Savin-Baden and Tombs, 2017). Therefore, these

discussions illuminated the meanings behind the data from teachers' perspectives and allowed for comparison with observation and interview data.

The Facebook activities which some teachers said they did were easy to identify because these teachers appeared in the albums, their names were shown in the comments or because of the decorations and posters on the walls which distinguished each class. Nevertheless, some teachers discussed doing some activities which I found hard to identify on Facebook. Some teachers were very attentive to protecting their identities and used pseudonyms on Facebook which made it difficult for me to link the activities to their classes. Therefore, I could not present the photos while analysing Facebook data.

5.4.3.2 Classroom Observations

I used classroom observations as a major source of research data. Observations describe activities, behaviour, actions, conversations, interpersonal interactions, organisational processes or any other aspects of human behaviour (Patton, 2015). Observation data comprises fieldnotes, rich and detailed descriptions incorporating the context where observation occurred (Patton, 2015). In qualitative research observation is considered an essential means of data gathering (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). The aim of observation is helping researchers understand the research context (Savin-Baden and Tombs, 2017). According to Cohen et al., (2015, p. 456), using observation in the research process offers the advantage of collecting 'live' data as they occur naturally in their social situations which is more likely to produce more valid or authentic data than using mediated methods. Using Curtis et al., (2014, p. 132), observations result in "ecological validity".

Observations of the research setting may offer more objective information in relation to the research questions compared to interviews which depend on participants' sometimes biased understandings and recollection of events (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011). Furthermore, observers may note features of the environment or behaviour which participants may not identify or take for granted (Mann and Stewart, 2000; Curtis et al., 2014). Sometimes there is a gap between what people say they do and what they really do as Bell (2010) and Curtis et al., (2014) indicate. Hence, they suggest that observations can help examine what people do in reality and compare them to what they say they do.

Nevertheless, Bell (2010) draws attention to the idea that observations also rely on the way researchers perceive what they see and hear. In conducting observations, there is the risk of researchers' inherent biases which may affect the way they interpret data (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011). Therefore, information gathered from observations is less reliable (Curtis et al., 2014). To lessen this risk, Bell (2010) and Hancock and Algozzine (2011) advise case study researchers to identify and address the effects of their biases and prejudices. Another limitation of observations is the selectivity of perceptions (Boehm and Weinberg, 1996; Cohen et al., 2015). Therefore, Boehm and Weinberg (1996) advise researchers to focus on the purposes of their observations. Cohen et al., (2015) recommend using observations with other data collection methods to enhance data and provide triangulation.

Bell (2010) and Hancock and Algozzine (2011) indicate that carrying out meaningful observations demands skill, practice and continued efforts from researchers. Observations also require planning from researchers, identifying what they want to observe and thinking about the reasons they think observations will provide them with the information they need (Bell, 2010). However, it is possible that some researchers may not have good observing skills which is one of the limitation of observations (Creswell, 2014).

There are three types of observations: structured, semi-structured or unstructured. In addition, they can be participant or non-participant. Based on Cohen et al., (2015), in structured observations, researchers plan what they want to observe in advance. In semi-structured ones, researchers prepare an agenda of issues, but collect data in a far less pre-planned way. In unstructured observations, researchers observe what is happening without prior planning. In participant observations, the researcher plays some roles in the situation or context and participate in the events researched, whereas in non-participant observations the researcher is passive (Yin, 2003; Cohen et al., 2015). Each of these types have possibilities and limitations (Bell, 2010).

I used semi-structured non-participant observation to avoid limiting data and to remain open to all possibilities. I observed fifteen classes across different levels and subjects at a time convenient for teachers. Although the school was an active user of social media on Facebook and there were lots of photos and videos of children in class, before carrying out observations, children received a copy of Information for Children and Parents (Appendix

4) to inform them about the purposes of research and get their consent to observe the class via Skype. To develop a rapport with teachers, I contacted them a few minutes before observation began. I asked teachers about their main teaching plans. The observation proforma was open to record what was happening in class (Appendix 5). However, because of the importance of identifying specific focus of observations to answer the research questions (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011), I prepared a guide to be attentive to particular aspects of teaching such as teachers' methods, pupil talk, building on pupils' prior knowledge, response to individual pupils, showing kindness, and dealing with trauma.

Before observations started, teachers signed the consent form. I was aware that the presence of a camera may affect classroom behaviour (Boehm and Weinberg, 1996; Savin-Baden and Tombs, 2017). Therefore, I asked teachers to position the camera in a place where they felt comfortable with at the same time allow me to observe as many pupils as possible. The camera was usually placed in the left corner at the back of the class allowing me to see teachers' facial expressions, body language and use of teaching aids. However, most of the time I could not see all pupils' facial expressions particularly those on the left side of the class which is one of the limitations of using online observations in this research. I negotiated the length of observation with every teacher to reduce chances of stressing them and their pupils. Table (5.3) below provides some information on observed classes such as grade level, subject, length of observation and number of pupils:

Class	Grade level	Subject	Length of observation	Number of pupils
Andy	P4	Arabic	35 minutes	26
Iona	P4	Science	20 minutes	22
Rose	P4	Science	30 minutes	29
Jane	P1	Arabic	35 minutes	24
Grace	P2	Arabic	25 minutes	22
Hannah	P3	Arabic	35 minutes	22
Julia	P2	Maths	30 minutes	27
Anna	P3	Science	30 minutes	22
Maggie	P2	English	35 minutes	22
Leah	P3	Arabic	35 minutes	16
Lucy	P3	English	35 minutes	27
Cara	P2	Maths	30 minutes	28
Amy	P5	Maths	35 minutes	27
Lily	P6	Science	35 minutes	26
Sarah	P6	English	30 minutes	19

Table 5.3: Observation records.

I used observation to identify teachers' practices in Syrian classes as they occurred naturally in classrooms and explore whether they do what they say they do (Bell, 2010). The findings from class observations became the basis for discussions with teachers and administrative staff in follow-up interviews.

Although Savin-Baden and Tombs (2017) suggest that in some cases it may be difficult to observe participants' behaviour using online observations, I believe that I benefited from observing teachers online and I gained rich and detailed data for two main reasons. First, in every class I could write lots of fieldnotes both during observation and immediately after it. Some fieldnotes were detailed as teachers and pupils could not see me writing during observations. I also refined the fieldnotes immediately after class observations ended because information may be forgotten (Cohen et al., 2015). Second, the school was originally a residential building and all classes were small in size. This facilitated observing classes remotely as I could see most of what was going on inside the class. However, as I just mentioned, there were some blind spots which is one the limitations of video-based observations that Savin-Baden and Tombs (2017) indicate. Finally, although I was worried at the beginning of observations, there were not any technical problems except in one class. After twenty minutes of observation, the internet connection was cut off. The teacher decided to end the observation because pupils would be checking homework.

5.6.4 Semi-structured Interviews

One of the most important sources of case study information is the interview (Yin, 2003; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). It is "the main road to multiple realities" as Stake (1995, p. 65) describes. Interviews help researchers obtain rich and personalised information (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011). Although they may be time-consuming, individual interviews provide researchers with the chance to develop and clarify participants' responses to gain lots of information from participants' perspectives and understand their feelings (Bell, 2010; Hancock and Algozzine, 2011; Mann, 2016). The main reasons for choosing the interview is because it is one of the most powerful and widely used tool of gathering information and understanding human beings (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Moreover, the interview is a flexible data collection method which involves several physiological senses (Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Bell, 2010; Cohen et al., 2015).

An advantage of the interview according to Creswell (2014) and Brinkmann (2018) is that researchers' role as producers of knowledge is visible and they have control over questioning. At the same time, Rubin and Rubin (2005) indicate that it is possible for interviewees to take control of the interview and guide it. The flow of interviews can be amazingly unexpected; therefore, researchers' skills to adapt quickly to unanticipated situations are needed (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). A limitation of interviews; however, is the risk of bias in interpreting the data because of their subjectivity as Yin (2003) and Bell (2010) point out. In addition, some people may not be articulate and perceptive which affects the quality of data collected (Creswell, 2014).

For their success, researchers need to plan interviews carefully (Stake, 1995; Bell, 2010). Conducting good interviews requires that researchers build rapport with participants to get honest and detailed answers (Curtis et al., 2014; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). There are three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured or unstructured. In structured interviews, researchers plan a set of questions, with pre-planned response categories and ask the question in order (Punch and Oancea, 2014). In semi-structured interviews, Mann (2016) indicates that researchers follow a guide to allow for comparison, but the interviews give researchers flexibility to deviate from the guide. In unstructured interviews, researchers prepare very broad themes which they may or may not use so that interviewees guide the discussion (Curtis et al., 2014; Savin-Baden and Tombs, 2017).

I used semi-structured interviews which are especially very convenient for case study research as Hancock and Algozzine (2011) indicate. This type of interviews helps researchers stay focused on discussing the most essential issues in their research (Brinkmann, 2018). Although the questions are planned, researchers benefit from the flexibility of the schedule which encourages participants' open and free expression to understand their perceptions of the world (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011; Curtis et al., 2014; Mann, 2016; Brinkmann, 2018).

Despite having some issues with preparing online interviews, like conventional research, Mann and Stewart (2000) point out that online interviews facilitate research when access to the participants is restricted. Using the internet, I carried out eighteen real time online interviews in total, fifteen with teachers and three with administrative staff. All interviews

were carried out in colloquial Arabic which facilitated building a rapport with participants and helped me gain thick descriptions of teaching at the Syrian schools. However, sometimes translating certain expressions or terms was challenging particularly as some Arabic words can be translated into different terms in English such as (اكتشف) which can be translated as “explore”, “discovery learning”, or “inductive learning”.

I conducted most interviews using Skype video calls because they allow natural conversational exchanges similar to face-to-face interactions (Mann, 2016). However, some participants preferred using audio calls rather than video calls. Depending on video calls helps researchers use some level of kinesic communication as for example facial expressions gestures despite the difficulty of attaining eye contact (Salmons, 2015; Savin-Baden and Tombs, 2017). In addition, video calls offer researchers the advantage of observing participants’ body language, tone, voice and the setting of the interview (Salmons, 2015).

Before interviewing participants, I found it helpful to test Skype interview with a colleague in Turkey to get used to it, explore its possibilities and anticipate potential problems (Mann, 2016). Unsurprisingly, the quality of the recorded pilot interview was very poor. Because of the importance of recording interviews to keep what participants exactly said for analysis purposes (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016), I added an external microphone to a digital voice recorder and used computer software for audio-recording as a back-up. When I tested the interview again, the quality of the digital voice recorder was superb. This greatly facilitated transcribing interviews verbatim and reflecting on them later in the analysis phase.

Almost all interviews were conducted the day following the observation of each class. Interviews were carried out during teachers’ break time between classes in school. Therefore, the range of interview time varied from 30-46 minutes. At the beginning of interviews, I clarified for participants the issues of anonymity and confidentiality. To guide the interview process, I prepared some questions which I sent to teachers and administrative staff prior to interviews (Appendices 6-8). However, during interviews, more questions were developed in response to the information the participants provided. There have been lots of changes in the refugee context which the flexibility of semi-structured interviews facilitated exploring them with participants. The adaptable type of interviews helped me probe participants’ perceptions about quality education in the Syrian context, the influences and

challenges they faced, reflect on teachers' observed classes and Facebook activities to understand teachers' perceptions of classroom reality, their beliefs about teaching and learning and pedagogical choices in pre-war Syria and Turkey.

5.5 Thematic Data Analysis

Guided by the research questions and conceptual framework of this study, I performed thematic analysis which is commonly used in qualitative research to identify, analyse and report patterns in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, Clarke and Braun, 2013; Willing, 2014). In thematic analysis, Wood and Smith (2016) explain, coding data depends on exploring emerging themes from within data or determining themes within the literature. The meanings which the identified themes carry are relevant to the research question as Willing (2014) indicates. However, determining themes depends on four abilities: noticing patterns in the data, thinking in terms of systems and concepts, and having extensive background knowledge and relevant information (Neuman, 2014).

According to Clarke and Braun (2013), thematic analysis can be used to analyse various types of data whether data sets were small or large. This flexibility makes it particularly well-suited for analysing the results of the four sources of research data. Another reason for choosing thematic analysis is because the outcomes of analysis can be data-driven or theory-driven (Clarke and Braun, 2013; Mann, 2016). Moreover, thematic analysis facilitates exploring different views of research participants indicating similarities and differences and bringing about unexpected insights (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017).

Exploring patterns in data does not require commitments to particular theories, which makes thematic analysis a theoretically-flexible approach (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke and Braun, 2013). Although it provides researchers with an easily used form of analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006) and Nowell et al., (2017) indicate that the highly flexible approach results in rich, detailed and complex account of data. In addition, performing thematic analysis enhances researchers' basic skills which facilitates carrying out various forms of qualitative analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). However, based on Nowell et al., (2017), one of the limitations of using thematic analysis compared to other methods is having insufficient literature which explains carrying out thematic analysis in a rigorous way. Another limitation

which Holloway and Todres (2003) and Nowell et al., (2017) point out is that the idea of flexibility may lead to inconsistency and a lack of coherence when themes are developed in qualitative research. To overcome these limitations, I followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) and Mann's (2016) guidelines for thematic analysis.

Researchers are expected to clarify how they analysed the research data to assess its trustworthiness (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). Therefore, I will describe the data analysis procedures I conducted. Using Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines for thematic analysis, the analysis of this research data progressed as shown below:

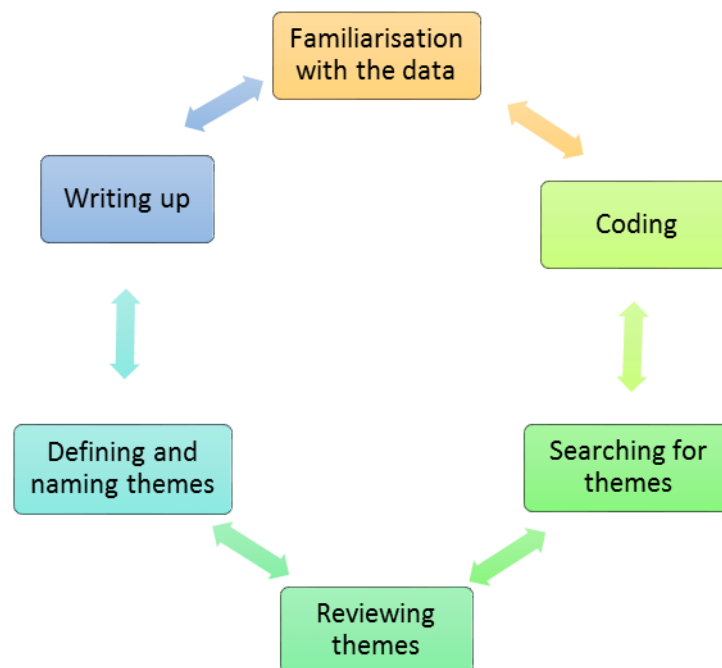


Figure 5.3: Six phases of thematic analysis based on Braun and Clarke (2006).

As the above model suggests, the process of thematic analysis is recursive (Clarke and Braun, 2013). Therefore, following a linear process while analysing the research data thematically was not possible as data collection, analysis and report writing happen simultaneously (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Mann, 2016; Nowell et al., 2017). As I mentioned in the above sections, I collected Facebook data in three phases: before observations and after each observation and interview. While collecting research data I coded information by assigning labels to the data which describe its most significant information. Clarke and Braun (2013) define the coding process as an analytic process rather than merely a process of data reduction. Therefore, the codes used carry both a semantic and conceptual reading of the data (Clarke and Braun, 2013). I kept reading the data several times noting similar and

different patterns. Using analytic memos, I searched for themes through examining the data for major points from initial analysis (Miles et al., 2014; Mann, 2016). Furthermore, while analysing the data and reporting the findings, I supported the interpreted images and videos with text for contextualisation and validation of interpretation as Cohen et al., (2015) advise.

During observations I wrote detailed fieldnotes which facilitated coding and adapting interview questions based on the initial results of observation and Facebook data as well as helped providing a detailed report. After transcribing interviews, I revisited the codes several times for further refinement of sub-themes and themes guided by the research conceptual framework while allowing for an inductive analysis of themes. As Wood and Smith (2016) indicate, the flexibility of semi-structured interviews facilitates generating new themes. Therefore, throughout the research process I moved back and forward between the whole data set and the coded extracts of data noting repeated patterns of meaning to refine the analysis and develop new sets of codes and themes (Holloway and Todres, 2003; Braun and Clarke, 2006; Mann, 2016).

In Table 5.4 below I provide examples of codes I developed in the analysis process:

Research Codes				
collaborative work	rewards	relationships	praise	teacher talk
trauma	peer teaching	pupil talk	questioning	repetition
Pedagogical change	role plays and simulations	physical environment	qualifications and experiences	arts and crafts
theoretical knowledge	individualised response	family circumstances	music	real-life experiences
visual aids	resources	new knowledge	active engagement	outdoor learning
explanation	hands-on activities	flexibility	fun / laughter	jigsaws
drilling	story-telling	celebrations	time	fixed knowledge
kindness	violence	attitudes to change	UNICEF training	power
Whiteboard activities	competitions and games	psychosocial support	classroom management	pupils' capacities and needs
motivation	rules	curriculum	uncertainty	culture
dialogic teaching	confidence	challenges	leadership	beliefs
LCE perceptions	resistance	effective teaching	prior knowledge	scaffolding

Table 5.4: Examples of research codes.

Because I coded data manually, I assigned numbers to observation fieldnotes and interview transcripts for ease of reference and summarised data patterns in tables as illustrated below:

Themes	Codes	Evidence in interview data
Teaching methods	Syrian Curricula	1,3,5,6,7,10,11,13,15,18
	effective teaching strategies	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,12,13,14,15,18
	Teachers' beliefs	1,3,4,6,7,9,12

Table 5.5: Summarising interview data patterns.

After developing all sets of codes, I organised the different codes and combined them into potential themes and subthemes to provide answers to the research questions. Examples of the initial themes and sub-themes formed include:

- Direct instruction techniques
 - Explanation
 - Question and answer
- LCE indicators:
 - Scaffolding
 - Individualised learning
 - Flexibility

After several refinements to group similar themes together and name them in analytic memos, I defined four key themes in relation to the research questions. These main themes guided the final presentation and discussion of findings as shown below:

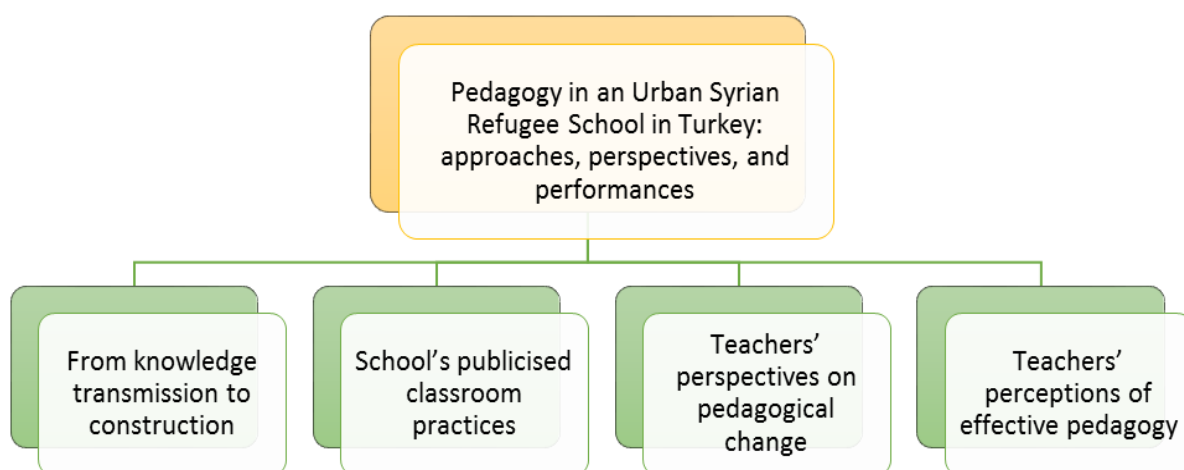


Figure 5.4: Key research themes.

In the next section, I present the procedures I followed to carry out a trustworthy thematic analysis.

5.6 Trustworthiness and Ethical Considerations

The key concerns in research which Merriam and Tisdell (2016) identify are: validity, reliability and ethics. Qualitative validity means that the researcher uses several procedures to evaluate the accuracy of research findings (Creswell, 2014). As for reliability, Creswell (2014) explains that it refers to the consistency of the researcher's approach across different researches and projects given the same circumstances. However, Bassey (1999) points out that the concepts of validity and reliability are problematic in case study research because the purpose of research is the interest in the singularity of the case rather than its typicality. Therefore, there are other terms which refer to qualitative validity such as trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bassey, 1999; Creswell, 2014; Cohen et al., 2015; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Reliability in qualitative research is concerned with the process of research rather than providing identical outcomes as Wood and Smith (2016) indicate. Therefore, the focus is on ensuring consistency between data collected and the results of research (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016).

Every researcher hopes to make a believable and trustworthy contribution to their field of knowledge (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). However, as I mentioned earlier, in qualitative research, researcher bias may threaten the validity of research (Johnson and Christensen, 2004). To address bias, the literature abounds with strategies which qualitative researchers may use to check the trustworthiness of their research which differ from those used in quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bassey, 1999; Johnson and Christensen, 2004; Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Creswell, 2014; Cohen et al., 2015; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Creswell (2014) indicate that researchers' prolonged engagement in the research field develops their deep understanding of the phenomenon they investigate. To ensure the accuracy of research findings, I spent prolonged time engaging with data sources and maintained contact with some participants up to the present. I provided rich and detailed descriptions of the research context, analysis of data and findings using appropriate quotes from interview participants and images from Facebook data. Moreover, I continuously engaged in critical self-reflection and recorded my reflection in analytic memos. According to Johnson and Christensen (2004) and Creswell (2014), reflexivity helps researchers check and address potential bias as they become more self-aware of their bias.

Although carrying out fieldwork challenged my expectations about teaching and learning in the refugee context and most of the findings were unexpected, I found extensive reading of the literature, using multiple lenses to interpret research findings and keeping analytic memos throughout the research process extremely beneficial. In other words, using theory triangulation in line with Johnson and Christensen (2004) recommendation has helped me monitor my interpretations of data to avoid bias.

Triangulating data sources and methods are other key strategies I used to understand the quality of Syrian education in the refugee context, establish research themes and increase confidence in research statements (Stake, 1995; Bassey, 1999; Creswell, 2014). In case study research, many authors including Stake (1995), Yin (2003) and Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2013) highlight the importance of using multiple methods and sources of evidence to show and counteract some external influences as well as offer different measures of the same phenomenon. Along a similar line, Merriam and Tisdell (2016) suggest that comparing observation data at different times or cross-checking it in follow up interviews as a form of triangulation can be a powerful strategy for strengthening the validity of research.

It is important to note that teachers and pupils' classroom behaviour may have been influenced by my virtual presence during observations. As with face-to-face research, some teachers may have prepared their lessons better, used different methods, or felt more stressed when I was observing their class via the camera (Praetorius et al., 2017). Rose and Leah said that they had taught the same lesson content I observed earlier but felt that the repetition of content was essential and beneficial for their pupils. It is possible that observing the class online may have influenced the teachers' decision to teach the same content again when their pupils revised the lesson rather than dealt with new content. In addition, the presence of the camera during research may have influenced classroom interactions. For example, Andy indicated that he wanted me to see how he focused on asking his pupils many questions during observation to increase their confidence.

To ensure carrying out this research in ethical ways, I used several measures as outlined by many authors such as Hewson et al., (2003), Hine (2005a/b), Salmons (2012), Punch and Oancea (2014), Cohen et al., (2015) and Savin-Baden and Tombs (2017). For example, I conducted this research after receiving the approval of the College of Social Sciences Ethics

Committee at the University of Glasgow. I ensured protecting the rights of participants through getting their informed consent in writing before observations and orally at the beginning of interviews. I translated the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form to Arabic to make sure that participants understand the voluntary nature of their participation and the purposes of research (Appendices 2 and 3). In addition, I informed children and their parents about online observations and provided my student email address for further clarifications about the research (Appendix 4). I also blurred the images I used to present data so that children are not identified.

As a means of ensuring privacy while conducting online interviews, I set up one skype account for participants to use during research. In interviews, I reminded participants with their rights, took their permission to audio record the interview and discussed maintaining their confidentiality. Finally, I purposefully used Western names to refer to participants to preserve their anonymity and concealed the particular location of the Syrian school.

5.7 Summary

In this chapter I present the methodological approaches which informed and guided the research process. I examine the epistemological stances and theoretical underpinnings of this study. I justify the use of a qualitative case study approach and discuss the data collection and analysis procedures. I explain the research challenges and procedures I used to ensure research trustworthiness. Finally, I indicate the ethical considerations I was attentive to during research to protect the rights of participants. In the next chapter, I discuss the analysis of data and research findings.

Chapter Six: Data Analysis and Findings

6.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to present the combined analysis of observation, interview and the school's Facebook data to understand the pedagogical techniques used in the Syrian refugee context as they were observed, self-reported by teachers and administrative staff as well as publicised by the school's social media platform. The presentations of the findings are supported with excerpts from the four sources of data. I present episodes from observed lessons which are combined then with teachers' comments on their observed classes and pedagogy. I also provide online classroom photos which illustrate teachers' practices as they described when available.

To address the research questions, in both Chapters Six and Seven, I examine four main themes: from knowledge transmission to construction, school's publicised classroom practices, teachers' perspectives on pedagogical change, and teachers' perceptions of effective pedagogy for teaching Syrian refugees. As part of analysing the main themes, I explore several sub-themes such as influences on teaching and learning, power relationships in class, teachers and administrative staff's understanding of learner-centred techniques, and the factors which constrain teachers' abilities to incorporate more learner-centred techniques as recommended by the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) *Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a).

For the purposes of this chapter, teachers' practices are examined on a continuum from less learner-centred to more learner-centred.

6.2 From Knowledge Transmission to Construction

The findings of observation data indicate that on a continuum of pedagogical practices, the teachers were observed using various techniques from imparting knowledge to pupils to scaffolding their learning. For example, the teachers were observed using combinations of transmissive and constructivist methods at different phases of their lessons, but direct

instruction techniques were prevalent in all observed classes. Similarly, in interviews, teachers indicated that they were mixing pedagogies and sometimes they had to use less learner-centred techniques because of several contextual constraints. However, the findings of Facebook data suggest that James, the school's media officer, was keen to demonstrate more learner-centred activities in line with the INEE (2010a).

The triangulated findings indicate that teachers were reflexive about their pedagogical practice. The findings suggest that the use of techniques was based on teacher experimentation in class as teachers said, but there were various factors which influenced pedagogical decisions. Teachers' use of techniques and influences will be analysed below using illustrative examples from observation, interview and Facebook data.

6.2.1 Explanation

The analysis of observation data shows that in varying degrees all teachers relied on using explanation. For example, I observed teachers using explanation as a primary method while presenting new knowledge or giving details. I also observed using explanation as a supporting method as teachers were providing examples or summarising key information. I noted the use of teacher instruction as a main method while delivering the curriculum in a bit less than half of the observed classes such as: Iona, Rose, Leah, Lucy, Cara, and Sarah's classes.

Teacher talk dominated in these classes, and pupils had few chances of participation mostly to answer comprehension questions or practise the content the teacher delivered. I observed using explanation as a supporting technique in three classes: Hannah, Anna, and Amy's. In these classes, the teachers relied on recitation. The pupils appeared animated. Some pupils asked questions which were mostly factual, and the teachers provided them with guided support. Many of the questions the teachers asked were testing factual comprehension. Almost half respondents indicated their conscious choice of using instruction techniques as a primary method of teaching for several reasons based on their experiences in the current context (Iona, Rose, Grace, Julia, Leah and Cara).

As an illustrative example of using explanation in a lecturing form, I will analyse Iona's class. Using explanation and drilling is illustrated by analysing Lucy's class. Combining explanation with asking closed and factual questions will be examined through analysing Rose and Leah's classes. Teachers' perceptions of their teaching methods and their perspectives on the factors which influenced their instructional techniques will be provided following the analysis of each class observation. Finally, the way James showed teachers' use of techniques in class will be provided based on triangulating the analysis of interview and Facebook data.

6.2.1.1 Iona's Science Class, P4

Iona's class provides an example of the predominant use of explanation in teaching science where almost all of class time was spent listening to the teacher's talk. Iona introduced the subject matter 'the skin', recalled previous information using questioning technique, provided examples from real-life experiences and gave details as illustrated below:

Iona: today our lesson is about the skin ... the structure of the skin. Firstly, let's remember together and say what are the sense organs in the human body?

Pupil (1): the five human senses are: skin, eyes, ears, nose and tongue

Iona: who is responsible for the sense of touch in the human body?

Pupil (2): skin

Iona: the skin is considered the human body largest organ, but why?

Pupil (3): because it covers all the body

Iona: (nodded in approval) it covers all the human body. The skin allows us to feel and differentiate between the various things around us. For example, if you close your eyes and hold a ball in your hands by the sense of touch you will know that the ball is circular. If you carry a ruler by the sense of touch you can know that it is not a pen or something else you know in your life. The skin also consists of many layers. There are two main layers and each layer has different layers or parts (Observation notes, Iona's class).

In less than a minute, Iona explained the function of the skin using the two examples of holding a ball in the hands and a ruler, which was followed by explaining the structure of the skin. As Iona presented the new information on the layers of the skin, she pointed at a picture she drew on the whiteboard which illustrated the structure of the skin. The picture was like the one the pupils were looking at in their opened textbook:

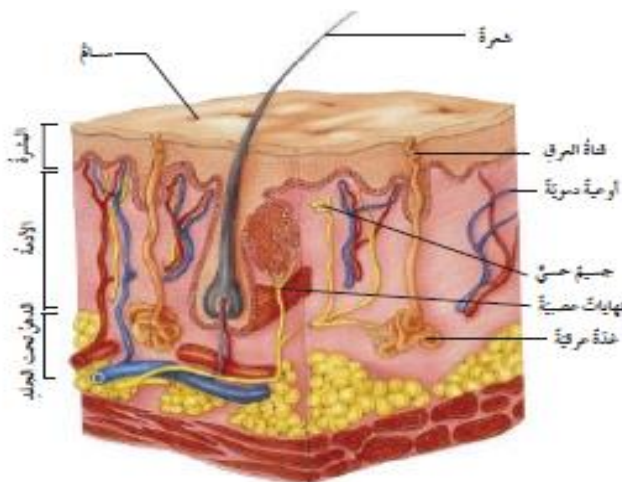


Figure 6.1: Structure of skin (Source: Primary 4 Syrian school science textbook, p. 43).

Iona clarified her explanation while using the visual aid shown in Figure 6.1 above and the pupils were looking at it most of the time. In addition, Iona used her body language such as touching her hand repeatedly during explanation:

the epidermis is a very thin layer of skin and I can touch it by hand (touched her hand repeatedly). I can see this first layer which is the outermost layer of the skin. This layer also consists of many layers. The external skin layer contains pores (pointed at the picture on the whiteboard) which is connected to the dermis (pointed at the picture on the whiteboard) through a channel to reach the sweat gland (pointed at the picture on the whiteboard) (Observation notes, Iona's class).

After spending three minutes explaining information, Iona introduced the second layer of the skin. She also pointed at the picture on the whiteboard during explanation:

this is how the first layer of the skin, the epidermis, which I have just talked about, consists of two main layers (pointed at the picture) the outer layer or stratum corneum and the stratum basale. The second layer, dermis, contains many things (pointed at the picture) like sweat gland for example. As we said the sweat gland is connected to the pores through a channel to remove the waste out of the human body (pointed at the picture). Exactly how the human body gets rid of waste product, our skin gets rid of waste by sweating (Observation notes, Iona's class).

Iona talked about everyday life experiences as she was presenting new information as for instance when she compared the way the human body gets rid of waste to the way the skin gets rid of waste. As another example, Iona talked about using a needle while explaining how we feel the pain. Iona expected her pupils to understand this experience from their everyday lives:

when a needle is injected in our body we feel the pain. There are sensory receptors which are responsible for feeling the pain. Of course, there are also sensory receptors which are responsible for feeling the pressure and touch in the human body (Observation notes, Iona's class).

Iona explained the function of the nerves while pointing at the picture of the layers of skin in one minute. As she was providing explanation about the nerves, she asked a question which tested pupil comprehension and the pupils gave different answers:

Iona: the nerves endings play an important role in the body. Why? Because in order to feel anything there should be nerves or nerve endings which transfer the feelings I felt to the sensory area in ...(paused) where?

class (looked confused): skin

Iona: where is the sensory area?

class: the brain

Iona: the brain! Nerve endings communicate the feelings by touch, pain or pressure from the skin to the part of brain which is responsible for the sense of feeling (Observation notes, Iona's class).

At the end of the lesson, Iona repeated key information and summarised the main ideas using explanation:

of course, the most important function of the skin, which I'll repeat now, is to feel the effects around it. I mean the process of touch and feeling the touch. By this we come to the end of our lesson about the skin, the functions of the skin, the layers, and the importance of keeping our skin clean. Do you have any questions? (Observation notes, Iona's class).

Based on observation data, lecturing is the form of explanation that Iona adopted. Her explanation went uninterrupted by the pupils while introducing the subject matter, giving examples from everyday life experiences, adding details, relating new knowledge, and providing a summary of the main points the participant covered during class. Pupils only responded to factual questions mostly in whole class.

The analysis of Iona's interview data validates the outcomes of observation data. For instance, Iona indicated that recalling previous information at the beginning of her lesson using questioning is her usual strategy to link it with new knowledge:

I always begin my lesson asking the pupils about what we did in the previous lesson or discuss something related to our new lesson. This serves as a reminder of previous knowledge learned and revitalises the pupils. So, those who might have forgotten what we did, their peers will remind them. In this way, we begin our lesson in an active way. The pupils won't be bored or just sit there silently staring at the teacher. We actively begin the lesson by revising previous knowledge and then I begin the new lesson (Interview with Iona).

Iona believed that the use of questioning to revise previous information is intended to activate and revitalise the pupils from the beginning of the lesson. As the lesson progresses, the use of explanation as a main technique becomes the teacher's conscious decision:

Whatever the lesson was, in any subject I begin first by explaining the lesson. If I have a teaching resource such as a picture I put it up for the pupils to see. I explain, and they see the picture. When the lesson finishes I ask them if they have any questions or if there is something they don't understand. The pupil who has a question can ask and I'll answer. This will serve as a repetition of the lesson. Then, we answer the questions provided in the school textbook. Lesson time is short anyway (Interview with Iona).

Iona argued that explanation works best with her pupils particularly in the observed class because of gaps in pupils' knowledge in addition to the lack of time. Iona justified using explanation saying that she believed the pupils lack knowledge, and some had weak abilities. Upon asking Iona about the pupils' role in building up knowledge, she said that pupils sometimes participate in providing knowledge as follow up activities because of the variety in pupils' developmental levels:

Well, sometimes ... but it doesn't have to be the main lesson I am teaching. Why? It is because as I told you there is a huge gap in pupils' skills and learning abilities. You can't give pupils this role as they have different ability levels. Unfortunately, in the class you observed there are pupils who should be in Primary 2 but their parents insist to keep them placed in Primary 4 (Interview with Iona).

Iona explained that some pupils had limited access to education. The pupils missed some learning time due to interruptions caused by the war and displacement. The teacher informed the parents of the pupils who performed below the assigned grade level to be placed in a lower level. However, some parents insisted that their children were placed at their grade level with their peers based on their age while they should be placed in Primary 2 based on their grade-level work. Therefore, from Iona's perspective, the huge gaps in pupils' skills and capacities for learning affected her instructional practice. What is implicit in this perspective is that Iona believed that her main role as a teacher was to provide knowledge to fill these gaps.

According to Iona, using visual aids to support explanation is very important to help pupils retain information and engage them in learning. Iona indicated that lower-ability pupils benefit much when they see and touch materials during explanation particularly in teaching science:

I always try to use visual aids in class because I found the pupils more engaged in learning. No matter how low the level of ability is, the pupils benefit from presenting information visually particularly when teaching scientific information which they can see and touch. In science classes I always use visual aids so that the pupils relate information to what they see (Interview with Iona).

As I mentioned previously, Iona drew a picture on the whiteboard which illustrated the structure of the skin in the observed class. During the interview, Iona referred to the use of pictures on the board as an example of the visual aids she always uses. Iona also mentioned that she previously used human body organs displays and did plant scientific demonstrations in front of class as other examples of effective use of visual aids.

James posted photos and videos on the school's Facebook page which showed Iona's use of the visual aids she discussed in her interview. For example, in a six-minute video, Iona appeared showing her class the three stages of plant life cycle and demonstrating planting seeds as shown below in Figure 6.2:



Figure 6.2: Showing a demonstration of three stages of plant life cycle (Source: School's Facebook page).

As Iona appeared demonstrating the process of planting seeds and explaining the experiment in the school garden, James made it clear that the pupils were watching the demonstration and responding to the teachers' questions on what they saw. At the end of the video, Iona appeared summarising the main information. Then, James showed a pupil summarising the

key stages of plant life using a picture on the whiteboard in less than a minute. The analysis of Facebook data also suggests that James was keen to show an active project of pupils growing seeds in a plastic cup as illustrated below:



Figure 6.3: Showing plant scientific demonstrations in class (Source: School's Facebook page).

In her interview, Iona emphasised that based on her experience particularly in teaching science, the use of visual aids while presenting information is the easiest and most effective method of teaching. Iona said that some of the pupils were struggling in maths and they were unable to differentiate between addition and subtraction. However, Iona believed that the use of visual aids supported their learning and motivated the inactive pupils to participate. Analysing Facebook data indicates that James provided examples of the visual aids Iona used in Maths classes:

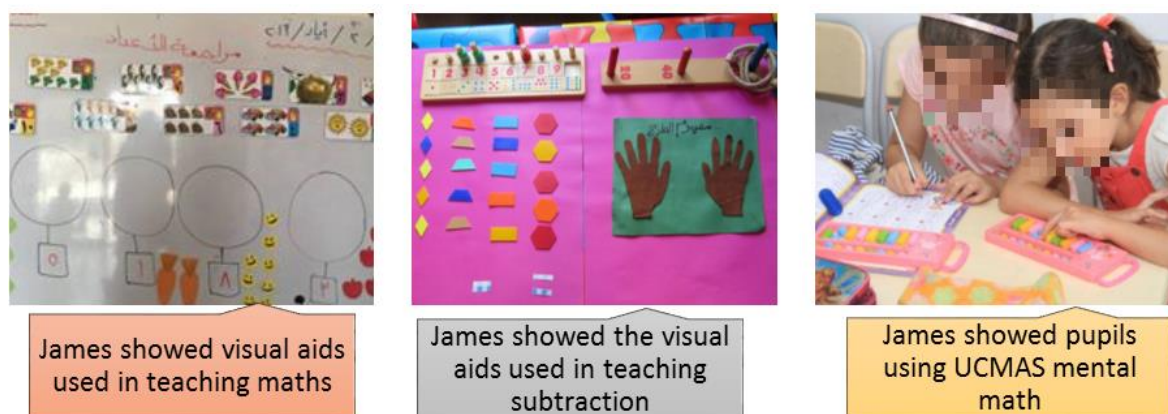


Figure 6.4: Showing the use of visual aids in Maths classes (Source: School's Facebook page).

The analysis of Facebook data also suggests that Iona visualised place value grouping in a Maths class. James uploaded a five-minute video of Iona's observed class which showed the pupils participating in a competition led by one of them:



Figure 6.5: Showing visualising place value groupings (Source: School's Facebook page).

In this video, James showed the leader of the activity writing a number on the side of the board. The leader chose one of her peers who volunteered to participate to use place value houses and put the digits in the correct group (millions, thousands, and ones). The pupils first chose the digit numbers provided on sticks and then they placed them in their groups. James showed that some pupils were eager to participate in the activity and most of the class was shown raising their hands to participate. James showed six pupils who participated in the maths activity. All of them provided correct responses and were praised by the leader and peers.

6.2.1.2 Lucy's English Class, P3

The analysis of observation data indicates that Lucy used explanation and followed it up with drilling. Lucy started the lesson on telling the time by drawing four blank clock faces and writing key words on the whiteboard as shown below in Figure 6.6:

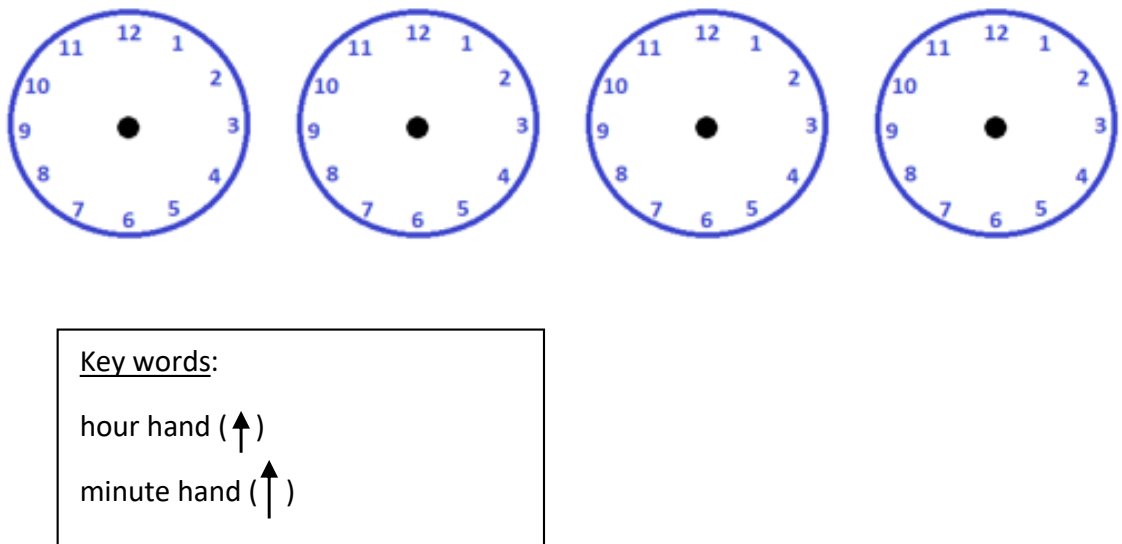


Figure 6.6: Clock faces and key words on the whiteboard (Source: Observation notes, Lucy's class).

In this class, the teacher and pupils used English all the time. Therefore, the exchanges between the teacher and pupils are quoted directly without translation. Lucy introduced the lesson telling the pupils what the lesson was about and presented new information. She directed pupils' attention to the whiteboard and said the following:

Lucy: Today our lesson is about telling the time. First of all, we have two hands: the hour hand is the short one (she pointed at 'key words' section on the board). So, the short one (she drew a short hand on the first clock) is the hour hand, but the long one is the minutes hand. The short one is the hour hand

Class: hour hand

Lucy: the long one is ...

Class: minutes hand

Lucy: minutes hand (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

Lucy drew the hour hand and minute hand on the first clock face, the minute hand pointing to 12 and the hour hand pointing to 2:

Lucy: Can you tell me what time is it now? (Pupils raised their hands) Ok, pupil (1)

Pupil (1): it is 2 o'clock

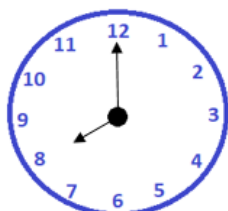
Lucy: excellent, it is 2 o'clock. Now what's the time pupil (2)? (she changed the time to show 4 o'clock)

Pupil (2): it is 4 o'clock (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

Lucy used a rising intonation that required pupils to repeat her sentence in whole class. She gave similar practices asking pupils to tell the time to the hour. Along with explanation and practice, Lucy sometimes used a repetition drill. So, the class repeated what she said in whole class as shown below:

Pupil: it is 8 o'clock

Lucy: it is 8 o'clock (she wrote the time beneath the first clock face)



It is 8 o'clock

*So what time is it now? (She pointed at the words written beneath the first clock face)
it is 8 o'clock*

Class: it is 8 o'clock

Lucy: repeat please

Class: it is 8 o'clock

Lucy: it is ...

Class: 8 o'clock (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

This type of drilling was observed in most of the class activities. The first activity on telling the time to the hour lasted for about three minutes. In the second activity, Lucy asked a pupil to come to the front of the class to practise telling time using a visual aid. The participant stuck on the board a picture of a hand-made teddy bear clock which James showed on the school's Facebook page:



Figure 6.7: Showing a teddy bear clock Lucy used in class (Source: School's Facebook page).

Lucy asked the pupil to set the teddy clock hands to show the time:

Lucy: look at this clock, would you please change the clock hands to show the time I'll say?

Pupil: yes

Lucy: OK then, 6 o'clock please

(The pupil changed the time to show 6 o'clock)

Excellent! Clap your hands for her (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

Lucy asked another pupil to change the time to show 7 o'clock and praised him at the end. The time spent on this activity was about two minutes. Six pupils participated in changing the time. Following this activity, Lucy checked pupils' comprehension of the information she gave at the beginning of the lesson using questioning. However, the pupils gave different answers. The teacher emphasised key information using explanation and drilling:

Lucy: So, what do we call these (she pointed at the hands on the first clock face)?

Class: (different responses)

Lucy: look! (she drew a circle around the hour hand) we call this 'hour hand'. Repeat after me: hour hand

Class: hour hand

Lucy: again

Class: hour hand

Lucy: hour hand. Now this one is 'minutes hand' (she drew a circle around the minute hand). Repeat: 'minutes hand'

Class: minutes hand (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

Lucy then explained telling the time to the half past the hour. She drew the hands on the second clock face on the board while providing information. The pupils practised telling the time to the half past the hour for about three minutes. In this activity Lucy gave eight examples and the class sometimes repeated the time in whole class drilling:

Lucy: Now what's the time? (she changed the time to show half past two)

Class: half past two, half past two

Lucy: raise your hands please! (clock showing half past four) pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): it is half past four

Lucy: good, now pupil (2) please (clock showing half past eight)

Pupil (2): it is half past eight (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

The teacher chose different pupils in every activity. The pupils appeared willing to participate. Following this activity, Lucy asked some pupils to set the teddy clock hands to show the time she said as they did previously in the second activity:

Lucy: Pupil (1), please come here and change the time to show us half past three

Pupil (1): half past three (she moved the hands around the clock)

Lucy: look here! Half past (she pointed the minute hand to 6)

Pupil (1): and the hour hand at three

Lucy: well done! Now, pupil (2) show me half past two

Pupil (2): (she looked uncertain and moved the hands around the clock)

Lucy: Look! This is half (she pointed the minute hand to 6)

Pupil (2): and then 2 (she pointed the hour hand to 2)

Lucy: excellent. Pupil (3) please come here (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

Lucy asked three more pupils to do the teddy bear clock activity. The amount of time spent on the fourth activity was about three minutes. This activity was followed by teacher explanation and drilling of the main information she explained so far:

Lucy: It is 8 o'clock (she pointed at the first clock face on the board). Repeat after me please. It is 8 o'clock

Class: It is 8 o'clock

Lucy: altogether please: 1, 2, 3

Class: It is 8 o'clock

Lucy: the next one (she pointed at the second clock face on the board). It is half past ten

Class: It is half past ten

Lucy: again

Class: It is half past ten

Lucy: good, let's move on (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

In the fifth activity, the teacher explained telling the time to the quarter hour. She drew the minute and hour hand on the third clock face on the board to show quarter past five. The pupils raised their hands to participate:

Lucy: Look here (she pointed at the third clock face on the board)! When the minute hand is at 3, we say quarter past

Class: quarter past

Lucy: quarter past

Class: quarter past

Lucy: quarter past ... it is quarter past five. Again!

Class: quarter past five

Lucy: again!

Class: quarter past five

Lucy: OK pupil (1), what is the time?

Pupil (1): quarter past five

Lucy: thanks, Pupil (2) (she pointed at the third clock face)?

Pupil (2): I don't know

Lucy: it is quarter ...

Pupil (2): quarter

Lucy: past (she pointed at 5) five. Again? Who else? Pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): it is quarter past five

Lucy: again

Pupil (3): it is quarter past five

Lucy: it is quarter (emphasising correct pronunciation)

Pupil (3): it is quarter past five

Lucy: OK. Pupil (4) (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

This activity in which the teacher used rote techniques lasted for about three minutes. Lucy then changed the time to practise telling the time to the quarter hour in the same way she did the previous activity. She provided five examples. The time spent on this activity was about two minutes. After that, she asked six pupils to set the teddy clock hands to show the time she said. She praised them and asked the class to clap their hands for each one of them for doing the activity correctly.

On the last clock face shown in Figure 6.6 above, Lucy drew the minute hand to 9 and the hour hand to 7. She asked the pupils to tell the time:

Lucy: who can tell me the time? (some pupils raised their hands) OK pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): it is quarter to ...

Lucy: seven. Pupil (2) please?

Pupil (2): quarter ...

Lucy: quarter, quarter (emphasising correct pronunciation)

Pupil (2): quarter to seven

Lucy: pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): quarter to seven

Lucy: good (Observation notes: Lucy's class).

The teacher then changed the time and asked the pupils to tell the time for about two minutes. Following this activity, the pupils practised setting the time to the quarter hour on the teddy bear clock for about two minutes. Then, Lucy cleaned the time written in words beneath the four clock faces to do the final activity. Lucy had a hand-written wall poster showing the four key phrases used to tell the time to the hour, to the half past the hour and the quarter hour as shown in Figure 6.8 below:

O'clock
It's o'clock
It's half past
It's quarter past
It's quarter to

Figure 6.8: Wall poster activity (Source: Observation notes, Lucy's class).

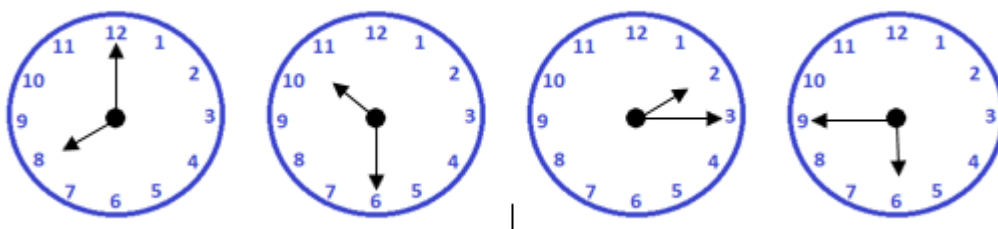
Lucy stuck the poster up on the wall next to the board. Each phrase was cut and stuck on the poster. The teacher asked a pupil to read the third phrase and then she asked him to find the matching clock face shown below:

Lucy: who can read this please (the third phrase in the poster in Figure 6.8)?

(some pupils raised their hands) OK pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): it's quarter past

Lucy: it's quarter past. Where should I put it (she pointed at the four clock faces on the board shown below)? Which one? The first? The second? The third? The fourth?



Pupil (1): quarter past! The third one

Lucy: excellent Pupil (1). We should put it beneath the third clock (she took out the third phrase and stuck it on the board beneath the third clock face). Now who can read this (the second phrase) please? Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): it is half past

Lucy: it is half past. Half past (emphatically)

Pupil (2): half past

Lucy: OK where should I put it (pointing at the four clock faces)?

Pupil (2): the second one

Lucy: excellent! (she stuck the second phrase beneath the second clock face) Now this one please (the last phrase)? Pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): quarter to

Lucy: quarter to. The first or the last clock face?

Pupil (3): the last one

Lucy: the last one (she stuck the last phrase beneath the fourth clock face). Now the first phrase pupil 4?

Pupil 4: it is 8 o'clock. The first one

Lucy: (she stuck the first phrase beneath the first clock face) is it clear?

Class: yes

Lucy: do you have any questions?

Class: no

Lucy: OK now open your notebooks and start writing from the board ... the clocks and writing beneath them (Source: Observation notes, Lucy's class).

In the final activity, the teacher asked the pupils to match the four key phrases used to tell the time to the hour, to the half past the hour and the quarter to the corresponding clock face on the board. The time spent on this activity was about three minutes and the class observation ended upon asking the pupils to copy the notes from the board.

Based on the analysis of the observation data, the main methods Lucy used were explanation and memorisation. Teacher explanation was followed by practice and drilling. Therefore, there was lots of repetition and emphasis on providing correct responses. Lucy corrected her pupils' pronunciation and focused on pronouncing the phrases used to tell the time correctly. Pupils provided choral responses. Lucy repeated her explanation and summarised the main information in different phases of the lesson. In addition, Lucy provided chances for pupils to participate in different activities to practise telling the time, allowed them time to respond and guided them throughout the activities.

Based on her interview, Lucy believed that using various activities to explain curriculum content and giving pupils chances to practise it are very beneficial. Because of her beliefs, Lucy said that she used many activities in her observed class. The choice of a repetition drill was purposeful because Lucy argued that it is the best way of teaching English to Primary 1 to Primary 4 pupils:

I believe pupils don't know the correct pronunciation. So, I keep repeating the pronunciation till they are able to pronounce it correctly. Instead of saying 'have' some pupils pronounce it like 'haf' which is wrong. When you keep repeating when teaching Primary 1 to Primary 4 pupils, I think repetition is the best way of teaching ... I mean you keep repeating over and over again, and you keep reminding them. So, I find this way of repetition drill very good ... I mean I'm getting good outcomes from the pupils. So, if I read a lesson once and don't get back to it, the pupils will be unable to read it well definitely... not at all, not at all (Interview with Lucy).

Lucy emphasised the importance of repetition because of her beliefs about pupils' capabilities. Lucy believed that Primary 1 to Primary 4 pupils have weak capabilities of learning English. As a result, she used repetition particularly when teaching reading and pronunciation. Lucy indicated that she was aware when pupils cannot read, or they are not responding to the teacher, it may be because of the impact of the war and displacement. Lucy mentioned having some pupils who were always silent in class. At the beginning of her teaching career in Turkey, Lucy said that she could not understand the reasons for having many silent pupils. When she contacted their families, she understood they had been through very traumatising experiences which impacted on their communication skills and learning. Therefore, Lucy stressed the importance of communicating with families to understand pupils' experiences and provide them with support.

Lucy identified some influences and challenges which affected her instructional techniques. For example, Like Iona, Lucy said that there were some pupils in her class who missed some learning, but they were placed in the current level depending on their age. There were pupils who were settled in Turkey since the beginning of the war who may not have experienced what those who newly-arrived had been through. There were pupils who came from very different social classes and backgrounds which affected the learning environment. Building relationships in class took much time because of these differences. Therefore, Lucy argued that she always tried different methods and she changed her methods based on pupils' reaction:

I have attended many training courses, and some are run by famous and distinguished teachers. I also use the internet to look for examples of effective practices. I look at model lessons to be inspired and I get some ideas which I try to use in my class. I try something today and if the pupils don't like it, don't understand, or don't appear to enjoy it, I try another method. So, this is the most important thing for me ... every lesson if it focuses on teaching grammar, I try one way and if it focuses on reading, I try a different way (Interview with Lucy).

Lucy explained that her teaching methods were mostly influenced by the teacher training courses she received as part of her BA studies. As part of the training, she was offered many chances of teaching at different schools and observing distinguished teachers as the teacher said. Lucy also attended the UNICEF training on the INEE minimum standards. Lucy indicated that the shortage of class teaching time was one of the challenges she faced, but the UNICEF training helped her manage class time. The training provided teachers with advice on using teaching methods particularly LCE, teaching materials, time management, examples of topics to focus on in class, and how to deal with pupils with low learning abilities. Lucy added that the teachers were advised to use any methods they perceived to be effective in class.

Lucy believed that the Syrian curriculum was very flexible and there was lots of information which could be taught using a variety of different ways. However, Lucy emphasised that the lack of teaching materials and visual aids affected her pedagogical decisions. Lucy indicated that when she was teaching in Syria, there were lots of teaching aids and materials which she could use to teach the rich and varied curriculum such as projectors, pictures and visual aids. The pupils in Syria used to see some cartoons or films, listen to conversations on CDs and see supporting materials in class which schools prepared for every lesson, but this was lacking in Turkey particularly in relation to teaching the English curriculum.

To compensate for the lack of materials and visual aids, Lucy indicated that she always involved her pupils in preparing teaching aids and she rewarded them for their efforts:

I always rely on my pupils ... have you seen that teddy bear clock I used in class (shown in Figure 6.7 above)? This was made by my pupils ... yes I always ask the pupils to participate in preparing teaching aids. For example, today I told the class the best one you prepare will be put up in class and you'll be rewarded for that. So, they prepare them ... honestly, they are helping me so much in preparing visual aids (Interview with Lucy).

Lucy explained that there was a lesson on the four seasons, and she asked her pupils to draw a picture which showed the four seasons or work in groups to prepare a picture showing the summer season for example. Lucy said that the pupils were very happy because they were involved in the learning process as she believed:

It's their work ... they really enjoy doing that and feel happy because it is their work. They also get a star or a present ... we are trying to be very positive (Interview with Lucy).

Lucy referred to the way she rewarded pupil participation and achievements in class. In addition to praising pupils by using praise statements like 'excellent' for instance, Lucy said that there was a reward chart where pupils got stars throughout the week. For every 10 stars a pupil had whether from reading, spelling, competitions or games, they would get a present from her as a reward.

Examining Facebook data shows some of the work the pupils did in Lucy's class. For instance, James showed the teddy bear clock the pupils prepared for their lesson and showed two pupils pictured with their work:



James showed pupils' collaborative work



James showed two pupils with the materials they prepared



Figure 6.9: Showing pupils' work (Source: School's Facebook page).

As another example of pupils' work in Lucy's class, James showed the class working in groups in the lesson on the four seasons:



Figure 6.10: Showing pupils working in groups (Source: School's Facebook page).

James also showed the star reward charts which Lucy said she used in her class:



Figure 6.11: Reward charts in Lucy's class (Source: School's Facebook page).

Finally, based on Facebook data, James showed Lucy's class apparently engaged in role-plays. As Figure 6.12 shows, the class appeared to be doing a role play in a restaurant:



Figure 6.12: Showing role-plays in Lucy's class (Source: School's Facebook page).

James showed photos of what appeared to be a role play in a restaurant setting without providing specific information on what the pupils were doing or saying. Pictures of a plate, fork, knife and spoon and words like 'waiter,' 'sugar free,' and 'fat free' were shown on the whiteboard. James was keen to show that the pupils looked happy.

6.2.1.3 Rose's Science Class, P4

Another example of using explanation as a primary technique was observed in Rose's class. Rose introduced the subject 'the human tongue and its parts' by telling the pupils what the lesson was about:

today the title of our lesson is 'the tongue and its parts'. The tongue is of course one of the human five senses which is the sense of taste. I taste things using my tongue. However, today you will be surprised about the other functions of the tongue. The tongue is an organ in the mouth. The main function of the tongue isn't only tasting things. It helps us with many things (Observation notes, Rose's class).

Like Iona, Rose put up a picture of the tongue on the whiteboard which was similar to the one the pupils could see on their textbook:

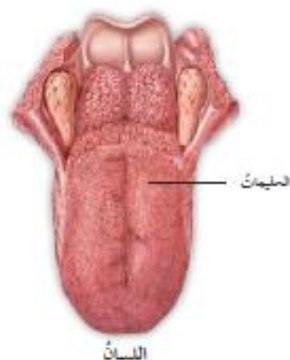


Figure 6.13: Structure of human tongue (Source: 4th Grade Syrian school science textbook, p. 48).

For about three minutes, Rose described the functions of the tongue in detail, demonstrated her explanation and asked the class closed questions as follows:

Rose: First of all, I said the tongue helps us in speech. Can I say a word without moving my tongue?

Class: no!

Rose: try it yourself. Say any word without moving your tongue. Look at me (she pointed at her mouth with both of her hands). Observe my mouth. When I talk my tongue starts moving up and down (pointed at her tongue and moved it up and down slowly as she was talking). I can move the tip of my tongue freely in all directions. Look at it (she moved her tongue around a number of times) this helps us in speech (Observation notes, Rose's class).

The teacher tried moving her tongue in front of class. Explanation and demonstration were done at the same time. Generating examples as a form of explanation and trying things in front of the pupils was observed very frequently in this Science class. For example, the teacher tried saying some alphabet letters while explaining the important function of the tongue in producing speech:

I need to move my tongue to produce speech ... all alphabet letter except vowels. If you want to say 'بابا/daddy' for example you can't say it without moving your tongue. Try saying (نون، عين، سين/alphabet letters) in all these letters I am moving my tongue. The second function of the tongue is helping us when we chew food (moved her mouth as if she was chewing food). You chew food by the help of your teeth as you know but you'll be surprised to know that when I put some food, try it today at home, put some food into your mouth and chew it without moving your tongue (she opened her mouth and paused for a few second). You won't be able to chew it (Observation notes, Rose's class).

Rose also asked a pupil to stand next to her and used acting techniques to demonstrate the impossibility of chewing and swallowing food without having the tongue pushing food down:

I have to move my head to the back (she moved the pupil's head to the back and the class were laughing) and then shake it right to left (she started shaking her head very quickly from side to side and then shook the pupil's head. The class were laughing) to push food down without involving the tongue. However, the tongue helps us to make food like a small ball and push it down inside ... like a spoon which you put in your mouth, the tongue helps us push food down (Observation notes, Rose's class).

While visualising explanation using acting techniques, the pupils were laughing. As another example, Rose used explanation and demonstration while presenting information on the tongue and taste. She told the pupils about the role of papillae in feeling the taste. Rose asked a pupil then to stand next to her and put her tongue out so that the class can see 'papillae' as a real example in front of them. After two minutes of presenting knowledge, Rose asked the pupils in pairs to look at each other's tongue to see the papillae.

Following this, Rose explained the types of taste, drew a picture of the nerves on the tongue and used vocal animations and acting techniques to perform how nerve endings act when they feel the taste of something sweet, salty or spicy. Rose illustrated five examples in a humorous way and the pupils were laughing during explanation which lasted for about five minutes. Rose used explanation when she repeated key information from previous lessons which appeared to be relevant in the observed lesson. For instance, Rose reminded her pupils with the role of the brain in feeling the senses using explanation:

So, every nerve ending has a mission. Each one waits to receive a taste and is always ready to transfer the feeling to the brain (she pointed at her brain with both hands). The brain immediately gives you an order to react. So, it is not only the tongue which is ... in previous lessons we agreed that the brain is responsible for the five senses and taste is one of these senses. Is that clear? (Observation notes, Rose's class).

Rose also summarised new information in recap explanations in the middle of the lesson before moving on to talk about a new idea:

I'll repeat the types of taste now: sweet, salty, bitter, and sour. The papillae is responsible for detecting the taste and when food is dissolved by saliva the taste nerves are responsible for bringing the message to the brain and we feel the taste ... (A pupil interrupted teacher explanation to ask a question) (Observation notes, Rose's class).

Teacher explanation was sometimes interrupted by pupils' questions or comments. For example, while Rose provided new information or summarised it, pupils asked her questions or commented on her talk more than ten times. As for example:

Pupil: if the tongue was cut in half, would we feel the taste if the nerve endings were cut as well?

Rose: God forbids! No, don't think this way, it won't be cut and if, God forbids, you won't be able to taste anything (Observation notes, Rose's class).

Rose appeared surprised by the question maybe because it suggested pessimistic thoughts. Another example of pupil-initiated questions is the following:

Pupil: why do we have lots of saliva in the lower part of the tongue compared to the upper part?

Rose: always in hollow areas things gather inside and here inside our mouth (opened her mouth and pointed all around her mouth) there is a hollow area under the tongue like a dish for example so this is why saliva gather in this area, OK? (Observation notes, Rose's class)

Like the above examples, all pupil-initiated questions required factual answers. At the end of her class, Rose summarised all main points using explanation:

Today we talked about the tongue, the functions of the tongue which are very important not only for feeling the taste but it helps us chew, produce speech ...for example if God forbid there is a problem with somebody's tongue I won't be able to understand what he is saying. So, the tongue helps us speak, chew and swallow food and finally tasting food. Its simplest function is tasting food. The most important thing is that it helps us communicate with the people around us. We also talked about the taste buds, the types of taste and tongue hygiene. Do you have any questions? (Observation notes, Rose's class).

The analysis of observation data suggests that Rose depended on explanation as a main method of delivering information. The forms of explanation observed were presentation and demonstration of examples. Rose relied on vocal animations and acting techniques. The pupils appeared interacting with their teacher's explanation either by commenting on what she said or asking her questions which did not show higher order thinking.

Like Iona and Lucy, based on interview data, Rose indicated that she purposefully presented knowledge because of her pupils' styles of learning and class interaction:

When you use interactive methods, some pupils might be in another planet. The noisy class atmosphere may not be suitable for them. Some pupils learn only through direct teaching. Therefore, at the end of the lesson you need to summarise everything you said in a transmissive way to make sure that they understand the lesson. I can't say there is a specific technique I use. The pupil himself/herself influences my method. Pupils' style of learning or pupils' interaction ... there are pupils who only learn through imparting knowledge. Therefore, you have to present information to make sure they understand (Interview with Rose).

Rose justified the choice of explanation based on her perceptions of the needs of some pupils who learn through knowledge transmission. Rose emphasised the influence of pupils, their learning styles and interactions on her pedagogical choices. Therefore, Rose indicated that she used various teaching techniques and she did not always follow her teaching plans. Rose mentioned that when she prepared her lessons, she did not write plans on paper because she rarely followed them.

Rose explained that some lessons were more interactive because of their content, the number of pupils attending, and the learning environment itself. Sometimes the progress of the lesson was slow because of gaps in pupils' knowledge. The teacher compared between teaching pupils in Syria before the war and now during the war in Turkey:

Instead of developing my teaching methods in Turkey, I feel they have been a bit reversed. I am saying this because in Syria when I taught pupils in Primary 1 between 2010 and 2011 and then taught the same group in Primary 2, their Arabic language skills were developed as if they were in Primary 5. In comparison, here in Turkey I am teaching Primary 4 pupils and I always have to teach information pupils learn in Primary 1 and 2 to fill the gaps in their knowledge ... yes there are gaps and even a distinguished pupil here in Turkey can't achieve half of what a pupil in Syria used to achieve. You know the changes in our circumstances (Interview with Rose).

Rose referred to the impact of the war on pupils' learning abilities in line with the perspectives of Iona and Lucy. In agreement with the views of Iona, Rose believed that presenting new knowledge was her responsibility to ensure understanding:

I can't say the pupils can always ... the teacher needs to ... I mean when there is new information I must explain it. I have to explain it so that then they can dig deeper and look for extra information not mentioned in the school textbook to relate what they learn in class with the outside world, but more than that ... no they can't get to the core of the lesson, so the teacher has the major role (Interview with Rose).

What is suggested then is that the teacher has the leading role in the classroom whereas the pupils are not trusted to take responsibility of their own learning. Rose emphasised her view that the pupils need teachers' help to understand new information. Rose pointed out that a pupil had already taught her peers the same lesson observed the week before, but to ensure comprehension Rose repeated the lesson using explanation.

Rose indicated that there was a pupil in her class with low self-esteem and she always avoided eye contact. Her parents informed the teacher about their worries particularly because the pupil spent her time studying at home. Therefore, Rose asked the shy pupil to prepare the lesson at home to teach her peers and provided her with support:

I told her I would help her in any way and in that lesson I'd be a pupil and she'd be the teacher. I gave her a plan just orally I mean. So, I said, 'you can do this' or 'use this' and 'check that'. I suggested that she makes some cards for her peers and ask them some questions. I also told her I will video her class presentation and send it to her parents because I am sure they will be happy and proud (Interview with Rose).

Rose believed that peer teaching can boost pupils' confidence. She argued that she noticed some changes in pupils' participation after giving them responsibility for teaching their peers. The class also interacted and responded well to the pupils in charge. Rose said that pupils asked the leaders many questions. Rose said that some pupils were disappointed when she told them she was going to teach them the same lesson for observation purposes because they said they had already understood the content of the lesson. However, Rose believed that it is her duty to make sure every pupil understands the lesson particularly those who favour transmissive methods as she said.

There are some examples when peer teaching did not go well in Rose's class as the teacher said. Rose gave an example of a very shy pupil who kept reading from the school book and avoided looking at his peers when he was in charge of teaching. He read from the book and used a poster without interacting with the class. Therefore, Rose indicated that some pupils may not be able to take charge of teaching their peers. Rose pointed out that adopting transmissive methods of teaching may have been influenced by her previous experience as a pupil who was taught primarily using transmissive methods:

No matter how many training courses you attend, this method (transmissive) will predominate. There is something we call the force of habit ... we absorbed this method from our teachers and at the beginning of my teaching career it was hard to change

this habit. No matter what ... frankly I come back to using the repressive method so that the pupil first sits and listens to me (Interview with Rose).

Rose indicated that gradually she was minimising the adoption of transmissive methods because of attending the UNICEF training on the INEE minimum standards at the school. Rose said that during the two-week training course which teachers in the school attended they were instructed to avoid transmissive methods because they proved to be ineffective. Rose added that the school supervisors were working with teachers to support its limited use as they were happy with the outcomes of learning which is based on interactive methods.

Rose believed that she was using in her class the methods advocated by the UNICEF training despite her lack of knowledge of education terminology. Rose indicated that she was following her intuition of what works in class without reading books on teaching methods:

During the course I felt I was already practising in class what they were telling us to do without giving my methods a name nor reading books on pedagogy. The first thing, in practice I was already doing what they said. The second, the training was intensive. They focused on covering 400 pages instead of focusing on the quality of what they want us to learn so we had to move on quickly. If you look at the content of the training course, we are unintentionally applying what they want us to do without reading books on pedagogy (Interview with Rose).

Rose believed that she had been incorporating aspects of learner-centred methods in class before attending the UNICEF training. For instance, Rose explained that during training they were told the pupils and content of the lesson affect the methods and the pupils should be active in class. Moreover, Rose argued that she was eliciting information from pupils and providing them with support. These were examples of using learner-centred methods based on Rose's beliefs.

A closer examination of Facebook data shows examples of peer teaching in Rose's class. In one of the videos James uploaded, the pupils appeared interacting in a class led by two of their peers:



Figure 6.14: Showing peer teaching in Rose's class (Source: School's Facebook page).

James showed two pupils introducing a lesson on the anatomy of the eye. One of the leaders began the lesson using questioning techniques. The pupils in class were shown raising their hands and responding to the leader's questions. After revising previous information on the five senses, James showed the leader explaining information on the parts of the eye and asking his peers to provide more information. James was keen to show pupils participating from all over the class while the teacher appeared sitting silently among the pupils. It was apparent the leaders were using pictures which they prepared as their names were shown on the left sides. The lesson lasted for twelve minutes.

Based on Facebook data, eight pupils from Rose's class participated in role-playing a poem debate on TV led by one of their peers. James posted a video of this debate which showed the title 'Poetry between past and present' at the beginning. The twelve-minute video starts with six photos of famous Arab poets from the past to the present. Along with each photo, the sentence 'Presented by Primary 4 pupils' appears in the middle:



Figure 6.15: Showing role-playing poem debate (Source: School's Facebook page).

James showed four pupils on the left side of the presenter dressed in traditional folklore clothing, whereas the three pupils on the right side were dressed in formal modern clothing. James showed the presenter introducing the poets and leading the debate which took place in the classroom. The pupils expressed their views of modern and past poetry and the changes over time. After that, each pupil recited some of the famous poems by the character they role-played. James showed the presenter thanking her guests at the end of the show. However, James did not show the rest of the pupils in class and their reactions during the role-play.

6.2.1.4 Leah's Arabic Class, P3

The final illustrative example of using explanation is Leah's class. The teacher began the lesson revising verb tenses using closed questions for about a minute, which then was followed by explaining new information on the uses of the imperative and giving an example from a real-life situation:

we talked about the tenses' family, the 'Past' and 'Present' (she drew a family tree on the whiteboard and wrote 'Past' and 'Present'). These are the children whom we talked about before. As for today, we will talk about their third child whose name is the 'Imperative' (she wrote 'the Imperative' on the whiteboard-see Figure 6.16 below). We said that we use the past to talk about something which happened before in the past and now it is over. We use the present to talk about something which is happening now and it is still going on. I use the imperative to request or command someone to do something in the present or future. In other words, I ask you to do your homework now or at home. So, I ask you or request that you write either in the present, now in class, or later in the future, at home for example or in the next class or any time in the future (Observation notes, Leah's class).

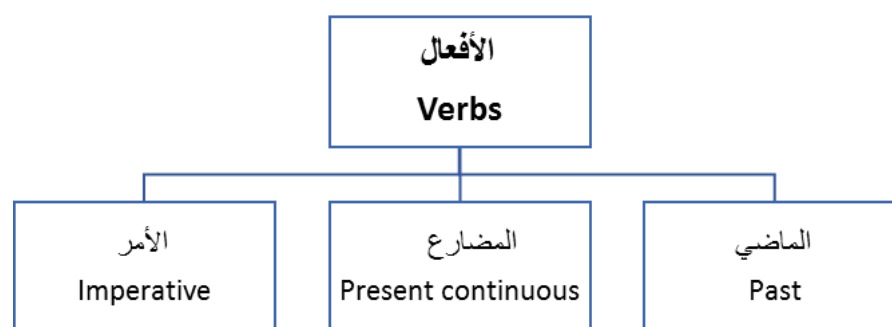


Figure 6.16: Verbs Family Tree on the whiteboard (Source: Observation notes, Leah's class).

After telling her pupils about the uses of the imperative for about two minutes, the teacher illustrated on the whiteboard how the ending of the imperative verbs should be (Arabic verb diacritics):

the imperative verb should end with sukun (she drew on the board a small circle-shaped diacritic placed above a letter which indicates the absence of a vowel ْ). So, I have to add sukun (ْ) above the last letter in the verb. There is not any diacritic under the last letter in the verb (Observation notes, Leah's class).

The pupils appeared to be listening to teacher explanation, but they did not pose questions nor comment on explanation. Leah summarised key points in recap explanations and used rising intonation that required pupils to answer in whole class often by completing her sentence. The teacher waiting time was about three seconds:

Leah: At the end of the imperative verb we see sukun (ْ) above the last letter. The meaning of the imperative is requesting or commanding someone to do something. I ask you or request that you do something in this time or the future. Do you understand this?

Class: yes

Leah: what do we have at the end of the imperative verb?

Class (different responses)

Leah: class tell me what do we call this (pointing at sukun (ْ))?

Class: sukun

Leah: give me some examples using the imperative (Observation notes, Leah's class).

The pupils looked hesitant while responding to the teacher's questions and providing their examples for about five minutes. Leah used explanation again and repeated slowly the same example she gave at the beginning of her class:

the imperative (she refers to Figure 6.16 shown above) is asking someone to do something either now or in the future. I say for example: (write/اكتبوا) I mean you must write now or in the future. You have to do your homework now or at home. I ask you to do this action either at this time or in the future. The imperative is about ASKING or COMMANDING because its name indicates giving orders. I, your teacher, order you to do your homework either now or later. Later means in the future even if it was after five minutes this is future.

The past refers to something which happened and finished.

The present continuous is something happening now. Now what are we doing? We are learning. You, my pupils, are learning. When I say 'The pupils are learning'. Have we finished? No, we are still learning. Back to the imperative: Do your homework. I

am requesting that you write. I am commanding you to write, to do your homework. Is that clear? (Observation notes, Leah's class).

Teacher explanation was followed by an exercise in which pupils practised verb tenses. Leah wrote sentences on the whiteboard and asked her pupils to change the verb from the past to the present or the imperative form. She used questioning and then explanation, giving reasons for pupils' answers:

look at this sentence (صنع النجار خزانة /The carpenter made a wardrobe). We change (صنع/made) into (اصنع /make) we add (أ/A) at the beginning. Instead of (ع/past verb diacritic) we put (و/sukun). As you see some imperative verbs we add (أ/A) at the beginning, but some verbs don't need it. You need to learn these verbs as you change from the past to the imperative. (X pupil) knew that this verb needs (أ/A) and so he added it when he changed the sentence into the imperative (Observation notes, Leah's class).

Providing explanation and presenting examples while practising the tenses prevailed in the Arabic grammar class. In her interview, Leah indicated that the lesson observed was supposed to be mostly a revision of previous information. Therefore, Leah said that she expected the pupils to know the differences between the forms of the verb tenses. However, like Iona and Rose, Leah argued that the choice of using explanation was purposeful and her class ability level affected her teaching methods.

Because of the war and displacement, Leah said that there were pupils in her class who missed some learning and skipped Primary 1 and 2 to be placed in Primary 3. The pupils either were not psychologically ready for school before or their family circumstances did not help them attend school. Therefore, Leah indicated that having a big group of low-ability pupils required repeating information constantly and working in a slower pace. She said that sometimes she taught the same lesson three times.

Based on her experience, Leah believed that explanation works best with refugee pupils:

honestly, I use the simplest methods of teaching because of the variation in the learning abilities of pupils. I can say there are two pupils who are up to the level and the number of pupils in class is not too many. Therefore, the best methods of teaching them should be simple: explain slowly (Interview with Leah).

Leah believed that providing many real-life examples and learning games can help pupils relate new knowledge to their daily life. Providing pupils with lots of examples, as what Leah said she did in her observed class, was intended to show them the simplicity of the new lesson as evidenced by her comment on the observed class:

well, I provided them with examples to show them they are learning something familiar. I gave the examples, so they feel how easy the lesson is. It is simply like the word which you know, the verb which you always use ... in this way the information sticks in their mind. After that, I ask them to think and provide examples. I don't want to give them all information. This is what I usually do (Interview with Leah).

Leah emphasised that she worked slowly in covering the curriculum content which was acceptable in the school because of the learning abilities of pupils. Leah indicated that the curriculum was flexible, and teachers were free to decide the teaching methods. In addition, Leah believed that the UNICEF training was beneficial, and it influenced her teaching. During the training, Leah was advised on how best to deal with refugee pupils. As a result, she was flexible in covering the curriculum which she believed is mostly needed when teaching pupils with different ability levels:

The pupils with low learning abilities are so many in my class this year. If I had to follow the curriculum, I would give them information whether they understood or not. However, because of the UNICEF training I received, I've learnt to be flexible and the purpose of teaching is to care about pupil learning and development even if we don't finish teaching the full curriculum (Interview with Leah).

During the training, Leah was encouraged to boost pupils' confidence which she believed all teachers in the school had already been doing. In agreement with Rose and Lucy, Leah pointed out that pupil interaction in class affected the use of certain teaching methods:

I can't always say I teach using the same way you observed because the pupils and their interaction determine the ways of teaching. In the lesson you observed the pupils were passive, so I had to present the new information. It'd be good to remind them with previous information which is related to the new lesson so that they remember it. This is what I usually do: I remind the pupils with the content of the previous lesson and introduce the new one to explain content. If they are active, I feel empowered and relaxed when I teach. However, in the lesson you observed, they weren't, and I couldn't follow the plan (Interview with Leah).

Leah justified the use of explanation based on pupil passivity and lack of interaction in class. Leah believed that pupils with low ability may not be able to read nor prepare for their lesson. Therefore, Leah said that using methods such as peer teaching was not preferable. What is

implied in this view is that Leah's beliefs about pupils' capabilities affected her instructional techniques.

In her interview, Leah showed awareness that adopting explanation made her teach in less learner-centred ways. For instance, Leah indicated that she told her pupils that she was always providing information while they were inactive which she said was not beneficial for them. Leah believed that some pupils lacked motivation. They came to school because of their parents, which influenced pupils' interaction in the classroom. Leah suggested that the pupils need some attention from their parents to support their learning. However, unlike what parents used to do in Syria before the war, Leah pointed out that in Turkey some parents are not involved enough in their children's education because of displacement and changes in family circumstances. The next section presents illustrative examples of teachers' use of questioning techniques.

6.2.2 Questioning

The analysis of observation data indicates that all teachers depended on questioning techniques as a main or a supporting method in different stages of their lessons. The frequent use of closed questions which required factual information as a primary method of teaching curriculum content was noted particularly in Andy, Jane, Sarah, Grace, Amy, Lily, Anna, Hannah and Maggie's classes. A very limited use of open questions was observed in Hannah's class.

Some teachers asked closed questions along with using explanation as for example Rose, Jane, Julia, Leah, Cara and Sarah. Teachers like Hannah, Anna, Amy and Lily used closed questioning in combination with other techniques such as explanation, storytelling, demonstration, and collaborative learning. Therefore, the use of questioning was observed to be directed towards transmitting knowledge sometimes and building up students' knowledge at other times.

Based on interview data, Andy, Lily, Maggie, Anna, Jane and Grace said that they consciously relied on using questioning techniques to be closer to their pupils, activate them,

encourage their independence, build up their confidence, and stimulate their imagination. Using questioning techniques was also motivated by the lack of teaching aids and teachers' belief of these techniques as supporting information retention for the future.

The analysis of Facebook data indicates that James uploaded videos of classes such as Grace, Maggie, Sarah, Anna and Lily's which showed teachers' use of questioning techniques in very similar ways to their observed classes. To be consistent with Syrian teachers' use of pedagogical terms in their interviews, 'question and answer' is used in this study to refer to the use of closed and factual questions whereas 'dialogic teaching' refers to the use of open questions which involve higher-order thinking skills.

To provide illustrative examples of teachers' use of question and answer both as a main and a supporting method, a detailed description of Andy and Sarah's classes will follow respectively. This will be followed by analysing Hannah and Lily's classes to illustrate the use of questioning in combination with other techniques such as storytelling, explanation and demonstration. During analysis, pupil-initiated questions and teachers' views of their techniques as well as the reasons they gave for their choices of questioning techniques will be examined.

6.2.2.1 Andy's Arabic Class, P4

The teacher began his lesson on Arabic language parts of speech by recalling previous information using closed questions:

Andy: in the previous lessons we agreed that in the Arabic language, speech is divided to 3 parts: the first part (paused) ..., what is it? (paused for two seconds) Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): a word

Andy: a word, very good. A word has two types, what are they? What is the first type Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): a verb

Andy: a verb, excellent. The second one Pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): a noun

Andy: a noun, excellent. So, a word in Arabic language is divided to two parts (he started writing on the board) a verb and a noun. A noun doesn't involve an ...

(paused)? It doesn't involve ... what? Who can answer? Raise your hands please (paused for two seconds) Pupil (4)?

Pupil (4): a verb

Andy: it doesn't involve an ac... (he moved his hands indicating action)

Pupil (4): action

Andy: action, well said Pupil (4)! A verb refers to ... what Pupil (5)?

Pupil (5): an action

Andy: an action, excellent. Who can give me any example of a verb? Pupil (6)

Pupil (6): went

Andy: does the word 'went' involve an action?

Pupil (6): yes

Andy: excellent, yes 'going' involves doing something. Can you go to a park without moving?

Class: no! (Observation notes, Andy's class).

This type of questioning continued for about two minutes. The teacher asked different pupils to provide examples of a noun in the same way. The waiting time the teacher gave for his pupils to respond was about 2-4 seconds. At the end of this introductory activity he asked closed questions and checked pupils' comprehension:

Andy: people's names are nouns, aren't they? Does the name Muhammad refer to an activity? No, does the name Mariam refer to an activity?

Pupil: no

Andy: does your name X refer to an activity?

Pupil: no

Andy: well said, thanks (Observation notes, Andy's class).

The teacher then provided a summary of information and introduced the new lesson which was on one type of Arabic nouns, the relative pronouns. Andy checked pupils' knowledge of relative pronouns using closed questions:

Andy: read the title of the lesson Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): relative pronouns

Andy: well said, thanks. Pupil (2) read the title of the lesson please

Pupil (2): relative pronouns

Andy: thanks. Relative pronouns ... to start with, do they refer to an action? Pupil (3) do relative pronouns involve action?

Pupil (3): no

Andy: because they are ...? (paused for a second)

Pupil (3): nouns

Andy: nouns! Excellent. So, relative pronouns are nouns. They don't involve an action. Their name suggests their function and we will know that today (Observation notes, Andy's class).

The time spent on the introductory activity was four minutes. Following that, Andy instructed the pupils to look at the board, read silently and examine the examples he wanted to write on the board. He opened the textbook and started writing on the board. Andy wrote six example sentences using different colours as shown below in Figure 6.17:

1- We respect the scientist (male) ----- provides services to mankind	1- نحترم العالم ----- يقدم خدمات للبشرية
2- We respect the scientist (female) ----- provides services to mankind	2- نحترم العالمات ----- تقدم خدمات للبشرية
3- We respect the scientists (male) ----- provide services to mankind	3- نحترم العلماء ----- يقدمون خدمات للبشرية
4- You are the two pupils (males) ----- I am proud of	4- أنتما الطالبان ----- أفتخر بهما
5- You are the two pupils (females) ----- I am proud of	5- أنتما الطالبتان ----- أفتخر بهما
6- You are the pupils (females) ----- I am proud of	6- أنتن الطالبات ----- أفتخر بهن

Figure 6.17: Examples on the whiteboard (Source: Observation notes, Andy's class).

In Arabic, the grammatical gender of a noun affects the form of other words related to it so relative pronouns differ with masculine and feminine nouns and they also differ when they are used to refer to singular, dual (representing two) and plural (three or more) forms. Understanding those differences while choosing the suitable relative pronouns was the focus of the lesson. The teacher chose six pupils to read the examples without filling the gaps. He added the diacritics, corrected their pronunciation and praised them for reading. After that, he asked two pupils to repeat reading the examples. The teacher then asked the pupils to examine the first sentence and posed a couple of closed questions checking if the first sentence was complete and meaningful:

Andy: is the sentence meaningful?

Class: (some pupils nodded in approval)

Andy: the sentence is meaningful 'the scientist provides services to mankind', but don't you feel in this context there is something missing (pointing at the board)? Pupil (X) would you please read the first sentence?

Pupil: We respect the scientist (male) ----- provides services to mankind

Andy: is it complete?

Pupil: no

Andy: what does it need?

Pupil: (الذي/who for a singular masculine noun)

Andy: what is (الذي/who for a singular masculine noun)? What does the sentence need if you put (الذي/who for a singular masculine noun) aside?

Pupil: (looked around the class as if asking for help from his peers)

Andy: it requires a connector, doesn't it?

Pupil: yes

Andy: we have to link this phrase to this one (he drew an arrow linking the two parts of the sentence). We add a noun we call a 'relative pronoun'. What is the relative pronoun you added to the sentence?

Pupil: (الذي/who for a singular masculine noun)

Andy: (الذي/who for a singular masculine noun) excellent! (Observation notes, Andy's class).

Andy introduced relative pronouns by asking closed questions. The waiting time was approximately two seconds. He also got more information about using relative pronouns through adopting the same question and answer technique:

Andy: read the sentence please Pupil (1)

Pupil (1): We respect the scientist who provides services to mankind

Andy: is the sentence complete now?

Pupil (1): yes

Andy: is it correct?

Pupil (1): yes, it is correct

Andy: excellent. Class clap your hands for pupil (1)

Now Pupil (2), does the relative pronoun (الذي/who) refer to plural forms?

Pupil (2): no

Andy: what does it refer to?

Pupil (2): it refers to a singular form

Andy: does it refer to a feminine noun?

Pupil (2): no, it refers to a masculine noun

Andy: it refers to a masculine noun. Thank you (Observation notes, Andy's class).

After getting responses from pupils about the use of the pronoun (الذي/who), the teacher tested pupils' comprehension of new information using closed questions:

Andy: what does the pronoun (الذي/who) refer to (pointing at the first example)?

Pupil (1): it refers to a masculine noun

Andy: very good Pupil (1). Now Pupil (2) what does the pronoun (الذي/who) refer to?

Pupil (2) singular

Andy: masculine or feminine?

Pupil (2): singular masculine noun

Andy: excellent Pupil (2) (Observation notes, Andy's class).

Following the same type of questioning, Andy asked a pupil to read the second example and explain the use of the relative pronoun (التي/who for a feminine noun). Then, the teacher wrote the missing pronoun on the board using a red marker and asked a pupil to read the full sentence. The pupil read the sentence and Andy repeated new information through asking her the following closed questions:

Andy: is the sentence complete now?

Pupil: yes, it is complete now

Andy: when we added ...?

Pupil: (التي/who for a feminine noun)

Andy: and what is (التي/who for a feminine noun)?

Pupil: it is a singular feminine noun

Andy: yes, it refers to a singular feminine noun, but what it is called? (paused) relative ...?

Pupil: pronoun

Andy: a relative pronoun. Well said Pupil (X) sit down (Observation notes, Andy's class).

Depending on the same form of questioning technique, the pupils did the rest of the examples on the board. Andy asked closed questions to fill in the gaps with a suitable relative pronoun, to explain the choice of a pronoun and what the pronoun usually refers to (singular, dual, or plural, masculine or feminine noun). He also checked pupils' comprehension by asking pupils closed questions to explain the reason for using a certain pronoun in each example. When a pupil gave an incorrect answer, the teacher asked him more closed questions so that

the pupil provided the correct answer at the end as shown in the following exchange between Andy and a pupil:

Andy: look at the word 'two students' (in sentence 4) does it refer to plural?

Pupil: yes

Andy: (using his fingers indicating 2, he repeated the words emphasising the dual form) two students, does it refer to plural?

Pupil: no (smiled)

Andy: what does it refer to?

Pupil: feminine

Andy: feminine? Pay attention to the question Pupil (X). Does the word (two students) refer to plural?

Pupil: no

Andy: ok. The word 'two students' refers to ... (paused)?

Pupil: (no answer)

Andy: singular?

Pupil: no

Andy: to what does it refer? What is the number it refers to?

Pupil: 2

Andy: what do we call the noun which refers to 2 in the Arabic language?

Pupil: dual

Andy: (nodded his head) dual! Well said, well said! You confused feminine with dual. Look at the word (two students) does it refer to masculine or feminine?

Pupil: (paused)

Andy: what is the singular of this word 'two students'?

Pupil: one student

Andy: yes, one student. Is 'student' masculine or feminine?

Pupil: masculine

Andy: masculine, yes. And now 'two students' is dual and it refers to masculine or feminine?

Pupil: masculine

Andy: well said, masculine. What is the relative pronoun which we use to refer to masculine dual nouns?

Pupil: (الَّذَانِ/who for masculine dual nouns)

Andy: excellent. Would you please read the full sentence now?

Pupil: (read the sentence)

Andy: is it complete and meaningful now?

Pupil: yes

Andy: (to class) clap your hands for Pupil (X) because he could answer the questions correctly (Observation notes, Andy's class).

Depending on question and answer technique, Andy taught the grammar lesson. At the end of this activity, he asked two pupils to read all the relative pronouns on the board. He asked another pupil to provide the grammatical rule for each relative pronoun in the examples on the board. The time spent on the activity using question and answer technique was about twenty-five minutes. After that, Andy cleaned the board and told his pupils that they had to do a new activity. He called out three male pupils' names and asked them to stand at the front of the class facing the pupils. The teacher instructed his pupils to stay attentive during the activity. He asked Pupil (1) to come closer to him, patted him on the shoulder and asked him the following closed questions:

Andy: "you are the pupil whom I am proud of." Where is the relative pronoun?

Pupil (1): (الذي/who or whom for a singular masculine noun)

Andy: do we use it for singular or plural?

Pupil (1): a singular masculine noun

Andy: well said! Thank you (Observation notes, Andy's class).

Then, Andy patted the other two pupils on the shoulders and asked them some closed questions:

Andy: "you are the two pupils whom I am proud of." What pronoun did I use here pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): (الذين/who or whom for plural)

Andy: (الذين/who or whom for plural)?

Pupil (2): yes

Andy: ok. Pupil (3) what pronoun did I use here?

Pupil (3): (الذان/who or whom for dual)

Andy: (الذان/who or whom for dual). What is the pronoun that I used (patting pupil (2) on the shoulder)?

Pupil (2): (الذان/who or whom for dual)

Andy: ok. Pupil (2) (الذان/who or whom for dual) what is the number it refers to?

Pupil (2): (no answer)

Andy: you and Pupil (3) this is how many?

Pupil (2): two

Andy: (pointed at pupil (3)) what is the gender? Masculine or feminine?

Pupil (3): masculine

Andy: so (الذَّانِ/who or whom for dual) refers to masculine dual noun. You are the pupils whom I am proud of (patting the three pupils on the shoulders). Pupil (4) what is the relative pronoun which I used?

Pupil (4): (الَّذِينَ/who or whom for masculine plural)

Andy: what does it refer to?

Pupil (4): masculine

Andy: yes, look at the three pupils they are males and the masculine word 'student' indicated that it is masculine. Clap your hands for the four pupils (Observation notes, Andy's class).

In this activity, Andy asked closed questions and tested the three male pupils' understanding of the uses of relative pronouns to refer to male singular, dual and plural nouns. After that, he asked three female pupils to come to the front of the class and checked their comprehension of the uses of relative pronouns to refer to female singular, dual, and plural nouns in the same way he did it with the male pupils. Finally, the teacher asked two male pupils and two female pupils to come to the front of the class, asked them closed questions and provided a summary of the lesson:

Andy: "you are the pupils whom I am proud of." What pronoun did I use here?

Pupil (1): (الَّذِينَ/who or whom for plural)

Andy: (الَّذِينَ/who or whom for plural) ok what does it refer to?

Pupil (1): masculine plural noun

Andy: with masculine and feminine plural noun we use (الَّذِينَ/who or whom for plural). Look at the 4 pupils here in front of us. They are males and females. So we use (الَّذِينَ/who or whom for plural) with masculine plural nouns and both masculine and feminine plural nouns when they are together. Thank you very much pupils. Clap your hands for them (Observation notes, Andy's class).

In this five-minute activity, Andy asked closed questions testing pupils' comprehension and retention of key information. The class observation ended with the teacher's summary of using relative pronouns to refer to masculine and feminine plural nouns. The analysis of observation data suggests that teacher-led question and answer was the predominate technique used in the Arabic grammar class. The classroom interaction pattern was teacher-

pupil almost all the time. The teacher asked a series of closed questions while introducing new information, adding more details and checking pupils' comprehension. The teacher selected different pupils to answer his questions whether they volunteered to participate or not. During observation Andy said to the class that he wanted to choose silent pupils who had not answered his questions four times. The waiting time he gave to pupils to answer was about 4 seconds. Pupils responded individually to each question. The teacher commented on pupils' answers and provided explanation.

Based on interview data, Andy purposefully selected questioning as he indicated to be closer to pupils and give them the love they lost during the war in Syria:

explanation as a teaching technique distances the teacher from his pupils and transmits information to them. Today; however, even if the lesson requires using explanation I don't use it with our pupils in Turkey. I change the way the lesson is taught from explanation to dialogue. Before (in Syria) I used to give my lesson using explanation, but now I use dialogic teaching to be closer to pupils. By dialogic teaching I mean question and answer. I use question and answer not from a distance to be closer to pupils. I ask a question, listen to the answer, I motivate the pupils to be closer to them ... to feel the love they lost in Syria (Interview with Andy).

For Andy, dialogic teaching is the same as using question and answer technique. The teacher differentiated between explanation and question and answer in that the latter activates pupils, involves them in their learning and does not transfer information to them. What is suggested by Andy's response is that he believed through asking pupils questions, he was engaging with them in dialogue, listening to them and motivating them with the aim of building up a friendly relationship with them. Other purposes for using questioning Andy said were to boost his pupils' confidence and encourage their independence:

There are pupils who felt during the war that the human being doesn't have any value. The value of the human being is as cheap as the price of a bullet. This is how they believe ... I am teaching Primary 4, the pupils are smart and they are up to the level. However, the idea they have is that the human being has no value. He is as cheap as the price of a bullet in Syria. Therefore, I use the method that you observed to activate the pupils. I ask pupils to come out to the front of class, I talk about them and let them depend on themselves. When a pupil becomes the teacher, he becomes more confident. He feels he has a value in this society. When the teacher cares about his pupils and asks them questions he makes them feel highly valuable for society. This is what I purposefully wanted you to see in my class when I used questioning (Interview with Andy).

Andy discussed the impact of the war on pupils' psychological state in general and their self-esteem and beliefs about their value in society in particular. The teacher pointed out that as many lives were lost during the war, the pupils felt they did not have value in life, their confidence was weakened and the way they perceived their value changed. Therefore, Andy's teaching methods in the refugee context were very influenced by the impact of the war particularly on pupils' low self-esteem.

Andy believed that by using questioning techniques, the pupils would feel valuable in society and become active. Andy referred to the last activity I observed at the end of the lesson in which he depended on his pupils to practise the use of relative pronouns in real-life examples. The teacher said that the purpose of this activity was to relate the new information they learnt in the lesson directly in class and check class comprehension. At the same time, by talking about the pupils and using examples which described them in positive ways, Andy said he aimed to increase pupils' confidence and independence as well as show them that he cared about them.

Andy indicated that refugee pupils needed much praise which made him sometimes exaggerate in using it because of the change in their psychological state:

There are two types of praise: positive praise and negative praise [...] giving positive praise by using words like 'excellent,' 'well-done' or by asking class to clap their hands makes the pupils feel that they provided correct answers and excelled their peers. I used positive praise excessively because it provides pupils with self-confidence which I talked about at the beginning. Promoting pupils' self-confidence is at the heart of the teaching and learning process. If pupils lack self-confidence, the teaching and learning process won't succeed (Interview with Andy).

Praise also served another purpose in Andy's class; that is, disciplining pupils. Andy discussed pupils' violence in class because of witnessing very violent events particularly noticed among pupils who left Syria less than a year ago. Andy indicated that violence affected classroom management particularly when the teacher was not present among them:

As I told you the pupils' psychological state ... you feel they always have excess energy which is far a lot more than what I noticed in my classes in Syria in addition to violence. I noticed that when I leave them for a minute to bring a pen for example, the class becomes terribly messy (Interview with Andy).

In response to the impact of the war, Andy said the teachers were trying to moderate the attributes the pupils acquired during the war particularly at class introductions. Giving praise to promote good behaviour was one of the ways the teachers depended on as Andy indicated. Finally, Andy pointed out that his teaching methods were influenced by his university studies at the School of Education in one of the public universities in Syria before the war broke out. As the teacher said, he was trained in classroom teaching and much of his beliefs about teaching and learning methods were influenced by his studies and university training. Andy believed that interactive, dialogic and collaborative methods are the best for teaching Syrians particularly in the refugee context. Andy did not discuss the UNICEF training upon asking him about his teaching methods and influences affecting them. The topic was raised by one of the teachers after interviewing Andy.

6.2.2.2 Sarah's English Class, P6

When class observation started, Sarah was writing on the board some examples and notes shown below in Figure 6.18:

not real Unlikely to happen	Second Conditional	I She He It
play played buy bought eat ate find found	If (past simple), would + verb If I a doctor, I treat people for free If I a camera, I take many photos	

Figure 6.18: Examples and notes on the whiteboard (Source: Observation notes, Sarah's class).

Sarah explained that the subject of the lesson was the second conditional. She got information from her pupils using question and answer. The teacher and pupils used English all the time so all exchanges in this class were quoted directly from their conversations:

Sarah: we talked about the first conditional before, today we are going to talk about the ... (pointing at the title of the lesson in the upper middle part of the board shown above in Figure 6.18)?

Class: second conditional

Sarah: the second conditional talks about something that is not real (pointing at the upper left side of the board), something that I imagine will happen or unlikely to ... (pointing at the left side of board)?

Class: happen

Sarah: OK. who can read this sentence (the first one on the board)? Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): If I were a doctor, I would treat people for free

Sarah: what is the rule for making the second conditional? Number one, we have to write 'if' (pointing at the rule in the middle of the board) then the verb form in the past simple, not in the present, in the past ...?

Class: simple

Sarah: and we write a comma (,) after that you write the subject. After the subject we write ...?

Class: would

Sarah: after 'would' present or past?

Class: past

Sarah: we write the verb, the verb after 'would' should be in infinitive. We don't add anything. We don't say here 'treats' (pointing at the first sentence on the board). I don't. So if I write here 's' in 'I would treats people for free', is it right or wrong?

Class: wrong

Sarah: it's wrong so I will delete 's'. Now who can read the second sentence? Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): If I had a camera, I would take many photos

Sarah: be careful here I said that verb to be in the past we use 'was' or 'were'. With 'he', 'she' and 'it' we use what?

Class: (different responses)

Sarah: 'was'! but here in the second conditional we use 'were'. We don't use 'was', we use ...?

Class: were

Sarah: so here I say 'If I ... a doctor?'

Class: were

Sarah: we use 'were' only in the second conditional. Be careful (Observation notes, Sarah's class).

Sarah used a combination of explanation and closed questioning. The teacher used a rising intonation that required pupils to give her answers in whole class chorus. The waiting time Sarah provided for pupils to answer was two seconds. This introductory activity lasted for three minutes.

The teacher then asked the pupils about past verb forms which she had already written on the left side of the board before observation started. She cleaned the answers and asked the pupils about them using closed questions as quoted below:

Sarah: here we have some verbs (pointing at the left side of the board shown above in Figure 6.18). Let me clean these (she erased the past verb forms). What is the past simple of the verb 'play'? (paused for five seconds and some pupils raised their hands) Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): played

Sarah: so we add ...?

Class: 'e-d'

Sarah: (she wrote 'played' on the left side of the board) now 'buy'? Do we add 'e-d' to the verb 'buy'? (paused for three seconds) yes or no?

Class: no

Sarah: Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): bought

Sarah: (she wrote 'bought' on the left side of the board) Pupil (3) 'eat'?

Pupil (3): eaten

Sarah: no! I need the past, the second form not the third form. Pupil (4) write the answer on the board

Pupil (4): (she wrote 'ate')

Sarah: yes, 'ate' and now what do you think 'find'?

Pupil (5): fond

Sarah: no

Pupil (5): found

Sarah: come here, write it on the board

Pupil (5): (he looked nervous and looked at the pupils for help. The pupils raised their hands to answer)

Sarah: wait for him class. Try to remember Pupil (5). What is the first letter?

Pupil (5): (he wrote 'fo') I don't know

Pupil (6): 'found' we write 'u-n-d'

Sarah: write it then (Observation notes, Sarah's class).

The time spent on writing the second verb forms was about three minutes. Sarah asked a question and gave pupils a few seconds to answer. She wrote the first two verb forms on the board and then asked three pupils to write the other two verbs. After that the teacher repeated the main information using explanation. She gave the pupils an example of a sentence in the

second conditional and then they practised the use of the second conditional for two minutes. Sarah asked the pupils to complete the same sentence:

Sarah: If I were a millionaire, I would buy many many cars. You Pupil (1) if you were a millionaire what would you do?

Pupil (1): if I were a millionaire I would buy a house

Sarah: a house! Good. You Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): if I were a millionaire ... if I were rich, I would buy many homes

Sarah: OK. Thank you. Another student? Pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): if I had a camera, I take ...

Sarah: I (pointing at the rule in the middle of the board)

Pupil (3): I would take many photos

Sarah: OK. Another student? You Pupil (4)? Try!

Pupil (4): if ...(paused)

Sarah: yes, try. If ...

Pupil (4): if I were a boy, I would play football

Sarah: excellent! Great!

Pupil (5): if I were a doctor, I would help the people for free

Sarah: excellent (Observation notes, Sarah's class).

Sarah asked a closed question which required a right answer. She chose silent pupils who did not volunteer to participate. The waiting time to answer was around six seconds. The first two pupils provided similar answers. The other pupils appeared to be hesitant and the teacher encouraged them to answer by pointing at the rule on the board. Following this practice, Sarah asked the pupils closed questions about forming the second conditional and the pupils answered in chorus:

Sarah: the clause 'I would take many photos', does it need a comma or not?

Class: no

Sarah: no

Class: if I had a camera

Sarah: now 'if' in capital letter or small?

Class: small letter

Sarah: (she wrote 'if I had a camera') what do you think about the meaning here is it the same or different? 'If I had a camera, I would take many photos' and 'I would take many photos if I had a camera'

Class: the same

Sarah: the same. Now open your book (Observation notes, Sarah's class).

Sarah checked pupils' knowledge of forming the second conditional starting with the main clause. She asked them closed questions and wrote the example sentence on the board. She compared the two ways of forming the second conditional.

Sarah asked the class to open their textbook and did an exercise on the second conditional. In this exercise the pupils filled in the gaps with a suitable verb form. After a pupil read the first sentence, Sarah put up a purple note on the board which illustrated the contracted forms of 'would' ('d = would / wouldn't = would not) and asked the class the following questions:

Sarah: what is the short form of ...

Class: short?

Sarah: yes, the short form of 'would'? (she wrote on the board 'would') Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): (paused)

Sarah: I write ...? (paused for two seconds) a comma and ...?

Class: 'd'

Sarah: if I want to make this one negative ...? (pointing at 'd')

Class: would not

Sarah: I need the short form ... ? Pupil (2) what's the short form?

Pupil (2): wouldn't

Sarah: so it looks like this one here on the purple note (Observation notes, Sarah's class).

Sarah used question and answer technique while getting information from the pupils who responded in whole class chorus. The waiting time was about two seconds. While working on the exercise, the teacher asked the pupils about the meaning of some words in Arabic and they answered in whole class chorus. She also asked closed questions while testing pupils' knowledge of verb forms:

Sarah: if I found a little spider in my house, I'd (put) it outside. What do you think? Do you put it the same or change it (pointing at 'put' on the board)? Do you add something to the verb?

Class: the same

Sarah: yes, I said here (pointing at the rule in the middle of the board) the verb should be in the infinitive. We don't add anything (Observation notes, Sarah class).

The pupils did the rest of the exercise following the same approach. They read the sentences and filled in the gaps. Sarah asked them closed questions about the verb forms, commented on their answers and provided explanation. The pupils wrote the verbs on the board. When a pupil provided an incorrect answer, the teacher asked more closed questions till the pupil gave the correct answer. When a pupil provided the correct answer after two of his peers attempted to answer, the teacher rewarded him by adding an extra point on the reward chart:

Sarah: 'Ben (buy) a house' look here (pointing at the rule in the middle of the board) what is after 'would'? Do you add something to the verb or the same? (paused for 7 seconds) Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): bought

Sarah: bought? No! Pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): bought

Sarah: no, listen! Be careful here we don't start with 'if' so we should write from this side (pointing at the rule in the middle of the board). Now after 'would' what do you write? The verb 'buy' the same or we add something?

Class: the same

Sarah: Pupil (4)?

Pupil (4): buy

Sarah: excellent! (she looked at the reward chart near the board and added an extra point for the pupil) Can you write the verb? (Observation notes, Sarah's class)

The pupil smiled and wrote the answer on the board. After praising the pupil, the class observation ended. The time spent on this exercise was about twenty minutes. As a summary, Sarah used a combination of explanation and closed questioning. She provided information using explanation and then she used question and answer technique as a supporting method. The teacher got information on forming the second conditional and tested pupils' prior knowledge of verb forms mostly using whole class questioning. The pupils also provided responses individually when the teacher asked them. Some pupils were chosen by the teacher and some raised their hands to participate. The pupils also practised the use of the second conditional after asking them a question. Sarah commented on pupils' answers and provided explanation.

In her interview, Sarah indicated that inductive learning which encourages pupils to infer meaning and detect grammatical rules is the best method of teaching her class:

When we begin the lesson, we revise the previous lesson if the information is related. So, if it is a grammar lesson, we remind ourselves with the rules, but if it is different most of the time I give the class an example and they work out the rule. I realised that this is the simplest way for pupils ... I mean it develops their intelligence and they find it fun when they participate in detecting the rules (Interview with Sarah).

Sarah believed that eliciting responses from pupils was far more interesting than explaining them and then providing examples which illustrate their use. She always used the inductive approach supported by some teaching aids such as using photos, videos and cardboard on which she noted down grammatical rules as she did in her observed class. The teacher emphasised the importance of varying the teaching aids to engage the pupils and avoid boredom. Sarah indicated that she usually chose the teaching techniques based on both the content of the lesson and pupils' learning levels.

In line with the views of Iona, Rose, and Lucy, Sarah discussed the negative effects of the war on pupils' educational experiences and skills:

There are lots and lots of pupils with weak learning skills ... extremely weak ... if I want to follow the curriculum, I can't, and I always must come back to using simple methods, teaching aids and providing simple explanations. This influences what we do. The varying levels of pupils are sometimes at the extreme ends so there are some with excellent learning abilities and some don't even know the English subject pronouns. Can you imagine teaching such a class? It is all because of the war, definitely it is not their fault (Interview with Sarah).

Sarah pointed out that the war did not only impact on pupils' learning abilities, but also it affected their motivation to learn particularly the English subject. In Syria, the teacher said, learning English was given a priority and parents were very much involved with their children's learning. However, in the new context most pupils lost motivation because of the ongoing war which influenced Sarah's teaching as she said she kept trying new techniques to engage them and make them love the subject she taught:

I challenge myself more now, so I search more for techniques to use in class. I want them to benefit and I want them to be engaged specially that they are older pupils. If they were younger, I'd have used songs or role plays for example, but attracting the interests of older pupils is much more difficult (Interview with Sarah).

What is implicit in Sarah's comment is that using songs or role plays is not preferable when teaching older pupils (Primary 6) as the teacher believed they may not be interesting for them. However, upon asking Sarah about particular examples of engaging techniques she used, she indicated that her pupils found playing the role of the teacher as the most enjoyable:

The first thing is breaking the barriers between the teacher and pupils. I tell them we are like friends, we can have dialogues and use Arabic during the English lesson. I can't always use English when they stare at me because they don't understand what I say. Most of the pupils have mobile phones so I use this for their advantage. I tell some of them, here is the lesson we are going to take, and these might be unfamiliar words, prepare them and you'll be the teacher of the class next week and I'll be a pupil (Interview with Sarah).

Sarah indicated that she depended much on using peer teaching because the pupils showed lots of interest in playing the role of the teacher. She said that the pupils who played the role of the teacher were given power to reward their peers by adding a point to the reward chart or taking a point from those who misbehaved. In addition, they were free to choose their way of teaching the class and asking questions. As the teacher illustrated, most of the pupils imitated her style and used the same techniques she used in their simple and interesting ways:

the lesson they teach is always interesting even though they don't use English all the time. The pupils seem to enjoy it and the ones who are teaching love playing the teacher's role. Therefore, I'll continue using this method in my class. When a pupil is the teacher, their peers pay attention and listen to them because I think they don't want to embarrass them (Interview with Sarah).

Sarah believed that pupils can benefit a lot from their peers more than from their teachers and they accept their support without affecting their self-confidence. Therefore, in her observed class, when a pupil could not spell the past verb form of 'find', she said that she directed the question to another pupil instead of writing the answer immediately on the board. Sarah argued that based on her intuitions, pupils felt embarrassed when she corrected their mistakes, but they accepted help from their peers without affecting their confidence.

Sarah emphasised that her pupils loved most taking some responsibilities in class. Therefore, she gave them simple tasks every week and rewarded them by adding points to the reward chart she used in class:

I tell them for example 'the next lesson, I'll give some tasks.' There are simple tasks like doing their homework, but when I say, 'you'll be charged with a task' a word like 'charge' and 'I need a helper' they absolutely love this. So, I teach the lesson, but I

have helpers, particularly pupils with excellent learning abilities (Interview with Sarah).

The helpers might assist by explaining ideas to their peers and translating them to Arabic for instance. However, the teacher said that in the observed class pupils' learning levels were a bit low compared to another class she was teaching at that time which affected giving pupils some roles to assist their peers. Therefore, Sarah indicated that she encouraged pupil participation in the observed class by adding points to the reward chart. The teacher also rewarded them for showing good discipline in class, providing correct answers, and doing homework to build up their confidence. When she first tried using the reward chart, Sarah pointed out that she did not expect her pupils to love it because she thought Primary 6 pupils were too old to be motivated by reward charts. She expected that she would use the chart for a month as a trial, but because she saw its positive influence on pupils she continued its use.

Other examples of motivational techniques Sarah said she used and proved to be very useful were motivational cards in boxed gifts and class dialogues. When she taught Primary 1, there was a traumatised pupil in Sarah's class who was very introverted and did not participate in class. The teacher noticed that when they talked about parents in class, the pupil appeared upset and withdrawn. Therefore, Sarah contacted his family to understand his behaviour and his mother told her that the pupil lost his father because of the war and since then he became very introvert.

To encourage the pupil to participate in class, Sarah and his mother tried using presents, but they found him more encouraged by motivational cards. The teacher said that step by step the pupil showed a bit more confidence. Since then, Sarah indicated that she used motivational cards and class dialogues to encourage class participation:

sometimes I don't use class time to teach the curriculum. I divide the lesson time to discuss issues together and tell personal stories. The teacher doesn't always have to teach the curriculum and say, 'open your books and notebooks.' Pupils must talk, have fun, participate and share their experiences with their peers and teachers. So, I love this way particularly with younger pupils. They tell their personal stories and they share everything in class (Interview with Sarah).

Through dialogue with pupils, Sarah indicated that she was able to understand traumatising experiences and was able to plan her lessons accordingly. For instance, she illustrated that

based on her experience, talking about Syria in class always brought back depressing memories and made her pupils lose concentration. Just before class observation began, Sarah pointed out that as she was reminding her pupils with the use of the second conditional, a pupil surprised her saying, “if I was a policy-maker, I would end the Syrian war.” The teacher believed that the examples the pupils provided using the second conditional reflected some of the difficulties they were experiencing because of the ongoing war in Syria. Therefore, Sarah avoided any talks about Syria in class and advised refugee teachers to do the same:

the most important thing in teaching here is avoiding any talks about our home country. Once someone opens that subject, the pupils become distracted and they remember bad memories ... dreadful for some. So, keep smiling and support the pupils in any way possible. A teacher's smile may influence how they feel. Encourage them even though their learning abilities were very weak and even if they made a mistake twice or three times, give them chances to participate. As for covering the curriculum, if pupils find it difficult, it is not important to use it. I can design my teaching materials (Interview with Sarah).

Sarah indicated that the school administration was very flexible regarding covering the content of the curriculum. Despite having tests, the teacher said they were free to select what to focus on as the quality of what they delivered mattered more than the quantity of curriculum content. It is important to mention that Sarah did not participate in any training since she started teaching Syrian refugees in Turkey. She said that she did not attend the UNICEF training on the INEE minimum standards because she was teaching at another school at that time which was not involved in any training.

Despite Sarah's advice, examining Facebook data suggests that Syria was discussed in the classroom and was shown as the subject of pupils' artwork. James posted photos of playdough activities which showed the pupils writing the word 'Syria' and 'children of life'. James also uploaded photos of the map of Syria in different classes and videos of pupils reciting emotional poetry. For example, there were videos entitled 'A Message to My Country,' 'My Beloved Syria,' 'My Syria' and 'We Will Come Back Aleppo' which showed notes at their beginning and end which indicated that the pupils in the different classes participated in writing the texts and designing Syria's map as illustrated below:



James showed writing 'Syria' in playdough



"A Message to My Country was written and designed by Primary 3 pupils at (the school's name) as a way of expressing their love and longing for their beloved homeland Syria " was shown in the video



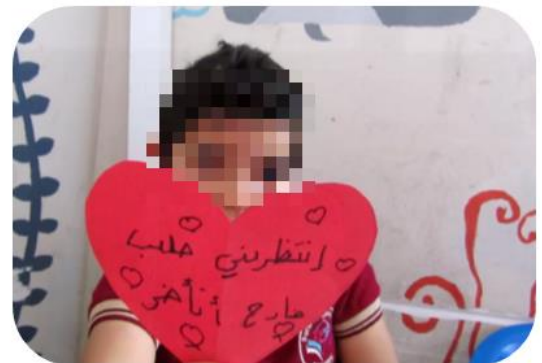
Eight pupils were shown in the video 'My Syria' reciting poetry and singing for the 14 governorates of Syria. The map of Syria appeared on the wall



James showed pupils in the video 'We Will Come Back Aleppo' sticking their photo notes next to the governorate they came from



The video 'My Beloved Syria' showed the emotional messages the pupils wrote and the map of Syria appeared on the wall



James showed "wait for me Aleppo, I won't be late" in the video 'My Beloved Syria'

Figure 6.19: Discussing Syria in the classroom (Source: School's Facebook page).

In the video entitled ‘We Will Come Back Aleppo’ James showed the pupils working in groups, drawing, colouring and writing emotional messages. Then, James showed photos of the pupils on heart shape notes which were placed all around the map of Syria on the whiteboard. The pupils were shown one by one looking for their photos and sticking the notes next to the name of the city they came from. Finally, the pupils were shown carrying

the map of Syria and notes they wrote saying that they missed Syria and they would come back soon.

6.2.2.3 Hannah's Arabic Class, P3

At the beginning of the class, Hannah used questioning which required factual recall while introducing the lesson. The teacher asked her pupils two closed questions about Sinbad, a fictional sailor whose adventures at sea are told in The Arabian Nights stories. About six pupils raised their hands to respond to the questions:

Hannah: today our lesson is very interesting and you will discover what it is going to be about. Who knows who is Sinbad? (paused for 5 seconds) Pupil (1) please? What do you know about Sinbad?

Pupil (1): he loves the sea ... he likes adventures and travelling

Hannah: good thanks. So, he is a traveller, a globetrotter. What is the meaning of 'globetrotter'?

Class: he travels a lot

Hannah: yes, it means someone who travels from one country to another. He explores countries. Is that clear? When Sinbad travelled, he had many adventures. Today we will talk about one of his adventures. Let's choose a title for our story. What do you think the title of our story today is? (paused for about 4 seconds) Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): a tale from the adventures of Sinbad

Hannah: thank you (she wrote the title on the board). Now let's explore one of his wonderful stories (Observation notes, Hannah's class).

Hannah checked pupils' prior knowledge of Sinbad using a closed question. One pupil provided the answer. The teacher added more explanation and asked another closed question about the meaning of the word 'globetrotter'. The waiting time Hannah provided for pupils to answer was about five seconds. She wrote the title provided by a pupil on the board and then she asked the class to open their class book to read the story of Sinbad. The time spent on lesson introduction was two minutes.

After that, the teacher read the story which was written in Standard Arabic. Depending on the storytelling technique, she narrated the story in colloquial Arabic and provided explanation. She asked a pupil to read the first part loudly. After that, Hannah asked the class

comprehension questions. The pupils exhibited behaviours that gave an impression of engagement with the teacher as they responded to her closed questions:

Hannah: what does this part talk about? What is the main idea?

Class: Sinbad

Hannah: all the story is about Sinbad, but what is the main idea of part 1? Raise your hand please? Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): it is about the whale

Hannah: so they realised that ...?

Pupil (1): it is a whale

Hannah: so they realised that it wasn't an island. What did we say it was?

Pupil (1): a whale

Hannah: bravo! Who else can provide a main title for this part? A short title? (she paused for about 8 seconds) Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): the whale island

Hannah: that's a nice title! So, we can think of this title as an imaginary story title ... we thought it was an island but it turned out to be a whale. Let's hear another title please. Pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): Sinbad the adventurer

Hannah: that's nice as well. Pupil (4)?

Pupil (4): the whale and Sinbad

Hannah: the whale and Sinbad. Thank you. Now give me examples of words that you don't know or don't understand their meanings

Pupil (5): 'out to sea'?

Hannah: ok. Class what does 'out to sea' mean?

Class: the middle of the sea

Pupil (6): shipmaster

Hannah: what does 'shipmaster' mean?

Class: captain

Hannah: good. Thanks! So, we can write now the main idea of the first part is 'the whale and Sinbad' (she wrote it on the board). Now who likes to read the second part of the story? (Observation notes, Hannah's class)

The teacher checked pupils' understanding of the central idea of the first part of the story using a closed question. She asked the class to think of a suitable title and listened to four answers provided by the pupils who volunteered to participate. The pupils gave a variety of acceptable responses and Hannah wrote one of them on the board. She asked the pupils to

look for unfamiliar words and took the questions back to the rest of class to explain their meanings. The waiting time was between 4 to 8 seconds. Following the same technique, the teacher asked a pupil to read the second part of the story and asked the class comprehension questions:

Hannah: so what happened to the island? What happened to what they thought was an island?

Class: it shook

Hannah: Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): it shook and it drowned in the sea

Hannah: it drowned in the sea. Did all of them drown?

Class: no

Hannah: what happened then?

Pupil (2): those who were close survived and those who were far drowned

Hannah: so some of them drown and some survived. Right?

Class: yes

Hannah: so what do you think the main idea of or the best title for this part?

Pupil (3): the drowned island

Hannah: that's a nice title. I will write it on the board (she wrote it). Now the third part of the story, who likes to read? (Observation notes, Hannah's class)

Hannah checked pupils' comprehension of the story using closed questioning. The teacher commented on pupils' answers and asked the pupils to provide a title for the second part of the story. Only one pupil raised her hand to answer. The teacher wrote her answer on the board. Then, a pupil read the last part of the story. Hannah asked similar comprehension questions. The teacher encouraged the pupils to think of a suitable title. Four pupils interacted with the teacher and she wrote one of the titles on the board. This reading and comprehension activity lasted for about 15 minutes. Following this activity, Hannah used closed questions to do a grammar activity. She asked pupils to look for verbs in the past simple form and tested their knowledge of verb tenses in a five-minute activity.

Towards the end of the lesson, the teacher asked a series of closed questions for about six minutes. Many pupils from all over the class raised their hands to participate. Hannah found out what pupils liked best about the story and their reaction if they were in the same situation using open questioning:

Hannah: what did you like best about the story? Tell me about an idea you like here (paused for 5 seconds) Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): when he was on the island

Hannah: which island you mean? The one they thought was an island, but it was a whale in reality or the island he could reach after he survived the whale accident? (she paused for 4 seconds) Which island do you like?

Pupil (1): when he thought it was a whale

Hannah: that's good. Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): when he came out alive

Hannah: interesting. When Sinbad came out alive. Pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): when he swam to the island

Hannah: thanks. Who else? Pupil (4)?

Pupil (4): when he drowned (he laughed and pupils were giggling)

Hannah: when he drowned!? Did you like this part (she smiled)?

Pupil (4): yes

Hannah: why?

Pupil (4): (he laughed)

Hannah: (she smiled) my kids if you were in Sinbad's place, what would you do? (paused for 4 seconds) Pupil (5) please?

Pupil (5): I'd scream

Pupil (6): I'd follow Sinbad

Hannah: you'd follow him to the island?

Pupil (6): yes.

Hannah: OK thanks. What else would you do? Pupil (7)?

Pupil (7): I'd say a prayer ... Prophet Yunus prayer when he was in distress

Hannah: do you know what he said in his prayer? (Observation notes, Hannah's class)

In this exchange, seven pupils interacted with the teacher, and the use of open questioning engaged the class in discussion which lasted for about four minutes. The teacher also asked three closed questions about the events in the story. Finally, Hannah asked the class to think of a new title for the story other than the one they already have in their class book and eight pupils interacted with her:

Hannah: in our class book they say the title of the story is 'a tale from the adventures of Sinbad'. Let's think of another suitable title for this story. I need a main title for all three parts of the story (paused for 5 seconds) Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): the island and Sinbad

Hannah: the island and Sinbad. Well said, thanks. Another title please? Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): Sinbad adventures

Hannah: Sinbad adventures. Another one? Pupil (3)?

Pupil (3): the survival of Sinbad

Hannah: good. Pupil (4)?

Pupil (4): the stormy sea

Hannah: the stormy sea. What does 'stormy' mean?

Pupil (5): angry

Pupil (6): mad

Hannah: it is windy and rainy and the sea waves go up highly in a mad way. Let's choose a title, pupil (7)?

Pupil (7): Sinbad the adventurer

Pupil (8): the whale island

(two pupils in the back were shouting Sinbad adventures)

Hannah: we can also say Sinbad sea adventures because he used to have adventures at the sea and other places. What distinguishes this story is that his adventure was at the sea. So, we can write a new title for the story: Sinbad sea adventure (she wrote it on the board). Now let's answer the questions in your book on page 93 (Observation notes, Hannah's class).

The pupils seemed engaged till the end of the lesson. They responded to the teacher's closed question by proposing seven titles for the story. As a summary, Hannah depended on using closed questioning, storytelling and explanation. She checked pupils' prior knowledge of the main character in the story. The teacher narrated the story using storytelling and explanation techniques. These techniques were followed by questioning. Depending on asking closed questions, the teacher checked pupils' understanding of the story and encouraged pupils to suggest titles for the whole story and each part of it. The pupils also provided their views of the best event and their imaginary reaction to the events in the story in response to Hannah's open question.

In her interview, Hannah indicated that she depended on storytelling to teach all subjects as she found this technique the most interesting which can best capture pupils' attention:

regarding my teaching techniques, I like suspense and storytelling because I care about using an interesting teaching technique. As part of the professional ethics for teachers, learning should be fun, and pupils should enjoy stress-free learning. So, I kind of try to make them enjoy learning by saying for example, 'today, we will learn a

story. We will learn something new. There is a surprise today.’ When teaching maths for instance ... I use narrating techniques and say this is ‘Mr. Maths’ or this is ‘Mr. Science’ so the children see the subjects as persons which stimulate their imagination (Interview with Hannah).

Hannah argued that the best teaching technique is storytelling because it engages pupils. Even when teaching simple topics, starting class using storytelling attracts pupils’ attention as the teacher said. Therefore, Hannah believed that storytelling can be used as a tool for attracting pupils’ attention and encouraging them to explore the information their lessons intend to convey. However, Hannah pointed out that in certain lessons she found using storytelling became difficult depending on the subject she was teaching. The teacher indicated that storytelling worked best when the content of the lesson encourages dialogue with pupils. The other techniques Hannah said that she used are dialogic and problem-solving techniques:

there are lessons which you can begin with using dialogic techniques. So, I ask them questions. In some lessons, I give them a problem which they have to solve. While solving problems, I teach my pupils indirectly the lesson (Interview with Hannah).

Hannah believed that using storytelling only may become boring for pupils. Therefore, she said that she came up with problems so that pupils think about ways to solve them. The teacher pointed out that the curriculum was flexible, and her priority was ensuring that the pupils understood the content taught more than how much content was covered. Even though the pupils had to take exams, Hannah said that the teachers were focusing on teaching certain content which they considered important to learn more than covering all the curriculum depending on pupils’ comprehension and interaction.

Hannah emphasised that personally and professionally her ethics as a teacher demanded that she teaches wholeheartedly to ensure effective learning:

as I just told you I cover most of the curriculum, but I try to focus less on teaching some content. So, I don’t abandon the class book. I just give less attention to teaching some information. For example, there is a lesson on ancient kingdoms in history. Firstly, I focus on understanding what ancient kingdoms or historical figures mean so that when they read the text they don’t read like parrots. I mean reading without understanding. We suffered in school because of rote learning ... you know we were taught using memorisation techniques which proved to be wrong because children learn without understanding meaning (Interview with Hannah).

What is understood from Hannah's views of teaching is that she was selective when teaching content based on what she considered important to know in life. Hannah said that she did not care if pupils do not memorise where the location of the ancient kingdom of Mari was because she believed understanding the meaning of 'heritage' is far more important and pupils need this information to use it in their daily life. Being taught in school to memorise information through rote learning seems to influence Hannah's views of teaching as the teacher said. Hannah indicated that she was troubled by this way of teaching when she was a pupil. Therefore, she said she was avoiding rote memorisation and she was focusing on meaningful learning so that important concepts stay with pupils for life. What is implicit based on Hannah's views is that she believed she was engaging pupils in meaningful learning through using closed questioning.

Hannah said that a major influence on her pedagogy was her university studies. The teacher pointed out that she was doing her BA in education in Syria and just before graduation she was forced to leave her studies because of the intensity of the war in her hometown. As part of her studies, Hannah said that storytelling and inductive learning were promoted as effective techniques. Therefore, her studies encouraged her to use them in class. Another influence Hannah discussed was a UNICEF training she attended just after being displaced inside Syria. After leaving her university studies, Hannah volunteered to teach displaced children in Syria for a year and UNICEF provided training for teachers in Syria which focused on providing children with psychosocial support:

what they (UNICEF) did was that they brought resources they used with children in Palestine who have been through what our children have. The programme focused on helping children to adapt to the new situation. So, we did not receive training to treat children, but to provide them with psychosocial support [...] we had some children who ... they were extremely traumatised. We couldn't treat them, but we could identify those who needed treatment and referred them to specialists. Through drawing, actions and reactions as well as their response to stories ... these were the ways we were trained to use to identify the problems which children have (Interview with Hannah).

Hannah said that she was trained to use several strategies to identify traumatised children which impacted on her teaching techniques. For example, the teacher indicated that she came up with an idea and used it as a story opener which the pupils needed to complete. The way the pupils generated the story helped Hannah know those who needed support. If a pupil completed the story in an aggressive or violent way, this may suggest that he or she had been through a traumatising event which affected his thoughts.

Another way which Hannah also used following the training was analysing pupils' handwriting. The teacher emphasised that she benefited a lot from the UNICEF training particularly that she was still at the very beginning of her teaching career. She said that the training helped her understand her pupils, their wellbeing, and learning difficulties. Because of the training, Hannah indicated that she could understand the reasons for having pupils with lower learning abilities and how the special circumstances they have been through impacted on their learning. In addition, the teacher pointed out that she could provide support for those who needed it and saw some improvement. Therefore, she advised teachers to get the UNICEF training whenever possible:

I certainly advise teachers to do the training because the problem our pupils have is ... if I could support them psychologically, I'd help them achieve their potential because they don't suffer from stupidity. The reasons for their lower learning abilities are mostly psychological and some had limited education experiences which affect their motivation to learn. Most pupils have lost motivation to learn so if we encourage them, we'll overcome other problems (Interview with Hannah).

Hannah believed that refugee pupils mostly needed tenderness and emotional security at war times. When teachers act as a source of security, pupils accept everything they say and learn better. As part of encouraging pupils, Hannah indicated that she asked some of her pupils to teach their peers. However, the class did not interact the way she expected because of gaps in pupils' learning. The teacher said that following several unsuccessful attempts, she decided to restrict the use of peer teaching to revising previous information or building on prior learning rather than introducing new information. Hannah argued that peer teaching may affect some pupils badly and reduce their confidence particularly those with lower learning abilities. She said that some pupils may say they cannot be like those with good learning abilities which affects them psychologically and decreases their motivation to learn. Therefore, Hannah preferred giving pupils certain tasks to do to encourage them and build up their confidence.

Based on Facebook data, there are some examples of activities which Hannah's class appeared to do. In a four-minute video entitled as 'Primary 3 Arabic Language Competition', two pupils were shown as the leaders of class. The two pupils introduced the competition which focused on parts of speech. James showed a poster of a tree trunk with five branches on the whiteboard and the title 'Words Tree' appeared in the middle. On the left branch 'verb' was written, in the middle 'noun', and on the right 'preposition' were written. The leaders gave every pupil a green paper leaf on which a word was written. The two leaders

asked the class to examine the words to decide which part of speech they represented. Then, one of them walked around the class and asked different pupils to read aloud the words they had on their leaves. After that, each leader asked a pupil to stick the leaf on a suitable branch based on their knowledge of parts of speech. James was keen to show that all the class participated in this activity. At the end, James showed the leaders thanking the class for their efforts and giving them a treat as illustrated below:



James showed two pupils leading the activity



James showed the leader walking around the class



James showed the pupils participating in the activity



James showed the leader giving the class a treat

Figure 6.20: Showing pupils leading Arabic language competition (Source: School's Facebook page).

The next section analyses the final illustrative example of combining explanation, closed questioning and demonstration in Lily's class.

6.2.2.4 Lily's Chemistry Class, P6

When observation started, the teacher had already introduced the lesson and wrote the definition of mixtures and the two types of mixtures on the board. She repeated this information by asking the class to define mixtures and provided additional explanation. Pupils mostly at the front seats raised their hands to answer. After repeating her explanation

of the two types of mixtures, homogeneous and heterogeneous, Lily used demonstration technique to do simple hands-on experiments. Two pupils helped the teacher during the demonstration. Demonstration was combined with the use of closed questioning. Pupils looked engaged with the teacher as they interacted with her. Three pupils asked Lily questions as illustrated in the following exchanges:

Lily: I have here water and here I have salt. Let's add one spoon of salt to the water cup (a pupil helped the teacher and gave her the water cup). What will happen to the salt? Raise your hand please if you want to answer (paused for 3-4 seconds) Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): when we mix them together we can't see the two materials separately

Lily: so you think we can't see them separately (stirring the mixture)

Class: yes, yes

Lily: we will see this in a minute. We will know for sure when we see it in front of us here (looking at the cup). I will leave the cup here for a minute and meanwhile I will add milk to the second cup here. This is milk powder we will try to mix it with some water ...

Pupil (2): miss, is this a homogenous mixture?

Lily: you will tell us if it is or not. You will answer your own question while we do this experiment. I have written the definition of both types of mixtures here on the board and you will decide which type is in each experiment. (She gave a pupil at the front seat the milk and water cup) Stir please. Pupil (3) do you have a question?

Pupil (3): yes, did you add milk to the salt and water cup?

Lily: no, that's a separate cup. Salt and water are here in this cup (showing the class the cup). We have another material we need to mix with water. I have some oil here. I will add oil to a water cup (adding oil) and I will add more water (adding water) ...

Pupil (4): but the oil will go up!

Lily: we will see now. We are doing more than one experiment to see ...

Pupil (5): oil first

Lily: it doesn't matter which is first. We will have the same result. Look at the first cup (going around the class showing the first cup) we added salt to some water. Who can see the salt particles?

Pupil (6): I can't see them!

Lily: you can't see them. Is there anyone who can see the salt particles?

Class: no

Lily: so what happened is that salt dissolved completely in water. What type of mixtures is this? (paused for about 5 seconds) Pupil (7)?

Pupil (7): homogenous

Lily: a homogenous mixture. Who can tell me why salt and water is a homogenous mixture? Pupil (8)?

Pupil (8): because we can't see it with our eyes

Lily: because we can't distinguish between the materials using our eyes. Very good thank you ...

Pupil (9): miss, I have a question

Lily: go ahead

Pupil (9): why it became a homogenous mixture?

Lily: because we can't distinguish between the materials using human eyes. The mixture has become like one material not as two separate materials

Pupil (9): I know that but why this happened?

Lily: because this is a feature of salt. One of its features is that it dissolves in water, alright? (Observation notes, Lily's class)

The teacher checked pupils' comprehension while demonstrating mixing two materials. She asked factual questions and pupils from all over the class raised their hands to participate. The waiting time Lily gave for pupils to respond was about six seconds. During demonstration pupils commented on what was happening in front of them and three pupils asked factual questions about the experiment. Lily provided details in response to pupils' comments and questions. She also tested pupils' comprehension and the pupils responded in whole class. Lily asked if it was possible to separate water and salt into two materials. The class said no. The teacher asked the class to think of a way to separate these materials using a closed question. A pupil challenged the answer the class gave and explained how it was possible to do so. Lily encouraged the pupil to provide explanation by asking her closed questions. Another pupil also participated in this exchange as well:

Lily: what do you think we can do to separate salt from water? Can you think of another answer?

Class: no

Pupil (1): no miss, it is impossible because salt dissolved in water. It is a homogenous mixture

Lily: it is dissolved, but we can think of another way. What do you think? (4 pupils raised their hands) Pupil (2)?

Pupil (2): miss, if we put the mixture in a pot and make it boil

Lily: bravo! What will happen then if we boil it?

Pupil (2): it is going to evaporate

Lily: when the mixture evaporates, what will happen?

Pupil (2): water evaporates

Lily: water evaporates and what will we have then?

Pupil (3): we will have salt!

Lily: so this means we can separate the two materials water and salt. We can conclude that even if we mix materials together, each material preserves its own characteristics. I mean a characteristic of salt is that it dissolves in water. One characteristic of water is that it evaporates. When we mix water, it preserves this characteristic. So, when we mix materials each preserves its own characteristic (Observation notes, Lily's class).

A pupil commented on this conclusion saying that she already knew this information from the previous school year. The class spent five minutes discussing water and salt mixture. Following that, Lily asked closed questions about the second mixture, milk powder and water as she did previously. The pupils looked attentive as they were looking at the mixture in the cup and interacting with the teacher. Lily used an example from daily life in response to a pupil's comment on the milk powder and water mixture. Lily said that fruit smoothie is similar to the milk powder and water mixture as it is difficult to distinguish between the materials after blending and both are examples of homogenous mixtures. Pupils were giggling at teacher's explanation of the fruit smoothie example and she was smiling back.

After spending three minutes explaining the second mixture, Lily asked questions about the third mixture, that is, oil and water. She asked the class closed questions about what they saw in the demonstration and pupils from all over the class interacted with her. Pupils asked questions and Lily provided explanation:

Lily: I am stirring now look and tell me what is happening?

Pupil (1): oil is coming up

Lily: I'll stir them again. Pupil (2) stir them please and tell us what is happening?

Pupil (2): they aren't mixed

Pupil (3): miss, I'll tell you why this is happening

Lily: go ahead Pupil (3)

Pupil (3): because this is a heterogeneous mixture. We can see the materials with our human eyes

Lily: you said that this is a heterogeneous mixture and we can distinguish between the two materials oil and water. Let me add to this each material preserves its own characteristics. A characteristic of oil is that it floats on water ... Pupil (4) do you have a question?

Pupil (4): why doesn't oil sink and water floats to the top?

Lily: because this is a characteristic of water. It weighs more than oil so it is heavier and that's why it sinks. You can try to mix two other different materials but because these are simple material I can bring from home to class I used them. As your

classmate suggested you can try mixing tomato sauce and oil. Tomato sauce is heavier than oil and so it sinks while oil floats to the top

Pupil (5): what type of oil is this?

Lily: you can try any type of oil. In general oil is lighter than water. It is less dense ...

Pupil (6): I have a question please. If we add more oil and we have less water, will we have the same result?

Lily: yes, the same result. Oil floats to the top. Try it at home. Try it today and tell us tomorrow what happens

Pupil (7): but why?

Lily: I will say that again a characteristic of oil because it is lighter than water is that it floats to top. This is why it floats to top and water sinks ...

Pupil (8): can we separate the two materials?

Lily: yes, of course we can

Pupil (8): I sometimes see my mum using a sieve to separate liquid. The liquid goes through the sieve and the other things don't (Observation notes, Lily's class).

Pupils from all over the class commented on what they saw and asked Lily factual questions for about five minutes. Lily answered most of the questions and asked the pupils to try out mixing the materials they asked her about and report the outcome in the next lesson. Lily began then another demonstration mixing some sand and iron filings. She told the class that she did not have iron filings, so she used staples instead. Pupils asked if the outcome of mixing sand and staples is the same as the outcome of mixing sand and iron filings. Lily said both materials are the same. Lily told the class that it was just because of the lack of teaching aids and materials she replaced iron filings with staples.

Lily provided explanation about the characteristics of sand and iron filings. She used a magnet to attract staples. Then, she asked the class closed questions getting information on the type of mixture. Pupils asked her a couple of factual questions. A pupil asked her to repeat the demonstration and more factual questions from the pupils followed. Pupils' comments and questions on the fourth demonstration lasted for about six minutes. After that, the class did an exercise from their class book. The teacher asked the pupils to work individually while she copied the exercise on the board.

Before doing the exercise in whole class, Lily checked pupils' prior knowledge of the elements in the air by asking them two closed questions. Then the pupils did the exercise in

whole class. The teacher asked the pupils a closed question to decide whether the materials given are examples of homogenous or heterogeneous mixtures. This was followed by another closed question to explain their answer:

Lily: dirty water, is it a homogenous or heterogeneous mixture Pupil (1)?

Pupil (1): heterogenous

Lily: why do you think so?

Pupil (1): because we can distinguish if there is juice for example or something else ... we know there is another thing added to the water

Lily: very good. Thank you. So, we can distinguish between the elements. We can see that the water isn't pure or clean. So, this is why it is a heterogenous mixture. Now pure water?

Pupil (2): excuse me miss I have a question. I think you made a mistake dirty water is a homogenous mixture!

Lily: if it was homogenous you won't be able to see the mixed elements with your eyes. You see the mixture as one, I mean as a whole, but in a heterogenous mixture you see more than one element there. Is that alright? (Observation notes, Lily's class)

Following the same method of using closed questioning, the pupils spent ten minutes working on this exercise. Lily commented on pupils' answers providing more explanation. A pupil asked Lily to repeat her explanation of dirty and pure water types of mixture. The teacher used demonstration technique to provide explanation using a pupil's water bottle. After explaining the type of pure water mixture, Lily added sand to the water changing the pure water dirty. The pupils at front seats were giggling. Four pupils in the back of class were commenting on what they observed. Lily asked closed questions and ended the lesson with a summary of the main information.

To summarise, Lily used closed questioning in combination with demonstration and explanation. Lily elicited responses from pupils and tested their comprehension while demonstrating four experiments through asking closed questions. The waiting time the teacher gave for pupils to respond was about six seconds. The pupils interacted with Lily and asked her factual questions. Lily provided explanations. Lily involved some pupils in mixing materials and encouraged them to try mixing safe materials at home to report the outcome in the following lesson. Some pupils predicted the outcomes of demonstrations.

In her interview, Lily indicated that she mainly depended on question and answer because of the severe lack of teaching aids and materials as well as her beliefs that pupils would be engaged in class:

There is a severe lack of teaching aids and materials which affects the way I teach my lessons. In many classes we can't do hands-on experiments. Most of our lessons here are transmissive because we don't have any alternative options [...] in some lessons we manage to get some materials, but there are lessons which are primarily transmissive. However, I always depend on engaging pupils in the lesson. I always try to ask them questions related to the lesson or familiar information I expect them to know based on their existing knowledge. Most of the time I ask pupils a couple of questions till I get the idea or the response I need (Interview with Lily).

Lily emphasised the heavy influence of the lack of teaching aids and materials on her teaching methods particularly in her science classes. Therefore, she indicated that she used questioning techniques in her class. Lily believed that question and answer technique is effective because pupils depend on themselves to get the answer:

When they depend on themselves when answering questions, this will help them retain information better than I provide them with answers. You are studying abroad, and you know that in these countries they let pupils find knowledge. Teachers don't provide information. Pupils search for answers. So, I kind of try to encourage them to find information. If it was right that's good, and if it wasn't that's fine we are here to learn (Interview with Lily).

What is implied in Lily's statement is that she was aware of the importance of encouraging pupils' exploration of knowledge. She believed that question and answer techniques support knowledge exploration. Lily pointed out that she sometimes used group work depending on the number of pupils in class because the physical classroom structure which was designed as a residential flat made it difficult for pupils to move:

in some lessons like the one you observed, when there are fewer pupils in class I use collaborative learning techniques. I assign tasks for pupils to do hands-on activities in groups. I couldn't use group work in the observed lesson because there were many pupils in class. The physical classroom structure isn't appropriate. There aren't classrooms which are arranged in a way which facilitates working in groups. So, I couldn't use group work and I had to do the activities as you observed (Interview with Lily).

Lily believed that working in groups is very beneficial for pupils. She found group work activating pupils and encouraging their participation particularly when she assigned group leaders:

pupils feel that they have a goal, they become more encouraged to participate because they are leaders. So, you feel like they are taking charge. Another advantage is that they benefit much when they work and learn together. This is what I think ... such a technique is more beneficial for pupils. I mean working collaboratively helps them retain information for the future unlike transmissive teaching which makes pupils learn information for temporary use (Interview with Lily).

Lily said that she sometimes used her mobile phone to show the pupils in groups a video which helps explaining the lesson. However, she emphasised that sometimes her choices were restricted because of the unavailability of teaching aids. Another influence on Lily's pedagogical choices is pupils' traumatic experiences, psychosocial needs and learning gaps:

I believe that our pupils generally need psychosocial care before caring about their progress in learning. Some pupils are deeply affected by the war. Some pupils were caught in the midst of fights and some were injured. Some left school for a couple of years then they came here. I think we need to work patiently with them, take care of their psychological state first before we care about educating them. Therefore, sometimes I don't use many teaching techniques to avoid causing chaos and distress (Interview with Lily).

Lily said that she sometimes did not vary her teaching methods because of her pupils' psychological needs. Therefore, Lily indicated that depending on the content of the lesson and the availability of materials she planned her lessons.

Lily pointed out that she used a reward chart in class which shows pupils' participation. She said that every lesson she gave her pupils extra-curricular tasks and rewarded those who did them. Following midterm and final exams, Lily said that she gave her pupils certificates and presents and posted their photos on the school's Facebook page to recognise their achievements.

Regarding her views of the INEE training course, Lily said that the training was good. However, applying the methods they promoted was very challenging within her realities:

In this course, most of the methods they [UNICEF trainers] talked about can't be used here. They are not appropriate in our context here ... I mean in our school as refugees. These methods work in their context and their schools. They are appropriate for people who are settled in their country, their schools are well-resourced, and they have laboratories and tools. Some ideas were useful, but mostly I find them hard to implement considering our realities (Interview with Lily).

What is suggested by Lily's comments is that learner-centred methods which are advocated by the INEE in refugee contexts are inappropriate in the Syrian context because of contextual difficulties.

Finally, based on Facebook data, James posted a three-minute video of Lily's class during a fish anatomy lesson. James showed the title "science hands-on activity":



Figure 6.21: Showing questioning and hands-on science activities (Source: School's Facebook page).

Lily appeared adopting the techniques she used in her observed class. Lily provided explanation while showing pupils the parts of a fish and asking them closed questions. James showed pupils standing around Lily's desk, asking and commenting on what they saw exactly in the same way they were observed in their lesson.

6.3 Summary

In this chapter I present teachers' practices on a continuum based on three sources of data, classroom observations, interviews with teachers and the analysis of the school's Facebook page to better understand the pedagogy used in the Syrian refugee context, the influences and challenges affecting teachers' choices and the practices James was keen to show on the Facebook page. I explore the techniques the teachers said they followed, and James showed on the school's social media platform. I also indicate teachers' views of the UNICEF training on the INEE minimum standards, their perceptions of learner-centred pedagogy and justifications for their choices in relation to children's needs. In the next chapter, I examine the findings in relation to the existing literature and research questions.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate the triangulated findings from four qualitative sources in relation to the existing literature to provide a comprehensive understanding of the quality of refugee education in the Syrian context. The multiple guiding frameworks I employ to inform this research and facilitate examining the quality of education from different perspectives are based on O'Sullivan's (2004) learning-centred approach, Alexander's (2008c, 2017) framework for dialogic teaching, Guthrie's (2011) five teaching styles continuum, and Schweisfurth's (2013) minimum standards for learner-centred education (LCE) which view pedagogic models on a continuum with LCE as one end. I also draw on the International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) *Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a) which provides a widely-cited framework of good practice in emergencies internationally and promotes LCE as 'best practice' to achieve quality education.

The discussion of findings addresses the four main research questions. The core themes I analyse are: from knowledge transmission to construction, school's publicised classroom practices, teachers' perspectives on pedagogical change, and teachers' perceptions of effective pedagogy for teaching urban Syrian refugees in Turkey. While critically analysing teaching styles and contextual influences, I explore the kinds of classroom talk and power relationships, teachers and administrative staff's understanding of LCE and their perceptions of active engagement in the classroom, adaptations in teaching methods to meet the perceived needs of learners, classroom environment, and the use of reinforcement.

Analysing the school's publicised classroom practices facilitates gaining information on the models of pedagogy James was keen on demonstrating on the school's Facebook page. Exploring teachers and administrative staff's attitudes to pedagogical change in the refugee context helps understand their views of change and the multiple challenges which affect LCE implementation. Finally, I compare teachers' perceptions of effective pedagogy in the Syrian context to the INEE standards (2010a) which defines good practices internationally in refugee situations. This comparison facilitates understanding the adaptive form of LCE

which is appropriate in the Syrian refugee context based on classroom realities and teachers' capacities.

7.2 From Knowledge Transmission to Construction

The triangulated findings indicate that within their realities and capacities, Syrian teachers adopted a learning-centred approach as O'Sullivan (2004) defines in her Namibian case study:

The focus is on ensuring effective learning and using whatever activities, techniques and skills best brings this about within the realities in which teachers work (O'Sullivan, 2004, p. 599).

The findings suggest that Syrian teachers used a variety of teaching methods along the continuum to support the learning of refugee pupils. Their roles in class ranged from providers of knowledge to facilitators. Using Guthrie's (2011) teaching styles continuum, the triangulated findings show that Syrian teachers used a flexible teaching style. As Guthrie (2011) illustrates, the flexible teacher may use various methods, but they are limited in scope and frequency of use and are controlled by the teachers. The flexible teacher shows flexibility in the use of syllabuses and textbooks. Therefore, the findings suggest this style best describes teachers' styles in the Syrian context. Regarding reinforcement, the triangulated findings suggest that teachers followed a liberal style in their emphasis on providing positive reinforcement to build up refugee pupils' confidence and nurture learning in a caring environment.

However, it is important to point out that the results of triangulation are not always identical. Combining data reveals some differences between the way I observed teachers' use of pedagogic models, the way some teachers perceived their instructional practice and the way the media officer who administered the school's Facebook page was keen to show classroom practice. I believe that while analysing refugee education from multiple perspectives using a variety of qualitative tools, triangulation, as Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007) indicate, can facilitate generating a better understanding of data. Therefore, I will identify and discuss the similarities and gaps between the results of the sources of data: observations, interviews and the school's social media platform.

In the next subsections, I will examine first the kinds of teaching talk and teachers' styles in the refugee classes in the light of the literature I reviewed in Chapters Two and Three indicating the aspects which may reflect more and less learner-centred practices. Figure 3.2 in Chapter Three provides a summary of the main characteristics of contextualised LCE based on the multiple frameworks guiding this research.

7.2.1 Teaching Talk and Power in the Classroom

Based on the INEE (2010a) minimum standards for education in refugee contexts, quality education is achieved through implementing learner-centred methods. Schweisfurth (2013) defines education which is more learner-centred as:

a pedagogical approach which gives learners, and demands from them, a relatively high level of active control over the content and process of learning. What is learnt, and how, are therefore shaped by learners' needs, capacities and interests (Schweisfurth, 2013, p. 20).

Despite INEE's recommendations, the findings of observation and interview data indicate that the use of direct instruction techniques prevails in the Syrian classes, which confirms the findings of numerous studies researching refugee education internationally (Sinclair, 2002; Sommers, 2002; Harber, 2004; O'Sullivan, 2004; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Dryden-Peterson, 2016). The interview findings reveal teachers' conscious rejection of LCE because of multiple contextual factors which hinder LCE implementation in accordance with the INEE standards. However, the Facebook data shows a heavy emphasis on demonstrating more learner-centred practices at the end of the continuum. The differences in the data may suggest that LCE was used as a *performance* in the refugee school for different purposes which I will explain in the chapter.

As I indicated in Chapter Three, the literature reports some benefits gained from using direct instruction techniques and shows their importance particularly in contexts where there is a lack of resources as in refugee situations and developing countries (Bennett, 1976; Clark et al., 1979; Guthrie, 1990, 2011; O'Sullivan, 2004; Vavrus, 2009; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Zhou and Brown, 2015; Alexander, 2017). In line with these studies, the findings of this

research highlight the advantages perceived by teachers of using direct instruction to support refugee children's learning considering the contextual constraints such as the huge gaps in pupils' knowledge and skills, the lack of time and space as well as scarce resources and instructional aids.

Using Alexander's (2017) framework for analysing teaching talk, teacher recitation and instruction through whole class teaching were central in all observed Syrian classes. Teachers' control of learning was observed in all the classes while pupils had very limited learning choices. This constrains the implementation of learner-centred pedagogy as Schweisfurth (2013) defines above. However, as Westbrook et al., (2013) argue, direct instruction, which is teacher-led rather than teacher-centred, may develop into more learner-centred activities during the lesson. The findings of observation indicate that the teachers incorporated some aspects of learner-centred pedagogy as I outlined previously in Figure 3.2 in Chapter Three. Moreover, the interview findings indicate that teachers gave pupils the responsibility for learning based on their tightly-framed understanding of learner-centred pedagogy. These findings will be detailed in the next subsections.

7.2.1.1 Active Engagement and Contextual Influences

The findings of observations and interviews indicate that most teachers said they purposefully used explanation and question and answer techniques. In the Syrian classroom, teachers presented the curriculum as a fact. The nature of knowledge was fixed. Like Namibian teachers in O'Sullivan's (2004) study, some Syrian teachers believed their role was to transmit knowledge to pupils using explanation. The non-negotiable nature of knowledge characterises models influenced by behaviorist theories of learning (Kain, 2003; Schweisfurth, 2013; Westbrook et al., 2013; Carroll, 2014). Therefore, the view of knowledge in Syrian classes does not align with the constructivist view of learning which emphasises less teacher telling and more student exploration of knowledge (Weimer, 2002; Brown, 2003).

In one of the classes, the teacher kept referring to the school textbook and differentiated between information pupils were required to know because of the curriculum and extra

information which she felt was useful for them. When a pupil asked a question, the teacher also pointed out twice that the information was not mentioned in their textbook:

Pupil: Miss, when my mother cooks she doesn't feel the taste of food, why does she feel its taste the next day? This always happens with my mother!

Rose: (smiles) this is a good question even though it is not mentioned in our textbook. When we taste food, we have to smell it first. We have cells and pores in the human body when they are saturated with the smell you can't feel the taste of food anymore because all the pores took the smell of food so it loses its taste, OK?

Pupil: (nodded her head)

Rose: but this information is outside our textbook (Observation notes, Rose's class).

In her interview, Rose indicated that her teaching methods were influenced by her previous experience being taught in transmissive ways. As Rose said, “we absorbed this method from our teachers,” hence, she suggested that it was hard to use more learner-centred methods in her class. Similarly, Kaufman (1996) and Struyven et al., (2010) point out that in their classes, teachers attempt to adopt the methods they were primarily taught in. Therefore, Kaufman (1996) argues that expecting teachers to implement constructivist methods can be hard if their previous educational experiences do not include constructivist experiences.

The analysis of interviews suggests that the most common reasons teachers provided for their choices of direct instruction techniques include their beliefs in their effectiveness particularly in the refugee context where there are pupils with low learning skills and abilities, and pupils who are reluctant to talk because of trauma or low motivation levels caused by displacement. The teachers also highlighted the serious lack of resources and instructional aids which limited their pedagogical choices to direct instruction techniques.

Most teachers related the use of direct instruction techniques to the huge gaps in pupils' knowledge and their varying learning abilities. The interview data shows a considerable emphasis on having low-ability pupils who have been mismatched to the level. Like the case of Rwandan children in King's (2011) study, the education of Syrian children was interrupted, and some lost some learning years. Therefore, almost all teachers argued that their pupils' learning abilities affected their choices of methods and classroom pace. This reflects teachers' concern with covering a fixed curriculum in a context where children have experienced interruptions.

According to Gipps and MacGilchrist (1999), teachers' beliefs about learning influence the ways they provide learning opportunities in class. The findings of this research suggest that some teachers' beliefs reflect behaviorist views of learning which affects implementing learner-centred techniques. Based on Deakin Crick and McCombs's (2006) classification of learner-centred and non-learner-centred beliefs, the learner-centred teachers believe that all pupils can learn while non-learner-centred teachers believe that some pupils cannot learn.

Because many refugee pupils had a limited access to education, some teachers indicated that their pupils are unable to participate in class nor take charge of their learning as they lack intellectual capabilities. Influenced by their beliefs, the teachers believed that their role is to provide knowledge to fill the gaps in pupils' knowledge. For example, Iona said, "You can't give pupils this role as they have different ability levels." Similarly, Rose stated that, "no they (pupils) can't get to the core of the lesson, so the teacher has the major role." Therefore, like the statements of some American teachers in the research conducted by McCombs et al., (2008), some statements Syrian teachers made reflect non-learner-centered beliefs. Such beliefs contradict constructivist beliefs which promote pupils' exploration of knowledge and relating it to their experiences and challenging it despite their level of expertise (Weimer, 2002). As Westbrook et al., (2013) and Carroll (2014) indicate, viewing pupils' mind as an empty vessel to be filled with knowledge communicates views of knowledge which are compatible with teacher-centred models.

Syrian teachers' beliefs about their role resonate with Young's (2009a/b) views of the purposes of schools in providing "powerful knowledge" which Young differentiates from everyday knowledge. According to Young (2009b), there is a distinction between every day or common sense knowledge which learners acquire in particular contexts and powerful knowledge which takes learners beyond everyday experiences. Young (2009a, p. 145) argues that "schools have a distinct role in modern societies to provide access to concepts which enable young people to move beyond their experience in ways that would not be open to them in their families and communities." Blurring distinctions between the two types of knowledge reduces the role of teachers to facilitation and support which Young (2009b) argues makes knowledge loses its authority in education and disadvantages the learners particularly in developing countries who may already be disadvantaged by circumstances beyond the school.

Teachers' beliefs about learning in the refugee context may well be shaped by the difficult realities of teaching in Turkey. Teachers' experiences teaching refugees who from their points of view lack knowledge led them to believe that they need to supply knowledge. Consistent with the views of authors such as Williams (2001), Davies (2004) and Kagawa (2005) concerning the challenges of educating refugee children, there is a general agreement among Syrian teachers regarding the profound impact of the war on pupils' learning experiences. Most teachers emphasised the differences in pupils' age and learning abilities as they compared teaching in Syria before the war and teaching in the refugee context. Therefore, teachers' beliefs about the suitability of LCE implementation may be influenced by these contextual constraints.

Cara's statement below explains how her beliefs were shaped by the changes in the teaching context:

When we were in Syria, children started school at a certain age. Even if the child had low learning abilities, with school's support we feel that they could develop. However, here we find it very difficult ... based on their age, some children are in Primary 4 whereas if you look at their learning abilities, they don't know the alphabet! They can't do what children in Primary 2 can do! This is the huge difference in learning abilities that we see in our schools in Turkey. Our children here are educationally behind their peers in Syria. I have never noticed that in Syria ... all children progressed even those with low abilities unlike the situation here no matter what we do I feel their intellectual knowledge is below level compared to their peers in Syria (Interview with Cara).

These statements suggest that Cara's beliefs of teaching changed in the refugee context. When Cara expressed her beliefs about children's learning in Syria, she indicated that all pupils were capable of learning which may reflect learner-centred beliefs as Deakin Crick and McCombs (2006) suggest. As a result, using O'Sullivan's (2004) learning-centred approach, based on their explanations, Syrian teachers provided knowledge for reasons which are mainly driven by contextual influences and difficulties they faced when teaching traumatised children.

In line with the literature, the findings also show that the lack of resources and instructional aids which prevail in refugee contexts and developing countries also restricts teachers' choices to use less learner-centred techniques (Guthrie, 1990; Williams, 2001; O'Sullivan, 2004; Kagawa, 2005; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; Brinkmann, 2019). For instance,

when I asked the science teacher Lily about her teaching methods, she said that she mostly used explanation:

There is a severe lack of teaching aids and materials which affects the way I teach my lessons. In many classes we can't do hands-on experiments. Most of our lessons here are transmissive because we don't have any alternative options. Even we don't have a projector to support the lesson. I used to have all teaching aids I needed in Syria. I prepared everything before class whether it was a poster or a video and used it at the beginning of my class, but here it is very hard and sometimes nothing is available. So, I use explanation when I and my pupils can't find materials we need for class demonstrations or experiments (Interview with Lily).

As Lily explained, pupils sometimes brought materials from home. She sometimes used group work activities, which is usually associated with LCE as Schweisfurth (2013) and Westbrook et al., (2013) indicate. However, because the arrangement of flexible grouping requires space as Westbrook et al., (2013) point out, having a big number of pupils in Lily's small class and the physical classroom structure limited its use. The refugee classes were originally built as residential flats, which the findings of observations and interviews show that they affected teachers' pedagogical choices. Table 5.3 in Chapter Five shows the number of pupils who were present in each observed class.

The interaction patterns which characterised most of the observed classes were teacher-class, teacher-pupil and pupil-teacher. With an exception of two classes, pupil-pupil interaction was almost unnoticed. Therefore, the results of observations show a lack of social participation in the refugee classes which could potentially foster learning engagement and positively affect pupils' cognitive development. The constructivist and social constructivist models of learning encourage discussion with peers and teachers as a key to learning because in these theories understanding knowledge happens through learners' collaborative social engagement rather than transmission (Carroll, 2014).

A growing body of research on collaborative learning indicates the wider benefits gained when learners work together (Rogoff, 1998; Cater and Jones, 2014; Sills et al., 2016). For example, Sills et al., (2016) indicate that collaborative learning plays an essential role in facilitating cognitive development particularly in early childhood. The findings of Sills et al., (2016) study show that collaboration can support low-ability children when there is an ability asymmetry in particular. Cater and Jones (2014) also argue that collaborative learning

may help learners develop trust, mutual respect, group problem solving, flexibility, inquiry and criticism. Nevertheless, consistent with the findings of O'Sullivan (2004), the unavailability of class equipment and special arrangements which LCE requires make its implementation challenging in the refugee context.

During observations, some teachers strongly relied on asking lower level questions which require factual or descriptive information. This finding is compatible with Dryden-Peterson's (2016) observation of teacher-centred pedagogical styles which characterise education in many refugee contexts and developing countries. The use of factual questions may help teachers, as Tabulawa (2013) indicates, retain a full control of the interactional processes. However, in the literature, asking lower-level questions communicates the view of pupils as passive recipients of learning as teachers do most of the talking in class rather than pupils (Myhil and Dunkin, 2005; Alexander, 2017). The risk in these classes as Alexander (2017) warns is restricting pupils' cognitive development. Based on research, Myhil and Dunkin (2005) and Alexander (2017) stress that engaging pupils frequently in higher-order thinking is the key to meaningful learning.

The analysis of interview data suggests that most Syrian teachers perceived question and answer as an effective method. Based on interview data, almost all teachers believe that question and answer technique engages pupils actively in learning, breaks the hierarchical relationship between pupils and teachers, builds up their confidence and facilitates retaining information for the future. Most of the teachers said that they were encouraging pupils' interaction and engaging them in dialogic teaching through asking pupils a series of low order questions, which is an example of the gaps between teachers' observed practices and their perceptions of their own practices. For example, Iona believed that the purpose of recalling previous knowledge is to activate the pupils as she said, "we actively begin the lesson by revising previous knowledge and then I begin the new lesson in an active way." Similarly, Andy related question and answer to activating pupils and having a closer relationship with them, "I ask a question, listen to the answer, I motivate the pupils to be closer to them ... to feel the love they lost in Syria."

Grace commented on asking the same comprehension questions to pupils in her observed class three times saying:

repeating questions and answers make pupils memorise information. When I use question and answer technique and pupils repeat the answers more than once, this helps them retain information. I sometimes ask questions so that all the class answer ... the purpose is that pupils memorise the answer in a way it becomes rooted in mind (Interview with Grace).

Grace's comment shows an emphasis on memorisation using question and answer technique. This emphasis on constant repetition may reflect a behaviourist model of learning as Westbrook et al., (2013) indicate, where rote learning is prioritised rather than meaningful learning which actively engages pupils in learning. However, as Grace explained, lots of her pupils did not have any previous learning experiences neither in school nor nursery because of the intense war in Syria:

some of them (pupils) did not even know how to hold a pen! At the beginning I found it really hard and I tried to help them in any way because it is my duty to support them till they know how to read and write. You as a teacher must help these pupils read and write using any method because this is our job. It is not their fault they couldn't go to school because of the war. In Turkey, we always have to keep this in our minds ... till they are able to hold the pen, read and write (Interview with Grace).

Using O'Sullivan's (2004) learning-centred approach, it is possible that Grace used rote learning due to the huge gaps in her pupils' skills and knowledge. Guthrie (2011) points out the advantage of memorisation as an essential step prior to understanding which guarantees accurate recall. Particularly memorisation can be helpful in developing foundational knowledge, as Guthrie (2011) highlights, which the findings of this research suggest refugee pupils may essentially need given the huge gaps in their knowledge.

Due to the high frequency of the term "active" in the analysis of interview data, exploring the way Syrian teachers perceived active pupil engagement is worth analysing. For example, Iona said that she used visual aids to encourage pupils to participate in class, "I always try to use visual aids in class because I found the pupils more engaged in learning." Iona emphasised that the pupils were active in her class and she repeated the word "active" several times in her interview which I also noted in other interviews with the teachers. Several teachers like Andy, Jane, Rose, Grace, Leah, Hannah and Maggie said that they aimed to engage their pupils actively using interactive methods, but without specifically mentioning LCE. As Rose illustrated, during the UNICEF training course on the INEE standards, the teachers were encouraged to actively involve the pupils:

The trainers said that the content of the lesson affects the methods. They favoured a certain method over another ... they said that transmission of knowledge isn't allowed. So, imparting knowledge now is considered terribly wrong. When we were pupils, we were taught through transmission. However, recently, they discovered that passively transmitting information to pupils while the teacher is active is totally wrong. Now I elicit information from pupils, but I only provide them with help to get knowledge (Interview with Rose).

What is suggested by Rose's comments is that she understood explanation technique makes teachers active while eliciting information from pupils through asking pupils questions even if they were closed-ended makes them active in the class. This conclusion was further supported by the analysis of interviews with Andy and Leah who similarly used the words "active" and "engaging" to describe pupils' interactions with the teachers upon responding to their closed-ended questions which demanded right answers. Andy clearly said that, "by dialogic teaching I mean question and answer." Thus, he understood the two different types of questioning as the same.

In emergency contexts, INEE (2010a) and UNESCO-IIEP (2010) for example emphasise the importance of actively involving refugee pupils in learning activities through teachers' use of learner-centred methods. However, several studies such as O'Sullivan (2004) and Schweisfurth (2013) suggest that teachers' understanding and their interpretation of LCE may affect its implementation which is one of the main critiques of this pedagogy. The findings of Deakin Crick and McCombs (2006) indicate that not all learner-centred teachers share the same beliefs nor engage in the same practices. As Deakin Crick and McCombs (2006) argue, defining learner-centred practice is not limited to certain instructional practices nor programmes:

it is a complex interaction of qualities of the teacher in combination with characteristics of instructional practices—as perceived by individual learners. That is, "learner-centeredness" is in "the eye of the beholder" and varies as a function of learner perceptions which, in turn, are the result of each learner's prior experiences, self-beliefs, and attitudes about schools and learning, as well as their current interests, values, and goals (Deakin Crick and McCombs, 2006, pp. 425-427).

This reflects the complexity of defining the quality of learner-centred practice even in well-designed training programmes. Although some Syrian teachers had the UNICEF training on the INEE standards, which is considered an essential element of quality education based on INEE (2010a), it is possible that the training on LCE implementation is theoretical as

Schweisfurth (2013) and Brinkmann (2019) indicate. As the findings of this research highlight, LCE implementation was influenced by the poor quality of the UNICEF training as perceived by the teachers and administrative staff as well as teachers' qualifications.

Amy commented on the UNICEF training saying that it was “completely useless because it was theoretical rather than practical.” Similarly, Rose criticised the training course because it was intensive and “focused on covering 400 pages instead of focusing on the quality of what they want us to learn so we had to move on quickly.” The interview findings indicate that the training did not provide teachers with practical examples of implementing LCE in the local context. As I mentioned in Chapter Two, one of the main critiques of implementing the INEE standards in Uganda and Darfur based on Anderson et al., (2006) is the absence of specific guidance which makes the standards open to different interpretations. In the same vein, the findings of this research suggest that the INEE standards were interpreted differently in the Syrian context.

William and Anna pointed out that the trainers themselves were not knowledgeable enough about pedagogical models and learning theories:

The trainers themselves weren't specialised in education so they found it difficult to communicate with us using appropriate pedagogy terminology. Personally, I found the training completely useless. I contributed to the course with my knowledge as education is my speciality. The trainers had never studied education at university. They were graduates of English language and literature. They heard the pedagogy terminology at the training they had and then they came to provide us with training (Interview with Anna).

A closer scrutiny of interview data reveals that Syrian teachers' understanding of pedagogical approaches which is influenced by their training and qualifications impacted on their teaching practices and limited the provision of meaningful engagement in refugee classes. As the analysis of interviews highlights, most Syrian teachers were unfamiliar with pedagogy terminology in general and learner-centred pedagogy in particular. William indicated that pedagogy terminology was translated differently in Arabic, English and Turkish which was very confusing for teachers and administrative staff.

In contrast with Namibian teachers in O’Sullivan’s (2004) study who showed their familiarity with LCE and claimed implementing it in their classes, the findings indicate that Syrian teachers clearly expressed their lack of knowledge of pedagogic models and indicated that they used any methods which they found animating for pupils in class. Upon asking teachers about the teaching methods which are appropriate for teaching the Syrian curriculum, they asked me for further clarification. In relation to LCE, teachers were unsure about what the term means. As examples of teachers’ responses, Hannah said, “I don’t know exactly what learner-centred pedagogy is, but from my experience I am using a combination of methods.” As for Grace, she said, “well, you mean the pupils teach the lesson? Don’t you?” In addition, Leah said, “I think during the UNICEF training we came across learner-centred pedagogy, but I can’t remember what that was about.”

In Syria it is possible to start teaching based on the degree without having teacher qualified status nor doing a BA in Education. Most teachers are appointed based on their subject specialism at university. For example, those who have a BA in Sciences are appointed to teach science subjects in primary and secondary schools or general subjects in primary schools. University degrees do not incorporate teacher training as part of the degree course. Therefore, some teachers begin their career without attending teacher training courses nor having any background information on teaching and learning theories and approaches.

I asked William and Skye about the criteria of appointing teachers in their school and they said their subject specialism came first:

The most important criterion is the teachers’ subject specialism. We prefer graduates, university graduates specialised in the subject they are teaching so for English the teacher should have a BA in English Language and Literature, for Maths a BA in Maths, etc. We check they have got their degrees and we prefer having some teaching experience from 3-5 years [...] we also ask the teacher to teach a sample lesson sometimes more than one lesson and based on that we decide to recruit him or not (Interview with William).

There had not been any provision of training for teachers at the beginning of their career in the refugee context. As teachers said, they had the UNICEF training course a year or two after they began teaching at the school. Some teachers who were teaching at another school missed the UNICEF training. Table 5.1 in Chapter Five shows teachers’ qualifications and

teaching experiences both in Syria before and during the war and in Turkey. The Table also shows those who had the UNICEF training at the school.

To enhance their theoretical knowledge and improve their teaching practices, based on a synthesis of literature, Syrian teachers needed more and better training. The refugee literature emphasises the importance of providing good quality training for teachers to develop learners intellectually, psychologically and physically (Brown, 2001; Midttun, 2006; Smith, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Box, 2012; Save the Children, 2017). As Dryden-Peterson (2011) points out, offering training for teachers is not by itself a good measure of quality teachers. Improving the quality of teaching according to Dryden-Peterson (2011) requires providing the right form of teacher training. The training programme should be designed with actual teachers and pupils' needs in consideration as INEE (2010b) indicates. However, in line with the findings of Dryden-Peterson (2011), the findings of this research suggest that the quality of the UNICEF training was poor which affected the quality of education in the Syrian context. Therefore, the findings suggest improving the quality of training by considering teachers and pupils' needs as well as appointing well-qualified trainers who can effectively communicate with teachers who may lack appropriate pedagogic knowledge because of their teacher education in their home country.

Some teachers with a BA in Education were a bit better able to talk about their pedagogy, but as I mentioned above Andy did not show awareness of the differences between the two types of questioning and argued that he depended on dialogic teaching techniques. The interview findings suggest that most of the teachers were aware of their lack of knowledge of pedagogical models and their underpinning learning theories. However, unlike student teachers in Mtika and Gates' (2010) research on LCE implementation in Malawi who viewed their inappropriate understanding of using LCE as a limitation, Syrian teachers showed confidence in their abilities to experiment in class and followed their intuition of what works best to meet pupils' needs because they said they had been through refugee experiences like their pupils.

When I asked Maggie about her attitude to pedagogic change, she said that although she may not be aware of change, she felt that she was doing the right thing in class:

Maggie: I may say that I am changing my methods although I am not aware of the teaching techniques and theories ... I am focusing on developing my teaching in practice rather than my theoretical knowledge of teaching. It could be that in my lessons I am changing much, but I am not aware of this change. Possibly this change is very very positive, but I need someone to shed the lights on it ...

Researcher: is it because our undergraduate study doesn't incorporate teacher training as part of the degree course?

Maggie: yes, yes that's the reason, but we are changing our practices because I am a refugee like all the pupils here and I am sure I better feel what they go through. Therefore, I come up with new techniques to be closer to them (Interview with Maggie).

In the absence of a clear guiding framework, it is apparent that the school has developed its own limited interpretation of learner-centred pedagogy and active engagement. The common understanding of LCE at the refugee school is giving pupils tasks such as peer teaching. Teachers believed that pupils' provision of explanation in response to their lower order questions and playing the role of the teacher in class as ways of empowering and activating pupils. This may restrict the "learning-centred" nature of pedagogy. In all observed classes, when teachers asked questions, lots of pupils showed enthusiasm to provide answers. It is possible that the physical demonstration of activity when responding in chorus and writing answers on the board as well as having a lively class gave teachers the impression of activity and engagement.

Fuller and Snyder (1991) report a similar view of activity in their study of Botswana classrooms which were largely teacher-centred:

The teacher in most classrooms was vocal and dominant. Yet pupils are not always passive and silent. A good deal of time-within both primary and junior secondary classrooms-was spent chorally reciting material or involved individual pupils responding to questions (posed by the teacher with greater frequency than common wisdom presumes). What is striking, however, is that the vast majority of teacher questions are closed-ended, demanding simple recall. Students rarely speak up in class with any queries of their own (Fuller and Snyder, 1991, p. 292).

As a finding, Fuller and Snyder (1991, p. 292) argue that "recitation usefully and more intensively animates pupils and is associated with higher persistence." In line with this finding, the findings of this research suggest that within their narrowly-framed understanding of LCE, Syrian teachers tried to encourage their pupils' participation using low cognitive level questions. However, in the context of LCE implementation, Schweisfurth (2013) and Brinkmann (2019) define LCE based on cognitive engagement.

According to Schweisfurth (2013, p. 29), within the cognition narrative of LCE, asking closed questions results in “cognitive closure” whereas LCE seeks to support more open dialogues.

In the light of this perspective, the analysis of observation suggests that teachers rarely asked higher-order questions. An example of Hannah’s use of open question is “if you were in Sinbad’s place, what would you do?” In response to this question, Hannah engaged the class in discussion which lasted for about four minutes. Therefore, the findings indicate a lack of opportunities which promote active and meaningful pupil engagement through classroom discussion and dialogue which Schweisfurth (2013) sets as minimum standards for learner-centred education. What Syrian teachers needed training in was differentiating between different types of questions, understanding their value and learning to ask more challenging and stimulating questions.

7.2.1.2 Pupil-initiated Talk

The findings show that pupil-initiated talk was rare in refugee classes as teachers acted as dispensers of knowledge. In eleven observed classes, pupils mainly talked in response to teachers’ questions. There were also few instances of questions pupils asked which the teachers redirected to pupils. The teachers commented on their brief answers and either provided explanation or asked another question. In this way, there were limited chances of developing class dialogues which Alexander (2017) argues helps pupils co-construct knowledge meaningfully. The infrequency of pupil-initiated questions particularly the ones which helps pupils explain their thoughts has been indicated by various studies such as Wragg and Brown (2001) and Myhil and Dunkin (2005).

In four classes, there were some examples of pupil-initiated questions. However, all the questions were factual requiring specific right answers. For example, in Iona’s class, a pupil asked a factual question:

Pupil: what is the function of the yellow circles (she pointed at the picture of the structure of the skin on the board)?

Iona: these are the fat tissues that we just talked about! They are responsible for producing fat that moisturizes the skin. Are there any other questions?

Class: no (Observation notes, Iona's class).

In this class, the teaching method was limited to lecturing as Iona was the only speaker in the class while the pupils listened passively to her talk all the time. Pupils briefly responded to Iona's two questions at the beginning of the lesson which recalled previously encountered information and one question at the end of the class which tested their comprehension. The teacher addressed the questions to all pupils, and they responded in whole class. After responding to the questions, Iona presented information in a didactic way while the pupils were looking at the board and their school textbooks.

Using Guthrie's (2011) model of teaching styles, Iona exhibited a formalistic style which may have discouraged pupils from asking questions. Even when Iona responded to the question, she assumed that the pupil should already know the answer. The didactic style and authoritative role reflect a teacher-centred model of learning which minimises pupils' interaction and choice (Tabulawa, 2013; Westbrook et al., 2013, Carroll, 2014). The hierarchical relationships also appeared in all observed classes as teachers were in charge of learning, but they showed warmer relationships with pupils. In Amy's class, a pupil asked the teacher to provide a second example to demonstrate how to solve a mathematical problem and another pupil asked for an explanation, "Why do we call it the least common multiple?" Amy redirected the question to the class which may indicate, based on Kasanda et al., (2005), giving up some of her control to become a facilitator of learning. According to Kasanda et al., (2005), when teachers encourage learners to provide answers, this implies that learners can meaningfully contribute to answer the question with their knowledge, experiences and perspectives. Moreover, when teachers act as facilitators of knowledge rather than experts, they encourage learners' intellectual activity in the classroom which is an aspect of learner-centred practice (Kasanda et al., 2005).

In Lily and Rose's classes, the pupils seemed more confident to ask questions and they interrupted teachers' explanation to comment or ask questions without sounding disruptive to the teachers. In Lily's class, pupils very frequently asked the teacher questions during the hands-on experiments such as "why it became a homogenous mixture?" and "why doesn't oil sink and water floats to the top?" Similarly, as Rose was providing new information or summarising it, the pupils interrupted her talk more than ten times. As an example of pupil-initiated questions, a pupil asked Rose, "why do we have lots of saliva in the lower part of

the tongue compared to the upper part?” Another pupil also asked her, “some people put food on the tip of the tongue and say they feel a burning sensation, why does this happen?”

The following passage illustrates how pupils commented on Rose’s explanation:

Rose: some people are obsessed with adding too much salt or too much spice. I know some people who keep adding too much spice to every bit of food. There comes a day when they won’t be able to feel any taste of spice. The nerve becomes tired. If you keep eating salty things all the time or spicy things, this nerve (pointing at the picture of nerves on the board) is always sending messages to the brain. It is always active while for example the nerve responsible for sending messages to the brain when you eat sugary things is inactive and it is just sitting there watching the active nerve, surely there comes a day the cells will die and I won’t be able to ...

Pupil (1): miss, it is going to be tired

Pupil (2): yes exhausted

Rose: yes and no matter how much spice or salt you add then you won’t feel its taste. Also, avoid drinking very hot drinks. You know especially in winter hot drinks are good for your health. However, make sure they aren’t too much hot as this will damage your tongue ...

Pupil (1): why?

Rose: why? Because the sense of smell is related to feeling the taste. When your mother cooks, you feel hungry and you want to eat, but if you had a cold, you wouldn’t be able to smell and even when your family started eating, they would say ‘yummy, it is so delicious’ or ‘mum it needs more salt’ while you don’t feel the taste of anything. Why? Because the nerve responsible for taste is related to the nerve responsible for smell

Pupil (2): miss, they are helping each other

Rose: yes, they are helping each other. The nerve responsible for the sense of taste doesn’t act unless the olfactory nerve which is responsible for the sense of smell asked it to act. We will talk about this in the coming lesson when we talk about the sense of smell. So, the two nerves are connected and we have to take care of our nose. When I say take care of your nose, I don’t mean take it out and wash it with water and soap (smiled)

Class: (laughter)

Rose: we can take care of the nose by avoiding direct exposure to the wind or cold air. When you take a shower don’t go out immediately when it is windy. Also, keep the nose clean all the time

Pupil (2): miss when we swim we don’t have to inhale water

Rose: yes, exactly (Observation notes, Rose class).

Pupils’ short comments and questions during explanation may indicate that the pupils were listening to their teacher and interacting with the content of knowledge she provided. The

pupils in both Rose and Lily's classes interrupted their teachers' explanation and left their desks to point at the posters on the board many times. Nevertheless, the quality of pupil talk does not show higher-order thinking. The pupils had a minimal amount of learning talk as they mainly talked in response to teachers' questions or to comment on their explanation. Therefore, observing a minimal amount of the learning types which promote dialogic teaching indicates a narrow repertoire of teaching talk in the refugee classes.

Based on Alexander (2017), classes in which open exploratory questions are rarely asked may be providing insufficient cognitive challenges for pupils. Therefore, as Brown (2001) argues, since teachers play an integral role in providing quality education at refugee schools, this research recommends training teachers in questioning techniques to cognitively activate and motivate children to participate, ask questions and answer, as well as promote using their critical thinking skills in class.

Alexander (2017) argues that the use of recitation may provide teachers with security. Based on Alexander's argument, it is likely that refugee teachers' actions reflected this need for the sense of security because of the uncertainty surrounding their personal and professional lives. In their interviews, lots of teachers shared their worries because of the sudden changes in educational policies which affected the teaching and learning process. For example, while discussing her teaching styles and the Syrian curriculum, Julia said that planning her lessons was influenced by unexpected policy changes in the refugee context:

Julia: I think the Syrian curriculum is very suitable for teaching refugee pupils, but the Turkish decisions are significantly affecting us

Researcher: in what way?

Julia: for example, we used to teach all subjects in Arabic only, but there has been a new decision to start teaching half of the class time we have now in Turkish. So, instead of teaching 30 classes in Arabic, now we have to teach 15 classes in Arabic and 15 in Turkish. You see what I mean? This has influenced us as we don't have enough time to teach our subjects which include Arabic language, Maths, Science, and English. The new decision will be effective from next week and all of us are very anxious about this (Interview with Julia).

Similarly, William, the school headteacher, pointed out that planning for classroom teaching had been subject to many changes because the school was operating under the direct supervision of the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MONE). He said that they used

to teach eight maths classes a week in Arabic, but without prior notice, the maths classes taught in Arabic became reduced to two classes a week to facilitate pupil educational integration in Turkey. Such decisions put teachers under time constraints which influenced their teaching techniques. Hence, the findings indicate that due to the lack of time in the Syrian context, the choice of less learner-centred techniques became appropriate for teachers. As I previously mentioned, Guthrie (2011) and Westbrook et al., (2013) indicate that one of the advantages offered by the traditional pedagogic models is that they are time effective which makes them best suited when teachers do not have time to innovate.

In line with the findings of Myhil and Dunkin (2005), the findings indicate that the use of factual questions became the base to construct knowledge, test prior knowledge, and promote reflection on learning in a way to scaffold pupils' learning. Therefore, although Syrian teachers depended mainly on direct instruction techniques, there is significant evidence from observation and interview data that shows teachers adapting instruction, providing individualised support particularly for pupils with low learning abilities and those who needed psychosocial support, eliciting pupils' prior knowledge, checking comprehension, building on existing knowledge and attempting to engage their pupils through questioning. It is important to point out that in this context of varied pedagogy, the findings of Facebook data present a partial side of reality which aligns more with the INEE (2010a) standards in its emphasis on demonstrating only more learner-centred practices in the refugee classrooms.

7.2.1.3 Grounding Learning in Pupils' Needs, Interests and Abilities

In learner-centred classes, teachers respond to their pupils' needs (Brown, 2003; Westbrook et al., 2013). The findings suggest that Syrian teachers showed awareness of individual pupils' needs, their backgrounds and traumatising experiences. Teachers used various strategies to understand these needs and adapted their methods accordingly. In their interviews, most teachers said that they were in direct contact with pupils' families through the school's WhatsApp groups particularly those who needed additional support. All teachers called their pupils by their names to participate in their observed classes.

To identify individual pupils' learning abilities and needs, Anna indicated that she used brainstorming techniques at the beginning of new lessons to understand pupils' existing knowledge and skill level. As for Jane, she pointed out that she usually spent the first week each school term providing very little knowledge and encouraging pupils to draw to understand their personalities:

I always ask pupils to draw because when they draw specially at the beginning of the term, I get to know them better. Through their drawings, you can understand children, their thinking, their developmental level, the extent they are good at drawing and colouring and more importantly if they have psychosocial needs. For example, some children because of the war draw things which reflect war events and killing. So, you can know if there is something which affects their mental and psychological state (Interview with Jane).

Some of the teachers indicated that they could identify pupils' needs and particularly those who needed psychosocial support mainly because of the UNICEF training they received. For example, Hannah emphasised that the UNICEF training she attended in Syria helped her use drawing, storytelling, action and reaction to identify pupils' needs. In her class, I observed her use of storytelling and a mixture of closed and open questioning to get pupils' reactions to the events. Some pupils provided responses which surprised Hannah as the pupil who said the part of the story he liked most was the one when Sinbad drowned. Hannah said that this may indicate pessimistic thoughts because her pupils had been through traumatising experiences. Therefore, in agreement with Smith and Vaux (2003) who highlight the usefulness of providing teachers with short training to help them identify pupils who needed psychosocial support, the findings suggest such training was beneficial for teachers in the Syrian context.

Another method of understanding pupils' needs which Rose used is testing pupils' comprehension at different phases of the lesson. At the end of her observed class, Rose addressed comprehension questions to pupils who were silent during the lesson. At the interview, Rose said that she purposefully selected the pupils based on her knowledge of their needs:

In the final assessment each lesson I purposefully choose the pupils. I know that this pupil's scientific knowledge is not developing. When we have a science class, I know that some pupils do not like science because they find it difficult to understand. When they go home, they struggle to understand what we learnt. So, I ask these pupils in particular because even if they make mistakes in class and hear the right answers from peers, the information will stick in their minds (Interview with Rose).

Some teachers indicated that they took notes of silent pupils and those who showed signs of hyperactivity. The teachers contacted their families to understand their behaviours in class and referred them to the school's counsellor. Based on their experience, most of those who were always silent or looked introvert were traumatised. As Skye, the deputy-head, pointed out, the school's administration advised all teachers to observe pupils' behaviour because the number of traumatised children was increasing.

As an example of offering psychosocial support in Jane's class, a pupil was reading a sentence on the board very slowly. He read the words letter by letter unlike his peers. The pupil looked hesitant to continue. His peers in the back of the class were raising their hands to do the exercise and calling the teacher's name to choose them. However, Jane asked the class to give the pupil time to think. She encouraged the pupil to continue reading and offered support by breaking the parts of the word and asking closed questions as shown below:

Jane: That's OK dear. You were very unwell when we took this lesson. Don't worry keep reading and I'll help you (Jane pointed at the first letter in the word) what is this letter?(Jane covered the rest of letters)

Pupil: M

Jane: and this one?

Pupil: a

Jane: and next?

Pupil: z

Jane: and now do you know this letter?

Pupil: e

Jane: what's the word then?(she paused for 5 seconds)

Pupil: (he didn't give an answer)

Jane: can you figure out the diacritic used above the letter here?

Pupil: yes, that's nunation (◌ْ)

Jane: Well done! So can you read the word now? (Observation notes, Jane's class).

When the pupil did not provide an answer, Jane asked another question. Jane followed the same way to do the rest of the sentence till the pupil read it. In the interview, Jane said that this pupil was one of those with low learning abilities in her class. He was also absent from class for a couple of days because of illness. Jane said that she always depended on

questioning technique to elicit responses from pupils because she believed this technique supports their learning particularly those with low learning abilities.

From a social constructivist perspective, it is possible to argue that Jane facilitated learning within pupils' zone of proximal development (ZPD). Constructing knowledge within ZPD, as Westbrook et al., (2013), Carroll (2014) and Zhou and Brown (2015) indicate, may include asking focused questions and using direct instruction techniques. Based on Schweisfurth (2013), providing support based on the needs of individual learners reflects learner-centred practice. It is also possible to argue that Jane adopted a learning-centred approach which from O'Sullivan's (2004) perspective encourages teachers to adopt any method that can support learning within the realities of their classrooms.

Almost all teachers said that they adapted their teaching methods in the refugee context and offered individualised support to respond to their pupils' needs. For example, Leah indicated that she had a ten-year old pupil in her Primary 3 class who had never been to school because of the war. Leah said that she had to individualise her instruction to offer him support:

In Arabic class, the pupils can write words very fast while this pupil can't. So, we do it together a letter by letter, like what I do with Primary 1 pupils. I give him special attention. For example, while giving the class some tasks to do or ask them to copy tasks from the board to keep them busy, I sit next to the pupil, I write the letter and explain to him the diacritics, I write another letter and explain till he understands the point (Interview with Leah).

What this view suggests is that the teacher provided an individualised approach to support the pupil's learning which is an essential element of LCE as Murphy (2008) identifies. To support this further, many teachers illustrated their flexible approach in covering content to focus on teaching important life skills. Flexibility in covering curriculum to focus on acquiring knowledge and skills is one of the characteristics of constructivist models of learning as Carroll (2014) points out.

Teachers' flexible approaches were supported by the school administration as both teachers and administrative staff emphasised. The teachers had freedom to design the tests based on what they covered in class. William, the headteacher, said that the school's policy was to encourage teachers who were teaching the same level to collaborate in planning lessons, the

use of teaching materials and administrating tests. However, when teachers did not agree, they were completely free to plan their lessons because William stressed that teachers themselves know better than him:

They are free to do whatever they want in their class. They can use any teaching materials and aids they find appropriate. No one can tell them how to teach or from where to start. If they want to use the school's textbook from the beginning or the end, they are free. I care about covering main curriculum skills. The teacher also may use extra-curricular materials. They may not follow the curriculum all together. They are the kings and queens of their classes. This means they can experiment in class if something does not work, they can try another till they find what's appropriate in our situation [...] teachers themselves know better than me (Interview with William).

The triangulated findings show that all teachers used various visual aids such as pictures, cards, posters, animation videos, projectors and real objects to facilitate pupils' learning. According to Shabiralyani et al., (2015), the use of visual aids can support pupils' comprehension and motivate learning. In the Syrian context, the use of visual aids also served an additional purpose as the findings suggest. Mainly motivated by the lack of resources and instructional aids in the refugee context as teachers highlighted, all teachers encouraged pupils to participate in preparing visual aids as an example of demonstrating their activity in learning which the teachers rewarded by adding points to the reward charts, displaying them in the classroom and posting pupils' photos on the school's Facebook page.

For example, Jane indicated how the scarcity of teaching aids changed her ways of teaching:

my methods change depending on the availability of teaching aids which are really really important. When I don't have any teaching aids, the way I teach changes completely. Only the pupils and their questions become my teaching aids (Interview with Jane).

As I just explained above, Syrian teachers developed their own interpretation of "active" engagement in learning. Within their tightly-framed understanding of activity, pupils' physical movement in class was part of their interpretation of involving pupils in the learning process. The teachers stated that pupils worked sometimes in groups to prepare the class visual aids and some of them prepared aids individually at home. As teachers said, pupils felt very happy when they were involved in preparing visual aids to facilitate their learning. Anna argued that displaying visual aids made by pupils always helps them retain information longer and better. Facebook data abounds with photos of smiling pupils showing their class

work. However, when designing visual aids, pupils' interaction and collaboration in group hands-on activities which are encouraged in constructivist classes as Carroll (2014) and Zhou and Brown (2015) indicate, may promote their active engagement in learning not physically but intellectually.

As an example of using visual aids to facilitate learning, in Anna's observed class, the teacher used an overhead projector which displayed a video showing animals and their babies. Anna said that the purpose of the video was to easily facilitate understanding the lesson on reproduction in animals. After showing the video, Anna used cards which showed baby animals growing in eggs and animals that give birth to babies. She asked the class to name the animals, their babies and then classify them according to the types of reproduction. Some of the animals shown in the cards did not appear in the video, but a few pupils volunteered to provide the answers.

This activity was followed by dividing the class to four groups. Anna gave each group three animal toys and asked them to think and decide in their group the way the animals reproduce. Some of the animals did not appear in the video nor the cards. Thus, the activity relied on pupils' collaborative attempts to use their knowledge of different animal classifications. All the pupils appeared to be engaged in discussions with peers. After three minutes, Anna chose a leader to provide the group's answer:

Anna: what's the name of this animal you have on your desk?

Pupil: it's a duck

Anna: what's the group's decision ... how do ducks have babies?

Pupil: ducks lay eggs

Anna: so class, this group agreed that ducks lay eggs. Clap your hands for them (Observation notes, Anna's class).

Following the same sequence, Anna got the answers from the groups and all of them provided correct responses. In constructivist classes, learners may be engaged in group activities (Westbrook et al., 2013). In these classes, based on Carroll (2014), while working on problem-solving activities more capable peers support the learning of those who needed support. Using group work and visual aids which I observed in Anna's class illustrate good examples of grounding learning in pupils' needs and abilities in the refugee classes.

As Anna said, by using visual aids, she did not only intend to test pupils' existing knowledge, but also to stimulate their thinking:

I chose to teach this lesson using visuals to stimulate their thinking. I don't use lecturing because it is not useful at all. I always focus on the pupils ... if you want them to be active, you have to find the way to attract their attention and develop their abilities and potentials ... I mean their mental potentials. Using group work is one of the most effective methods, which is associated with constructivist cooperative learning models (Interview with Anna).

Anna's comment may reflect constructivist views of learning which encourage the use of visual aids and concrete props to develop new understanding as Struyven et al., (2010) and Zhou and Brown (2015) point out. The use of visual aids as in Anna's class offers what Shabiralyani et al., (2015) call a direct experience to pupils which may help them retain information permanently. Although Anna used group work for a very short period of time, she believed that it helped support learning new knowledge.

The final example of grounding learning in pupils' needs and abilities in Syrian classes is giving pupils some control of learning based on teachers' understanding of LCE and building caring relationships with them. Several teachers stated that pupils with very good learning abilities were assigned tasks such as going around the class, checking the work of their peers and helping those who needed help. For example, Jane said that pupils with very good learning abilities were her "assistants". Sarah found that pupils' confidence increased when their peers helped them and she said that "the idea of having assistants ... they really really love it!" Similarly, Maggie said that she feels there is "positive energy" when pupils with good learning abilities work with their peers. Although such practices may be limited in frequency, they may indicate aspects of learner-centred classes as Schweisfurth (2013) defines.

7.2.2 Culture of Care

Upon asking teachers about the differences in teaching a class in Syria before the war and now in Turkey, most of them indicated that they adapted their teaching styles in the refugee context because of the huge learning gaps in pupils' knowledge and refugee trauma. Andy

indicated that the priorities in teaching changed in the refugee context from focusing on teaching curriculum content to the learner because of their psychosocial needs and wellbeing:

In Syria, I used to choose the techniques firstly based on the content. Some content can be taught using explanation, so you can't use dialogic teaching or collaborative learning techniques. As I said, primarily depending on curriculum content I chose the techniques then depending on my pupils' needs, abilities and learning styles. This was the case in Syria before moving to Turkey, but now I choose to use the techniques primarily based on my pupils' needs, abilities and learning styles. The priorities changed to be very close to my pupils. In Syria I used explanation technique which I don't use now in Turkey because explanation distances the teacher from his pupils and transmits information to them (Interview with Andy).

Based on the literature, planning the lesson with pupils in mind reflects the priorities of constructivist teachers (McCombs and Whisler, 1997; Brown, 2003; Westbrook et al., 2013; Carroll, 2014). Another main concern when planning lessons in the refugee context which Andy implied is building up a closer relation with pupils to feel the love they lost in Syria. The analysis of observations and interviews highlights the importance of creating a culture of care in response to refugee pupils' needs in the new context.

When teaching children affected by conflict, INEE (2010a) and UNESCO-IIEP (2010) advise using positive disciplinary methods. The learning environment, teachers and their methods should encourage learning and school attendance (Midttun, 2006). In line with these recommendations, the findings of observations and interviews indicate that Syrian teachers purposefully attempted to create a school culture of care and kindness to support refugee pupils' learning and wellbeing. Using Guthrie's (2011) continuum, the findings suggest that teachers adopted a liberal teaching style in their considerable emphasis on positive reinforcement to build up pupils' confidence and promote positive discipline.

One feature of classroom environment the analysis of observations highlights is teachers' attempts to show their love, care, respect and encouragement for their individual pupils. Showing mutual respect between teachers and pupils suggests meeting one of Schweisfurth's (2013) minimum standards for LCE. In Hannah, Rose and Grace's classes, whenever the teachers wanted to address the class, they started their talk saying, "my kids," "my daughter/son" or "my love". Rose showed interest in her pupils as individuals as for instance

when she talked about tongue hygiene and asked the pupils to listen carefully to her because she cared about them:

as for what your classmate (pointing at a pupil) asked me about a while ago, tongue hygiene, class please may God bless you all forget that this is required in our textbook for exam purposes, I care a lot about you taking care of your tongue. Don't memorise this information for testing your knowledge I'd like you to practically apply this in your daily life. In every lesson when we talk about taking care of our senses and body organs, I don't care about testing your knowledge of it. I care very much about the practical application in your daily life of every information we talk about here in class (Observation notes, Rose's class).

In most observed classes, the teachers used reward charts and lots of praise statements and gestures such as “excellent,” “well done,” “I like the way you said it” and “clap your hands” particularly in Andy, Lucy, Sarah, Amy, Hannah, Grace, and Julia's classes. During observations all teachers used colloquial Arabic which is used in everyday life communications and which differs from Standard Arabic used formally as in schools' textbooks. Most teachers displayed good rapport with their pupils, used humour and encouraged laughter. For example, during explanation, Rose used physical and vocal animations to perform how chewing and swallowing food without the tongue would be impossible and how nerve endings act when they feel the taste of something sweet, salty or spicy which appeared to be entertaining for her pupils who laughed every time she used her acting techniques. Similarly, Hannah, Cara and Julia appeared to use funny gestures and they exaggerated their facial expressions while providing explanations which made pupils laugh.

Nevertheless, triangulating the findings of observations and interviews shows a gap between teachers' observed practices and their perceptions of what they did in class. Syrian teachers believed that they encouraged having non-hierarchical relationships with pupils in class and they said that their beliefs affected their behaviour in the classroom. For example, the findings of observations indicate that teachers were dominant in class and they were in control of knowledge most of the time. They mostly exhibited a flexible role using Guthrie's (2011) continuum. However, it was apparent in interviews, several teachers believed that they adopted a liberal role which actively promotes learner-centred classroom, and they believed they had non-hierarchical relationships with their pupils as they encouraged fun in the classroom.

In her interview, Rose said that a good number of her pupils do not like Science classes, but when she used funny facial expressions they liked the subject:

When I noticed that pupils generally about 70% of them don't like Science classes, I started to teach the subject using reward charts, humour, and acting techniques sometimes. Believe me most of the time I care about making them laugh in class more than providing them with information. They love learning in this way and I know they are developing (Interview with Rose).

What is suggested by Rose's comment is that she consciously decided to make learning fun in response to her pupils' needs. She indicated that her priority is encouraging laughter at the same time she believed that pupils are making progress. Along a similar line, Andy emphasised several times that he purposefully used questioning technique to build a friendly relationship with his pupils saying, "when the teacher cares about his pupils and asks them questions he makes them feel highly valuable for society."

In line with the INEE (2010a/b) standards, in interviews, all teachers stressed the importance of creating friendly classroom environments and highlighted pupils' need for lots of positive reinforcement because of refugee trauma and their difficult realities. For instance, Hannah indicated that refugee pupils in particular need to feel teachers' compassion:

In war times in particular ... children in this age need tenderness. They need to feel that the teacher isn't a source of horror. On the contrary, the teacher should be the source of peace and contentment. When you provide children with these feelings of contentment, they will be closer to you and will accept what you say to them (Interview with Hannah).

Because of the difficult realities the refugee population face, Hannah said that the relationships between parents and children as well as teachers and pupils are affected:

There is a kind of cold or distant relationship although we know mums naturally love their kids, but because of the harsh realities and stress they talk to them in unfriendly ways. Even some teachers because of the harsh realities they do the same and ask pupils "why are you doing this?" and "why you aren't making progress?" So, they are mostly being unfriendly. They don't mean to be distant, but our difficult and special circumstances make us behave like this (Interview with Hannah).

In response to the hard reality of life for refugee children, Hannah indicated that she decided to show her pupils more care and love. In the same vein, all teachers showed awareness of refugee pupils' particular need for compassion during the ongoing war. For instance, Jane

said, “I tell them, here ... we are friends.” Similarly, Sarah stated, “the first thing is breaking the barriers between the teacher and pupils. I tell them we are like friends.” Grace also said, “particularly those who just arrived in here I need to show them more compassion and be more considerate. They witnessed things we couldn’t tolerate so we fled”.

Having a closer relationship with pupils may reflect features of constructivist pedagogies as Barrett (2007) suggests. Based on the literature, promoting non-hierarchical relationships in class suggests a reduction in power distance which is an aspect of learner-centred classes (Golish and Olson, 2000; Weimer, 2002; Barrett, 2007; Schweisfurth, 2013). Nevertheless, some Syrian teachers’ statements and observed practices indicate that their role in class was to provide knowledge which made their relationships with pupils hierarchical. These hierarchical relationships are not incompatible with the caring relations the teachers aimed to nurture.

Syrian teachers’ awareness of the need for showing refugee pupils their care and support encouraged them as they said to design some activities for pupils to play the role of the teacher. Playing the role of the teacher was at the heart of teachers and administrative staff’s understanding and practice of LCE. For example, Andy stated that “when a pupil becomes the teacher, he becomes more confident. He feels he has a value in this society.” Similarly, James said that the purpose of encouraging pupils to teach lessons instead of teachers and posting their videos were also intended to “increase their confidence” and “become better aware of their potential.” Rose also illustrated what she did to encourage a pupil with low self-confidence when she gave her charge of teaching her peers. Such views indicate teachers’ attempts to empower pupils within their tightly-framed understanding of LCE.

Based on interview data, appointing James the school’s media officer to manage the social media platform and show positive aspects of classroom practices was part of creating the culture of care at the refugee school. As James and William pointed out, the idea of using social media to inform the world about what teachers and students do in class was not familiar nor popular in Syria before the war. However, they said that the use of social media has become very popular at Syrian schools now as a way of encouraging school enrolment, involving parents in their children’s learning, and building up children’s confidence.

Because of the war in Syria lots of family members have become separated and most of the time the father is working for very long hours or living in a different country:

We are here in exile and the parents would love to see what their child is doing inside the school, inside the class, and see their child playing the role of the teacher. You know that some parents couldn't send their children to school for a year or two so creating the Facebook page was very encouraging for parents and eventually the idea developed more and now our school Facebook page is acting as the school's speaker if I can say (Interview with William).

Encouraged by pupils and parents' positive responses to posting classroom activities on Facebook, the teachers used the social media platform to motivate refugee pupils and show their achievements. For instance, Lily said that she aimed to motivate pupils in her class "by taking photos of good achievers and posting them on the Facebook page because they worked hard." The analysis of Facebook data indicates that James uploaded lots of photos of different classes showing presents and certificates in the classroom at different times in the school year. Some photos focused on showing pupils with their presents as illustrated below in Figure 7.1:

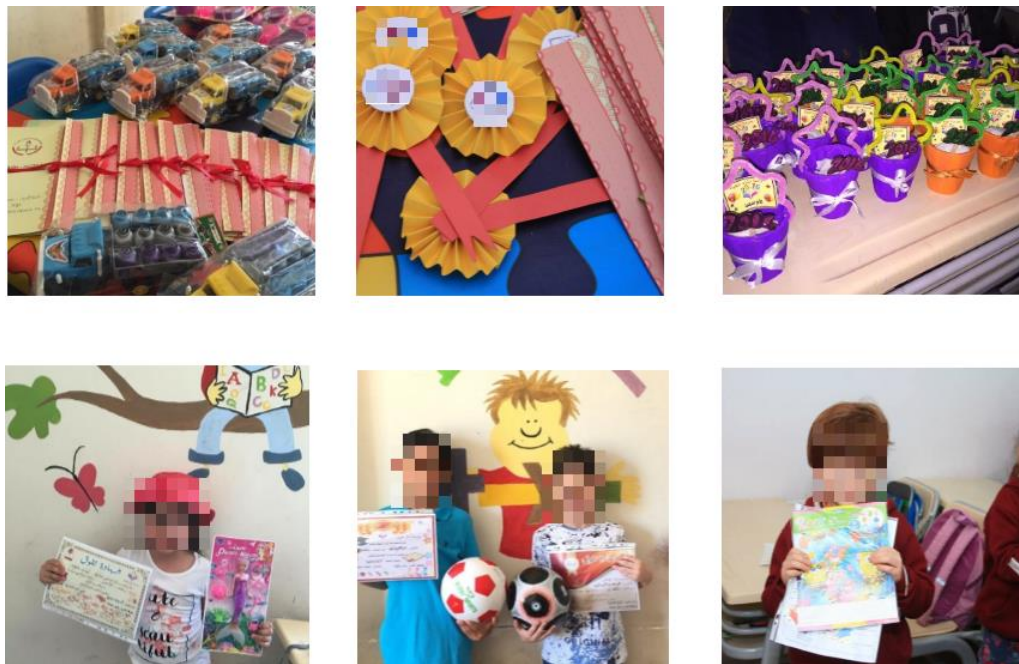


Figure 7.1: Showing rewards in the classroom (Source: School's Facebook page).

James also showed several photos of outstanding pupils who were rewarded for their participation in competitions and were excellent at the English language subject:



James showed a pupil rewarded for his superior achievement in Spelling Bee Competition



James said the pupils were rewarded for excelling at the English subject



James showed the names of outstanding pupils on the school reward chart



James showed pupils rewarded for excelling at the super poet competition

Figure 7.2: Showing rewarding pupils with excellent learning abilities (Source: School's Facebook page).

James showed the names of the outstanding pupils on the school reward chart and there were photos of the pupils with the chart. Moreover, James uploaded an eighteen-minute video of a 'Super Poet Competition' which showed twenty pupils reciting or reading poetry written in English. Syria was the major theme in almost all the poems which the pupils read. The poems discussed the feelings of orphans who lost their parents in the war, nostalgic memories of life in Syria, the suffering of Syrian children while living in exile, and their hopes for the birth of a new Syria. James showed that the competition was judged by a panel of four English language subject teachers. Once a pupil finished their recitation or reading, every member of the panel gave a score out of ten which was the top mark. At the end of the competition, the top three pupils were pictured shaking hands with the panel members and were awarded certificates of achievements.

Based on Facebook data, there was much focus on showing pictures of class reward charts and some showed the pupils' photos. James also uploaded several albums of pupils from different grade levels pictured with their certificates of excellence. It was indicated that all

pupils in the class were given the certificates following mid and final-term exams including non-excellent pupils. In addition, examining Facebook data suggests that the pupils designed motivational and greetings cards for those they loved. The walls were also shown as decorated by the pupils themselves with inspiring words as illustrated below:

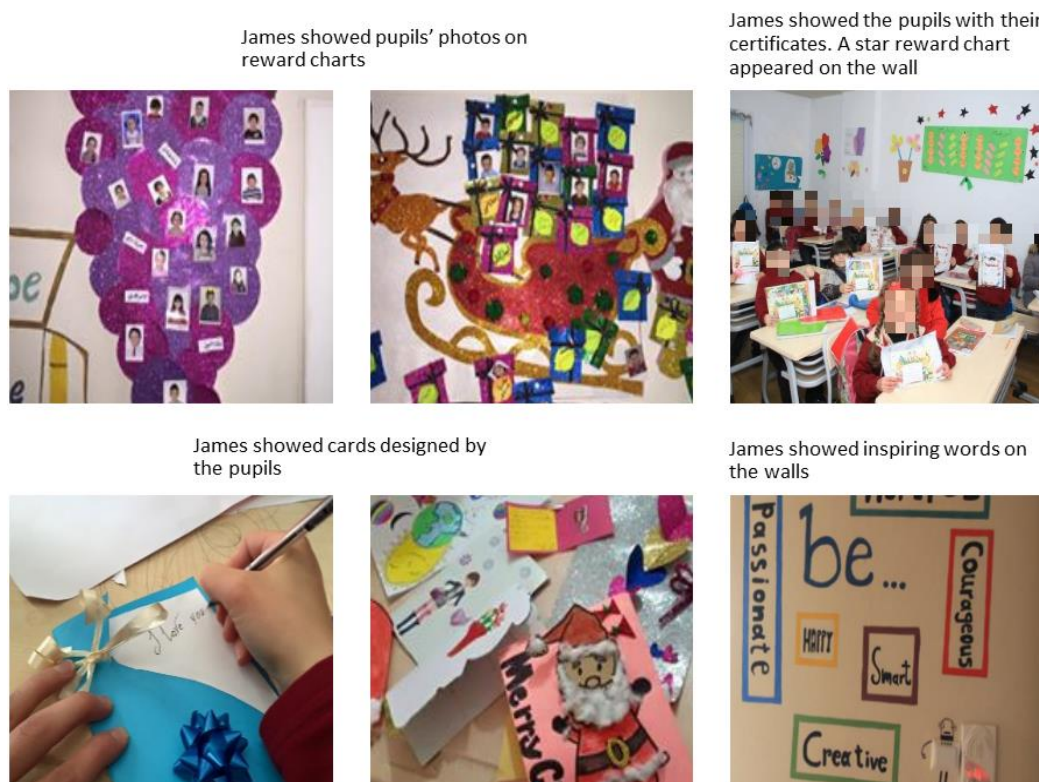


Figure 7.3: Showing motivating pupils at the refugee school (Source: School's Facebook page).

Andy believed that refugee pupils needed much praise and encouragement because of the refugee trauma: "I used positive praise excessively because it provides pupils with self-confidence." In Andy's observed class, the content of the example sentences he used may reflect his belief in pupils' need for confidence by showing pride in his pupils such as when he repeatedly used the example sentences "you are the pupil whom I am proud of" to practise using different relative pronouns.

From the perspectives of teachers and administrative staff, positive praise does not only increase confidence, but also promotes positive behaviour in refugee classes. As Andy and Skye pointed out, witnessing violent events in Syria, having a stressful life in Turkey and holding different political attitudes about events in Syria have affected the behaviour of some refugee pupils. Therefore, the problem of violence among pupils has affected classroom management:

We have increasingly noticed a strange phenomenon; that is, violence among our pupils particularly in lower levels such as Primary 5 and Primary 6. Once someone says, “hey” they immediately start fighting. There is lots of violence here. I remember when I was teaching in school in Syria we had incidents like that once or twice a year, but now we see this every single day (Interview with Skye).

Similarly, Dorman (2014) reports the spread of violence among Syrian refugee children. In Dorman's (2014) *Educational Needs Assessment for Urban Syrian Refugees in Turkey*, Syrian interviewees expressed their biggest fear about the future of education and aspirations for a safe and supportive learning environment. A classroom atmosphere where teachers and students have a friendly relationship that increases their motivation to learn and participate in class (Dorman, 2014). As the triangulated findings of this research suggest, with the aim of promoting positive behaviour and motivating pupils, Syrian teachers used various strategies such as verbal praise, treating pupils with respect, giving pupils tasks, reward charts, motivational cards, certificates and presents. Showing pupils' work and achievements on the school's social media platform was part of nurturing learning in a positive environment.

Compatible with the literature, the teaching methods and learning environment in Syrian classrooms show sensitivity to the psychosocial aspect of learners, seek to motivate, empower and help pupils build their self-esteem which may make them learner-centred in these aspects (McCombs, 1997; Sommers, 2002; Weimer, 2002; Thompson et al., 2003; Kagawa, 2005; Midttun, 2006; INEE, 2010a/b; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2013). However, as Reinke (2015) indicates, although small scale research confirms a functional relationship between behaviour-specific praise and appropriate behaviors, it is not obvious whether classes have fewer behaviour problems when teachers use more behaviour-specific praise.

7.3 School's publicised Classroom Practices

As I mentioned in the previous section, based on interviews, with the aim of encouraging refugee children enrolment, involving parents in their children's learning and building up children's confidence, the school's social media platform focused on showing positive learning environments. James indicated that he posted at least two classroom activities a day.

Compared to the findings of observations and interviews which indicate the centrality of direct instruction techniques, the Facebook findings highlight the use of more learner-centred practices in line with the INEE (2010a) standards.

INEE (2010a) provides examples of developmentally appropriate teaching and learning methods to ensure learners' active engagement. These examples include group work, project work, peer education, role-play, telling stories or describing events, games, videos or stories. Examining Facebook data indicates that the school was keen to demonstrate more learner-centred practices since James uploaded plenty of photos and videos which showed pupils apparently engaged in activities associated with LCE such as pair and/or group work, role plays, arts and music activities, school celebrations, games, jigsaws, hands-on activities, and peer teaching.

Figure 7.4 below presents some examples of pair/group work and role play activities James posted on the school's Facebook page:



Figure 7.4: Showing pair/group work and role plays in refugee classes (Source: School's Facebook page).

Based on Brown (2003), Westbrook et al., (2013) and Carroll (2014) constructivist teachers offer learners opportunities to engage in learning actively with their peers. The activities which James showed as in Figure 7.4 above seem to suggest that teachers provided collaborative learning activities in constructivist classes. In addition to making it apparent that teachers used collaborative learning activities, James was keen to show pupils involved

in different arts and crafts activities such as drawing, colouring, and creating materials. Some of the activities were shown as carried out outside the class in the playground. Some materials the pupils were shown creating were made from recycled items as illustrated below:



James showed the pupils drawing in the classroom



James showed the pupils drawing and colouring in the schoolyard



James uploaded an album entitled as 'recycling activities-Psychological Counselling Department' which showed the pupils creating materials from recycled products in class

Figure 7.5: Showing arts and crafts (Source: School's Facebook page).

In a seven-minute video entitled as 'music and colours while I am having fun in the sea', James showed the pupils painting and drawing sea-related themes while a music teacher was playing the oud. The video clip showed all the class apparently involved in this activity with the class teacher and music teacher. In the first half James showed the pupils while they were painting in the class whereas the second half showed the pupils dancing with the music with their teachers in the playground as shown below in Figure 7.6:



Figure 7.6: Showing the use of music and arts in teaching (Source: School's Facebook page).

Furthermore, James showed the pupils participating in different singing and dancing activities sometimes in celebrations of special occasions such as Eid, Children's Day, Mother's Day, and the school Annual Show as shown below:



James showed the Annual Show

Figure 7.7: Showing dancing in school celebrations (Source: School's Facebook page).

As part of the healing process, Davies (2004) and INEE (2010a) indicate, children’s imagination through different kinds of activities and play should be encouraged. There should be lots of opportunities which actively engage children in play, support their development and encourage their interaction (INEE, 2010a). The activities which James appeared to highlight as in the above shown figures may demonstrate the school’s attempts to show the provision of opportunities which facilitate psychological healing as INEE (2010a) recommends.

James was also keen to upload photos which showed pupils participating in games or competitions in the classroom such as presented below in Figure 7.8:



Figure 7.8: Showing competitions in the classroom (Source: School’s Facebook page).

Apparently, in this activity, the pupils were shown participating in an “alphabet competition” as the title on the board suggests. It seems that pupils had to pick a letter from the box and stick it next to a noun in the yellow cards as a way of practising spelling letters at the beginning, middle and end of a word. In other activities presented in Figure 7.9 below, James showed the pupils revising addition, subtraction and comparing number values in a Maths class as the titles on the board show:



Figure 7.9: Showing revision of Maths skills (Source: School's Facebook page).

The analysis of Facebook data also suggests that James focused on showing hands-on science activities as follows:



Figure 7.10: Showing hands-on science activities (Source: School's Facebook page).

Based on Carroll (2014) and Zhou and Brown (2015), constructivist teachers nurture learning in a stimulating environment through providing hands-on and minds-on learning experiences. They also develop new understanding through using concrete props and visual aids and providing relevant examples to facilitate understanding more complex ideas,

(Struyven et al., 2010; Zhou and Brown, 2015). The school's publicised images reflect such pedagogy. In the fish anatomy lesson for example, James posted a three-minute video showing Lily's class. Lily appeared asking pupils questions about the parts of fish. Pupils were shown standing around the teacher, asking and commenting on what they saw. Showing Syrian teachers as providing hands-on science activities as in the above figure may indicate the school's attempts to appear as offering learning experiences which align with constructivist models of pedagogy.

The final examples of activities James was keen to show include pupils playing the role of the teacher:

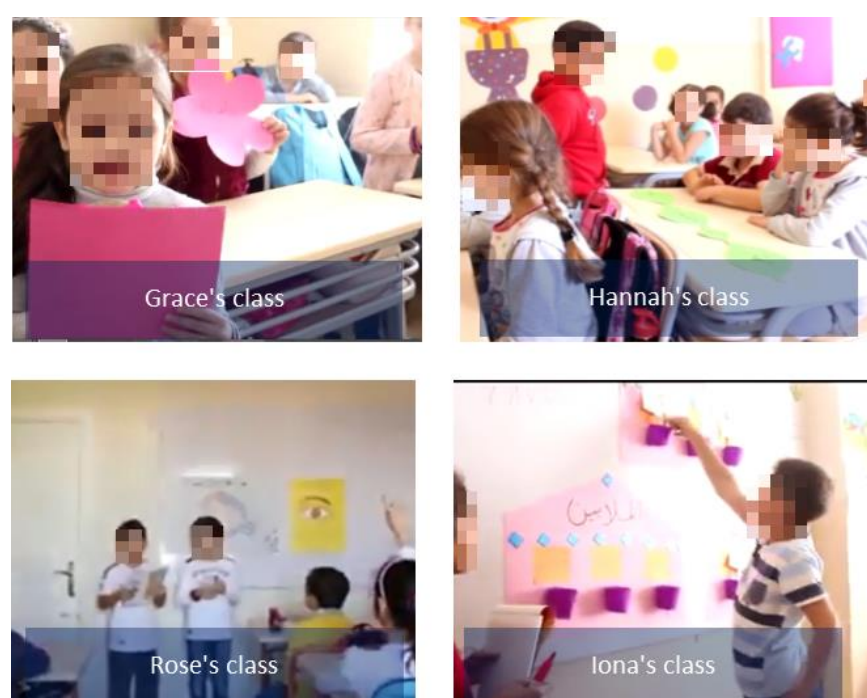


Figure 7.11: Showing the use of peer teaching (Source: School's Facebook page).

The results of Facebook data demonstrate using learner-centered models of pedagogy in refugee classes which, based on a synthesis of the literature, are promoted in emergencies as an influential element in quality education which support refugee children's learning and promote their critical thinking skills (Pigozzi, 1999; Williams, 2001; Sinclair, 2002; UNESCO, 2005; Midttun, 2006; INEE, 2010a/b; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). However, comparing the four sources of data reveals differences between the classroom practices I observed, what teachers and administrative staff said they could do within their realities, and what James publicised on the school's Facebook page. The differences in the data indicate that LCE was used as a *performance* on the school's Facebook page. Analysing the

statements of teachers and administrative staff regarding their Facebook activities further supports this conclusion.

To better understand publicised classroom activities, I asked some teachers to comment on certain activities which appeared to be done in their classes. For instance, James posted an album entitled ‘Arabic singular, dual and plural forms.’ There were photos of pupils in Jane’s grammar class. The pupils appeared colouring baskets and pasting some fruits as shown below:



Figure 7.12: Showing an Arabic grammar activity in Jane’s class (Source: School’s Facebook page).

Upon asking Jane to comment on this activity, she said the following:

We depend on using active learning techniques after I teach the lesson. In particular, in grammar lessons, the pupils in Primary 1 wouldn’t be able to distinguish between the forms. So, this was a grammar activity. After I teach grammar, use the whiteboard, ask them to do exercises and I ensure that pupils understand information, I like them to do activities themselves using their hands whether pasting or colouring for example (Interview with Jane).

What this comment implies is Jane’s behaviorist beliefs about her pupils’ abilities. Jane believed that Primary 1 pupils are not able to distinguish between forms of nouns. Influenced by her behaviorist beliefs, Jane indicated that she provided activities as the one James posted on Facebook only after transmitting information to pupils. Jane emphasised later in the interview that she used the activity shown above in Figure 7.12 as a supporting exercise following her explanation.

Similarly, Iona, Julia, Lucy and Hannah indicated that they gave pupils peer teaching tasks as follow-up activities or revisions after they provided explanation. For example, Iona said,

“I give them these tasks as extra activities every now and then... there is a huge gap in their learning abilities, so they won’t understand the subject.” Julia also stated, “this is the teacher’s role ... if the pupils weren’t smart, they won’t be able to provide information.” Lucy emphasised, “I must explain first, and such activities function as a revision, so pupils know some information ... new information no way!” As for Hannah, she said:

When pupils are absent, I ask their peers to explain the lesson. I give them the role of the teacher and they explain. I sit behind their desk [...] honestly, I always explain the lesson for them before they teach their peers. I tried peer teaching before I provided my explanation and to be honest with you the pupils didn’t interact. Our children are wronged because most of them missed some learning time and are educationally behind (Interview with Hannah).

All these comments highlight the fixed view of knowledge and teachers’ concern with covering a fixed curriculum at the refugee school which challenges the constructivist view of learning that emphasises exploration of knowledge regardless of learner’s level (Weimer, 2002; Brown, 2003). Therefore, the findings suggest that Facebook data only shows a partial side of classroom reality which aligns more with the INEE (2010a) standards. By showing more learner-centred activities, the school may want to present a good picture of classroom practice as evidenced by Skye’s statement below:

There were two schools and one of them was closed shortly. We immediately opened this school and the enrolment rate was good. We advertised well for the school which I believe played an important role. We relatively offered a better picture to increase enrolment (Interview with Skye).

Based on the literature, learner-centred environments are presented positively more than teacher-centred environments because of the promising advantages the pedagogies claim to offer (McCombs and Whisler, 1997; Brown, 2003; Kain, 2003; Elen et al., 2007; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Struyven et al., 2010). Therefore, by posting activities which showed animated pupils in class, the school wanted to become renowned in the country to increase children’s enrolment and avoid its closure. As I will detail below, teachers indicated that implementing LCE in line with the INEE standards was unrealistic within their realities. Most teachers believe that LCE can be used at a certain time usually as follow-up activities. All of this supports the conclusion that LCE was presented as a performance on the school’s social media platform. James, the social media officer, played an influential role in directing the performance of LCE:

When I am in class, the children consider the activities as entertaining. So, when I come to class, children believe that they need to smile and show how happy they are (Interview with James).

The purposes of showing LCE practices based on the school's limited understanding of this pedagogy were to introduce new pedagogy and build pupils' confidence:

The main reason is to show the new generation modern methods of teaching and learning which we were not familiar in Syria as for instance when we ask pupils to teach their peers and I video them and post these videos on social media. This is one of the things we do. We ask pupils to teach lessons instead of the teacher and post these videos so that we build up their confidence and encourage their peers to participate (Interview with James).

The very positive response from parents encouraged the school's decision to post classroom activities on a daily basis as James indicated.

7.4 Teachers' Perspectives on Pedagogical Change

As I indicated in Chapter Two, Midttun (2006) points out that the relevance and quality of education change when learners are settled or displaced. It is argued that conflict lays the ground for positive change to improve the educational systems, teach new values and skills as well as transform society (Carr and Hartnett, 1996; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; INEE, 2010a; King, 2011; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011). In emergencies, it is argued that LCE can play a special role as it can help facilitate psychological healing and avoid conflict (Pigozzi, 1999; Midttun, 2006; INEE, 2010a; Schweisfurth, 2013).

However, the literature highlights many contextual challenges which constrain teachers' attempts to implement LCE particularly in refugee contexts and developing countries (Guthrie, 1990; Brown, 2001; Williams, 2001; Tabulawa, 2003; O'Sullivan, 2004; Kagawa, 2005; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Sriprakash, 2012; Schweisfurth, 2013; Lattimer, 2015; Mendenhall, 2015; Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Stott, 2018; Brinkmann, 2019; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019).

In line with the literature, based on interview findings, most Syrian teachers indicated that they changed their priorities and adapted their teaching styles in the refugee context because of the huge learning gaps in pupils' knowledge and traumatic experiences. Nevertheless, the findings reveal that a few teachers showed resistance to talk about changes in teaching in the refugee context. The findings suggest that teachers' perceptions of change may have been influenced by several contextual factors. The key finding interview data reveals is teachers' conscious rejection of LCE in accordance with the INEE (2010a) standards because of their beliefs that its implementation is unrealistic in the refugee context. The findings suggest that LCE can work at a certain time with specific conditions in the refugee context.

When asking Syrian teachers about changes in their practices in the refugee context, a few teachers showed resistance to talk about change, while they expressed positive attitudes to introducing pedagogical change in the refugee context. For example, when I asked Amy about the differences in her teaching practices in Syria before the war and in Turkey, she said, "since I was teaching in Syria, I followed the same teaching method. Nothing has changed, but as I told you my pupils were more interested in learning and even parents were more involved." Upon asking Amy about her attitude to introducing pedagogical changes in the refugee context, Amy said, "well, I like to change my methods very much."

Similarly, when commenting on the changes in teaching methods in the Syrian context before and after the war, Anna stated, "I don't like to change my teaching practices at all. On the contrary, I always like to ... but it is hard to get teaching aids because of the lack of the resources." When asked about her attitude to introducing some pedagogical changes in the refugee context, Anna emphasised that "teachers should always change their methods. They have to use different methods." Teachers' understanding of the term 'change' appears to be influenced by their beliefs of teaching, the lack of appropriate training and some contextual constraints. Therefore, it is possible that discussing change in the refugee context seemed to connote something negative for a few teachers.

Sarah's response to the same question may indicate that talking about adaptation was more comfortable than change:

Sarah: well, my methods are almost the same. Sometimes they are better.

Researcher: can you please explain in what way?

Sarah: an example of the adaptations I made is that here I depend on my pupils more. I use inductive learning so that they don't feel bored in class. There are opportunities for inferring meaning. I'm focusing on this method and I found it very useful (Interview with Sarah).

As for Andy, Lily, Maggie, Rose, Cara, Leah, Lucy and Hannah, talking about change did not seem threatening and they discussed the differences as they perceived in their teaching practices in Syria and Turkey. For instance, Andy said, “well the change is in the focus on the psychosocial aspects.” As I mentioned previously (section 7.2.2), Andy pointed out that the priorities in teaching changed in the refugee context from focusing on teaching curriculum content to promoting pupils’ confidence because of their psychosocial needs. Along similar lines, Lily emphasised that the priorities in teaching Syrian pupils changed “to promote pupils’ wellbeing first and then their learning.” Leah also indicated that she noticed a big difference in her teaching in the refugee context because “some pupils need extra attention.”

Maggie stated that she was “multiplying her efforts” because she believed that the majority of pupils have psychosocial needs and miss their previous life. Similarly, Lucy indicated that “the only change is that I started to give pupils more attention because I know their abilities and experiences.” As for Hannah, she clearly expressed the changes in her beliefs and teaching methods in the refugee context as illustrated by her statements below:

I think I better understand the purposes of teaching here. When we taught in Syria and even before when I was a pupil, we cared about the results of tests. I wanted my pupils to get full mark and I wanted to cover the curriculum in any way even if pupils didn't understand everything [...] Definitely when you move to a new place, the new context may demand that you change your methods. So, I don't think change is necessarily negative. At the end, everything is developing and changing so it is better to change our teaching methods and even change our curriculum (Interview with Hannah).

Almost all teachers showed flexibility in their teaching methods and expressed willingness to use any methods they considered appropriate for pupils’ needs. Teachers’ flexibility was very supported by the school administration as the interview data shows. Regarding introducing new teaching methods, the data shows mixed responses. Most teachers expressed openness to change and a few teachers showed enthusiasm about using LCE. However, closely examining teachers’ responses to adopting LCE in line with the INEE

recommendations indicates teachers' conscious rejection because of multiple contextual influences and difficulties.

As the literature indicates, teachers and students' views of teaching and learning which are affected by multiple complex factors such as culture, experience and education all influence LCE implementation (Gipps and MacGilchrist, 1999; Kain, 2003; O'Sullivan, 2004; Barrett, 2007; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2011; Dryden-Peterson, 2016). In line with the findings of O'Sullivan (2004) and Barrett (2007), the findings of this research suggest that some teachers' beliefs contrast with constructivist models of learning. This affects LCE implementation in the Syrian context as evidenced by the following statements:

I can't get anything from pupils with low learning abilities. When I explain information, they understand it. So, this method is not learner-centred, but teacher-centred (Interview with Leah).

at the beginning of school term, that's impossible. It is impossible to use LCE when pupils just start school. They receive information. The teacher should have a role at the beginning and then pupils get used to the teacher, they imitate the teacher, they build good rapport and then you can give them an active role and let them work in groups and be leaders (Interview with Maggie).

I think it works in certain cultures where pupils are settled, relaxed, and may be older in age to accept such type of learning. I think LCE works in secondary schools more than primary ones because pupils are more knowledgeable (Interview with Lucy).

There are huge learning gaps which makes it difficult to depend on pupils (Interview with Jane).

In line with the findings of Vavrus (2009) and Mtika and Gates (2010), the findings of this research indicate that for cultural reasons some pupils may show resistance to using LCE. Although Sarah suggested that LCE may be beneficial sometimes, she believed that "some pupils may not accept learner-centred methods". Sarah said that for cultural reasons some pupils prefer keeping a distance between teachers and pupils. There is concern that some pupils are too shy to communicate with teachers because of cultural expectations. Therefore, Sarah suggested that some of her pupils may feel more comfortable when the relationship is formal. Brown (2001), O'Sullivan (2004), Schweisfurth (2013) and Westbrook et al., (2013)

also report similar difficulties of LCE implementation because of learners' cultural beliefs about the role of the teacher.

Because of the sudden changes in pupils' lives and refugee trauma, Sarah, Cara, Lucy, Hannah, Lily and Leah indicated that LCE may not be appropriate at this time. Leah emphasised her view that "considering the experiences of pupils here and their learning abilities I can say no. No, absolutely we can't use LCE here." Getting some pupils to talk is a challenge which many teachers discussed. The teachers believed that this was caused by pupils' trauma, lack of social interaction and their difficult realities. As Williams (2001), Davies (2004) and Kagawa (2005) explain, educating refugee children means dealing with the troubles of trauma, reintegration and other accompanying challenges caused by the impact of conflict.

Leah indicated that most of her pupils were silent in class because of "their special refugee experiences." Lucy expressed similar concerns because of the impact of the war:

at the beginning I kept asking why doesn't she respond? Why doesn't he talk? I was shocked to know that the pupil and his brother were hit by a missile. His brother died when they were together. Since then he stopped talking. He can't talk. You have to understand his special circumstances (Interview with Lucy).

Some teachers also pointed out that pupils' interest in learning have been affected by the lack of attention from their families. For example, Cara said, "some families are not providing enough support for their children because of the sudden traumatic changes which affected their lives and pupils' learning." Leah pointed out that some pupils lost motivation in learning because of displacement and their uncertain future:

some pupils are in a different world. You feel that they attend school because of their parents. When parents force their kids to go to school, how can I engage them? I may use LCE, but it is not 100% useful here and I can't use it every day (Interview with Leah).

As Cara and Hannah also explained, the biggest challenge they faced was that some pupils knew they were travelling to another country. They attended school till they could travel because their parents wanted them to go to school. Therefore, their motivation and engagement in learning were affected:

I give them particular attention, but they lack motivation. Some pupils aren't motivated. Those who are motivated develop and I see that when they do their tasks. I ask some pupils to do tasks together and they say, 'no, I don't want to do that'. Some pupils don't respond (Interview with Cara).

To implement LCE, Schweisfurth (2013) points out that pupils are expected to be intrinsically motivated to collaborate with peers in groups, work independently, and respect the rules of the democratic class. However, in line with Kain (2003) and Mtika and Gates (2010), some pupils may not be motivated to use LCE which makes its implementation challenging in Syrian classes.

When I asked Lily about her attitude to the UNICEF training, she criticised promoting learner-centred models in the Syrian context because of pupils' trauma, psychosocial needs, physical classroom structure and the lack of resources and teaching aids:

In this course, most of the methods they [UNICEF trainers] talked about can't be used here. They are not appropriate in our context here ... I mean in our school as refugees. These methods work in their context and their schools. They are appropriate for people who are settled in their country, their schools are well-resourced, and they have laboratories and tools. Some ideas were useful, but mostly I find them hard to implement considering our realities (Interview with Lily).

Within their realities, Lily believed that LCE implementation is very challenging. In line with Lily's comment, Cara and Jane indicated that implementing LCE is unrealistic in the refugee context because of the serious lack of resources and teaching aids. Cara said that, "yes, I think it is good, but it really really needs lots of resources which we don't have here." Along similar lines, Williams expressed a positive response to change provided that "it was within the available capacities."

In line with the literature, Jane clearly explained the complexities of LCE implementation pointing out what Syrian teachers needed to facilitate pedagogical change in the refugee context:

I believe that change is good, but it doesn't have to be required from teachers only. If we want to change our pedagogy, change should be carried out across all levels: pupils, teachers, administrative staff, supervisors, and more importantly we should have teaching aids and materials. We need more support for example through providing various teaching aids and materials. Possibly offering training for teachers

to help us know new teaching methods. I think this would be useful (Interview with Jane).

Changing teachers' practice, based on Williams (2001), is affected by several interrelated factors so teacher training alone is not enough to improve quality if for example suitable materials and textbooks are unavailable. Compatible with the literature the unavailability of class equipment and special arrangements which LCE requires make its implementation challenging in the refugee context (Guthrie, 1990; O'Sullivan, 2004; Vavrus, 2009; Sriprakash, 2012; Schweisfurth, 2013; Mendenhall, 2015; Brinkmann, 2019).

To conclude this section, considering the various challenges, it was clearly revealed in teachers' responses that from their points of view implementing LCE in the Syrian context is unrealistic. The findings suggest that LCE can work at certain times only when specific conditions are available. Therefore, there is an agreement among teachers that adopting various strategies on a continuum of pedagogical practices can support pupils' learning. In line with the literature, the findings suggest that introducing change should be done gradually and this requires collaboration with pupils, teachers, and administration as well as the provision of teaching aids and materials (Tabulawa, 2003; Kagawa, 2005; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010; INEE, 2010a; Schweisfurth, 2013).

7.5 Teachers' Perceptions of Effective Pedagogy

In line with the views of many authors including Gipps and MacGilchrist (1999), O'Sullivan (2004), Barrett (2007), Alexander (2008c, 2017), Vavrus (2009), Guthrie (2011), Schweisfurth (2013) and Thompson (2013), the interview findings indicate that teachers believe that using a variety of teaching methods can help improve the quality of education considering the underlying contextual influences and constraints in the refugee context. Based on the views of all Syrian teachers, within their realities, quality education can be achieved using a combination of methods along the continuum. However, this contrasts mainly with the views of the INEE and international aid agencies which promote LCE as 'best practice' particularly in emergencies (Pigozzi, 1999; Sinclair, 2002; UNESCO, 2005; Midttun, 2006; INEE, 2010a/b; UNESCO-IIEP, 2010).

Teachers' vision of good pedagogy in the Syrian context clearly echoes what O'Sullivan (2004) calls a learning-centred approach. Although teachers' observed practices show that only some of Schweisfurth's (2013) seven minimum standards could be met, teachers' perceptions of effective pedagogies may indicate that meeting the seven main characteristics is possible within the realities in which they work when appropriate training in questioning techniques is provided. For example, Lucy stressed her view, "for me, it doesn't matter whether it is a new or a traditional method. All what I care about is that my pupils learn." Similarly, Lily believes that using a variety of methods along the continuum is useful within their realities:

every lesson depends on using certain methods. Some lessons are transmissive. Some lessons require doing demonstrations or hands-on activities which within the available resources we can do as in the lesson you observed. In some lessons, we depend on using visuals or drawing. I give my pupils some cartoons and they draw. They feel happy because they did something using their hands. We also use them as visual aids to explain the lesson (Interview with Lily).

When I asked Maggie about her advice to refugee teachers, Maggie suggested that refugee teachers "understand their individual pupils, understand the very difficult experiences they have been through, but they know very little about, and use all teaching methods available." Along similar lines, Jane shared her beliefs based on her experience:

I believe in using a hybrid of methods ... we can't use teacher-centred methods nor learner-centred methods all the time considering the special circumstances our pupils have been through. There are huge learning gaps which makes it difficult to depend on pupils. It is possible to use question and answer and inductive learning. By using these methods, you may become learner-centred (Interview with Jane).

Like Jane, most teachers believe that question and answer is an effective method which engages pupils, breaks the barriers between teachers and pupils and builds up their confidence. In line with the literature which reports the positive benefits of direct instruction techniques, all teachers indicated that the use of direct instruction techniques is very appropriate in the refugee context considering the sudden changes in pupils and teachers' lives, the gaps in pupils' knowledge, the big class size, the physical structure of class, the serious lack of teaching resources and instructional aids, and the lack of time (Bennett, 1976; Clark et al., 1979; Guthrie, 1990, 2011; Bernstein, 2000; Brown, 2003; Zhou and Brown, 2015; Alexander, 2017).

To achieve quality education, the interview findings highlight caring for pupils' wellbeing, considering their individual experiences, needs, and learning styles as well as encouraging friendlier relationships between teachers and pupils which resonate with learner-centred practices based on the literature (McCombs and Whisler, 1997; Brown, 2003; INEE, 2010a/b; Schweisfurth, 2013; Westbrook et al., 2013). For instance, Amy emphasised the necessity of "understanding our pupils' experiences and working patiently with them. Our pupils are war victims. Their hearts are broken, and they lack confidence." In the same vein, Iona indicated the importance of "considering every pupil's needs and experiences after leaving Syria because this will help pupils accept you in the new stage in their lives and interact with you."

Lily pointed out that encouraging warmer relationships between pupils and teachers improves learning: "first of all I make them feel my love for them. Once they see you care about them, they will love learning and interact with you." Sarah believed that particularly in the refugee context breaking the hierarchical relationships facilitates learning:

pupils need to know that we are friends. We have to learn and discuss together the challenges that we face in learning. I am here to help, not necessarily in front of their peers. If pupils stop being shy and share with us their views, I believe their learning will be better (Interview with Sarah).

However, as I previously mentioned, the analysis of teachers' statements and observed practice reveal maintaining power distance in refugee classes.

In her advice to refugee teachers, Hannah highlighted that in refugee contexts changing priorities is critical:

first of all, focus on caring for pupils' wellbeing. Covering curriculum isn't the goal of learning. As a teacher, my aim is developing a generation. When you change your aim from covering an imposed curriculum to developing a generation ... this generation that will rebuild our country one day, you will change all your teaching methods and priorities [...] when you enter class remember that these pupils are the ones who will rebuild our country (Interview with Hannah).

Finally, in their emphasis on showing flexibility in following curriculum and using textbooks, Syrian teachers demonstrated the characteristics of the flexible teaching style in Guthrie's (2011) model.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter, I examine the triangulated findings from the four sources of data in relation to the literature to understand the quality of refugee education in the Syrian context. I investigate the kinds of classroom talk in the classroom indicating the lack of opportunities which promote active pupil engagement. The findings suggest that the school's flexible approach and culture of care shaped classroom practice. The findings suggest that most teachers displayed good rapport with their pupils, and they tried to encourage pupil participation by eliciting responses from pupils. Most teachers built on pupils' existing knowledge, gave pupils thinking time, ensured involving all pupils including those who did not volunteer to participate and heavily depended on positive reinforcement. Moreover, the findings indicate meeting some of Schweisfurth's (2013) seven standards for LCE such as motivating pupils to learn, respecting them, building on their knowledge, and assessing and responding to individual learning differences.

Despite UNICEF's emphasis on adopting LCE and demonstrating examples of learner-centred practices on the school's social media platform, the findings indicate that the teachers found it not appropriate to implement LCE all the time in their classes. The findings reveal numerous underlying influences and contextual challenges which constrain LCE implementation and limit teaching talk in the refugee context to the three kinds of talk associated with direct instruction techniques: rote, recitation, instruction. Examples of contextual influences and constraints which restricted teachers' pedagogical choices include teacher education, training, beliefs and experiences, classroom physical structure, sudden changes, the lack of time and the lack teaching resources. Moreover, the findings suggest that pupils' traumatic experiences, their learning abilities, motivation, beliefs, and family circumstances affected classroom practices as teachers responded to their needs.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, I provide a concise summary of the main research findings and reflect on the research challenges, limitations, and the PhD journey. First, I summarise the major research findings and highlight the contribution to knowledge this research makes. Second, I provide some recommendations based on the research findings. Third, I explain the main research challenges and limitations. Fourth, I suggest some avenues for further research. Finally, I provide a self-reflection on the PhD journey.

8.2 Main Research Findings

The purpose of this research was to examine the quality of education at an urban Syrian refugee school in Turkey as provided by Syrian refugee teachers within the scope of temporary protection. The research focused specifically on exploring Syrian refugee teachers' vision of good pedagogy in the refugee context within their realities and capacities. The research investigated the contextual influences and challenges affecting pedagogical decisions, the adaptations in instructional techniques in the refugee context and teachers' understandings of and attitudes to adopting learner-centred pedagogy in line with the *INEE Minimum Standards for Education* (2010a) which defines good practices internationally and offers guidelines for supporting educational quality in refugee situations. Finally, the research intended to situate the pedagogical practices in the Syrian context within the broader context of refugee education in times of conflict. The overall aim of this research was to contribute to the growing discussion on LCE suitability as 'best practice' internationally.

To achieve the research aims, I collected research data in one case study school using four qualitative sources: classroom observations, interviews with school teachers, interviews with administrative staff, and analysis of the school's Facebook page. The main findings indicate that Syrian teachers used various methods from less learner-centred to more learner-centred practices in refugee classes. In almost all observed classes, direct instruction techniques were central. Teachers were in control of learning most of the time, but their role ranged from providers of knowledge to facilitators of learning in different parts of their lesson. There was

a narrow repertoire of teaching talk in Syrian classes. However, there is evidence which suggests that direct instruction was used as a base to facilitate learning. Some teachers' practices were more learner-centred as demonstrated by teachers' attempts to meet individual learning needs, redirecting pupil-initiated questions to peers, building caring relationships with pupils, creating a supportive learning environment, and showing flexibility in teaching styles and using school curriculum.

In the Syrian context, there is confusion regarding what LCE means and how active pupil engagement is supported. There are multiple factors influencing teachers' practices such as teachers' beliefs about learning, the poor quality of in-service teacher training, teacher education in Syria, the lack of time and resources, the physical classroom environment, the changing policy decisions and pupils' huge learning gaps and traumatic experiences. Therefore, teachers developed their own interpretations of LCE and implemented LCE accordingly. Most teachers believed that LCE means giving pupils tasks such as designing visual aids, teaching their peers or playing the role of the teacher. Motivated by the lack of teaching aids, Syrian teachers indicated that they engaged pupils in learning by involving them in creating teaching aids to use in class and rewarding pupils' efforts. However, they also showed conscious resistance to LCE for reasons they were able to articulate.

Guided by their teachers' directions and imitating their teaching styles, some pupils prepared parts of a lesson or an activity at home and taught the lesson to their peers. This was the most widespread understanding and practice of LCE in the Syrian context. Teachers believed that giving pupils who lacked confidence a task such as teaching their peers instead of the teacher would empower them and build up their confidence. Influenced by their positive experiences in class, some teachers believed that giving pupils teaching roles actively engages them in learning and demonstrates learner-centred practices. However, teachers said that they assigned peer teaching tasks only after providing their own explanation. This suggests a relatively superficial implementation of LCE in the Syrian context, with LCE as an add-on activity after using transmissive methods of teaching.

The school's social media platform focused on showing particular kinds of learning environments. The school Facebook page abounds with photos and videos which show pupils engaged in what appears to be more learner-centred practice in line with the INEE

(2010a) standards. On the school's Facebook page, LCE seems to be 'best practice' promoted at the school. However, given the multiple influences and challenges affecting LCE implementation in the Syrian context, the school's Facebook page presented a partial side of classroom reality where LCE was used as a performance.

In Figure 8.1 below, I summarise the key research findings based on the main themes: from knowledge transmission to construction, school's publicised classroom practices, teachers' perspectives on pedagogical change, and teachers' perceptions of effective pedagogy for teaching urban Syrian refugees in Turkey:

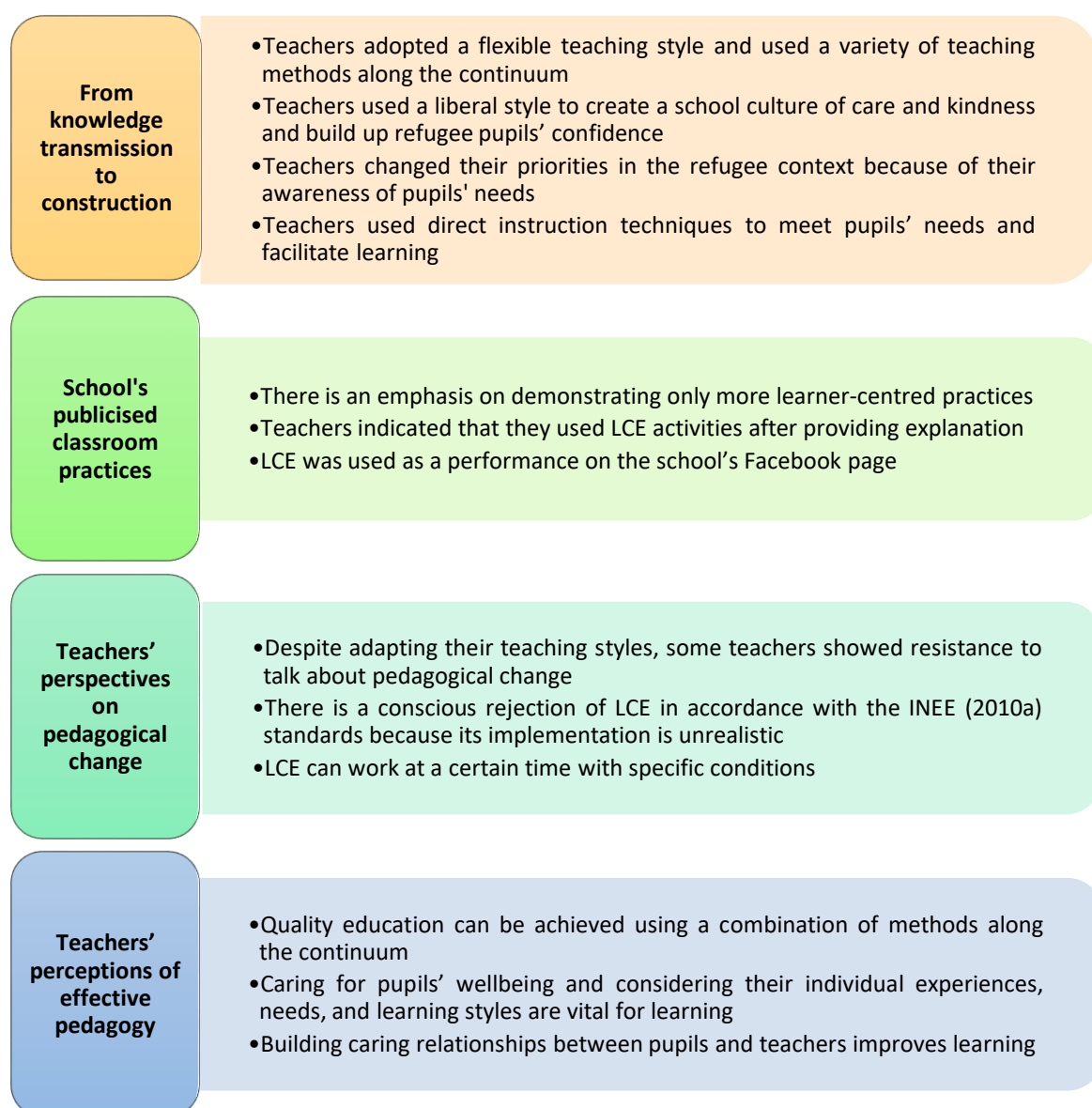


Figure 8.1: Key research findings.

In line with the literature, the findings of this research suggest that LCE is interpreted and implemented differently in different contexts (Schweisfurth, 2013; Thompson, 2013; Lattimer, 2015; Brinkmann, 2019). The findings show that within their realities and capacities, Syrian teachers adopted a *learning*-centred approach as O’Sullivan (2004) defines. Compatible with the literature, the findings raise doubts about the suitability of LCE as ‘best practice’ in the Syrian refugee context because of many complex contextual influences and implementation challenges such as teachers’ beliefs and limited capacities, poor teacher training and education, pupils’ perceived needs and traumatic experiences, and the lack of time, resources and arrangements which prevail in refugee contexts (and also in many developing countries) (Guthrie, 1990; Brown, 2001; Sommers, 2002; Tabulawa, 2003; O’Sullivan, 2004; Kagawa, 2005; Sternberg, 2007; Alexander, 2008a/b, 2009; Vavrus, 2009; Mtika and Gates, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2011, 2013; Mendenhall et al., 2015; Stott, 2018; Brinkmann, 2019; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019).

Based on the INEE (2010a) standards, in refugee contexts quality education is achieved through implementing LCE. Despite UNICEF’s emphasis on using LCE in the Syrian context, it was clearly revealed in Syrian teachers’ responses that implementing LCE in the refugee context is unrealistic considering the various contextual constraints and challenges. Therefore, there is a conscious rejection of LCE in the refugee context. There is an agreement among teachers that adopting various strategies on a continuum of pedagogical practices can support refugee pupils’ learning, whereas LCE can work at certain times only when specific conditions are available. Therefore, these findings contrast with the views of the INEE and international aid agencies which support LCE implementation as ‘best practice’.

In Table 8.1 below I summarise the main gaps I identified between the literature on quality education as promoted by the INEE in emergencies and the key findings of this research which are based on the realities and capacities of teachers in the Syrian refugee context:

Attaining Quality Education in Refugee Situations	
Literature	Practice
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curriculum teaches important life skills and knowledge specific to the emergency context. It includes non-traditional topics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The adapted Syrian curriculum does not integrate life skills nor psychosocial programmes, but teachers and administrative staff perceive it flexible and relevant to pupils.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers receive relevant training based on their needs and circumstances. • Training is carried out by qualified trainers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The quality of the UNICEF training on the INEE standards was poor. The course was mainly theoretical. It did not provide teachers with practical guidance which could have helped them understand and implement what they were trained in. • Training was not adapted to teachers' needs, capacities and realities. • The trainers were not qualified to offer the right form of training. • Not all teachers in the school had the UNICEF training as some were teaching at other schools at that time.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LCE is 'best practice' promoted in emergency situations as an influential element of quality education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a conscious rejection of LCE because of several contextual difficulties and influences. • LCE can work at certain times only when specific conditions are available. • Direct instruction techniques are perceived effective considering the huge gaps in pupils' knowledge and skills, trauma, low motivation levels caused by displacement, cultural expectations, the lack of time and inappropriate classroom arrangement. • There is a severe lack of teaching resources, materials and instructional aids which makes LCE implementation unrealistic. • There is a limited understanding of LCE which makes its implementation challenging. • The fixed view of knowledge does not align with the constructivist views of learning which encourage pupil exploration of knowledge. • The behaviorist beliefs about learning expressed by some teachers restrict LCE implementation.

Table 8.1: Gaps between key findings from the literature and research in the Syrian context.

The distinctive contribution to knowledge this research makes is examining quality education in the Syrian context in depth from multiple perspectives because of the different understandings of quality education and the various influences affecting pedagogy in different contexts. Using multiple sources of evidence, the research illuminates the different understandings of quality education in the Syrian context, and the various influences and challenges of pedagogical change in the direction of more learner-centred practice which is promoted by the INEE in emergency contexts. The overarching aim of this research is to contribute to the growing discussion on LCE suitability worldwide as ‘best practice’.

8.3 Research Recommendations

Considering the challenges of educating refugee pupils and the various influences on pedagogy in different contexts, this research highlights the importance of contextualising LCE in which less learner-centred methods can be used to support children’s learning in line with many authors including O’Sullivan (2004), Alexander (2008c, 2017), Vavrus (2009), Schweisfurth (2013) and Thompson (2013). The research found that teachers asked many closed questions, which when over-used are unlikely to stimulate learning in new directions. Therefore, the research recommends a specific strategy: training refugee teachers in questioning techniques to distinguish between the types of questions and their values as well as promote active and meaningful pupil engagement through classroom discussion and dialogue. The research suggests that teachers benefited from training which helped them identify pupils who needed psychosocial support. Therefore, the research recommends providing such training for refugee teachers in similar contexts to promote pupils’ learning and wellbeing.

The findings of this research show a limited interpretation of learner-centred pedagogy which was influenced in part by the poor quality of teacher training on the INEE standards and teacher education in Syria. Therefore, the research recommends providing teacher training on LCE which considers local teachers and pupils’ needs and clarifies key pedagogical terminology such as “active” and “dialogic teaching” through offering practical guidance. The specific areas identified include differentiating between different levels of questioning, learning to ask pupils more challenging and stimulating questions, and identifying and supporting children with psychosocial needs.

More importantly, the findings recommend improving the quality of training by appointing well-qualified trainers who can effectively communicate with teachers who may lack appropriate pedagogic knowledge because of the teacher education in their home country. Conducting such training in a learner-centred way rather than a transmissive way may strengthen its effectiveness and offer teachers a practical experience of LCE.

The final recommendation this research suggests is examining quality education from different perspectives because of the different understandings of quality and the various influences affecting pedagogy. This research recommends using multiple frameworks because of the complexity of pedagogy and the lack of agreement regarding what makes quality education in different contexts.

8.4 Research Challenges and Limitations

Inevitably, researching a fluid and politicised context such as the situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey posed a range of challenges. There were several changes and restrictions in the research context which profoundly affected carrying out this research and necessitated changing the original design of the study. Researching a context which was experiencing constant change during the ongoing war in Syria affected getting stable information on the research context.

There had been changing political and educational policies which influenced the way education for Syrian refugees was provided and impeded my access to the temporary education centres in Turkey in person. As I mentioned in Chapter Five (section 5.4), the political decision to regulate Syrian nationals' entry to Turkey from January 2016 as part of implementing an agreement with the European Union affected the design of the empirical research plan. Therefore, I had to carry out this research remotely. The discussions about closing temporary education centres raised doubts about the intentions of researchers visiting Syrian schools. The lack of trust, fear and insecurity caused by the civil war in Syria decreased my chances of accessing schools which did not know me in person. Therefore, I managed to involve one school in this research which had to be carried out online.

Carrying out fieldwork using online observations and interviews was a significant challenge I faced which turned out to be extremely valuable to my professional knowledge and skills. At the beginning when I was denied access to Turkey, I was deeply worried about managing fieldwork remotely. However, the extensive reading on conducting online research, and the insightful discussions and guidance I received from my supervisors prepared me very well to take up this challenge and address its potential pitfalls before they happened.

The limitations of this research may be related to the limitations of online observations and interviews, and the small sample involving one school. However, the aim of this case study research is not generalisation, but rather gaining a deeper understanding of quality education at a Syrian refugee school in Turkey which I believe the sample I used and online data collection tools I employed helped me achieve. Therefore, one of the important contributions to knowledge this research makes is using qualitative research methods to conduct online research in a refugee setting when access to the field is denied and the emergency context experiences constant changes. Fulfilling the aims of this study may encourage researchers working in similar contexts to accept the challenges they may face when researching a context in constant transition and deploy various methods to realise the aims of their research even if they have not been commonly used in such contexts.

8.5 Avenues for Future Research

Considering the closure of Syrian schools in Turkey, the possible avenues for future research may include researching appropriate pedagogy for teaching Syrian refugees in urban and camp schools with the aim of integration in host communities. Another possible area of interest for future research based on the findings of this research is the extent Syrian teachers changed their views of good pedagogy after they began teaching at Turkish schools. Researching the views of Syrian refugee pupils regarding good pedagogy may be another possible area for future research. Finally, researching the impact of praise on refugee pupils' learning and discipline may be another possibility.

8.6 Final Reflections on My PhD Journey

This research has been primarily motivated by my personal, professional and academic interest and experience in the field of refugee education. I conducted this research at the time the war in Syria was still extremely intense. Therefore, the Syrian war was always present not only in the data, but in the whole research process from the very beginning to the end. At a certain stage, the heavy influence of the war made it very difficult for me to progress. However, the unlimited and overwhelming support I received largely from my supervisors and the University of Glasgow made accomplishing this research possible.

Going through the refugee experience greatly facilitated my engagement with the literature and collecting research data as I could relate to the many issues raised. While carrying out fieldwork and understanding teachers' views of teaching Syrian refugees as well as the challenges they encountered, my views of teaching and learning in refugee contexts have been challenged. In my search for the answers for what makes quality teaching using four sources of data, I noticed the big changes in my beliefs particularly as the findings were quite unexpected. I started the PhD journey with big ideas about educational change in the Syrian context. However, as soon as fieldwork began my assumptions were challenged. Understanding the various contextual difficulties and underlying influences affected my views of pedagogical change in the refugee context. Therefore, I believe that examining quality education from one perspective as represented by the INEE standards indicates a limited view of the complexity of the teaching and learning process. This has been the most vital contribution to my professional knowledge which conducting this research helped me gain.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The School's Approval Letter

الآنسة إيمان شريف المحترمة

نرحب بك في مدرستنا ونعلمك بموافقتنا إجرائك البحث حول وضع المدارس السورية في الجمهورية التركية وتقديم كافة المتطلبات اللازمة له .

نرجو منك أن تكون المقابلات ضمن شهري تشرين الثاني و كانون الأول لعام 2016 .

أسعدنا تواصلك معنا متمنين لك دوام النجاح والتوفيق .

إدارة المدرسة

15\11\2016

Dear Miss Iman Sharif,

We welcome you to our school and we inform you about our approval to do your research about Syrian schools' situation in Turkey, and we are willing to offer all the sufficient help.

We also prefer that the interviews should be within the months of November and December 2016.

We are glad to communicate with you.

Wish you all the luck and success.

15\11\2016

School's Administration

مدرسة
School

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet

The Study title

Urban Syrian Refugee Schools in Turkey: Pupils' Pedagogical Needs and Teachers' Approaches

Researcher details

Iman Sharif

PhD Candidate in Education

College of Social Sciences, University of Glasgow, St. Andrew's Building, 11 Eldon Street, Glasgow. G3 6NH.

Email: i.sharif.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a research study that sheds light on Syrian refugee education at Urban Syrian schools in Turkey. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study intends to investigate teachers' current practices at Syrian schools in Turkey and how far teachers have changed their practices in the new context to meet refugee students' emerging needs. The overall aim is to explore from teachers' point of view the pedagogy which is appropriate for teaching Syrian refugees in Syrian schools in Turkey and prepare them for returning to a new Syria.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen to be part of this research study because you are teaching at a Syrian school in Turkey and you might be willing to share your experiences of teaching Syrian children outside Syria.

Do I have to take part?

No. You are completely free to participate or not in this research study. Your decision won't affect your relationship, progress or general experience of school. You can opt out at any time. You do not need to provide an explanation for your withdrawal.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You are kindly asked to allow me observe one class. You will decide the length of observation time. Field notes will be taken during observation. An interview will follow to discuss what was observed, what you usually do in class and the changes in your practices in the new context. No one will be judging your practices and beliefs. The interview will take about 30-45 minutes and will be audio-recorded with your permission. In case access to Turkey becomes difficult, online observations and interviews will be conducted instead. I need your permission to observe your class virtually using Skype calls and then we will arrange for an online interview at your own convenient time. In online observation, you are kindly requested to position the camera in a place where you feel comfortable at the same time allow me observe as many students as possible. The online interviews will take about 30-45 minutes and will be audio-recorded. I will transcribe the

interviews and translate most parts to English and then use the data for analysis purposes to identify common themes collected from other interviews with other participants. The recording will be kept in a secure location at all times.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Yes, all data will be handled confidentially. No personal data will be disclosed or passed over to other people for any purposes. Confidentiality of given information will be ensured by allocation of ID numbers or being referred to by pseudonym in any publications arising from the research. Data will be stored securely in password-protected computer files. Papers containing the interview transcriptions will be stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Glasgow. I will delete all personal data not required to be retained by the University of Glasgow upon completing the PhD study. Electronic files will be deleted using secure removal software. Papers containing personal data in observation field notes and interview transcripts will be shredded. The anonymised research data will be made openly available for other researchers to use and cite upon completing the PhD study. The research data may be used in future publications and may be retained in secure storage for use in future academic research. Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The results of this study which will be derived from analysing research data provided by participants will make the central part of my PhD thesis. It is hoped that the findings of this study will help understand and develop Syrian refugee education in Syrian schools in Turkey by offering new insights into teaching Syrian refugees which will be of benefit to teachers and pupils now and in the future. A written summary of results will be provided to all participants if requested.

Possible Risk

It is anticipated that the study will not cause any harm nor risk to the participants in the study nor the organisations involved in this research as ethical procedures will be observed during the research process and the willingness and convenience of the participants will be given top priority. All participants will have the choice of not answering any question and opting out from the research at any stage without giving any reason.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is funded by The Council for At-Risk Academics (CARA) and The University of Glasgow.

Who has reviewed the study?

The project has been reviewed by the College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

In conducting this research, I am under the supervision of Professor Michele Schweisfurth and Professor Alison Phipps:

Professor Michele Schweisfurth:
Telephone: 0141 330 4445
Email: Michele.Schweisfurth@glasgow.ac.uk

Professor Alison Phipps:
Telephone: 01413305284
Email: Alison.Phipps@glasgow.ac.uk

Contact for Further Information

If you wish to have further information about this study, you may contact me by email at i.sharif.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Should you have any concerns regarding the conduct of the research project you can contact the School of Education Ethics Officer by contacting Dr Muir Houston: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND CONSIDERATION

معلومات خاصة بالمشاركين في البحث

عنوان البحث: مدارس اللاجئين السوريين في المدن التركية: الاحتياجات وطرائق التدريس

اسم الباحثة: ايمان شريف

طالبة دكتوراه في علم التربية، كلية العلوم الاجتماعية، جامعة غلاسكو، المملكة المتحدة. العنوان: سانت أندروز بلدنج، 11 شارع إلدن، غلاسكو.
الرمز البريدي: G3 6NH. البريد الإلكتروني: i.sharif.1@research.gla.ac.uk

خطاب الدعوة:

يرجى التفضل بقبول دعوتي للمشاركة في الدراسة البحثية التي أجريها بهدف تسليط الضوء على الواقع التعليمي للطلبة اللاجئين السوريين في المدارس السورية المنتشرة في المدن التركية. وسأوضح فيما يلي بعض الجوانب الهامة التي تتعلق بأسباب القيام بهذا البحث وعلام سيشتمل، والتي أرجو أن تتم قراءتها بتمعن وعناية ومناقشتها مع من ترغبون قبل اتخاذ قراركم لجهة المشاركة أو عدمها في هذا البحث. كما أرجو عدم التردد في طرح الأسئلة أو الاستفسارات للتوضيح أو الحصول على مزيد من المعلومات. شكراً جزيلاً لكم لقراءتكم مضمون هذا الخطاب.

ما هو الهدف من إجراء هذه الدراسة؟

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى البحث في واقع الممارسات التعليمية التي يعتمد عليها المعلمون حالياً في المدارس السورية المنتشرة في المدن التركية (خارج المخيمات)، وإلى أي مدى ساهمت الظروف والبيئة الجديدة التي يتواجد فيها الطلبة اللاجئين حالياً في تغيير المعلمين لهذا الممارسات من أجل تلبية الاحتياجات المستجدة للطلبة. ويتمثل الهدف العام لهذه الدراسة في السعي إلى التعرف على طرائق التدريس المناسبة لتدريس اللاجئين السوريين في المدارس السورية في تركيا من وجهة نظر المعلمين، والتي تساهم في إعدادهم وتأهيلهم إلى العودة إلى سوريا الجديدة.

لماذا تم اختياري للمشاركة؟

تم اختيارك للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة البحثية لأنك تُدرّس حالياً في إحدى المدارس السورية في تركيا وربما ترغب في تبادل معلوماتك وخبراتك في مجال تعليم الأطفال السوريين المتواجدين خارج سوريا.

هل يتوجب علي المشاركة؟

لست مجبراً على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة على الإطلاق، ولك الحرية المطلقة في اتخاذ قرار المشاركة من عدمها. وإن هذا القرار لن يؤثر على وضعك في المدرسة أو يكون له أية عواقب سلبية عليك. كما يمكنك الانسحاب من البحث في أي وقت تشاء دون الحاجة لإبداء أية أسباب أو أعذار.

ماذا يترتب على موافقتي على المشاركة؟

بعد موافقتك على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة سأطلب منك التفضل بالسماح لي بحضور إحدى حصصك الدراسية شخصياً ومراقبة سيرها وتدوين بعض الملاحظات، ويترك لك تحديد المدة التي سيستغرقها ذلك. ثم سأقوم بإجراء مقابلة معك لمناقشة سير الحصّة، والاستعلام عن ممارساتك التعليمية المعتادة في الصف، وطبيعة التغييرات التي قد تكون أدخلتها عليها على ضوء الظروف والبيئة الجديدة التي يتواجد فيها الطلبة السوريون في تركيا حالياً. ولن يتم إطلاق الأحكام على ممارساتك التعليمية وقناعاتك ومعتقداتك أو تقييمها. وستستغرق مدة المقابلة نحو 30-45 دقيقة، وسيتم تسجيلها صوتياً بعد الحصول على موافقتكم. وسيتم اللجوء إلى إجراء المقابلة ومراقبة سير الحصّة الدراسية باستخدام شبكة الإنترنت في حال تعذر عليّ السفر إلى تركيا. وعندها سأطلب منك الإنزّل لمراقبة سير الحصّة الدراسية باستخدام برنامج "سكايب"، ومن ثمّ نقوم بترتيب موعد لإجراء المقابلة على الإنترنت في الوقت الذي تجده مناسباً. عند البدء بمراقبة سير الحصّة الدراسية باستخدام شبكة الإنترنت، سأطلب منك التكرم بوضع الكاميرا في المكان الذي تجده مناسباً ويتيح لي في الوقت نفسه مراقبة أكبر عدد ممكن من الطلاب. وستستغرق مدة المقابلة على الإنترنت نحو 30-45 دقيقة، وسيتم تسجيلها صوتياً. وسأقوم بتفريغ محتوى المقابلات المُسجّلة وترجمة غالبيتها إلى اللغة الإنجليزية، ومن ثمّ استخدام البيانات المتاحة لأغراض التحليل بهدف تحديد المواضيع والأفكار المشتركة التي تم جمعها من المقابلات الأخرى مع المشاركين الآخرين. وسيتم دائماً الحرص على الاحتفاظ بالتسجيلات وتخزينها في مكان آمن.

هل سيتم الحرص على سرية مشاركتي في هذا البحث؟

نعم، سيتم التعامل مع كافة البيانات بسرية تامة. ولن يتم الكشف عن أية بيانات شخصية أو تبادلها مع أشخاص آخرين مهما كانت الأسباب. وسيتم ضمان سرية المعلومات التي يتم الحصول عليها عبر الإشارة إلى المشاركين بالأرقام لا بالأسماء، أو من خلال استخدام أسماء مستعارة عند نشر نتائج هذه الدراسة. وسيتم تخزين البيانات بشكل آمن في ملفات محمية بكلمات مرور على جهاز الكمبيوتر. كما سيتم حفظ الأوراق والملفات التي تحتوي على النصوص المكتوبة للمقابلات في خزانة مغلقة في جامعة غلاسكو. وسأقوم بحذف كافة البيانات الشخصية التي لا تستدعي قوانين جامعة غلاسكو الاحتفاظ بها بعد انتهائي من دراسة الدكتوراه. وسيتم حذف الملفات الإلكترونية باستخدام برامج أمنية مخصصة لهذا الغرض. وسيتم إتلاف كافة الأوراق التي تحتوي على البيانات الشخصية سواء في سجلات الملاحظات الصفية أو المقابلات المفترضة، وذلك باستخدام آلات تمزيق الورق. وستتم إتاحة بيانات هذا البحث أمام الباحثين الآخرين لاستخدامها والاستفادة منها والاستشهاد بها والاقتباس منها بعد انتهائي من دراسة الدكتوراه، وذلك بعد الحرص على إخفاء هوية المشاركين والحفاظ على سرّيتها. ويمكن أن يتم استخدام بيانات البحث لأغراض النشر مستقبلاً، وسيتم الاحتفاظ بها وتخزينها في مكان آمن لاستخدامها في الأبحاث الأكاديمية التي قد يتم إجراؤها لاحقاً. وأود التأكيد على أنه سيتم التقيد التام بالضمانات المتعلقة بالسرية ما لم يتم الكشف عن أية مخالفات أو أضرار محتملة، حيث قد تضطر الجامعة في مثل هذه الحالات إلى الاتصال بالهيئات أو المؤسسات الرسمية والقانونية ذات الصلة.

ماذا سيكون مآل نتائج هذه الدراسة؟

ستمثل نتائج هذه الدراسة التي سيتم استقاؤها من تحليل بيانات البحث التي قدمها المشاركون جزءاً أساسياً من أطروحتي لنيل درجة الدكتوراه. وأمل أن تساهم هذه النتائج في فهم وتطوير الواقع التعليمي لللاجئين السوريين في المدارس السورية في تركيا، وذلك من خلال تقديم رؤى جديدة حول تعليم اللاجئين السوريين، بحيث تنعكس فوائدها على المعلمين والتلاميذ حاضراً ومستقبلاً. وسأقوم بتزويد المشاركين بملخص حول نتائج البحث في حال رغبتهم بذلك.

المخاطر المحتملة

من المتوقع أن هذه الدراسة لن تسبب أي ضرر أو تشكل أي خطر على المعلمين والمدارس المشاركة فيها، وذلك نظراً لمرعاة إجراءات ومعايير أخلاقيات البحث العلمي المعتمدة في هذا المجال، والحرص على راحة المشاركين وإعطائهم الأولوية القصوى خلال كافة مراحل الدراسة. ويترك للمشاركين حرية اختيار الأسئلة التي يرغبون بالإجابة عنها، كما يمكنهم الانسحاب من البحث في أي مرحلة من مراحل دون إبداء أية أسباب.

مراجعة البحث وتدقيقه:

تتمت مراجعة هذا البحث وتدقيقه من قبل لجنة أخلاقيات البحث العلمي في كلية العلوم الاجتماعية. ويتم إجراؤه تحت إشراف كل من: أ.د. ميشيل شوايسفيرث، أ.د. أليسون فيبس.

أ.د. ميشيل شوايسفيرث

هاتف: 0044 141 330 4445

أ.د. أليسون فيبس

هاتف: 0044 141 330 5284

البريد الإلكتروني: Michele.Schweisfurth@glasgow.ac.uk البريد الإلكتروني: Alison.Phipps@glasgow.ac.uk

الحصول على مزيد من المعلومات:

لمزيد من المعلومات حول هذه الدراسة، الرجاء التواصل مع الباحثة على عنوان بريدها الإلكتروني التالي:

xxxxxxxxxxxxx: i.sharif.1@research.gla.ac.uk موبايل: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

وفي حال كان لديكم أية مخاوف بشأن عملية سير هذا المشروع البحثي، يرجى التواصل مع الدكتور موير هيوستن في لجنة أخلاقيات البحث العلمي في كلية العلوم الاجتماعية، وذلك على عنوان البريد الإلكتروني التالي: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

شكراً جزيلاً لكم على وقتكم الثمين وقبولكم النظر في دعوتي للمشاركة في هذا البحث

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Consent Form

Title of Project: Urban Syrian Refugee Schools in Turkey: Needs and Approaches

Name of Researcher: Iman Sharif

Name of Supervisors: Professor Michele Schweisfurth & Professor Alison Phipps

- I confirm that I have read and understood the 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 understand that no one will be judging my practices and beliefs.
- I agree to take part in interviews and I give permission for the interviews to be audio-recorded.
- I understand that all names and other material likely to identify individuals will be anonymised.
- I understand that the anonymised data will be made openly available.
- I understand that the material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
- I understand that the material will be retained in secure storage for use in future academic research
- I understand that the material may be used in future publications, both print and online.
- I agree to waive my copyright to any data collected as part of this project.
- I agree that the data collected in the course of this research will be shared with other genuine researchers as set out in the Participant Information Sheet.

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: Iman Sharif Signature

Date 17/10/2016

نموذج الموافقة على المشاركة في البحث

عنوان البحث: مدارس اللاجئين السوريين في المدن التركية: الاحتياجات وطرائق التدريس

اسم الباحثة: ايمان شريف

الأساتذة المشرفون على البحث: أ.د. ميشيل شوايسفيرث. أ.د. أليسون فيبس

- أقر وأؤكد بأنني قد قرأت وفهمت مضمون نموذج المعلومات الخاصة بالمشاركين في البحث المذكور أعلاه، كما أنه قد أتاحت لي الفرصة لطرح أية أسئلة أو استفسارات لدي على الباحث.
- مشاركتي في هذا البحث طوعية ويمكنني الانسحاب منه في أي مرحلة من مراحله دون إبداء أية أسباب.
- لن يقوم أي شخص بإطلاق الأحكام على ممارساتي التعليمية وقناعاتي ومعتقداتي أو تقييمها.
- أوافق على المشاركة في المقابلات وتسجيلها صوتياً.
- سيتم الحفاظ على سرية كافة الأسماء والمواد والمعلومات التي من المحتمل أن تؤدي إلى كشف هوية المشاركين.
- سيتم إتاحة البيانات بصورة علنية بعد الحرص على إخفاء هوية المشاركين والحفاظ على سريتها.
- سيتم التعامل مع المواد والمعلومات الشخصية بسرية وتخزينها في مكان آمن على الدوام.
- سيتم الاحتفاظ بالمواد والمعلومات وتخزينها في مكان آمن لاستخدامها في الأبحاث الأكاديمية التي قد يتم إجراؤها مستقبلاً.
- يمكن أن يتم استخدام المواد والمعلومات للنشر مستقبلاً سواء على شبكة الإنترنت أو ضمن إصدارات مطبوعة.
- أوافق على التنازل عن حقوقي في التأليف والنشر المتعلقة بأية بيانات يتم جمعها في إطار هذا المشروع البحثي.
- أوافق على أن البيانات التي يتم جمعها في إطار هذا البحث ستتم مشاركتها مع باحثين آخرين كما هو موضح في نموذج "المعلومات الخاصة بالمشاركين في البحث".

☐

أوافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة البحثية

☐

لا أوافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة البحثية

اسم المشارك/المشاركة: التوقيع:

.....

التاريخ:

..... التوقيع:

اسم الباحثة: ايمان شريف

التاريخ: 17/10/2016

Appendix 4: Information for Children and Parents

Dear children and parents,

I'd like to inform you that the class on will be observed online using Skype for research purposes. I am conducting this research study which sheds light on Syrian refugee education at Urban Syrian schools in Turkey as part of the requirements of my degree in Education. The purpose of the study is to investigate teachers' current practices at Syrian schools and how far teachers have changed their practices in the new context to meet refugee students' emerging needs. The overall aim is to explore from teachers' point of view the pedagogy which is appropriate for teaching Syrian refugees in Syrian schools in Turkey and prepare them for returning to a new Syria. The online observation won't be recorded. If you or your child are unhappy to appear on the camera, please inform the teacher so that special seating arrangement will be made for you. If you have any concerns or wish to have further information, you may contact me by email at (i.sharif.1@research.gla.ac.uk)

Regards,

Iman Sharif
PhD Candidate in Education
College of Social Sciences
University of Glasgow
St. Andrew's Building. 11 Eldon Street, Glasgow. G3 6NH

معلومات للأهالي والأطفال

الأهالي و الأطفال الكرام:
أود اعلامكم بأنني سأقوم بمشاهدة الصف في يوم عبر سكايب لأهداف بحثية. حيث أنه اجري بحثا عن واقع تعليم السوريين في المدارس السورية في تركيا من أجل الحصول على درجة الدكتوراه. يهدف البحث إلى التعرف على طرائق التعليم في المدارس السورية وفهم مدى التغيير الذي طرأ على اساليب التعليم من أجل تحقيق احتياجات الطلاب الجديدة في مكان تواجدهم الحالي. الهدف الكلي هو فهم من وجهة نظر المعلمين والمعلمات أنسب طرائق لتعليم اللاجئين السوريين في تركيا وتحضيرهم للعودة إلى سورية الجديدة. ان كنت وطفلك لاترغب بأن يظهر امام الكاميرا أرجوإبلاغ معلم او معلمة الصف لنضع طفلك في مكان مناسب بعيدا عن الكاميرا. إن كان لديكم اي استفسارات أرجو التواصل معي عبر الايميل:

(i.sharif.1@research.gla.ac.uk)

مع فائق الاحترام والتقدير

إيمان شريف

طالبة دكتوراه

كلية العلوم الانسانية

جامعة غلاسكو

بناء سنت اندروز, 11 شارع الدون, غلاسكو. G3 6NH

Appendix 5: Observation Proforma

Observation Proforma

Researcher: Iman Sharif

School:

Teacher Observed:

Class:

Subject:

Number of Pupils: boys (.....) / girls (.....)

Class Layout and Teacher's Position:

Observation Notes:

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Appendix 6: Interview Questions for Teachers

- Would you please tell me about the training you had before you started teaching here in Turkey?
- How do you usually plan your lesson, choose your teaching methods and evaluate the success of the methods you choose?
- How does teaching a typical class look like in your school now? Describe a typical day in class.
- What do you remember about teaching a typical class in Syria before the war?
- How has moving to Turkey affected the way you teach Syrian children? What are you still doing the same in your class and what are you doing differently? Please explain why.
- How do you feel about making changes in your pedagogy in the new context? Is pedagogical change good at this time? Why or why not? If you have already changed your pedagogy after moving to Turkey, please tell me about this experience in detail.
- UN agencies advocate learner-centred education (LCE) in refugee situations. It is believed that LCE can facilitate psychosocial healing. What are your thoughts about using LCE in your context now? Does LCE capture what is fundamental about good teaching and can it develop Syrian education? Why or why not?
- Do you think Syrian children are equipped to respond to LCE? Please provide some details.
- What facilitates applying LCE in the Syrian class? What hinders its implementation?
- If you are already applying LCE, describe a typical class and explain how you and your pupils feel about it.
- In your opinion, what is the most appropriate pedagogy for teaching Syrian refugees? Would you please provide some details explaining why?

قائمة بأبرز الأسئلة التي سيتم طرحها على المشاركين في المقابلات

- هل خضعت لأية برامج تدريبية قبل البدء بالتدريس هنا في تركيا؟
- كيف تقوم عادةً بالتخطيط للحصة الدراسية واختيار طرق التدريس وتقييم مدى نجاح الأساليب التي تختارها؟
- هل لك أن تصف لي سير إحدى حصصك الدراسية الاعتيادية حالياً؟
- هل لك أن تصف لي كيفية سير إحدى حصصك الدراسية في سوريا قبل الحرب؟
- هل ساهم الانتقال للعيش في تركيا بالتأثير على الطرق والأساليب التي تعتمدوها في تدريس الأطفال السوريين؟ إلى أي مدى؟ حدثني عن الأساليب التي استمررت بالاعتماد عليها في صفك حالياً. وما هي الأساليب التي قمت بتعديلها وتغييرها؟ الرجاء توضيح الأسباب التي دفعتك للقيام بذلك.
- يعتقد بعض المتخصصين في طرائق التدريس (التربويين) أن تدريس المواد التعليمية المألوفة واعتماد طرائق التدريس التي اعتاد عليها المدرسون والطلبة سابقاً يعطيهم الشعور بالأمن والطمأنينة. ما رأيك في إجراء بعض التغييرات على طرائق التدريس التي تعتمدوها بالنظر إلى هذه الظروف والبيئة الجديدة؟ وهل تعتقد أن القيام بهذا النوع من التغيير هو خيار مناسب في الوقت الحالي، ولماذا؟ إذا كنت قد قمت بتغيير طرائق التدريس التي كنت تعتمدوها سابقاً بعد انتقالك للتدريس في تركيا، أرجو أن تحدثني عن هذه التجربة بالتفصيل.
- تدعو الوكالات والهيئات التابعة للأمم المتحدة إلى تعزيز "التعليم الذي يركز على الطالب (لا على المعلم)". ويُعتقد أن أساليب وطرائق التدريس التي تركز على الطالب يمكن أن تساهم في تعزيز عملية التعافي النفسي والاجتماعي لذلك يُنصح باعتمادها لتدريس اللاجئين. ما رأيك في استخدام التعليم الذي يركز على الطالب في البيئة والظروف الحالية؟ هل يمكن أن يحقق اعتماد هذا النهج نتائج جيدة ويساهم في تطوير العملية التعليمية؟ ولماذا؟
- هل تعتقد أن الأطفال السوريين مستعدّين للاستجابة والتفاعل مع "التعليم الذي يركز على الطالب"؟ هل يمثل اعتماد هذا النهج الخيار الأفضل لتعليم اللاجئين السوريين الذين قد يكونوا تعرّضوا للإصابات والصدمات النفسية؟ الرجاء توضيح الإجابة بالتفصيل.
- ما هي العوامل التي تساهم في تسهيل اعتماد أسلوب "التعليم الذي يركز على الطالب" في المدارس السورية في تركيا؟ وما الذي يمكن أن يساهم في إعاقة ذلك وعرقلة تطبيقه؟
- إذا كنت من المعلمين الذي يعتمدون حالياً أسلوب "التعليم الذي يركز على الطالب"، يرجى وصف سير إحدى حصصك الدراسية وما هو شعورك وشعور الطلبة حيال هذا النوع من التعليم؟
- ما هي برأيك أكثر الطرائق والأساليب ملائمةً لتدريس اللاجئين السوريين؟ يرجى شرح الأسباب بالتفصيل.

Appendix 7: Interview Questions for the Social Media Officer

- Would you please tell me about your role in the school?
- How are you doing your work? Describe a typical day.
- Tell me about your feelings when entering classes to do your work.
- Describe students and teachers' feelings towards the work you do?
- What is parents' response to the work you do?
- Is it common in Syrian schools to have a social media officer entering classes on a usual basis?
- What is the impact of having a social media officer in the school?
- What is the importance of using technology in teaching and learning?

قائمة بأبرز الأسئلة التي سيتم طرحها على المصوّر في المدرسة

- هل لك أن تزودني بمعلومات حول عملك في المدرسة ؟
- كيف تقوم بعملك؟ هل لك أن تصف لي يوم من أيام عملك الاعتيادية في المدرسة؟
- ما هو شعورك أثناء دخولك الصفوف التعليمية للقيام بعملك؟
- هل لك أن تصف شعور الطلاب والمعلمين أثناء القيام في عملك بالمدرسة؟
- ما هي ردة فعل الأهالي حيال ما تقوم به؟
- هل وجود مصوّر في المدرسة يدخل الصفوف المدرسية بشكل شبه يومي هو نشاط مألوف في المدارس السورية؟
- ما هي النتائج المرجوة من وجود مصور محترف في المدرسة؟
- ما أهمية إستعمال التكنولوجيا في التعلّم والتعليم؟

Appendix 8: Interview Questions for Administrative Staff

- Would you please tell me some background information about your school?
- Can you describe a normal working day?
- To what extent do you engage in forward planning in the context of change?
- What are the criteria of employing teachers?
- Tell me about the training you provide for teachers. When do you usually provide training?
- How do you support your teachers?
- What are the facilities and resources available in your school? Who do you get your resources from?
- What pedagogies do you encourage at your school?
- What are the basis of selecting your curricula and teaching pedagogy/pedagogies?
- How do you evaluate the effectiveness of teaching pedagogy?
- How do you feel about introducing pedagogical change?
- What are the difficulties of teaching Syrian refugees in Turkey? How do you respond to these difficulties?
- Who are the important groups you work with which provide a network of support?
- What are the reasons for employing a social media officer at your school?
- Are there any aspects in my research your teachers are interested in and would like to know about?

قائمة بأبرز الأسئلة التي سيتم طرحها على المشاركين الإداريين في المقابلات

- هل لك أن تزودني بمعلومات حول المدرسة ونشأتها؟
- هل لك أن تصف لي يوم من أيام عملك الاعتيادية في المدرسة؟
- إلى أي مدى يمكنكم التخطيط المستقبلي لمواكبة التغييرات التي تطرأ على تعليم السوريين في تركيا؟
- ما هي المعايير التي تعتمدونها في توظيف المعلمين في مدرستكم؟
- ما نوع البرامج التدريبية التي توفرها المدرسة للمدرسين ومتى تقدم إن وجدت؟
- لاحظت أن المعلمين يتمتعون بمستوى عال من الثقة ما هي طبيعة الدعم الذي تقدمونه للمعلمين ليصلوا إلى هذا المستوى؟
- ما هي المرافق والتجهيزات التعليمية والفنية الموجودة في المدرسة؟
- ما هي الوسائل التعليمية الإيضاحية الموجودة في المدرسة؟ ومن أين تحصلون عليها؟
- ما هي الطرائق التدريسية التي تشجع إدارة المدرسة المعلمين على استخدامها؟
- ما هي المعايير المعتمدة لانتقاء المنهاج والطرائق التدريسية؟
- كيف تتم عملية تقييم فعالية الطرائق التدريسية المتبعة في مدرستكم؟
- ما رأيك بالبداية بإدخال بعض التغييرات على طرائق التدريس المتبعة في مدرستكم؟
- ما طبيعة الصعوبات التي تواجهونها في تعليم السوريين في تركيا؟ وكيف تواجهونها؟
- ما هي الجهات التي تستمد منها المدرسة القوة والدعم؟
- ما هي الأسباب التي دعتكم لتعيين مصور محترف في المدرسة؟
- هل لاحظتم وجود اهتمام أو رغبة لدى المعلمين في مدرستكم بمعرفة المزيد عن أي جانب من جوانب البحث الذي أجريه؟