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TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN (POST)CRISIS KATANGA PROVINCE, SOUTHEASTERN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: A CASE STUDY OF TEACHER LEARNING CIRCLES

A Dissertation Presented

by

PAUL ST. JOHN FRISOLI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 2014

Department of Education Policy, Research and Administration College of Education

TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN (POST)CRISIS KATANGA PROVINCE, SOUTHEASTERN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: A CASE STUDY OF TEACHER LEARNING CIRCLES

A Dissertation Presented

by

PAUL ST. JOHN FRISOLI

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College of Education

DEDICATION

To all the teachers who work in difficult and challenging situations. Your efforts and sacrifices may never truly be understood, but I hope that this study helps to share a mere sliver of your voices, including all that you do to help your students learn how to read as well as cope with trauma.

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This piece of work would not have been possible without the participation of the 26 teachers and the five Head Teachers in the five schools where the study was conducted in Katanga province in southeastern DRC. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. I hope that the insights provided below reflect your voices as well as help higher-level education stakeholders understand just how unique each teacher, Head Teacher, and school is. Access and support would not have been possible without the consent of the Ministry of Primary, Secondary, and Post-Primary Education (MEPSP) in the DRC. I am grateful for MEPSP approval from the national, regional, provincial, division, and sub-division levels. I hope that the findings presented below can help inform the work of the MEPSP so that teachers feel able and have the resources they need in order to teach effectively.

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ABSTRACT

TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN (POST)CRISIS KATANGA PROVINCE, SOUTHEASTERN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: A CASE STUDY OF TEACHER LEARNING CIRCLES

MAY 2014

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Teachers in (post)crisis contexts face an array of de-motivating factors such as insecurity, lack of pay, difficult working conditions, minimal leadership, and feeling undervalued (Johnson, 2006; OECD, 2009; Shriberg, 2007). To bolster their motivation and support their teaching, teachers in these settings need a forum where they feel valued as professionals (Asimeng-Boahene, 2003; Bennel & Akyeampong; Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). One model of teacher professional development (TPD) known as "Teacher Learning Circles"(TLCs) is currently being implemented in Katanga province in southeastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) for early grade reading teachers. TLCs strive to help teachers adopt innovative teaching techniques and create supportive environments. This study examines teachers' perspectives, using a "crystallized qualitative case study" approach, how these TLCs operate in varied (post)crisis contexts in the DRC where teachers describe their experiences with content, instructional practices

and teacher-community support structures of the TLCs (Ellingson, 2008; Rappleye, 2006).

Three major themes arose from the data; Motivating factors for teachers to remain in the profession; the school environment factors that impacted teachers day-to-day; and TLC elements related to technical, social, and emotional collegial assistance. By examining these themes across five schools, the TLCs fell into three specific categories: well-functioning TLCs (wTLCs), struggling community-school TLCs (sTLCs), and conflict-impacted sTLCs. Overall findings suggest that, in wTLCs, communities are more stable, teachers effectively manage challenging working conditions, view themselves as professionals, are supported by their communities, participate in an encouraging school community that is fostered by the Head Teacher (HT), and regularly participate in sustained TLCs. Overall, wTLC teachers are able to adapt and translate what they learn in the TLCs into their classrooms. sTLCs appear to be located in two types of contexts, one indirectly impacted by conflict and another that actively experienced consequences of conflict. In both communities, teachers may not be able to overcome feeling overwhelmed and undervalued. In these schools, working conditions appear to be extreme, where teachers' physical, social and emotional needs are not met. The study suggests future avenues of TPD research, which include studies that examine culturally relevant forms of TPD in times of crisis and trauma.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

With the "Education For All" (EFA) deadline of 2015 quickly approaching as of this writing, it becomes more evident that governments, local groups and nongovernmental organizations have not been able to achieve its high goals, especially for quality basic primary school education (UNESCO, 2012; UNESCO, 2011). Teachers and teacher educators are not surprised, as many education reform movements have created scenarios that have increased teacher workloads while not providing necessary tools and resources to achieve EFA quality standards (Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007; Guajardo, 2011; VSO, 2002; UNESCO, 2012; & UNESCO, 2011). Current literature on teachers in low-resource contexts highlights the inability of teachers to implement the globallyrecognized instructional practices learned in numerous teacher professional development (TPD) sessions. However, education reform, TPD, and teacher practice present a more complicated picture than one that simply blames teachers for their failure to change. Teachers in low-resource contexts face challenging and often overwhelming classroom situations that must be better understood in order to be able to suggest professional development solutions for the future. The picture is even more complex when considering professional development for teachers who live in (post)crisis situations.

Within the context of global education reform and teacher professional development (TPD), this dissertation maps out the nuances of, and barriers to, teacher change and TPD in a (post)crisis context. It does so through a qualitative case study

illustrating the direct experiences and perceptions of a TPD model in which they participated. It highlights various characteristics that favor the functioning of TPD, such as context, teacher participation, and supportive community building. Chapter 1 articulates problems associated with specific communities and their contexts in the primary site of the study, Katanga province in southeastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It also presents the purpose of this study and its main research questions. Chapter 2 outlines theoretical constructs and salient findings. These demonstrate a need to better understand TPD in (post)crisis environments, especially from the perspective of teachers. Chapter 3 outlines the tools, research methodology, data collection, and analysis implemented for the study. Chapters 4 through 8 present the context-specific findings relevant to the local community and DRC based on pre-determined and emergent themes. These provide new insights and approaches for understanding teacher realities and TPD experiences in the (post)crisis environments of the DRC.

In this chapter, I discuss challenging factors for teachers in low-resourced contexts. I highlight how teachers in (post)crisis contexts share similar scenarios, but also demonstrate how crisis contexts are unique in how they can impact the social, emotional and physical wellness of teachers. Next, I examine how certain types of TPD opportunities can theoretically benefit teachers in (post)crisis situations by helping to bolster their knowledge, skills, and wellness. I demonstrate problems that teachers in (post)crisis contexts face as well as potential solutions to help mitigate some of their context-specific difficulties. Potential solutions advanced are based on principles and best practices from the field of education in emergencies. At the end of this chapter I provide the rationale for this dissertation's in-depth case study of a TPD program currently being

implemented in (post)crisis DRC. This kind of study could give us more information related to teachers lived experiences of TPD in various (post)crisis scenarios.

Problem: Teacher Realities in Low-Resource Contexts

Teachers face multiple layers of challenges in low-resource contexts. Within the policy of "Universal Primary Education" (UPE) (Avalos, 2011; INEE, 2010; OECD, 2009; & Oplatka, 2007), they are expected to implement transformative education reform with new pedagogical methods and ways of interacting with students. Teachers are trained to implement new curricula and instructional practices in large class sizes with limited materials and support (Bennell & Akyeamopong, 2007; VSO, 2002). Within the last decade, reports on teacher job satisfaction and motivation show grim prospects for improving negative attitudes of teachers (Bennell & Akyeamonong, 2007; Guajardo, 2011; VSO, 2002). In a study of the literature on teacher motivation, Guajardo (2011) identified a variety of different factors that negatively impact teacher desire to teach: increasing workloads; low and infrequent teacher remuneration and incentives; lack of professional recognition and prestige; lack of accountability; minimal opportunities for professional development; unfavorable institutional and working environments; lack of voice and decision-making authority over their work; and insufficient materials and learning facilities. Teachers are asked to work more and learn quickly, but are not being offered incentives, encouragement, resources, or even proper support to do so.

Given the huge challenges that teachers face, it is impressive that teachers continue to remain in the profession. Instead of suggesting that teachers are to blame in education reform, it is time to examine the value that teachers bring to a low-resource

education system and to gain a more nuanced understanding of school-based contexts. Teachers in the developing world are important community members who can perform several critical roles: they can serve as the sole sources of learning, they can play a crucial role in helping societies reach their educational aspirations, and they can be change agents of education reform (VSO, 2002). Dembélé and Schwille (2006) outline how teachers are the most important educators in their community, and thus need to have authority to determine the characteristics of their TPD. Top-down TPD, coupled with the challenges in working conditions, have contributed to the decline of teacher self-esteem and motivation, increased teacher attrition rates, and promoted an unfavorable outlook on the teaching profession (Bennell & Akyeamonong, 2007; Kanu, 2005; UNESCO, 2012; & VSO, 2002). This is troublesome because teacher performance is directly related to their motivation to teach and to try out new techniques (Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Yahampath, 2003; Smith & Gillespie, 2007; Smith et al., 2003). When teachers feel content and motivated in their jobs, they have surpassed the aforementioned extrinsic barriers to teaching (minimal pay, less recognition, weak accountability, poor school management and limited resources) to provide superior education to their students (Guajardo, 2011).

Strategies for motivating teachers in low-resource contexts stress either intrinsic or extrinsic factors. Proponents of intrinsic motivation suggest high levels of support and collaboration lead to higher levels of self-esteem and job motivation (Bennell & Akyeamonong, 2007). Believers of extrinsic motivation posit that all de-motivating factors need to be understood and resolved for teachers to thrive in ideal working conditions (VSO, 2002). However, a mixed approach to teacher motivation that

addresses extrinsic and intrinsic motivators, but emphasizing intrinsic factors, has been considered (Guadardo, 2011). This dissertation focuses on evaluating the benefits of a mixed and balanced motivation approach that places a specific focus on two factors: professional development and teacher voice.

Problem: Teacher Realities in Post(Crisis) Contexts

Teachers in (post)crisis situations share many of the same barriers to teacher motivation, and therefore to improvements in practices, with those in low-resource contexts (Bond, 2010; Johnson, 2006; OECD, 2009; Shriberg, 2007). However, the teaching profession in (post)crisis contexts can differ significantly from that in low-resource settings: teacher education levels and remuneration can be even lower and more inconsistent; teacher support can be less frequent since quality education can be less of a priority; teachers are often last in line for resources and professional development; the school can be a vulnerable target and more insecure; and teachers can inadvertently reproduce trauma that children have faced (Buckland, 2005; INEE, 2010; IRC, 2011; & Mosselson et al., 2009).

Moreover, the most experienced teachers, those with transferable capital to work in more lucrative secondary schools or with humanitarian organizations, often leave (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). Those teachers that have to stay are often uncertified or are community teachers who can be exploited in times of conflict (Penson, 2012). Because of a lack of teachers, at times communities select minimally-educated individuals to serve as primary school teachers. These individuals usually lack confidence in their ability levels, feel self-conscious about their role as teachers, and feel like they are in an

unfavorable and temporary profession (Kirk, 2004, Kirk & Winthrop, 2008, Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). This creates a stressful scenario for teachers. Teachers face the double jeopardy of being in a (post)crisis environment performing a role for which they feel illequipped.

Conflict can also have adverse effects on teacher physical, social and emotional states. The low salaries they receive can jeopardize teacher physical well-being when they cannot afford to nourish and shelter themselves and their families (INEE, 2011; IRC, 2011; Penson, 2012). Teachers in these types of situations are also themselves expected to play the nurturer role and address sensitive conflict-related issues, such as responding to situations involving trauma and emotional problems, for which they have received minimal, if any, training and support (Sommers, 2004; Tomlinson & Benefild, 2005). Thus teachers are seen not only as educators, but as community leaders and nurturers for children in times of crisis (INEE, 2010; IRC, 2011; Kirk, 2004; & Torrente et al., 2012).

Sustained and predictable education can help establish needed psychosocial support to provide children with a sense of normalcy, with an ability to cope with trauma, to recover, to bounce back, and to gain hope for the future (Buckland, 2005; IRC, 2011; Torrente et al., 2012; UNESCO, 2012; & UNESCO, 2011). The concept of psychosocial support for child well-being is not new in the literature on education in emergencies (INEE, 2010; & IRC, 2011). Psychosocial support refers to the provision of opportunities to discuss psychological aspects of experiences (thoughts, emotions, and behaviors) in conjunction with one's wider social experiences involving relationships, traditions and cultures (INEE, 2010; & IRC, 2011). Providing this type of support contributes to well-being, defined as a positive condition of physical, emotional, social,

cognitive and spiritual health (INEE, 2010; & IRC, 2011). Therefore, teachers in crisis-affected areas can provide ad-hoc support to their students so that they can be socially, emotionally, physically, cognitively, and spiritually well.

However, much of the literature on teachers in emergency situations presumes they will both implement curriculum reform and nurture children equally in (post)crisis contexts. Though (post)crisis resolution may seem to resolve one of the de-motivating factors of being a teacher, as indicated in low-resource contexts -feeling valued and appreciated in the community – it also raises questions about the ability to provide appropriate and adequate emotional support to bolster the well-being of children in such contexts. Teachers themselves have psychosocial needs, and their sense of well-being is also impacted by crisis (Asimeng-Boahene, 2003; INEE, 2010 & IRC, 2011). One cannot assume that teachers have innate skills to cope and bounce back from traumatic events while simultaneously providing opportunities for children to do the same. Teachers, especially those who are under-qualified and exhibit outward signs of trauma, also need a forum where they feel supported and able to become "well" as individuals and as teachers (Asimeng-Boahene, 2003; Bennell & Akyeampong; & Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). This study explores how TPD can be used to help teachers feel well, supported, and equipped for the double roles of teacher and nurturer, particularly in challenging and adverse environments that include (post)crisis situations.

Post-Crisis TPD That Helps Bolster Teacher Knowledge, Skill, and Well-Being

In (post)crisis environments TPD can be used as a tool that can help teachers acquire content and instructional knowledge, while also creating a supportive atmosphere

to help them cope with their context-specific, de-motivating challenges (MEPSP, 2012; MEPSP, 2010; INEE, 2010; IRC, 2010). Below I briefly highlight the definition of TPD along with its diverse forms and structures. I examine the perceived benefits of these models and suggest how TPD, and more specifically "Teacher Learning Circles" (TLCs), can be important forums in (post)crisis contexts to learn content, instructional techniques as well as provide social and emotional support to colleagues.

TPD refers to training and preparation that teachers receive after they begin teaching. Overall, the goal of TPD is to increase teacher knowledge, provide skills, and introduce new instructional models for the benefit of student learning (Avalos, 2011; Birman et al., 2000; Smith & Gillespie, 2007). This includes opportunities to improve content knowledge and instruction (Avalos, 2011; Gaible & Burns, 2005; Smith, 2010). TPD can be implemented using a variety of training formats. Traditionally TPD is implemented via workshops, conference sessions, seminars, and lectures delivered in a top-down, cascading model to disseminate information to a large number of teachers (Gaible & Burns, 2005; Smith & Gillespie, 2007). New "reform" TPD, which became popular in the US during the 1990s, employs site-based training where learning occurs in teacher groupings, by school or by school cluster (Avalos, 2011; Gaible & Burns, 2005; Smith & Gillespie, 2007). These job-embedded professional development groupings took the form of teacher groups, study circles, inquiry groups, and practitioner research groups (Smith & Gillespie, 2007; Smith et al, 2003).

The current debate over the most productive form of TPD, discussed in detail in Chapter 2, focuses on site-based TPD, claiming it allows teachers to discuss context-based issues, refine instructional practices, and participate collaboratively in a teacher

community (Gaible & Burns, 2005; Smith & Gomez, 2011; Suda, 2001). Yet research demonstrates that the effectiveness of TPD is not so dependent on the type of TPD. Rather, it highlights providing prolonged training opportunities over a sustained period of time, providing ample space for teachers to work collectively, and inserting jobembedded features, such as active learning, peer learning and collaborative group work (OECD, 2009; Smith et al., 2012). These approaches bring teachers together at the local level to develop a deep understanding of pedagogy and context over extended periods of time. They allow teachers to collaborate in creating teacher-driven components that promote teacher exchange and relationship building (Avalos, 2011; Gaible & Burns, 2005; Smith et al, 2003).

The actual experiences of teachers in post-crisis environments and its impact on TPD has gotten scant attention internationally (INEE, 2010; IRC, 2011; UNESCO, 2012; & UNESCO, 2011). In the field, teacher training usually stops during direct crisis. NGOs pick up training after a crisis as part of their services when governments are unable or unwilling to do so (Buckland, 2005). Most such training takes the form of short, uncoordinated workshops with minimal evidence of impact on teacher practice (Buckland, 2005). This lack of coordination can actually have a negative impact on teachers by providing them with so many different forms of TPD and interventions that they add to teacher time commitments, workload, and overall stress (Mosselson et al, 2010; Tomlinson & Bennefield, 2006). Organizations working in these contexts, like the International Rescue Committee (IRC), Save the Children (SC), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Education Development Center (EDC), UNICEF, War Child Holland, and Research Triangle International (RTI), to name but a few, currently implement

quality education programs using TPD as a cornerstone of their interventions. The impact (positive and adverse) of these interventions in terms of providing the success factors of TPD mentioned above is currently unclear.

The model known as "Teacher Learning Circles" (TLCs), currently being piloted by the International Rescue Committee (IRC), holds promise to help teachers in (post)crisis contexts gain content knowledge, adopt innovative quality teaching techniques, and create suitable conditions for them to feel well in the face of hardship. As implemented by the IRC, TLCs attempt to provide primary school reading teachers important subject-based content knowledge, instructional practices, and enhancements to teacher well-being and motivation (IRC, 2011). In general, TLCs are understood as inservice, school-based study groups where teachers regularly meet to provide support to one another to create a nurturing, collaborative, and collegial action-research environment (Emerson et al, 2010; Johnson & Yahampath, 2003; Suda, 2001; Smith & Gomez, 2010; Smith et al, 2003). The main goals of TLCs are: to create a supportive environment where teachers feel valued and an increased sense of self-worth; to reinforce concepts and new teaching strategies that ensure teacher practices change; and to provide opportunities for collaboration in the face of challenging job obstacles (Emerson et al, 2010; Frazier, 2009; Gaible & Burns, 2005). Conceptually, TLCs provide teachers context-specific training based on teacher needs, and thus could potentially serve community and uncertified teachers who usually teach in times of (post)crisis (Penson, 2012). In this venue, teachers can share and learn content-related strategies. These may include sensitive issues, like instructional practices for the psychosocial well-being of children (IRC, 2011; & Tomlinson & Benefield, 2006). Because TLCs promote

community collaboration and support, they could help teachers impacted socially and emotionally from trauma (IRC, 2011). In improving teacher well-being, this brand of TPD could in turn positively impact the quality of teaching (INEE, 2010).

This dissertation examines teacher perspectives and practices in relation to the model of TLCs in which they participated, and in a specific lower-resource, crisis-impacted context. The next section examines this particular context..

Context

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was an appropriate and timely setting for a small research study that examines TPD in a (post)crisis setting. The Ministry of Primary, Secondary, and Post-Primary Education (MEPSP) recently committed to provide teachers with more in-service TPD opportunities in the form of TLCs. The DRC meanwhile presents many (post)crisis realities, and serves to demonstrate teacher intrinsic and extrinsic motivating factors. I show how crisis has created an complex education system in the DRC within a primordial context that helps us understand the professional experiences of Congolese teachers during TPD endeavors like TLCs in a (post)crisis setting.

The DRC, one of the largest countries in Africa, has a population of 60 million people, the majority of which has been impacted by over three decades of conflict (MEPSP, 2010b). The currently fragile situation in the DRC consists of intermittent pockets of conflict in the eastern provinces of North and South Kivu, sporadic rebel movements in Katanga province in the southeast, and early stages of post-conflict reconstruction and recovery interspersed throughout the post-conflict areas of the country

(Boak, 2009; & Pearson, 2011). While most Congolese live outside the conflict zones and thus have not been directly impacted by the conflict, all have suffered the economic and political consequences of crisis (Stearns, 2011). The war prompted quick fix reforms that seemed to further debilitate the state. As it was, the current regime under President Laurent Kabilia has ruled amidst high inflation, corruption, and general administrative stagnation—the result of mismanagement and incoherent policies (Stearns, 2011).

In terms of the conflict's continued direct and indirect impact on education, the main drivers of are:

i) inadequate education coverage in the East [which] was caused by instability, ii) a high proportion of the national budget spent on security, placing education financial burden on parents, iii) high dependence on private financing creates harmful incentives resulting in continued exclusion and marginalization, iv) a large and unwieldy education civil service together with a complex bureaucratic decentralized structure and v) ongoing violence in the East and border areas and lack of security capacity constrains national stabilization. (Boak, 2009, p.17)

The education system and teacher day-to-day classroom realities reflect the challenges highlight above accompanying teaching within crisis. In the early 2000s, 60% of the DRC's national budget was obliterated due to political and economic instability (MEPSP, 2011). During the most intense years of conflict, between the mid-1990s and the mid-2000s, the school system was abandoned: school infrastructures were destroyed, the government funneled the education budget to defense spending, and teachers received little if any training (Pearson, 2011). In the 1980s, when the Congolese education system was considered one of the premier systems in sub-Saharan Africa, the government dedicated 25% of its budget to education. By contrast, between 1990 and 2000, the MEPSP received a mere 1% of the national budget (MEPSP, 2011).

Due to the disposal of the Congolese education system, communities and parents became the major contributors to education. They contributed over \$400 million a year to pay for teacher salaries and other school operational costs (MEPSP, 2010b; & Pearson, 2011). During the 2010-2011 academic year, parents contributed up to 80% of school fees that paid for teacher salaries and motivating incentives (MEPSP, 2010a). This "salary top-up system," which was temporarily introduced as an interim measure in the 1990s, has now become institutionalized as standard practice. Parents pay school costs that cover not only school-based overheads, but also finance higher levels of the education system, like the provincial, regional, and national MEPSP (De herdt et al., 2010; & Pearson, 2011).

The dedication of parents to education has not waivered even in the face of increases in school fees. This may be due to the realization that education levels are one of the most important determinants of income earning potential (De herdt et al., 2010). School student enrollment has doubled between 1987 and 2007 (De herdt et al., 2010; MEPSP, 2010b, & UNESCO, 2012). Katanga province, in southeastern DRC, is one of three provinces experiencing large enrollment increases. Between 2009 and 2010 there was a 13.7% increase in first grade enrollments (CISE, 2011, p.35). Yet the large enrollment rates have not translated into increased primary school completion rates. Only 26% of all Congolese children who start primary school complete the basic education cycle (MEPSP, 2010b).

Despite the commitment of parents, teaching quality is often sub-par. This is linked to low salaries, irregularly pay, and an unclear picture of promotion and seniority (Mokonzi & Kadongo, 2010). Because of a lack of funding and institutional capacity,

teacher training and advancement opportunities are limited. This helps explain the large number of uncertified teachers in the system (Mokonzi & Kadongo, 2010). The government has not increased teacher recruitment and pre-service training opportunities, which has resulted in large class sizes (CISE, 2011; & MEPSP, 2010b). The percentage of teachers who do not have the necessarily qualifications to be considered "qualified" teachers is 64% (MEPSP, 2010b, p.33). In a study examining African teacher working conditions, the DRC was ranked as the country where teachers are paid the lowest amount in all of Africa (UNESCO, 2012). Teachers report that the teaching profession in the DRC has been losing its prestige and value, and a professional sense of pride is floundering (Mokonzi & Kadongo, 2010). Low completion rates are attributed to poor learning outcomes, which are seen as a result of insufficient in-service training opportunities, de-motivated teachers, insufficient teaching and learning materials, and overall economic hardship (MEPSP, 2010b, p.36; Mokonzi & Kadongo, 2010; & Penson, 2011). These factors raises the questions: How do under-qualified and under-resourced Congolese teachers cope with, and adapt their teaching to, such circumstances? How do they challenge intrinsic and extrinsic de-motivating factors, like larger class sizes and the feeling that they are not valued?

The structure of the education system requires analysis to understand the complexities and difficulties faced by the Congolese MEPSP. Since 1977 primary school education in DRC has been administered and managed by such a variety of actors that it is often unclear where the "state" actually governs (Pearson, 2011). There are four main types of primary schools: State sponsored schools which are financed and managed by state-run inspectorates; state-sponsored religious schools financed by the state but

managed by religious-affiliated inspectorates; community schools that attempt to gain state sponsorship status, but must be financed and managed by communities; and private schools (Boak, 2005; De hert et al., 2010; & Pearson, 2011). Over 70% of the schools are religious state-sponsored, so there are more religious education inspectorates than state-run inspectorates throughout the country (De herdt et al., 2010). Religious schools hire teachers, mobilize community resources, and build education infrastructure. They also have their own inspection service, which creates a scenario where the state is unable to impose its own regulations and interventions on schools (De herdt et al., 2010). In a sense, there are multiple parallel primary school education systems, which makes teacher remuneration and qualification systems much more complex to reform and administer.

In the last three years, the MEPSP, in partnership with the International Rescue Committee (IRC), has clearly articulated its strategy for helping to bolster teacher qualifications, competencies, and sense of professional self-worth. The National In-Service Training Institute (SERNAFOR) has adopted TLCs as the professional development format for primary school teachers in North Kivu, South Kivu, and Katanga provinces. MEPSP (2010a) acknowledges that:

The learning circle is a space for exchanging information, for (self) professional development and (self) assessment that aims to reinforce teachers' pedagogical competencies. It's a space to share experiences and to reflect on solutions based on classroom difficulties. (p.4)

The goals of the Congolese TLCs ask its members to exchange experiences, motivate one another, collaborate together, and create a supportive and valuable professional environment where teachers feel an increased sense of professional pride (IRC 2010; MEPSP, 2012; & MEPSP, 2010a). Within the context of a parallel education system, as well as during a time of sporadic conflict, it is unclear how this state-recognized and

promoted initiative will be accepted by religious-sponsored schools and by communities who hold the bulk of the financial management responsibilities of schools.

In principle, as previously discussed, TLCs should create job-embedded opportunities for teachers to gain content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and create a teacher-community within schools. In time they help bolster their intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Given their unique context faced by these provinces, it is unclear of how TLCs are received by teachers. Given, for example, the low salaries and erratic payments, do teachers see TLCs as a beneficial forum to gain skills and potentially gain certification and status? Do they contribute to a sense of teacher professionalization and prestige? Are TLCs perceived as another outside intervention that increases workloads and teacher time commitments for their jobs? These are all questions that this dissertation attempts to uncover, given the context and history of the DRC education system.

Purpose of the Study

This study makes contributions to the field of education in emergencies by providing salient and descriptive details of teaching within a comprehensive TPD program in a (post)crisis context. Little rigorous evidence has yet to come from this field, where practitioners are guided by ad hoc accounts and borrowing of evidence from low-resource contexts (Burde, 2012; INEE, 2011; & Mosselson et al., 2009). This dissertation provides empirical insight into Congolese teacher experiences in the TLCs, especially in terms of their content knowledge, instructional skills, views of their professional environments, and sense of teacher-community. The study findings also provide a rigorous understanding of how these TLCs function and how TLC concepts are adapted.

It also provides recommendations for future TLC projects in similar (post)crisis contexts.

Of equal importance, this study offers a space for understanding the complexities,

detrimental elements and challenging aspects faced by Congolese teachers given a variety

of crisis-impacted settings.

Research Questions

To state specifically the overarching research question which guides the literature review, methodology and research process:

 In (post)crisis Katanga province, in southeastern DRC, what are teachers' experiences of TLCs?

This question will be answered in a range of different TLC (post)crisis contexts in the DRC by diving into the following sub-questions:

- According to Congolese teachers, what are the *advantages* of the content, instructional practices, and teacher-community support components of TLCs?
- 2) According to Congolese teachers, what are the *challenges* of the content, instructional practices, and teacher-community support components of TLCs?
- 3) How do Congolese teachers *use and adapt* content, instructional practices and teacher-community support concepts in, and outside of, their TLCs?

These questions lead to important detailed account of focal aspects of TLCs, shed light on the overall educational climate surrounding TLCs and help to gauge their function as a supportive teacher-community within the context of the Congolese (post)crisis environment.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 2

This chapter addresses theory and research that has been conducted around TPD and further hypothesizes the benefits of TLCs for (post)crisis contexts, as in the case of the DRC. My research project draws from three theoretical areas. First, I draw from the theoretical underpinnings of TLCs, including Vygotsky's (1978) "Social Development Theory," Bruner's (1960) "Socio-Constructivist Learning Theory" and Wegner's (1998) "Communities of Practice." Second, to examine teacher challenges in (post)crisis contexts, I draw from cognitive psychology by using Bandura's concept of "Social Cognitive Theory" where I posit that teacher well-being is directly related to their feelings of self-worth and their belief in their abilities, also known as self-efficacy (Bandura, 1994). Finally, I draw upon the comparative education concept of "borrowing" and "transferring" (Rappleye, 2006) to serve as a tool to answer my research questions from a non-Western lens. This provides a tertiary lens to unpeel the Western "social" and "psychological" meta-narratives found within the underlying assumptions of TLCs and teacher well-being. Theory related to alternative concepts of trauma is used to tell a more holistic story from teacher perspectives in order to re-envision how well-being and conflict can be linked (Hernández-Wolfe, 2010). The research starts with a provisional assumption that TLCs appear to be a conceptually correct form of TPD that teachers in (post)crisis Katanga province in southeastern DRC can benefit from in order to bounce back, teach effectively and aide children in their own recovery.

Chapter 3

The methodology and procedures used to gather data for my study are presented in Chapter 3. This research project was conducted with a team of Congolese counterparts in Katanga province in southeastern DRC where the International Rescue Committee (IRC) is currently implementing TLCs in collaboration with the MEPSP. My research site involves teachers who are currently participating in TLCs with the goals outlined above, including: bolstering their content knowledge and instructional practices in early grade reading, and using well-being approaches to foster supportive and collaborative teacher environments (IRC, 2011; IRC 2010; MEPSP, 2012; & MEPSP, 2010a). Five different schools participated in the study, which involved 26 teachers and five Head Teachers. In order to collect descriptive data about, and experiential data directly from, the teachers involved in TLCs, the research focused on qualitative methods using a crystallized case-study approach. Crystallization is the process of using multiple lenses and examining from multiple vantage points in order to present different and alterative understandings and interpretations (Ellingson, 2008). Case study research helps to better understand both individual lived experiences and the context (Merriam, 1998; & Yin, 2009). The study used the following methods in order to crystallize collected data: TLC session observations, in-depth semi-structured teacher interviews; classroom observations, artifact collection, teacher focus groups, and researcher focus-group data analysis sessions.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 presents context-related findings for each school, which I coin as "school profiles." These help to capture the wide range of variation in relevant school community characteristics. The five schools that participated in the study varied by size, location, socio-economic level, teacher experience, and community support structures. Variation in teachers included the variety in their different backgrounds, different amounts of teaching experiences, multiple views and opinions of TLCs, differing well-being and motivating factors, and their actual use of TLCs. I map out this variation by presenting different characteristics of each of the five schools. These characteristics become important elements to consider and revisit throughout the following chapters of this study.

Chapters 5, 6, 7

In Chapters 5, 6, and 7 I present findings per theme and sub-theme that arose from the data. The themes provide nuanced responses to the research questions. Regardless of the type of TLC, in each school three major themes emerged from the data. This is true across each data instrument, whether in teacher interviews, focus groups, classroom observations, or TLC observations. The themes relate to teacher experiences in the TLCs and are labeled as: Motivating factors of being a teacher; school environment factors that influence teachers; and the characteristics of a functioning TLC. I label the first two themes as "1st order themes" because the majority of the data were coded under these different topics. By this I am not suggesting that the "2nd level theme" is of any less

importance; however, I do believe that the 1st level themes seem to influence the 2nd level ones, especially when taking the school profiles into consideration.

In Chapter 5, I address the first theme, which refers to the drive of teachers to do their jobs and participate in TPD programs like TLCs. In Chapter 6, I present the school environment theme, which examines the different human resource influences that play a role in the daily lives of teachers at school and in TPD. Chapter 7 describes TLC characteristics for each school, including frequency of meetings, teacher opinions of TLCs, and the influence of teachers on one another inside and out of the TLCs. During the presentation of findings in all three chapters, I discuss linkages to the TPD literature and theoretical perspectives presented in Chapter 2, which include self-efficacy and community of practice elements.

Chapter 8

In this concluding chapter, I provide a final analysis that synthesizes findings according to school profiles. Chapter 4 provided a snapshot of important school-context elements. In Chapters 5 through 7, I indicated major findings across themes and subthemes which I then linked to TPD literature and theoretical constructs. In the conclusion, I make claims that map how the different school-context elements may be used to explain the "how" and "why" of findings found per school community and theme. I do this by telling an integrated story for each TLC case, on that explicitly bridges context, themes, and theory. I then move to a more general discussion of how these context-specific findings contribute substantially to the field of education in emergencies, and to the general field of TPD. This leads into a discussion of future areas of research,

such as broadening studies to different crisis-related contexts, as well as to different forms of TPD. I posit that this study has helped to spark future research on TPD, one that concentrates on teacher effectiveness while creating a valuable space for teacher voices and detailed contexts to remain at the forefront.

CHAPTER 2

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TPD AND TLCs

The overarching assumption for teachers in (post)crisis situations is that TPD in the form of TLCs is an appropriate model for learning content and instructional knowledge and creating a professionally, socially and emotionally supportive teacher-community environment. In this chapter I assess theoretical frameworks that support these claims. I reference social learning theories in education, cognitive psychology, and comparative education. These support the claim that TLCs are conceptually sound venues to promote teacher well-being. However, I concur with comparative education theories that our understanding of how this happens will become clearer by applying more analytical tools that take context, culture and participant insights into account. Next, with relevant research in TPD and TLCs, I highlight those theoretical lenses that seem most effective for sparking change in teacher practice. I end the chapter with a more in-depth account of TPD findings and possibilities in (post)crisis environments. This includes a discussion about the impact of trauma and conflict on teachers.

Theoretical Framework

The underlying assumption of this research project is that when teachers feel good about themselves and are motivated, they are more apt to apply content knowledge, change instructional practices, and support one another's well-being. This important assumption sets the scope for the theoretical framework that I map out using social development theory, social cognitive theory and issues in comparative education. As

stated in previous research, understanding intrinsic teacher motivators (such as their desire to learn, the ability to have their voices heard as valued professionals, etc) is of important for sparking teacher change (Bennell & Akyeamonong, Guajardo, 2011; VSO, 2002). As social beings that require positive social interaction to learn and thrive in communities, individuals are intrinsically motivated when they are part of, and are accountable to, the learning community in which they participate (Vygotsky, 1978; Bruner, 1971; Bandura, 1994; Wenger, 1998). Intrinsic motivation is a result of having a positive sense of confidence and self-worth in the ability to perform and achieve self-targeted goals (Bandura, 1994). Communities that share a common goal not only serve to increase positive feelings of individual self worth and ability, they also act as supportive environments to experiment, collaborate and grow (Wenger, 1998). This has been the case for TPD communities in high, medium and low-resource contexts. But using an extra lens from comparative education helps us understand if this is an appropriate conceptual logic for looking at TPD, and more specifically TLCs in contexts impacted by crisis.

Learning is Social

The overarching theoretical umbrella of this dissertation is grounded in Vygotsky's (1978) "Social Development Theory" which states that social interaction is the cornerstone of any type of cognitive development. Learning does not happen in a passive manner, where a student ingests what a teacher says in front of a class. On the contrary, human learning assumes a social component where individuals, the environment and culture affect and shape our cognitive development (Vygotsky, 1978).

According to Vygotsky (1978), all individuals play an important role in what we learn, and especially "the more knowledgeable other[s]" who are individuals that have mastered the understanding of a concept. This could be an adult, a teacher, a peer, or a child. We learn from individuals on a daily basis and we must be cognizant of the importance of other people to help us learn.

This concept integrates with Bruner's (1960) "The Process of Education" which lays the foundations for socio-constructivist learning via a cognitive psychology approach. Brunner (1960) views individuals as key agents in their learning and as problem-solvers and explorers in the meaning-making process. Yet meaning making acts are both collective and individual. We learn best by engaging in conversation, sharing our views and our uncertainties (Bruner, 2005). Learning and performing is a social process that also requires individually processing.

In order to facilitate learning as exploration, teaching and learning structures need to promote conversation and sharing instead of memorization (Bruner, 1960). There also needs to be a "spiral curriculum" set in place where ideas and concepts are introduced in a scaffolded manner in order to visit and revisit concepts for comprehension and mastery (Bruner, 1960, p.13). Individuals then construct their own knowledge and practice by discovery, reflection and problem solving (Bruner, 1960). And finally, Bruner (1960) posits that this process must be done in an interesting and pertinent manner for individuals so that they have the desire and the motivation to learn.

This model is very similar to Vygotsky's (1978) "zone of proximal development" which explains the necessity to meet learners at their own levels in order to progress to newer and more complex stages. Vygotsky (1978) also acknowledges the importance of

social interaction in this process, where the "more knowledgeable other" helps and assists a learner to the next scaffolded level. To summarize, in order for teachers to learn and perform new practices it is important to favor social interactions, share reflections and uncertainties, encourage everyone to be the "more knowledgeable other," start at the level of the learners, and progressively scaffold concepts and competencies.

Bruner (1971) uses the "revolutionary cell" metaphor effectively to describe the communal learning process:

A community is a powerful force for effective learning. Students, when encouraged, are tremendously helpful to each other. They are like a cell, a revolutionary cell. It is the cell in which mutual learning and instruction can occur, a unit within a classroom with its own sense of compassion and responsibility for its members. (p.21)

Bruner emphasizes the concepts of compassion and responsibility for group members.

Learning is not about a competition but more of a group process to achieve together.

This brings forth the concept of developing a community environment for the formation of learning groups.

If learning is a social activity, then there needs to be a focus on how individuals, such a teachers, can best work together in order to learn and grow. Learning communities can be classrooms of students, sports teams, interests groups, and even traditional and reform types of TPD. Communities can be intentional or unintentional. They can meet in a same physical setting or in a virtual environment. Wenger (1998) coins learning groups as "communities of practice" and explains that,

As people pursue any shared enterprise over time – working, living, playing together – they develop a common practice, that is, shared ways of doing things and relating to one another that allow them to achieve their joint purpose. Over time, the resulting practice becomes a recognizable bond among those involved. (Wenger, 1998, p.24)

In practical terms, social learning groups are communities of practice that share a common goal, create a common bond and relationships, and work together over a sustained period of time towards achieving the goal. Communities of practice involve acts of sharing experience and knowledge as "more knowledgeable others" and the acquisition of new tools and knowledge via interaction (Wenger, 2000; Wenger & Snyder, 2000). The offer advantages like quick group problem solving, the sharing of new successful practices, help develop professional competencies, and retaining talent (Wenger & Synder, 2000).

Communities of practice serve as a application of what Bruner & Vygotsky highlight in terms of the importance of learning as a social phenomenon. Members of a community of practice become sounding boards, support structures, and human resources that help foster the intrinsic motivation of members. Being part of a productive group where an individual is able to share challenges, successes and practices on a regular basis to learn and grow is intrinsically motivating for individuals (Wenger et al., 2002), including teachers. For teachers, communities of practice can provide a professional venue to learn, grow, and be recognized. Members can express their concerns and have their voices heard. They can also help to cope with and resolve issues related to the extrinsic motivating factors of teachers discussed above, including coping with heavy workloads, accountability, leadership, and lack of resources. Communities of practice can create the space and time teachers need to learn and practice in a supportive environment that helps build their sense of well-being. In particular, TLCs can create community of practice environments.

Self-Efficacy for Motivation and Behavior Change

What are the internal drivers that individual teachers use to learn, grow and adopt new practices? How are these drivers related to being a member of a community of practice? These questions lead into a discussion about teachers' own beliefs about their abilities and the roles that a community of practice can play for teachers.

Bandura's (1994) Social Cognitive Theory revolves around the concept of "self-efficacy," defined as "people's beliefs about their capabilities to produce designated levels of performance that exercise influence over events that affect their lives" (p.71). Individuals who have a strong sense of self-efficacy are those who believe in their abilities to achieve tasks and goals set in front of them. Bandura (1998a) indicates characteristics of individuals with a strong sense of efficacy:

People who have a strong sense of efficacy: approach difficult tasks as challenges rather than as threats; set challenging goals and sustain strong commitment to their goals; maintain a task-diagnostic focus that guides effective performance; attribute failures to insufficient effort; heighten effort in the face of difficulties; display low vulnerability to stress and depression; and quickly recover their sense of efficacy after failures or setbacks. Success usually comes through renewed effort after failed attempts. It is resiliency of personal efficacy that counts. (p.62)

Therefore, the higher the level of self-efficacy, the higher the ability to perform, and the more tolerance individuals have against challenging circumstances and situations (Bandura, 1982). When people have low self-efficacy, they tend to avoid activities that seem stressful and overwhelming and undertake only those activities that they judge themselves capable of achieving (Bandura, 1982). Motivated teachers have a high level of self-efficacy to achieve many different types of outcomes and goals, and are particularly able to enact teacher change and new content and instructional techniques.

How can the self-efficacy of teachers be enhanced? Bandura has suggested the

behavior change pathway, defined as different modes and methods that strengthen individuals' perceptions of efficacy (Bandura, 1992, p.127). According to Bandura (1977; 1986; 1994) there are four main ways to bolster or hinder a person's self-efficacy, something inherently embedded in social activities with others: enactive mastery, modeling influences, social persuasion, and altered misinterpretations of stress indicators. I describe each of these four components and link them to concrete activities for their attainment (see Figure 1).

Enactive mastery refers to practice and implementation efforts individuals undertake to experiment with and master specific techniques (Bandura, 1994). When individuals try out and practice activities that are adapted to their scaffold levels, their personal self-efficacy increases. Enactive mastery grows when successes occur with relative frequency over time (Bandura, 2002). The same logic is true for low selfefficacy; if individuals fail at practice and experimentation sessions with relative frequency over time, then they can develop diminishing beliefs about their abilities to achieve certain outcomes (Bandura, 1998). Kolb's (1984) "Experimental Learning Cycle" is a practical mechanism for individuals to develop "enactive mastery." It provides a clear path for individuals to work together in groups to undergo a concrete experience (CE). This experience lays the foundation to make reflective observations (RO) based on experience in order to mold reflections into abstract conceptualizations (AC). ACs help individuals make generalizations about their experiences. They help to test and create new experiences through active experimentation (AE). The cyclical nature of the learning cycle scaffolds the knowledge and experiences of learners in order to set them up for success and provide techniques for enactive mastery.

Another self-efficacy technique can also be attributed to experiential learning, "modeling influences," where individuals gain confidence by observing their peers, testing out new practices, and succeeding (Bandura, 1994). Peers can become role models to imitate (Bandura, 1998). Experiential learning occurs not only from testing out a new technique, but also from observing colleagues and helping them create ACs, a community and collective activity in nature. Observing others and helping them with successes and challenges strengthens an individual's self confidence. This is not a passive activity.

Social persuasion refers to feedback and praise strategies that "the more knowledgeable others" and peers give to encourage individuals (Bandura, 1994). Praise and recognition are important elements that help individuals feel able, well, and capable of success (Bandura, 1998; IRC, 2011). This is an important element of the experiential learning process so that colleagues feel valued and supported. Individuals who are praised are likely to give and sustain greater effort compared to individuals whose self-doubt and personal deficiencies are allowed to occupy a large space in a community of practice (Bandura, 1994).

The final element of self-efficacy revolves around how people interpret and react to stress indicators. This process involves coping mechanisms that individuals use in times of stress and anxiety (Bandura, 1982). Individuals with a high sense of self-efficacy are likely to view their state of affective arousal, or stress, as an energizing facilitator. Their motivation is hightened by stress. Those who dwell on personal deficiencies during stressful times harbor self doubt (Bandura, 1994). In order to bolster coping mechanisms, strategies need to be set into place where anxiety can be converted

to productive energy (Bandura, 1998). This is where the community of practice is important to help create a structure for troubleshooting problems and collectively finding solutions together. The community of practice becomes the social support net to allow individuals to use challenges as motivators, and therefore develop self-efficacy.

SELF-EFFICACY TECHNIQUES	
Element	Possible Activities
Enactive Mastery	Participant simulations
	Participating in demonstrations
	Self-instruction
	Exposure to techniques
	• "Experiential Learning Cycle" (Kolb; 1984)
Modeling Influences	Participant modeling
	Live modeling
	• "Experiential Learning Cycle" (Kolb; 1984)
Social Persuasion	Critical Feedback
	Suggestions
	• Praises
	Support
	• "Experiential Learning Cycle" (Kolb; 1984)
Altered Misinterpretations of Stress Indicators	Relaxation
	Emotion balance techniques
	Goal setting techniques
	Sharing concerns with peers
	Troubleshooting problems and finding solutions to anxieties

Figure 1: Self-Efficacy Techniques (Adapted from Bandura (1977))

A key component of behavior change is a belief that an individual can produce desired results from direct actions (Bandura, 2002). Considering Figure 2, below, a person with strong efficacy beliefs sets realistic expectations known to be achievable to attain a certain outcome. An individual's perception of self-performance contributes to anticipated outcomes (Bandura, 1998). Therefore, perceived efficacy measures are good predictors of motivation and action (Bandura, 1998).

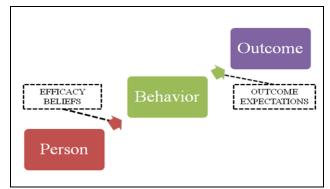


Figure 2: Efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations

Contributing to the enhancement of one's self-efficacy does not happen solely at the individual level. Social activities are needed, as briefly presented in Figure 1, in order to develop the various elements of self-efficacy.

A community of practice could be an appropriate forum to help individuals develop positive self-efficacy while working in collaboration, supporting one another and practicing experiential learning. All four elements of effective self-efficacy can be built upon in a community of practice to develop an individual's intrinsic self-efficacy, content knowledge, and instructional practices. Bolstering belief in one's abilities creates motivation to cope with stressful extrinsic working conditions and implement new content and strategies to surpass those challenges.

The success and working conditions of a community of practice depend on what Bandura (1998) refers to as collective efficacy, the shared beliefs to produce desired outcomes at the group level. Collective efficacy can influence what people do as a group, how much effort they put into the endeavor, and how long they stay part of the group (Bandura, 2000). There are two main approaches to measuring collective efficacy. The first indicator is an of individual's collective sense of self-efficacy, and the second is an aggregate of "member's appraisals of their group's capability operating as a whole"

(Bandura, 2000, p.76). Communities with a strong sense of collective efficacy will come together and pool ideas and resources in order to be able to cope with external obstacles in order to attain the changes that they are looking for (Bandura, 1982.). Communities of practice that help people develop their self-efficacy, motivation and change in practice also develop their collective efficacy to achieve their goals, depending on the aggregate level of commitment and effort on the part of individuals (Bandura, 2002).

The following discussion which posits the benefits of the social learning process as well as using self-efficacy to map teacher change appear to present a universalist approach to examine teacher change, regardless of context. However, this dissertation attempts to use these frames as a starting point and potential lenses for examining different experiences and actions, while also being flexible to reconceptualize these concepts to different contexts, especially in terms of (post)crisis situations. The next section presents additional lenses that allow flexible analysis to occur.

Comparative Education as a Lens for Examination

The current theoretical story that I have painted explicates the following assumptions: 1) understanding learning as a social process, something that should be emphasized in any learning and behavior change activity, can be operationalized by using a communities-of-practice approach; 2) in association with a collective, self-efficacy techniques helps individuals believe in themselves more fully and helps their well-being, motivation, and behavior change; 3) when self-efficacy principles are coupled with community-of-practice forums, a collective efficacy is created that forms supportive, nurturing and productive groups.

How can this conceptual model be delivered and accepted in situations impacted by crisis? In order to answer this question, I draw from the notions of "discursive practices" and "indigenous modes of learning" from the field of Comparative Education (Kanu, 2005). These shed light on the role context plays for communities of practice and self-efficacy in (post)crisis settings. I also draw from conflict and trauma studies to suggest ways in which comparative education could help infuse these concepts into the discussion on TPD in (post)crisis environments.

Before outlining my claim, I first would like to define what I mean by "discursive practices" and "indigenous modes of learning." Discursive practices refer to ways cultural values affect the nature and pattern of communication (Kanu, 2005). Indigenous modes of learning are context-specific, accepted, and recognized processes for how to go about learning (Kanu, 2005). These two concepts are important to understand how teachers are socialized to teach, aid children in acquiring knowledge, communicate with one another, and work together. Discursive practices and indigenous ways of knowing act as lenses that help us understand the inherent assumptions in the theory of TPD employed here, they offer reflexive tools for understanding (post)crisis contexts, and they create an opportunity to reflect on how Western models of TPD may integrate into and/or exacerbate emergency-impacted settings. Rappleye (2006) underlines the need to move to a deeper level of analysis in order to focus less on content transfer and more on the transfer of, and adaptations to, initiatives like adapting TPD to incorporate context.

In terms of the community of practice approach to TPD, the inherent assumptions of this model suggest an environment where teachers come together as a community to achieve specific goals by supporting each other, sharing problems, troubleshooting

issues, and providing a safe space to reinforce their well-being. This model of TPD needs to be examined and dissected in order to better understand how it can be adapted to incorporate context as well as function given the constraints of emergency-impacted settings. Kanu (2005) specifies that the "[milieu] creates certain kinds of opportunities and potentials for education, and imposes certain kinds of constraints and limitations on it" (p. 495).

Examining the concepts of self-efficacy and collective-efficacy from a comparative education perspective is similar to that for communities of practice. There need to be reflexive moments to better understand what it means in a non-Western context. Referring to the universality of self-efficacy, Bandura (2002) argues that,

Perceived self-efficacy does not come with a built-in individualist value system. Therefore, a sense of efficacy does not necessarily spawn an individualistic lifestyle, identity, or morality. If belief in the power to produce effects is put to social purposes, it fosters a communal life rather than erodes it. (p. 277)

Bandura believes that self-efficacy is not an individualistic "Western" concept that is non-transferable to "non-Western" collectivist contexts. I hesitate to blindly agree with Bandura, but on the other hand view self-efficacy as a valuable tool for thinking about ways of understanding people's realities and help people who have been impacted by crisis cope with possible harsh issues in their lives. Of equal importance, self-efficacy values not only the individual, but also the collective and context, which I link to teacher motivation. This is especially true in a collective society, like that found in the DRC, where the community plays a crucial role in the lives of participants. This may also suggest that collective efficacy also plays a valuable role in the willingness of members to participate in group-related activities.

The concept of emergency education lacks rigorous research that attempts to uncover context from teacher perspectives (Buckland, 2005; Mosselson et al., 2009; & Rappeleye & Paulson, 2007). Much of the information in the field of education in emergencies is anecdotal and based on what practitioners experience in the field. Rappeleye and Paulson (2007) indicate that the field of education in conflict and post-conflict settings:

...is at an imbalance, possessing a wealth of suggested best practices, a growing number of situated case studies that begin to demonstrate its salient insights, and a history of sustained advocacy, but lacking the theoretical lenses, analytical depth and scholarly evidence to tie these strengths together. (p. 253)

My own theoretical lens for TPD relies on social development theory and communities of practice. To better understand teacher change and well-being in an emergency impacted context, I also borrow from social cognitive theory. However, I also rely on theories of discursive practices and indigenous ways of knowledge to help better understand the validity of these approaches and the nuances of TPD and teacher change in contexts that lack rigorous research.

In the next section, I dive into the research on TPD in order to highlight trends that make TPD effective and examine how TPD fits within the social development conceptual framework. I also highlight areas from the research that indicate a need to focus on self-efficacy for teacher change, with specific focus on TPD in conflict impacted areas. I reference discursive practices and indigenous ways of knowledge in order to raise important questions demand that educators rethink the inherent underlying assumptions of borrowing and transferring TPD practices (Crossley, 2012).

TPD / TLC Research

This section provides a review of research on TPD and TLCs to examine elements that promote teacher change through effective initiatives. It shows how some research simplifies the link between TPD and teacher change, such as Garet et al. (2001), who conclude in their study that professional development that focuses on content and active learning, and is context-focused, is more likely to produce new knowledge and skills for teachers. This section shows how other researchers help to clarify the nuances of TPD. It also describes an in-depth coding of themes drawn from research studies that evaluate the link between teacher change and TPD. This section shows how this coding illustrates a more nuanced approach necessary to understand the intricacies of TPD. Before reading this section, I suggest that the reader quickly glance at Appendix A: "Characteristics of Effective TPD Programs For Teacher Change According to TPD Research." in order to better visualize and follow the discussion of the reoccurring themes.

The major successes and challenges of TPD can be coded into three main categories: communities of practice, external factors, and self-efficacy (see Figure 3 below). These categories highlight elements that impact effective TPD in both high and low-resource contexts. I find that that it may be more effective to focus more on the training structure and self-efficacy principles to spark teacher change rather than external factors that may out of the control of teachers. I also highlight the need to integrate various elements –content, active learning, coherence to teacher realities, and sustained focus over a relatively longer period of time – to create a robust and comprehensive training system. Regarding the latter, it is clear that effective TPD takes time, money and high commitment on the part of all involved.

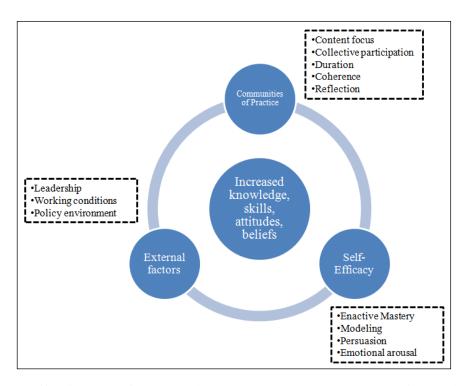


Figure 3: Effective TPD factors to increase teacher knowledge, skills, attitudes, beliefs and ultimately practice

TPD as Communities of Practice

Within the last fifteen years, research on TPD has been an increasingly important field of study. Scholars and practitioners have been keenly interested in the different factors that seem to indicate and influence teacher practice change. This is especially important at a time when education reform is gaining attention in western contexts, as in the United States. It is especially important for low-resource countries that are expected to implement EFA policy. TPD highlights the promotion of communities-of-practice elements. These promote teacher change activities that focus on specific subject content, collective participation of participants, context -specific challenges and successes,

reflection, and troubleshooting over a sustained period of time (Briman et al., 2000; Garet et al., 2008; Molthilal, 201;1Smith et al., 2003; Taylor et al., 2005).

Powerful TPD initiatives that have a high impact on teachers emphasize collective participation, collaboration, and reflection among teachers (Avalos, 2011). In my review of ten TPD research studies (see Appendix A "Characteristics of Effective TPD Programs For Teacher Change According to TPD Research"), the concept of collective participation surfaced as the major recurring theme in the literature linked to teacher change. In a study of over 1000 teachers who participated in the US-based Eisenhower Professional Development program that revolved around increasing the content and instructional practice of teachers in math and science, Birman et al. (2000) conducted a survey asking participants to identify their perceived impressions of different aspects of their TPD programs. The researchers also conducted six case study observations in total across five states of the TPD sessions. Both researchers and teachers noted that the collective participation of teachers from the same school was viewed favorably among teachers. They were allowed more time in and out of TPD to talk about context, try out strategies, and share experiences, tools, and resources. They also noted that collective community-based TPD allowed teachers to reflect upon their experiences and the different needs of students (Birman et al., 2000).

This corroborates with Garet et al.'s (2008) impact evaluations of two different TPD models for teachers of early grade reading in the United States. A longitudinal study involving 270 second grade teachers measured student learning outcomes and teacher implementation of desired instructional practices learned in TPD sessions. The two TPD groups focused on collective participation, coaching, and extended hours of

training. Student learning outcomes for teachers who participated in the two TPD treatment groups were statistically significant and higher than those students whose teachers participated in one-off workshops. The latter did not promote collective participation from the same school, sharing, practicing, etc. (Garet et al., 2008). The higher student outcomes were attributed to the collective participation at the school-level, which also allowed for coherence, active learning, and content appropriation with the help and support of school-based colleagues.

Most studies highlight similar findings pointing to collective participation as a major factor in effective TPD. Teachers from studies in rural areas in Eritrea and math teachers in the US stated that they enjoyed their TPD because they worked in a group with their colleagues. It created warm collegial environments with supportive peers that promoted reflection, troubleshooting, and better classroom practices (Arbaugh, 2003; Belay et al., 2007). In Senegal, teachers reported feeling more support, better relationships with their colleagues, and the removal of feelings of isolation (Frazier, 2009). Similar findings were noted in a study of teachers in Chile implementing study circles, where teachers reported not only a social gain but a change in school climate among peers. They indicated learning from each other as well as establishing new ways to communicate (Avalos, 1998). In South Africa, teachers who participated in TPD clusters for the first time reported that collective participation afforded them safe spaces where they could explore, make mistakes, and learn in a collaborative environment (Mothilal, 2011). Finally, higher performing teachers have been attributed to working collectively with peers to conduct their own research, reflect upon best practices, attempt new skills, and reflect upon their experiences (Taylor et al., 2005):

The collective nature of TPD communities of practice embed the interweaving of reoccurring themes, such as: focusing on subject matter knowledge; including practical time for analysis, reflection, practice, and observation; supporting consistency in teacher beliefs (Smith 2010). Sustained TPD interventions conducted at regular intervals over a longer period of time were also associated with teacher change. Smith et al.'s (2003) study of 106 adult basic education teachers in New England participating in three different types of TPD paints a more nuanced picture of communities of practice in TPD. Teachers who gained the most from TPD felt a correlation between high quality of content and extended hours of training. They also felt they had a voice in decisionmaking in their TPD, which is consistent with the need for TPD to be coherent with local context. Birman et al. (2000) also highlight the connection between content, duration, and coherence for effective TPD: Trainings sustained over a longer period allowed more time to address content in specific subjects, and this allowed teachers to bring forth questions, concerns, and strategies for trying out new techniques in specific contexts. In general, the research projects studied linked meeting frequency with an ability to create content-relevant and context-specific TPD opportunities. In some cases teachers reported that TPD allowed them to learn more about their contexts, for example, about how students learn differently (Arbaugh, 2003; Frazier, 2009; Garet et al., 2008; Johnson, 2006; Taylor et al., 2005).

The collective participation, duration, content and coherence of TPD create environments where teachers can speak openly about their challenges and collectively reflect on possible solutions. Reflection is often referred to as a necessary element of collective participation (Belay et al., 2007; Briman et al., 2000; & Garet et al., 2008; &

Taylor et al., 2005). Reflection is another reoccurring theme in the literature around TPD communities of practice. In Frazier's (2009) action research study of 8 English teachers participating in a study group in Senegal, she indicated that participants expressed their enjoyment of having time to reflect, and noted the benefits of collaborative reflection and discussions in order to learn and try out new instructional practices. Avalos' (1998) study in Chile of teachers participating in TLCs highlighted that teachers believed that reflecting together created new ways to communicate and learn from one another as human resources instead of relying solely on text books and other written materials. Johnson's (2006) study of a mentoring TPD program, where a "more knowledgeable other" master teacher provided regular observation visits to math teachers in Gambia, Malawi and Sri Lanka, provides a more practical understanding of reflection for teacher change: Teachers reported that reflective feedback sessions and student artifact reflections provided concrete information to teachers about which teaching techniques worked more effectively than others. In Smith et al.'s (2003) study, adult educators who were open to reflecting and exploring were generally those who changed their teaching practices (Smith et al., 2003).

These studies also mention important challenges that need recognition to provide a more holistic picture of effective TPDs. For example, time commitment was one of the reoccurring themes that hampered teacher participation and engagement in TPD (Birmane et al., 2000). For adult educator trainees in New England, 38% of the participants dropped out of reform TPD sessions, while 14% refrained from participating in study circles (Smith et al., 2003). In Taylor et al.'s (2005) TLC study, one third of all schools did not implement the whole TPD program. Reasons were related to high time

commitment, lack of leadership and non-participation of teachers (Taylor et al., 2005).

Time and commitment are important themes to consider in order to not over load teachers.

TPD initiatives that embody a community-of practice-approach focusing on content, duration, collective participation, coherence, and participation seem to me the most active, participatory and appreciated forms of TPD for teachers (see Figure 3). These elements interact together to create spaces for teachers to come together, reflect together, learn from each other, and try new concepts and ideas out in their classroom. These elements provide a structure for TPDs that embody a community of practice approach in high and low-resource contexts. They also create opportunities to bolster teacher self-efficacy, motivation, and feelings of well-being. However, time and commitment aspects are also important factors to keep in mind in order to not shun teachers away from participating. If teachers do not participate, then they do not benefit from the community of practice. This study will examine all of these elements within the realm of post-conflict situations.

TPD That Promotes Self-Efficacy

Research of TPD teacher change also highlights self-efficacy components that I have highlighted in the previously presented theoretical framework. In brief, self-efficacy refers to the beliefs that individuals hold about their ability to achieve outcomes in their lives. It is developed or hindered by enactive mastery activities, social modeling, social praise and persuasion, and emotional arousal stability (Bandura, 1994; 1998; 2002). It could also be influenced by the (post)crisis environment and access to

resources, such as available time. While this section does not specifically address the post-conflict situation, later this study will make a contribution to this important aspect. While coding various research around TPD, I was able to code effective TPD in relation to four major elements: increased job satisfaction, improved belief in their abilities, increased professional worth and value, and confidence raising (Arbaugh, 2003; Belay et al, 2007; Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Yahampath, 2003; Mothailal, 2011; & Taylor et al, 2005).

Active learning was a reoccurring major theme in the research on effective professional development. It can be classified into two areas of self-efficacy: "enactive mastery" and "modeling." In Birman et al.'s (2000) study of teachers implementing techniques learned during TPD, teachers who participated in simulations, demonstrations, observations, lesson planning, and micro-teaching activities reported, and were observed to use, new content and instructional skills. Avalos (1998) also recorded that those teachers who observed their colleagues, and tried new instructional practices, were helped as a result of interacting with peers. School-based math teachers who participated in a study group in Arbaugh's (2003) study of TLCs also indicated that enactive mastery experiences helped teachers try out and use general student-centered concepts, such as "critical thinking" and "diverse questioning" techniques in their classrooms. These coupled elements of "self-efficacy" were always indicated in conjunction with the collective practice and reflection elements of communities of practice TPD. This makes sense since enactive mastery and modeling require social interaction, support and participation (Arbaugh, 2003; Avalos, 1998; Birman et al., 2000; Johnson, 2006).

Supportive environments also seem to help bolster teacher self-efficacy and motivation via social persuasion. Teachers who participated in cluster TPD in South Africa reported that they were frequently valued, encouraged, respected and appreciated contributors in their clusters. This resulted in frequently being invited to lead cluster discussions (Molthilal, 2011). Praise and safe critical feedback were also elements of Arbaugh's (2003) study, where teachers indicated that collaborating helped improve teacher confidence in their abilities. Likewise, in TLCs in Chile teachers felt they were able to take their learning into their own hands from give the support and encouragement of colleagues (Avalos, 1998).

Emotional arousal, an element that appears to be more abstract, was expressed as a more complex element of teacher change in TPD. Smith et al. (2003) highlight that those teachers who changed their practice the most were those with a willingness and openness to change and those with the least experience and formal education. This may have been a consequence of their having less time to develop coping mechanisms, and perhaps greater impressionability and malleability, which lead to viewing obstacles as challenges to be overcome instead of hindrances. This logic would concur with Belay et al.'s (2007) case study of new primary school teachers in Eritrea. Those teachers that developed strategies to overcome challenges were the individuals that were more likely to enact TPD skills. However, those teachers that put the blame on exterior factors year after year seemed less able to cope with their teaching situations or implement TPD-learned practices (Belay et al., 2007). In the same study, teachers who said that they found enjoyment in the challenge to help children were also those that were more optimistic about their situations (Belay et al., 2007). Teachers who did not enjoy their

profession stated that they saw no way to change their environments and saw no possibilities for growth or opportunity (Belay et al, 2007). Once again, it seems that teachers who reported collective participation and reflection as key elements of their change also demonstrated a more optimistic view of the difficulties that they faced in their environments. It remains an interesting question what this may look like in (post)crisis environments, and especially within the context of post-conflict DRC.

Strong links apparently exist between self-efficacy activities, such as enactive mastery, modeling and emotional arousal, with important elements of communities-of-practice TPD elements, like collective participation, duration, and reflection. Coherence to a school's context and content also seem to be important factors of enactive mastery and modeling. Persuasion also seems to be linked to the supportive environments that are part of communities of practice. In the next section, I highlight how external factors, like leadership, workload, and policy environments, can have an impact on effective TPD.

TPD External Factors

TPDs that foster a community of practice and a self-efficacy approach do not happen in a vacuum. There are also external factors that promote effective elements of TPD that help teachers develop self-efficacy and practice simultaneously. While examining research and literature on external factors that promote or hinder TPD, I located significant factors into three different categories: leadership, working conditions, and policy environment. These elements do not work in isolation of one another. They usually have an impact and work simultaneously on TPD endeavors.

Leadership is an important theme to take into consideration. In order for sitebased collective TPD to function properly, there needs to be support at the central, regional, and school-based levels (INEE, 2011; OECD, 2009; UNESCO, 2012; VSO, 2002). In Taylor et al.'s (2005) impact evaluation of student reading outcomes and teacher change, the students and teachers that scored lowest were those where one-third of the schools did not fully implement the desired reading intervention. This was attributed to a lack of school leadership and commitment, which in turn impacted teacher commitment and participation (Taylor et al., 2005). Avalos' (1998) study of schools implementing a national TLC initiative also highlights that the schools that fully implemented the nation-wide intervention were those where the school administration was supportive and encouraging of teachers. However, in schools that lacked leadership and had a negative school climate, teachers stated that they were not very interested in the study groups, and that their self-esteem had not changed as a result of the groups (Avalos, 1998). Leadership can be a major factor in increasing or decreasing teacher motivation to participate (Arbaugh, 2003).

The attitudes of school head teachers and administrators also play an important role in motivating teachers in a manner that reflects the social persuasion element of self-efficacy. In a comparative study of 196 English and Finnish teacher professional learning communities, four main themes were raised as successful elements of well-being and practice: the climate of the school community, the collaborative nature of the working environment, continuing professional development, and creating a culture of trust and accountability (Webb et al., 2009). One of the main underpinning indicators of these elements was the outlook and resulting actions of head teachers: "Where teachers were

most enthusiastic about their school's supportive culture, they attributed this in large measure to the personality, values and actions of the headteacher" (Webb et al., 2009, p.409). School administrative leadership can play an important role in setting the tone for a community of practice while also reinforcing self-efficacy concepts.

In some studies of TPD, leadership initiatives did not always originate from the school administration. In Taylor et al.'s (2005) study, teachers emerged as those who set their own learning agenda and who lead the TLC sessions. The schools in which an organically driven teacher-leader emerged were also the higher performing schools, where the teacher served as the common glue and organizer (Taylor et al., 2005).

Becoming leaders in their TPD groups was also seen as a confidence-building technique for those teachers participating in TPD clusters in South Africa (Mothilal, 2011).

Therefore, TPD seemed to be able to operate when teachers themselves took initiative for their own learning, especially when teachers were involved in agenda-setting and curriculum design; however, the school administration remains the key gatekeeper to allowing these types of TPD (Arbaugh, 2003).

External factors, such as teacher workload and external support, are also factors that impact the self-efficacy of teachers and TPD effectiveness (Smith, 2010). In Arbaugh's (2003) TLC study, math teachers indicated that they felt more like "true" professionals who were granted time to participate in the TLCs during school hours,. Thus, they recognized that their needs in professional development were respected and expectations about the current workload were decreased. This was due to administrative support in the form of providing substitute teachers with an ability to take over their classes (Arbaugh, 2003). Smith et al.'s (2003) study of adult educators also found that

those teachers who received benefits as part of their jobs and had access to preparation time to try out techniques learned in the TPDs were also indicators of teacher change.

Working conditions can serve as persuasive benefits or hindrances.

Effective TPD requires teachers to work in and out of the allotted TPD session time, which can increase teacher workloads. In most of the studies researched, teachers indicated that their teaching workloads were partial barriers to them changing their practices (Avalos, 1998; Belay et al., 2007; Frazier, 2009; Smith et al., 2003). Birman et al. (2000) highlight that teachers felt that comprehensive TPD was time consuming and required a lot of planning. According to Avalos (1998), the heavy workloads to implement the national curriculum gave them minimal time to prepare for using new instructional practices, though they did try them in the classroom setting. Belay et al. (2007) explain that those teachers that felt overwhelmed and unable to change their practices indicated that workload was a major barrier (Belay et al., 2007). Teacher workload is an important external factor to consider. Instructional practices and content must be related to the contexts of teachers, like teacher workloads, in order to create favorable coping mechanisms for the self-efficacy of teachers and communities of practice.

External factors are impacted by the policy environment within which head teachers and teachers must work and implement TPD. In low-resource contexts, an increase in working hours, larger class sizes, addition of more subjects to teach, the revision of curricula are all policy factors that impact head and non-head teacher workloads. They call for TPD to implement these changes (Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007; OECD, 2009; & VSO, 2002). New policies that ask teachers to undertake new

practices while experiencing a degradation in the support and resources available to them create a risk that teachers will develop resentful feelings about their jobs, negative feelings about themselves and their abilities, and maintain a lack of self-efficacy needed to get their jobs done (Asimeng-Boahene, 2003; Oplatka, 2007). These policies, in essence, treat teachers as objects of new TPD without recognizing the aforementioned difficulties of enacting teaching reform at the local level. This indeed creates a difficult scenario for teacher change (Avalos, 2011; Oplatka, 2007).

Evidence from various research studies presented above highlights how the increased knowledge, skills, attitudes and beliefs of teachers are impacted by three broad interconnected categories: community of practice elements, which create a structure for collaboration; self-efficacy elements, which help bolster the beliefs and skills of teachers at the individual and social level; and external factors, which promote or hinder the availability of effective community-of-practice and self-efficacy elements. In the next section, I map out what research is currently available around these three categories for TPD in (post)crisis contexts. I also highlight the need for more focused research in order to better understand how these categories interact with each other. The previous theoretical and research-based discussions present possible lenses for the study. However, this discussion has been lacking in context and actual (post)crisis elements. Below I provide my unique contribution to the field of TPD in (post)crisis settings. The heart of this study lies within this intersection in order to gain a more nuanced insight into education reform in varying situations and environments.

TPD in Crisis and (Post)Crisis Environments

While education in emergencies is an ever growing field of research, many unanswered questions remain around the realities and struggles of teachers in crisis-impacted environments (Buckland, 2006; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007). Unfortunately little empirical and rigorous research exists in this area. Most of what exists originates from Asian countries like Pakistan and Cambodia (Berkven et al., 2012; & Emerson et al., 2010). Such research in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, does not yet exist. Those conducting TPD in these environments are left with using models and tyring interventions without an opportunity to benefit from practiced-based research. This research study sets a roadmap to address this situation in these types of contexts. I recognize the need for this study to tread carefully to adhere to a duty to explore issues in enough breadth and depth to speak to as many different types of contexts that could help those in the field.

External Factors and Teacher Self-Efficacy in Crisis

In (post)crisis settings, teachers experience unique circumstances that are both similar to, and different from, realities in low-resource contexts. In order to pull out the differences and similarities, I use the same framework that I explored above for understanding how teachers in (post)crisis contexts increase their knowledge, skills, beliefs, and attitudes. In my review of the literature, there was minimal evidence on communities-of-practice elements. However, there do exist findings in these contexts where external factors seem to highly impact elements of self-efficacy (See Appendix A: "Teachers' Realities in Crisis and (Post)Crisis Settings"). Therefore, I coded the

literature around the perceptions of teachers of external factors and self-efficacy elements (see Figure 4).

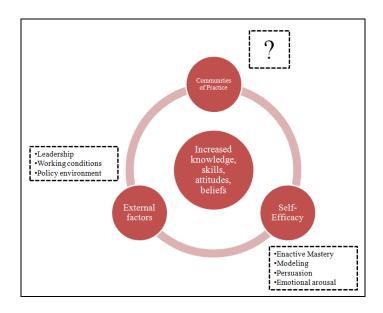


Figure 4: The link between external factors and self-efficacy for teachers in (post)crisis settings.

Teachers in (post)crisis situations face unique working conditions. Adults may be recruited from the community who never have had formal teacher training (Buckland, 2005; Kirk, 2004; Kirk & Winthrop, 2005). Teachers frequently are under-qualified and, because of conflict, have lapses in their teaching careers have and lack opportunities for professional development (Buckland, 2005; OECD, 2009). Teachers play ad-hoc nurturer roles in order to help children bounce back from traumatizing experiences (IRC, 2011; Shirberg, 2008). All these factors impact the working conditions of teachers. Ad hoc schools often place students of differing learning and developmental levels where teachers have minimal access to teaching and learning materials (Buckland, 2005; IRC, 2011; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007). The psycho-social needs of teachers themselves

should also be a priority and must be met in order for them to be well enough to create a nurturing environment for their students (IRC, 2011; OECD, 2009; & Shirberg, 2009).

All these external factors impact the emotional arousal of teachers to enable them to cope with their professions.

When the physical and psycho-social needs of teachers are unmet, then the quality of teaching declines (INEE, 2011; IRC, 2011; Shriberg, 2008). In a mixed-methods study of over 700 Liberian primary school teachers, participants committed to their profession who struggled to cope with obstacles in their profession indicated that they received very low salaries (Shriberg, 2008). If teachers cannot meet the needs of their own families, their own psycho-social well-being is impacted and their commitment to and motivation towards their jobs suffers, resulting in frequent absences, minimal classroom time on task, and use of non-nurturing classroom practices (INEE, 2011; IRC, 2011; Shriberg, 2008).

Other studies highlight the temporary nature of the teaching profession for teachers in crisis situations. For those teachers in internally refugee camps for displaced persons in northern Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Pakistan, all teachers noted that as long as their physical needs were met for their families, they would remain in the teaching profession (Kirk & Winthrop, 2008; Kirk & Winthrop, 2007; & Kirk & Winthrop, 2005). However, these under-qualified teachers who were selected by their communities repeatedly articulated that they never felt like "good" or "real" teachers. Though they expressed increasing interest in their profession because of professional development opportunities, their emotional arousal commitment was temporary in nature.

Teacher retention rates also seemed to depend upon external factors, like leadership and the policy environment. Shriberg's (2007) study of Liberian teachers highlights that teacher retention rates and quality teaching was negatively impacted by the lack of attention to their professional, psychosocial, and physical needs as educators. Though education policy had reformed, there were few incentives for Liberian teachers to effectively enact these shifts in education curricula and instructional practices (Shriberg, 2007).

In cases like Pakistan and Afghanistan, post-conflict education took a creative approach to community-based schooling for girls. Women teachers opened up their homes to teach girls of all grade levels (Kirk & Winthrop, 2005; & Kirk, 2004). These female teachers reported positive emotional arousal of job satisfaction when they experienced students who were working hard and were eager to learn (Kirk, 2004). Many teachers also reported feeling isolated and unsupported professionally because of having minimal opportunities to collaborate with and communicate with other teachers (Kirk & Winthrop, 2005). These difficult working conditions in conflict-impacted situations seem to negatively impact a teacher's commitment to the teaching profession.

However, teachers have reported that persuasive forms of community support do positively impact their desire to teach. In Ethiopia, refugee camp teachers indicated that they felt emotionally supported and encouraged by their communities to transform into teachers for the first time (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). In Afghanistan, teachers also expressed that they felt respected and valued in their communities and that parents sometimes helped them pay for small expenses, such as taxi fare (Kirk & Winthrop, 2008). In Pakistan, female teachers indicated that teaching was a de-motivating

profession for men, but for them, they felt that community support encouraged them where they felt honored (Kirk, 2004). As a result, it seems that communities can be informal leaders that encourage and support teachers while helping them to appreciate their profession.

Leadership in crisis-impacted settings, just as I found for low-resource settings, may not have to be top-down. Teachers in Liberia indicated that they felt inspired and motivated when teachers who had formally worked in the refugee camps of Guinea shared new knowledge and skills, like lesson planning techniques, pedagogical approaches, and classroom management tools (Shriberg, 2007). This suggests the possibility for internal leadership as well as the establishment of enactive mastery and modeling via the establishment of communities of practice where teachers can work together to share and build upon each others' knowledge and skills.

Current research on the perceptions of Congolese teachers highlights a more nuanced picture of how teachers feel about their jobs. In a New York University (NYU)-based quantitative study of the perception of Katangan teachers about their jobs, 453 teachers articulated their views on their current teaching contexts (Torrente et al., 2012). I coded these views using the external factor and self-efficacy themes noted above (please see Table 1 below). General findings indicate that working conditions and the policy environment seem to have a large impact on Congolese teachers. Of special importance were salary issues (De herdt et al, 2010; & Torrente et al, 2012). However, the self-efficacy components highlight valuable insights that could be helpful and promote a TLC-based TPD format. Teachers mostly feel motivated based on social support outside of school, while those teachers who feel valued often come from the

communities where they teach (Torrente et al., 2012). Because support structures seem to be an important component in the job satisfaction and motivation of Congolese teachers, this argues in favor of TLCs that focus on the supportive and collaborative aspects of TPD. TLCs can also help to combat some of the external factors that demotivate. For example, they can be employed to create sessions about how to develop teaching and learning materials from locally made resources.

Table 1: DRC Teacher Survey Results (continued onto next page)

	WORKING CONDITIONS: The lack of teaching materials, textbooks,
EXTERNAL FACTORS	blackboards and NOT the number of students or the physical
	environment of the classroom were challenging for teachers
	WORKING CONDITIONS: Teachers who were required to spend more
	time at school are more critical of their school.
	POLICY ENVIRONMENT: Most teachers experienced economic
	hardship, because salaries only covered about 57% of their total
	household expenses
	POLICY ENVIRONMENT: 66% of teachers reported being "always"
	paid late
	POLICY ENVIRONMENT: 55% of teachers reported taking non-paid
	jobs outside of teaching
	<u>POLICY ENVIRONMENT:</u> Teachers who lived in their communities,
	held accountable, perceived policy as not very problematic reported
	higher motivation.
	<u>LEADERSHIP:</u> Accountability and supervision quality were also
	associated with motivation (Torrente et al, 2012)
SELF- EFFICACY	SOCIAL PERSUASION: The typical teacher is not from the community
	where s/he works, but 70% of the teachers indicate that they have some
	form of family members that live nearby them and 71% indicated that
	their closest friends live near them
	SOCIAL PERSUASION: Teachers felt more appreciated, respected in
	when they taught in their local communities
	EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Overall teachers have high levels of motivation, low levels of job dissatisfaction, but there is a wide variation
	between teachers in the data
	DELWEEN LEACHERS III LIIE UALA

<u>EMOTIONAL AROUSAL</u>: Having more teaching experience, better physical health, and a lower number of household members who are unwell were associated with more motivation and less job dissatisfaction

<u>EMOTIONAL AROUSAL</u>: Teachers who felt the most sense of personal accomplishment were likely to be male, have a non-paid afterschool job (i.e. farming), perceive to have high levels of parental support

EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Teachers who felt burnout had less wealth, more children, more unwell family members and were in poor physical health

(Torrente et al., 2012)

In crisis-impacted settings like the DRC, teachers seem to experience greater negative external influences that act to decrease their self-efficacy through negative emotional arousal incidents. There are creative methods that teachers can use in order to bolster their ability to become effective teachers while also feeling supported by their communities and colleagues.

The Impact of TPD in Crisis Regions

While there is currently little rigorous evidence on the impact of TPD in (post)crisis contexts, two studies have been conducted. One was located in post-conflict Cambodia and the other in post-earthquake Pakistan (Berkvens et al., 2012; Emerson et al., 2010). Findings in these studies suggest specific "discursive practices" and "indigenous forms of knowledge" indicated in the theoretical section of this chapter. In both research studies, I was able to code the findings using the same theoretical model that I used in other research projects on TPD (see Appendix A). However, the explanation of how these elements work to impact teacher practice is done using a context-specific lens.

Both studies highlight structural elements of the community-of-practice: collective participation, duration, coherence, content, and reflection. The enacting of these elements differs slightly from findings indicated in research on TPD in high and low-resource contexts. Emerson et al.'s (2010) study of teachers in post-earthquake Pakistan who participated in monthly TPD clusters highlighted one major theme that touched upon collective participation. Participants felt that they had built a unique sense of community for members who frequently partook in the cluster sessions. Teachers were part of school-grouped clusters that met at different schools each month to implement a TLC format. However, many teachers reported that context was not taken into consideration. For example, it was assumed that teachers would be able to travel long distances across mountainous conditions to attend the cluster groups. The researchers noted that teachers who were able and highly motivated trekked over an hour on regular occasions (Emerson et al., 2010). However, other teachers did not participate regularly, and these individuals did not report feeling a tight sense of community and collaboration with their cluster peers (Emerson et al., 2010). This highlights a need to better understand "indigenous forms of knowledge," and how TPD models of collaboration, like clusters that assumed that teachers would be able and willing to travel long distances, translate in a given local, indigenous, and crisis-impacted context.

Collective participation was understood differently by Berkvens et al.'s (2012) participants. They describe an action research project that brought Ministry of Education officials together in a TLC working group to create a participatory TPD curriculum for teachers in post-civil-war Cambodia. Members noted the benefits of using collaborative decision-making strategies and training techniques (Berkvens et al., 2012). This form of

collaboration seemed to be adapted to the "discursive practices" of consensus-building in post-war Cambodia. Individuals were always invited to reflect individually on techniques before reporting back in a brainstorm to the whole group. This allowed for individual voices to be heard and for building consensus and unity, which became an important value to unite a country that underwent decades of civil conflict (Berkvens et al, 2012).

Duration was also a key theme in both studies. Participants indicated that over time they were able to develop trusting relationships with their peers and were able to ask for help (Berkvens et al., 2012; & Emerson et al, 2010). Reflection seemed to link with having more time. Participants in Berkvens et al.'s (2012) study indicated that they were able to share and collaborate more as they developed communication strategies.

Therefore, time could have served as its own "discursive practice." The possibilities made available by more time challenge the assumption that participants could make instant connections and be able to quickly connect with one another. This presumption is not often discussed in TPD communities of practice.

Though only mentioned explicitly in one study, content also seemed to be a recurrent theme. Participants in Cambodia were able to experience and draft their own TPD strategy and curriculum for teachers (Berkven et al, 2010). The design of the cluster model used in the study with Pakistani teachers assumed that teachers not only were using content and techniques learned in TPD, but also were contextualizing these approaches upon the direction of their peers and supervisors. This assumes that members were able to apply their own "discursive practices" and "indigenous forms of knowledge" while reworking new strategies that reflected these context sensitive components.

These aforementioned studies minimally examined what role context plays when discussing TLCs and cluster-based TPD models. In both studies, the analysis did not include an exploration of the (post)crisis environment, the communities in which the interventions took place, and the profile of participants. The relationships between participants, communities, and education system also were not mentioned. The lack of this type of descriptive data served as motivation to further investigate similar approaches while attempting to take a more holistic and context-encompassing approach.

The self-efficacy elements of enactive mastery, modeling, social persuasion and emotional arousal were also themes that I identified in the findings of the two studies. As indicated in the research on TPD in high and low-resource contexts, participants in both studies noted an advantage in being able to try out, test, and observe their colleagues implementing and adapting new content-knowledge and instructional practices (Berkvens et al, 2012; & Emerson et al., 2010). In Pakistan, teachers identified watching their peers and helping others build competencies were important factors in their own confidence building (Emerson et al., 2010). In Cambodia, members stated that experimenting with and adapting the techniques to their own cultural contexts was essential for their own learning and practice (Berkvens, 2012). I would argue that enactive mastery and modeling allow for "discursive practices" to shift automatically by adapting them naturally to familiar "indigenous forms of knowledge." This could only be possible as long as outside facilitators do not force the intended strategies upon their participants. Another limitation to note, however, is that these TLCs were created, structured, and analyzed by the external facilitator, which may inhibit a more thorough understanding of context.

Social persuasion was also another self-efficacy element that I located in the findings of both studies. Participants in both contexts indicated that the community of colleagues was supportive and encouraging of their peers. The facilitator also played a key role in praising and motivating participants (Berkvens et al., 2012; & Emerson et al., 2010). The manner in which support is understood and performed by TLC members, I would argue, already embodies discursive and indigenous ways of knowing and being. It would be interesting to learn more about how the facilitator supported teachers, as this individual was an action-researcher from a Western context. This is of interest especially since one of the researcher's findings highlights that participants' views of new facilitation techniques that did not always reflect the intended approaches that were presented and practiced in the TLCs (Berkvens et al., 2012).

In terms of external factors, there was little mention of the working conditions of teachers or of policy implications. However, there were findings in relation to leadership. In the Cambodian context, the amount of support from the facilitator seemed to influence the extent to which group members experimented with methodologies learned during the TLC (Berkvens et al., 2012). After a sustained period of time, internal leaders seemed to appear in the study from Cambodia. These participant-leaders met regularly after the TLC was officially over and developed new training on their own (Berkvens et al., 2012). In Pakistan, researchers observed that some clusters had more of an authoritative cluster leader, while other clusters seemed more collective without an identified leader (Emerson et al, 2010). These findings suggest that external factors in TPD development and effectiveness need more attention in future research.

Emotional arousal was not a theme that emerged from the minimal research on TPD effectiveness in crisis and (post)crisis environments. Literature on the experiences of teachers in these contexts paints a picture of the many different de-motivating and overwhelming working conditions that impact the views of teachers about their profession and their abilities (Buckland, 2005; INEE, 2011; IRC, 201; Shriberg, 2007; UNSECO, 2011). In reality, these two studies paint an unfinished picture of what effective TPD may look like in emergency impacted areas, especially in sub-Saharan African contexts.

Potential Contributions from Trauma-Response Literature

Most of the literature on conflict and trauma in (post)crisis countries study the impacts on children or certain demographic groups. Although I searched for and attempted to integrate into the literature review studies of how conflict impacts teachers, this remains a severe gap in the literature and in general understanding about how conflict impacts teachers, especially in the DRC. A discussion of TPD and TLCs in (post)crisis countries must be considered flawed if discussion of teacher response to trauma and feelings of well-being are not addressed. In order to begin this dialogue, I draw from mental health and trauma literature. First, I highlight findings that indicate the impact that adults can have on children's recovery from trauma and that cover the ideas teachers have about how they can help such children. I then move to various concepts related to how trauma impacts adults from a clinical and contextual perspective. This discussion helps set the stage for demonstrating how TLCs may be able to bridge the gap between the clinical and contextual support interventions.

Adults can play a major role in promoting and facilitating the resiliency of children. In Betancourt et al.'s (2012) study of 152 Ethiopian refugee adult caregivers, results show that caregiver stress and anxiety levels resulting from trauma impact the external and internal coping responses of adolescents to trauma and mental health. The type of care given by adults was a more important indicator of children's positive coping strategies than the children's participation in educational programs designed to provide psychosocial support (Betancourt et al., 2012). These findings underline the significant role that adults can play in children's lives, especially for those children impacted by trauma.

Research demonstrates that not all adults understand how to play this "nurturer" role that is thrust upon them, and especially upon teachers. Because of a lack of literature on teachers in non-Western crisis-related settings, I drew from literature in an American context to discuss teacher understanding of how to provide care to children who have experienced traumatic events in their lives. General findings from Alisic's (2012) study of 21 elementary school teachers highlights the following: Teachers felt anxious and unsure of how to provide appropriate support in cases where they thought they would spend too much time trying to address the needs of certain individuals over the group. Teachers also indicated that they were not sure how to provide trauma-related support or what to focus on, especially for those students who demonstrated excessive crying, acting out, and withdrawn behavior (Alisic, 2012). In these situations, independent of teacher background and exposure to trauma, they did not feel they had the skills to support their students. This can create a dangerous scenario for teachers working with children in conflict-impacted areas. They may not know how to help and nurture their students

while potentially harming students by projecting their own stress and anxiety on their students. This dilemma raises questions about whether it might be applicable in a setting like the DRC.

In the literature on the potential impact of trauma on adults, virtually nothing exists with a specific focus on teachers. I therefore draw from mental health literature that focuses on different concepts and practices associated with bouncing back from trauma, otherwise known as "resiliency." The dominant trauma discourse refers to the concept of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), which is a response to trauma with symptoms such as difficulties concentrating, feeling anxious, confused, depressed, where people may also lack proper sleep or may not eat for example (Bonanno, 2005). This is a more clinical concept, which is also linked to the concept of "resiliency" which can be described as "...the continued fulfillment of personal and social responsibilities and the capacity for positive emotions and generative experiences (e.g. engaging in new creative activities or relationships), both immediately and in the months following exposure to a potentially traumatic event" (Bonanno, 2005, p.136).

The clinical discourse around PTSD and resiliency is coupled with multiple concepts of how to treat the PTSD and foster more resiliencies in individuals impacted by trauma (Bonanno, 2005; Bonanno & Diminich, 2013; Foy et al., 2002; & Gray & Litz, 2005). This includes interventions such as "Critical Incident Stress Debriefing" (CISD) strategies in which individuals share their responses to trauma with other CISD group members with the goal of educating each other about stress reactions, how to cope, understanding the normality of reactions to traumatic events, promoting sharing and processing, and providing patients with further avenues for support and help (Gray &

Litz, 2005). Group programs have also been used with returned American military personnel experiencing PTSD symptoms. In these programs they participate in "Trauma Focus-Group Therapy" (TFGT), which has the goal of helping veterans improve their quality of life and self-control while managing risky behavior that could enhance their symptoms of PTSD (Foy et al., 2002). TFGT uses a five phase process for each of the different 30-sessions that are part of its curriculum: checking in, where members talk about how they feel and identify problems; reviewing homework and problem-solve obstacles found in the homework; discussing special topics; reviewing assignments for the upcoming week; check-out, where the facilitator spends individual time with patients before the end of the session (Foy et al., 2002). PTSD programs attempt to help patients build skills for resiliency, which have almost entirely focused on situations in which people experienced trauma for shorter periods of time. This field of research's applicability to contexts that have experienced decades of conflict, like in the DRC, does remain a question.

The literature does show that these types of programs can, unfortunately, foster unintended impacts that do not always help participants recover. In some CISD programs individuals not ready to share experiences of trauma have done so to avoid feeling stigmatized and pressured by the group (Gray & Litz, 2005). Participants may lack choice and control if they feel that they are forced to attend. This can create adverse feelings of frustration, anger, and resentment, which in turn can increase anxiety and stress (Foy et al., 2002; Gray & Litz, 2005).

In addition to clinical approaches, another approach toward helping adults bounce back from trauma use psychosocial techniques. These focus more on the social and material conditions that have resulted in crisis, including poverty, malnutrition, displacement, community relationships, social networks, and internal capabilities (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010). These approaches argue that focusing too heavily on the traumatic impacts of conflict-related violence can overlook ongoing daily stressors that also impact an individual's well-being (Miller et al., 2006). The psychosocial approach employs a constructivist view:

With its emphasis on understanding how reality is socially constructed in specific contexts, a constructivist approach encourages us to ask (rather than assume we already know) how communities are affected by their experiences of organized violence and what their priorities are in terms of mental health and psychosocial assistance. (Miller et al., 2006, p. 417)

Again, the need to examine context impacting mental well-being (poverty, marginalization, isolation, etc.) is highlighted in this approach. (Bonanno & Diminich, 2013; & Miller & Rassmussen, 2010). This socio-constructivist view of mental health and trauma acknowledges that the responses of adults to trauma can differ. For example, in Bonanno's (2005) study of potential trauma and resiliency, he highlights previous work where bereaved adults in China tended to recover more quickly from loss than Americans. He goes on to explain that Chinese participants reported feeling more physical symptoms, as is typical in Chinese culture (Bonanno, 2005).

This context-based culture of processing and moving through trauma is also examined in Hernández-Wolfe's (2011) qualitative study that demonstrates "Altruism Born of Suffering" (ABS), which is "the processes by which individuals move from survivorship to activism in a quest to help others" (p.230). In a long-term qualitative study of human rights activists in Colombia, Hernández-Wolfe (2012) finds that the coping process for her participants occurred during the rebuilding and sustaining of

relationships. This time entailed reconstructing what it meant to belong and the reconfiguring of personal identities. They did not mention psychotherapy as a healing technique, as it is culturally associated with a stigma of mental illness (Hernández-Wolfe, 2011).

This brief overview of literature on the impact of trauma and responses to trauma offers several alternative approaches. Interestingly, the structure and format of the TCL approach appears to speak to a more clinical concept of processing trauma and building resilience. However, the foundational theoretical constructs of TLCs feature the socially-constructed concepts of learning and support, and these can serve as a platform to promote the indigenous forms of knowledge and discursive practices concepts noted previously. Psychosocial and constructivist approaches, social learning theories, efficacy-based approaches, and comparative education perspectives all serve as lenses for this case study of the experiences of Congolese teachers with TLCs in post-conflict southeastern DRC.

Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed theoretical frameworks for addressing ways for creating effective TPD. Included was the principle that learning is social, and I articulated the need to use "communities of practice" in order to espouse an environment which is goal driven. In this environment, teachers learn content and instructional practices over a sustained period of time and collaborate, reflect and work in a contextually coherent manner. This creates the ideal structure for TPD.

The lens of self-efficacy suggests techniques that are most likely to help teachers build their confidence, develop motivation, build content knowledge, and develop instructional skills. These include enactive mastery experiences, modeling opportunities, experiences of feeling encouraged and supported, and the development of strategies to cope with a multitude of different situations. A favorable process for learning is created similar to experiential learning. Finally, I suggest teachers are impacted by external factors like leadership styles of superiors, their workloads, and the policy environments in which they find themselves. While external factors are often unable to be mitigated, there are creative solutions that teachers and administrators have used, such as creating internal leadership structures. However, external factors require close examination in order to come to a better understanding of the realities of teachers and how external factors may impact any TPD initiative.

Within the field of emergency education, the lack of literature and research forced me to hypothesize what effective TPD might look like. My overall findings are that the same elements indicated in the previous section hold true; however, that by using the additional lenses of "discursive practices" and "indigenous forms of knowledge," we gain a better sense of how the different elements found in communities of practice, self-efficacy and external factors shift meaning. By pulling from a diverse array of concepts revolving around mental health, trauma, and resiliency, I am able to examine what role TLCs play in the lives of teachers technically, socially, and emotionally.

Overall, I hypothesize that TPD in emergency education environments can be effective for teachers when it favors community-of-practice and self-efficacy elements while finding creative solutions to external de-motivating factors. In the case of the

DRC, it appears that social support networks are already an important element for the motivation and job satisfaction of teachers (Torrente et al., 2012). We also know that Congolese teachers face extreme external factors that create unfavorable working conditions: low salaries, lack of materials, and intermittent conflict (De herdt et al, 2010; & Torrente et al., 2012). Conceptually, TPD, especially in the form of TLCs, is appropriate for not only learning content and instructional knowledge, but also creating an even more supportive community environment in the DRC, where colleagues can come together to support one another professionally, socially and emotionally. This research study demonstrates when and where this theoretical assertion is accurate and highlights various context-related factors as well.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Torrente et al.'s (2012) quantitative baseline study of the economic, demographic, socio-emotional realities of Congolese teachers provides an initial perspective into the professional and personal lives of teachers in Katanga province. Burde (2012) indicates that qualitative studies techniques, such as a case study approach, can provide more contextual detail and help further describe the findings of large scale quantitative studies. Qualitative research attempts "to explicate the way people in particular settings come to understand, account for, take actions, and otherwise manage their day-to-day situations" (Punch, 1998, p.149). The qualitative case study approach adopted for this study provides more contextual findings that help us to understand the realities faced in and out of the classroom by a set of Congolese teachers who live in Katanga province. Qualitative research also helps to unveil important detail about teacher perspectives on how they use new content knowledge, instructional practices, and create a teachercommunity of practice. Overall, the study strives to understand how teachers have made sense of their world and have explored their experiences within their own contexts (Merriam, 1998).

Qualitative research has allowed me to study teachers in "natural settings" like times when they are participating in TLC sessions and implementing TLC-related strategies in their classrooms (Punch, 1998). The process of my qualitative case study was guided by the concept of crystallization: Crystals are multifaceted objects that are

complex, and three dimensional. When light passes through them what one sees depends from how and where one looks (Richardson, 2003). Crystallization is an essential element of qualitative research, where the researcher acknowledges up front that there are many different lenses that she can use to represent the experiences of participants. I have used crystallization to create hybrid data collection tools and conduct data analysis to highlight the positionality of researchers favor the concepts of indigenous forms of knowledge and discursive practices (Ellingson, 2008; Richardson, 2003).

According to Ellingson (2008), crystallization research design does not exist. This means an opportunity exists to create one's own working map for the research one wants to conduct under this framework. Throughout the research process I have intertwined both deductive and inductive data collection and analysis tools. I have used deductive techniques via the predetermined conceptual framework that I laid out in Chapter 1 in order to guide data collection and analysis (Ellingson, 2008). This framework was based on the components of a community of practice, on self-efficacy, and on external factors highlighted in Chapter 2. It also incorporated avenues for understanding responses to trauma. I have used these frames initially to understand the experiences of teachers.

Crystallization has also allowed me to simultaneously use inductive techniques to my collection and analysis. Inductive qualitative research posits that findings are grounded in the data itself by reasoning and using theory to explain and contextualize the findings (Ellingson, 2008). I worked with Congolese research counterparts as coresearchers. We collected and analyzed data together from the study. This group-process resulted in countless group check-ins and purposeful conversations concerning our

interpretations and assumptions. This created an opportunity to unveil the interpretive positionality of researchers (Ellingson, 2008), and was an important concept for my research.

The following chapter details the methods and process implemented during my qualitative case study. I discuss crystallized design, the overall research methodology, data collection and analysis, and the context of the study. These come together to answer my overarching question, "(post)crisisHow do Congolese teachers experience TLCs in crisis and (post)crisis DRC?" This chapter also describes the importance of working with a research team of Congolese education stakeholders, my researcher positionality, and the limitations of my study.

Research Design

Research that attempts to highlight the experiences of teachers calls for a study grounded in qualitative research principles. Qualitative research can be explained as:

a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It 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 field notes, 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 & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3)

My research brings Experiences of Congolese teachersof TLCs to the forefront so that teachers' voices are more "visible" to the field of education in emergencies as well as to teachers themselves. Qualitative studies are more concerned with in-depth accounts where individuals' voices highlight the complexities of experiences in their own contexts

(Wittemore et al., 2001). The benefits of qualitative studies allow us to understand participants' experiences and views, uncover their voices, especially for vulnerable populations, and paint an integrated picture of their current contexts in a specific moment of time (Denzin & Lincoln; 2003).

This study examined how Congolese teachers participate in TLCs. It has looked at what their experiences are in the TLCs as well as what they feel are the advantages and disadvantages of different components of this type of TPD. It aimed to better understand how teachers create communities of practice as well as adapt and try new content and instructional techniques learned from the TLCs. These were complex and descriptive open-ended goals of my research, therefore requiring me to enter teachers' professional contexts to paint an integrated picture of these experiences. Before the study, a "visible" image or concept did not exist of what these TLCs looked like and how they are received by Congolese teachers, therefore creating another rationale for a qualitative study that uncovered the complexities of teachers' professional development contexts.

It is important to acknowledge up front that just as any research endeavor, qualitative research is interpretive where the researcher seeks to understand a context and situation from participants' perspectives (Locke et al., 2004). The researcher creates representations of participants' voices and realities in order to paint a world that is seemingly naturalistic. Further in this chapter, I talk more about the creation of a research team as well as researcher positionality and strategies in order to bring forth participant voices and decision-making techniques for interpreting findings. Qualitative research requires the researcher to be a participant in his own study, which is what I set out to do in order to highlight discursive practices and my own indigenous forms of

knowledge. Working with a group of Congolese education stakeholders as part of a research team also served to bring forth context-specific ways of thinking and interpreting. Therefore, this qualitative research project required an ethical perspective on how the research team members, including myself, represented the participants in this study.

Interpretation and representation issues lead me to a brief discussion that rationalized the use of a "crystallized qualitative study" approach so that the study is deemed credible and rigorous. Rossman and Rallis (2003) articulate that credible qualitative research comprises of data that are gather intensively, where emerging themes and findings are vetted and linked to participants' understandings as well as triangulated from several different data sources. Rigor requires that researchers make their positions and question clear, where multiple methods of data collection are carefully and consistently justified and applied systematically (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Crystallized qualitative research allows the researcher to create the overall design and process of a study using creative means as well as highlight different interpretations and findings from different crystallized lenses (Ellingson, 2008). However, a study, regardless of its structure, must adhere to the credible and rigor elements highlighted by Rossman and Rallis (2003).

As noted above, my research project originated from deductive qualitative techniques that call upon the use of inductive approaches to better unveil the research teams' interpretations, the researchers' positionality and participants' context specific understandings of their realities. Deductive research posits that raw data is collected and analyzed through key themes and theory that serve as lenses and help guide the

researcher's interpretations while inductive research "primarily use detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or a researcher" (Thomas, 2006, p.238). Therefore, the deductive nature of my study used the community of practice, self-efficacy, and external factor categories to paint pictures of teachers' realities of TLCs. However, in conjunction with co-researchers, we also used emerging themes, examined our own positionalities as well as engaged teachers' themselves to induce other categories and themes that arose from the data. These approaches helped create a credible and rigorous study for mapping out and exploring findings based on different research lenses. Crystallization also allowed for the re/considering of theory which helps better explain the personal, professional and social in our lives (Ellingson, 2008)

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of my qualitative study reflected components such as communities of practice, self-efficacy and external factors in order to understand Congolese teachers' experiences of TLCs. As stated above, I used "woven crystallization" to bring together different genres and techniques of qualitative research to make a single text (Ellingson, 2008, p.1). I used deductive and inductive approaches which I refer to as "lenses" for understanding the contexts and TLC expereinces of Congolese teachers. The conceptual framework for this study therefore used an integrated approach.

The deductive portion of my study posited that the TLC experiences of teachers can be attributed to three concrete categories, which stem from the literature on TPD.

The study examined the extent to which teachers described their TLCs as communities of practice. Communities of practice originate in "Social Development Theory" (Vygotsky, 1978), described above, which states that individuals learn best in social settings where their learning is scaffolded. Wenger (1998) takes this approach to a more practical level by framing social learning within a realm of communities of practice that envelope goal-oriented collaboration among members participating in a group. Research on TPD finds that communities of practice are most effective at teacher change when TPD is content-focused and favors collective participation, contextual coherence, duration, and reflection. Therefore, this lens was examined from the five elements of effective TPD that create a community of practice environment.

The second lens examined the self-efficacy of teachers, which is understood as the belief teachers have in their own abilities (Bandura, 1977). Teachers can increase their self-efficacy, which is linked to their motivation and practice. Change in self-efficacy is mitigated by enactive mastery, modeling, social persuasion, and emotional arousal activities (Bandura, 1986; Bandura, 1994; Bandura 2000). This is a powerful lens to capture how teachers feel about themselves and to examine which types of self-efficacy-promoting techniques might be integrated into TLCs.

The third deductive lens aligned with external factors that impact teacher motivation and TPD success; these include leadership, working conditions, and the policy environment. The latter includes literature and concepts around trauma.

In terms of inductive lenses, it should be noted that this process was undertaken in conjunction with a group of six Congolese education stakeholders. As a research team, we met to frame and adapt research tools, conduct data collection, and participate in

generative data analysis sessions. This was one of the main strategies used to draw out "discursive practices" and "indigenous forms of knowledge" as tools to generate other categories and themes. Discursive practices are the ways that we describe and explain our worlds, which are based on social constructs (Kanu, 2005). Indigenous forms of knowledge can surface when we allow our own discursive practices to take a back seat and listen to the voices and obstacles to expression of our participants and (Kanu, 2005). Therefore, these tools helped bring out context from the positionality of Congolese researchers and helped me reflect on my own positionality as a researcher in the course of explaining data from different lenses and perspectives (Mosselson, 2010).

This conceptual framework formed by these various lenses helped set a structure for my research study while also providing "crystal-like faces" that permited multiple forms of knowing and understanding to arise from the data. This resulted in a more nuanced contextual understanding of how teachers in (post)crisis environments experienced their TPD. Crystallized qualitative research provided a non-positivistic approach to examining Congolese teachers' TLC experiences, especially in terms of their responses and impacts to trauma (Hernández-Wolfe, 2011).

In Figure 5, I lay out this conceptual framework in a two dimensional fashion.

This figure is intended to ease explanation and understanding of the potentially interconnected meanings in the simplicity of an image. The research methodology that I detail in the next section is designed to investigate closely the nuanced relationships between and among these lenses and tools to paint multiple interwoven pictures of Congolese teacher experiences of TLCs.

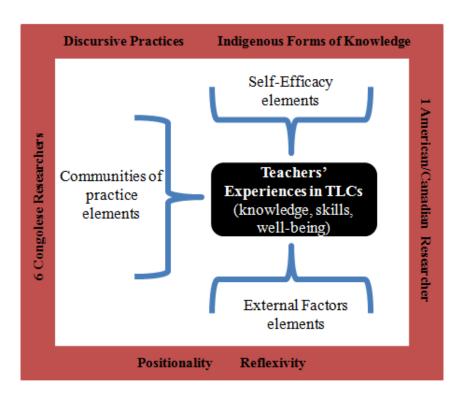


Figure 5: Crystallized Conceptual Framework

Research Methodology – Case Study

This study employed qualitative case study research as a tool for uncovering explicit descriptions and details of a specific type of Teacher Professional Development (TPD), known as Teacher Learning Circles (TLCs). Rossman and Rallis (2003) define case studies as "in-depth and detailed explorations of single examples" that attempt "to understand the larger phenomenon through close examination of a specific case and therefore focus on the particular" (p.104). The case that I explored was the experience of early grade reading teachers in Katanga, in southeastern DRC who participated in TLCs for professional development.

A case study approach, once its boundaries are defined, leads to many benefits for understanding a situation or a context. Case studies highlight "the complexities of a

situation." A case study "depicts how the passage of time has shaped events, provides vivid material, and presents differing perspectives or opinions...thereby extending comprehension of some complex set of events or circumstances" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p.104). Therefore, a case study can help to understand real-life activities and can describe characteristics of these events in depth (Noor, 2008; Yin, 2009). Case studies ask important "how" and "why" questions in order to provide descriptive analysis (Yin, 2009). These types of questions were directly asked to teachers who participated in the TLCs in the DRC. Case studies can help us understand how educational programs function, are implemented (Burde, 2012; & Merriam, 1998), and illustrate what to maintain and change (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). As a result, case studies can provide useful recommendations for sustainability and change.

Though a case study is often thought of as one unique group or set of individuals, it "has subsections, groups, occasions, a concatenation of domains – many so complex that at best they can only be sampled" (Merriam, 1998, p.239). This study of Congolese teachers in Katanga province who participate in TLCs, instead of being considered a singular case, will be treated as complose of multiple elements, or cases. Specific TLC groups are characterized into their own cases (as explored in Chapter 4). This study examined five different schools combined into three context-specific TLC cases. Examining multiple case-studies helps to understand similarities and differences between the cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

Schools were located in three different contexts throughout Katanga province in southeastern DRC. Two of the schools were located in a mining community that has experienced relative stability for the last ten years. Two schools were situated in Kilasi

town, a crossroads town on the major highway that leads to Lubumbashi, the capital city of Katanga. Kilasi has experienced sporadic conflict over the last ten years which is due to local militia rebellion groups, known as MaiMai, who drive residents from their villages. The final school is situated about five to six kilometers from Kilasi town, but is located in a rural area, where the direct impact of conflict has been sparse. Though this research is ultimately a case study of teacher participation and experiences with TLCs in Katanga province in southeastern DRC, it becomes a complex case study where each type of community visited represents its own case. These concepts will be explored in more detail in this chapter as well as in Chapter 4.

Case studies need boundaries in order to provide an intensive and descriptive analysis (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2009). Limits to case studies require that we indicate what is and is not part of the case (Baxter & Jack, 2998; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2003; Yin, 2009). The boundaries of my case study are defined as the study of five schools in Katanga province, and more specifically, of schools that implement TLCs as a form of inservice TPD. There needed to be at least seven teachers in each school, enough to allow for interviews with these teachers and observations of these teachers in TLC and classroom settings. The school sites also needed to be in a secure zone for teacher and researcher safety, especially during data collection when there were active MaiMai rebellions taking place in surrounding communities. There are clear limits to this case study which articulates with whom the study took place and within what boundaries. The application of the case study approach below sheds light on teacher participation in TLCs, practices outside of the TLCs, and on attitudes and beliefs of the TLCs within variuos contexts, incliding crisis-impacted situations.

Context & Research Participants

I chose to undertake this crystallized qualitative case study in Katanga province for a variety of different reasons. Foremost, I considered that the DRC is a unique country context where three-fourths of the population report living, or have lived, in a conflict-impacted area (Boak, 2009). It is a context that is simultaneously in intermittent conflict in the northeast and in post-conflict recovery in the southeast, with sporadic conflict patches throughout the country (Boak, 2009; Mokonzi & Kadongo, 2010; & Pearson, 2011). The education system in these areas has seen both direct and indirect impacts of conflict, which have left their traces in many Congolese schools (De herdt, 2010; Pearson, 2011; & Stearn, 2011). Additionally, very little is known about how education projects provide quality assistance, especially in terms of TPD, in post-conflict settings. The case study therefore examined TPD in a variety of contexts in Katanga province. This is a province that experiences a mix of stabile development, post-conflict reconstruction, and active conflict, a multi-faceted setting for research.

Specifically in terms of education, the DRC government is currently providing funds and inviting donors to help rebuild the education system after decades of economic, political, and social decline due to conflict and mismanagement. It currently suffers from minimal materials, under-qualified teachers, and a lack of capacity for TPD (MEPSP, 2010b; & Mokonzi & Kadongo, 2010). In 2010, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) was awarded a large grant by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to collaborate with the MEPSP, and especially the National In-Service Training Institute (SERNAFOR), to revamp their in-service primary education

sector in the northeast and southeast of the DRC (IRC, 2010). SERNAFOR revived their non-functioning in-service training system, which included three layers of in-service training at the pedagogical, school, and cluster levels (See Table 2 for descriptions of each level) (MEPSP, 2010; MEPSP; 2012).

Table 2: MEPSP In-Service Structures

Structure	Purpose	Frequency
Sister- Grade TLC	A grouping of teachers by sister-grades (for example: grade one and two, grades three and four, and grades five and six) meet together in working groups. In the sister-grade TLCs, teachers can explore new pedagogy, practice and observe, create didactic materials together, etc.	Weekly
School- level TLC	Teachers at the school-level TLCs meet together to share, reflect, collaborate and strategize solutions on content and instruction related problems as well as introduce innovative instructional techniques and classroom based experiences.	Monthly
Cluster Schools TLC	A regrouping of schools that are located within a geographic proximity (3 to 5 schools) which serves as a forum for reflection and collaboration to help create a professional community between colleagues	Quarterly

(MEPSP, 2010a; MEPSP, 2012)

All in-service training structures use a TLC format where:

The learning circle is a space for exchanging information, for (self) professional development and (self) assessment that aims to reinforce teachers' pedagogical competencies. It's a space to share experiences and to reflect on solutions based on classroom difficulties (MEPSP, 2010a, p.4)

In Katanga province in the DRC, at the time of data collection, the TLCs had been functional for approximately one-and-a-half years in cohort one schools and for one-half a year in cohort two schools. This suggested it would be an advantageous time to explore how the TLCs were operating and examine teachers' attitudes toward this revamped form of continuous TPD.

The study was conducted at the school level, with a research team of seven researchers. Six of the researchers were education stakeholders familiar with the educational landscape of Katanga province. Two of these were MEPSP inspectors with over twenty years experience in the MEPSP. Two others were IRC education and monitoring staff who were responsible for coaching teachers and collecting monitoring data. Two other researchers were independent consultants who were familiar with social science methods and who had also participated in the data collection of project baseline data. I completed the research team as the seventh member.

The research team selected schools that were able to demonstrate documentation of TLCs that appeared to be functional. Before data collection, the team traveled to 10 potential schools to meet with Head Teachers (HTs) to ask for their willingness and availability to participate in the study over the course of five days. All HTs agree to participate in the study. At the time of data collection, MaiMai rebellion movements that encroached upon Lubumbashi prevented the team from being able to freely move back and forth between five of the schools. As a result, the schools that were selected along an axis that would allow the research team easy access to leave in case of MaiMai rebel group movement towards those communities. This would also ensure that teachers and HTs participating in the study could take necessary measures to flee the area should the chance arrive. Therefore five schools were selected due to convenience sampling and to ensure security measures. Dalémo¹ and Sumané schools were located in a mining town. Tuso and Lané schools were located in the Kilasi crossroads town that had recently been impacted by the displacement of thousands of internally displaced people (IDPs). Molbé

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¹ For the sake of maintaining confidentiality, school names have been altered with pseudonyms.

school was located in a rural village town situated on a dirt path about five to six kilometers from Kilasi. All schools were in session at the time of data collection.

Permission to conduct the study was granted across all levels of the DRC education system. Senior IRC staff obtained permission in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi at the central and regional MEPSP levels to conduct the research and use technological equipment, such as audio, video and visual devices at the central MEPSP level. The research team met with division and sub-division heads in order to have permission to enter the schools in the two different sub-division intervention zones. Upon arrival at each school, the IRC team met with the HTs to present the project and gain their permission, set dates, as well as gain their consent to perform the data collection in their establishments.

Teacher participants of the study were selected based on two criteria: 1) they needed to be a part of the IRC OPEQ TLC initiative and; 2) They were responsible for teaching reading. All participant teachers were asked to sign an informed consent that articulated the goal and objectives of the case study, the voluntary nature of their participation, and grasp how the data will be used in the future. My research colleagues presented this form to each teacher and explained orally the information found on the form.

In principle, 35 teachers were supposed to participate in the study (seven teachers for each of the five schools). However, due to different constraints, 26 teachers participated in the study. All Dalémo and Sumané school teachers were present during data collection and participated in the study. In Molbé school, one teacher was absent during the data collection due to an illness, so six of the seven teachers participated in the

study. In Tuso and Lané schools, because of the timing of data collection and new developments of the MaiMai encroaching upon Kilasi, the research team was only able to work with four of the twelve teachers in these two schools. Because Tuso and Lané schools were situated in the same physical space, they are discussed in this study as being one school. The research team also included at least one interview with each of the HTs, save for the Lané school, where the HT was not present at the time of data collection (see Table 3).

Table 3: Number of Teacher-Participants

TLC Schools	Number of Teachers	HTs
Dalémo School	8	1
Sumané School	8	1
Molbé School	6	1
Tuso School	2	1
Lané School	2	
Total School Participants	26 Teacher-Participants	4 HTs

Data Collection

Upon full Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval at the university level, data was collected over a period of six weeks beginning in February 2013. There were three main phases to the data collection process. The first stage involved a data collection workshop with co-researchers, where together we examined the different theoretical constructs, principles of qualitative case study research, and contextualized data collection instruments. During this time, as a team, we discussed positionality and used reflexivity to bring out our biases of what we envisioned to find at the school level. This workshop also provided the opportunity to practice using data collection tools and refine the data collection process which we would be undertaking together as a team.

Phases two and three of the data collection process involved using a variety of different tools. Phase two involved collecting data at the school and conducted preliminary data analysis discussion sessions. In phase three the research team held its own focus-groups to begin the data analysis process as well as continue to use reflexivity in the group in order to bring participants' voices to the forefront. We conducted research over a one month period in all five of the schools. In school there were somewhat functional TLCs where teachers came together to participate in TPD. All data was gathered with explicit written permission from participant teachers, HTs, and researchers. The data collection was in complete compliance IRB guidelines.

In this next section, I map out the tools (interviewing, observing, artifact collection, focus-group member checks) that aided in navigating the case study research process (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Ellingson, 2008; & Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Wolcott (1994) explains the utility of these tools. Interviewing is necessary in order to inquire about the experiences of participants, observation is a tool to experience the setting, and document collection is an examination of the setting and the experience. Member checks help to confirm preliminary findings and increase participation in the research process (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Member checks are important especially when trying to determine themes in the data by brining participant voices back into the knowledge generation and interpretation process (Ellingson, 2008, Marshall & Rossman, 2011; & Rossman & Rallis, 2003). I also employed researcher focus group member checks and field notes as data collection tools. These afforded us on the research team the space and time to interview ourselves and incorporate a crystallized perspective to the case study. These methods enabled data in this case study to be triangulated and crystallized from

observations of TLCs, teacher interviews, classroom observations, artifact collection, school-based focus group member-checks, researcher focus group member-checks, and personal field notes. Each tool was designed to collect deductive and inductive data that also attempted to answer my research question and sub-questions.

The use of interviews is an important tool to "get closer to the actor's perspective" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.10). This is a technique that captures the deep meaning of someone's experience in his or her own words in order to understand how participants view their worlds (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). In this study, the researcher team interviewed all the teachers who participate in the TLCs in order to grasp their "experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge" (Patton, 2002, p.4). The style of the interviews attempted to be dialogic. Individuals who were familiar with conducting research with teachers helped to create a supportive environment for teachers to "open up" and express themselves in their "own terms" (Bernard, 2000, p.191). Depending on the school, teacher interviews happened in the afternoon after classes ended or were conducted in the morning before classes started. Becasue the research team did not want to interrupt the daily schedule of the school, we chose to conduct interviews in relation to teachers' schedules. This did not necessarily create the trusting rapport with teacherparticipants that we had hoped for, but the research team made sure to ask initial questions that teachers had the answers to, so that we set a tone that appreciated teachers' openness to providing us with information. During the initial data collection workshop with researchers, we discussed salient strategies for trying to create a trusting rapport with teacher-participants in order for them to feel safe, especially taking into account the conflict-related context in which some teachers found themselves (Bernard, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). We wanted to create, as much as possible, fluid conversations that would not limit the voices of participants. To the end, researchers used local language when they felt that teachers did not have a certain comfort level to express themselves in French (Bernard, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

These interviews helped answer all three research sub-questions. Teachers were asked to highlight the advantages and challenges of their TLCs, especially in terms of content knowledge, instructional practices, and community support elements. The interviews dug into how teachers specifically use the concepts that they have learned in the TLCs. Semi-structured in-depth interviews fostered a dialogic conversation so that participants could feel comfortable while also allowing researchers opportunities to dig deeper in order to uncover specific details related to teachers opinions and actual TLC and classroom practices. The interviews followed an organized roadmap while also offering flexibility to dive into emerging ideas (Bernard, 2000; Kvale, 1996; Noor, 2008). Each interview lasted between 45 to 90 minutes.

Researchers help to develop and contextualize the interview guide, which included the predetermined themes of communities of practice, self-efficacy, and external influence of teachers' TPD realities. As with other interview guides, this protocol asked category-based topic questions while also remaining open to other topics that participants brought up (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; & Rossman & Rallis, 2003). We mostly asked open-ended questions that permitted participants to respond freely. But the questions were standardized and asked to each teacher-participant (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). The unstructured component of the interview process allowed researchers to bring up other topics related to teacher experiences and participation in the TLCs. This created an

interview scenario that was structured but that also created multiple moments for new emerging crystallized themes to be generated (see Appendix B: Interview Protocol – TLC Teacher Interviews).

All interviews were conducted by researchers working in pairs. One of the researchers, Researcher A, served as the individual asking the question and setting the tone of the interview. So that Researcher A was not distracted with other responsibilities, Researcher B was responsible for recording the conversation with an audio recording device as well as taking notes using a standard note-taking protocol (please see Appendix C: Standard Note-Taking & Observation Protocol). In the protocol, Researcher B recorded all that she heard and saw during the interview. At the end of the interview, Researcher B would then fill out in the right-hand column of the protocol her impressions, possible interpretations, as well as preliminary links back to the conceptual framework. Recording the audio and the taking of hand-written notes helped as a backup measure in case a technological issue prevented data from being recorded. These written notes also allowed the research team to begin preliminary analysis sessions, as discussed below.

I conducted at least one 30 minute interview with each of the four HTs in each school. These interviews were open-ended. I asked HTs to provide specific context-related information on each community and school. Because of the open-ended nature of these questions, they were usually conducted at the beginning of each five-day stay in a school, when I first tried to establish rapport with each HT. In Dalémo, Sumané, and Molbé schools, I was able to conduct follow-up open ended interviews that revolved

around questions that came up amongst the research team during the data collection process.

Along with interviews, the research team conducted two different types of observations to formally gain access to the setting and to begin to understand the complexities of teacher experiences in the TLCs. Qualitative observations "entail systematic noting and recordings of events, actions, and interactions" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p.195). The observations in this study entailed observing TLC teachers in their interactions during TLCs and when participants teach a reading lesson in their classrooms. Therefore, the purpose of the observations was to shed insights into the third research sub-question, which queried how teachers adapt and use concepts learned in the TLCs, such as content, instructional practices and the creation of a community of practice.

Marshall & Rossman (2011) urge qualitative researchers to clearly articulate the purpose of the observation, how it is to be fruitful to the research, when they will be conducted, and how data recorded from the observations will be analyzed. As indicated above, the purpose of the two different types of observations conducted was to respond to my third sub-question. The first type of observation examined how teachers take new content knowledge and instructional practices learned during TLCs, as well as gauge how they feel about these practices. The research team used a simple standard observation protocol which was also used for the TLC observations. It is a simple T-chart tool, where observers took hand-written notes in the left hand column to write down all that they heard and saw during a 30 minute classroom session. At the end of the observation, the observer went back to fill in the right-hand column, which included noting their

impressions and where they noticed possible linkages to the conceptual framework (please see Appendix C: Standard Observation Protocol). This protocol was used and filled out during classroom observations of all 26 teacher-participants. The classroom lesson plans were also video recorded with the written consent of teacher-participants.

The second set of observations conducted was during TLCs. Researchers worked in pairs once again. Researcher A filmed the TLCs while Researcher B used the standard note-taking and observation protocol to record what he saw and heard and his impressions related to the data. This observation lasted between 30 to 45 minutes per TLC. We video-taped these TLC sessions with the informed consent of TLC participants to employ "interaction analysis," which "...seeks to unobtrusively observe naturally occurring interactions, record them on tape, and subsequently analyze those recordings" (Marshal & Rossman, 2011, p. 186). The TLC observations serve to better understand the "how" of my study. In all, 10 TLCs were observed across the five schools.

Before and after the interviewing and observation periods, I amassed different artifacts in order to ask participants to speak more about important TLC-related symbols and document evidence that "acts as a method to cross-validate information gathered from interview and observation" (Noor, 2008, p.1604). Documents related to the TLCs, such as TLC meeting minutes, created materials, lesson plans, classroom materials, and TLC training materials, helped to grasp how teachers adapt TLC content and how they feel about TLCs in general. Artifacts such as these help to portray the espoused and accepted values and beliefs of a specific context (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The artifacts were all photographed in order to use them for data analysis.

At the end of each TLC community visit, teachers participated in a focus group session. The focus group is a data collection method which brings a small group of people together where they feel comfortable sharing their thoughts, opinions, beliefs and experiences (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The researcher poses the questions while the focus group participants converse and interact amongst themselves. This technique can create a group atmosphere where participants can be candid in their opinions as well as justify their responses based on challenging specific stances of other participants (Ho, 2006). Using a focus group at the end of each TLC visit helped the research team share ideas and raw data that stemmed from the other methods. This helped increase the voices of participants and provide greater details to emerging themes (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). This aspect of the focus group helped answer the first two research sub-questions related to the advantages and challenges of the different components of the TLCs.

Each focus group lasted about two hours and was guided by a list of questions and topics that revolve around deductive themes (please see Appendix D: Focus Group Questions and Topics). In each theme, researchers pulled out striking data from the teacher interviews, the observations, and artifact collection in order to spur conversations that dig deeper and provide more descriptive data. Researchers once again worked in pairs. Researcher A posed the questions and focused on creating an environment where participants felt open to share. Researcher B video-recorded the focus group, with the permission of the teacher-participants, and also took notes with the standard note-taking protocol. Teacher-participants were also asked to indicate major themes of interest for

the preliminary participatory coding process. These techniques were, in essence, member-checks.

Another benefit of focus groups is that they provide data about the types of interactions between participants (Ho, 2006). The type of interactions between colleagues can be explored and coded (Ho, 2006; Onwuegbuzie, 2009, Rossman & Rallis, 2003). This is releveant to the research question of how teachers adapt and use different elements of TLCs in and out of the classroom. The TLC participant focus groups add another layer of data about how participants reflect and collaborate together and the type of environment they create when they are together. These participant-consented video-recordings created a permanent record that allowed the research team to review and re-review these interactions during the data analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

Throughout the data collection process, the research team held our own focus groups in order to discuss data collection related issues, the collection process, and more importantly, to participate in generative data analysis. This was perhaps one of the most important data collection activities that linked data with preliminary data analysis.

During our research team focus groups, we brainstormed about how specific data points hinted to, or seemed linked to, the various TPD conceptual framework categories. This was also a venue to talk about how our positions as outsiders and researchers can skew and impact our interpretations of the process. Of equal significance, the research team focus groups revealed Congolese education system concepts and processes with which I, as an outsider, was not familiar. It also helped to reframe the type of "adaptations" that teachers performed in their classrooms from a more etic lens.

The final data collection method that I used was also integrated systematically throughout the data collection and analysis process. The use of field notes should be read as a data set, where I recorded valuable written dialogues and running records of interactions, experiences, and reflections after collecting each artifact and after each interview, observation, and focus group (Frazier, 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; & Rossman & Rallis, 2003). I used a note-taking and observation protocol that where I described memorable actions, interactions, observations, activities and responses, and I mapped my perceptions, impressions, emerging themes and interpretations (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p.196). My field notes helped me to bring up reflexive concepts and positionality concerns during the research team focus group sessions.

All of the data collection methods indicated above were implemented in each TLC school community in which the case study research was conducted (please see Table 4 below). These methods were designed to answer my research question including its sub-questions (see Table 5, below). I created spacess that allowed for inductive data collection. This gave participants more of an active voice in order to tell a more holistic picture of their stories. These accounts almost always involved discussions about context, including times of crisis. All the tools presented were used to facilitate data analysis and demonstrate how data collection and analysis can overlap and serve each other. In order to make a more natural transition from data collection to data analysis, I included data analysis elements throughout the collection process, including: systematic field notes, member checks, research team focus groups, and preliminary coding and theme generation opportunities.

Table 4: Data Collection Schedule per TLC-School Community*

Day 0	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Day 4	Day 5
	**TI 1	TI 3	TI 5	TI 7	TLC
Arrival, Introductions	TI 2	TI 4	TI 6	TI 8	Observation
	***CO 1	CO 3	CO 5	CO 7	Teacher FG
	CO 2	CO 4	CO 6	CO 8	reaction re
Field notes	Field notes	Research	Field notes	Research	Research Team
		Team ****FG		Team FG	FG
		Field notes		Field notes	Field notes

^{*}Teacher-portion of data collection is inversed depending on school timetable

Table 5: Data Collection Tools

Data Collection Tool (Method/Instrument)	Collected From	Amount of Recorded Data	Research Question Answered
TLC Teacher Interview (audio- recording, note-taking & observation protocol)	26 Teacher Interviews	43.25 hours	-What are the advantages of the TLCs? -What are the disadvantages of the TLCs? -How do teachers adapt concepts learned in the TLCs?
HT Open-Ended Interview (audio-recording)	4 HT Interviews	2 hours	-Community Context -School Context -Participation / Opinions of TLCs
Classroom Observation (vide-recording, note-taking & observation protocol)	26 class observations	14.15 hours	How do teachers adapt concepts learned in the TLCs?
Artifact Collection (photographs, note-taking & observation protocol)	26 teachers, TLCs, schools	100+ artifacts	-How do teachers adapt concepts learned in the TLCs?
TLC Observation (audio/video- recording, note-taking & observation protocol)	10 TLC observations	8.1 hours	-How do teachers adapt concepts learned in the TLCs?
Teacher Focus Group Member- Checks (vide-recording, note-taking & observation protocol)	4 FGs (Tuso & Lané schools FG was conducted as 1 school)	9.6 hours	-What are the advantages of the TLCs? -What are the disadvantages of the TLCs? -How do teachers adapt concepts learned in the TLCs?
Research Team Focus Group (audio-recording)	3 FGs per school	3 hours	-Generative data analysis for all three questions -Indigenous forms of knowledge uncovering -Reflexivity, positionality uncovering
Lead Researcher Field-Notes	At the end of each day of data collection	20 Field Notes	-Generative data analysis for all three questions -Reflexivity, positionality uncovering

^{**}Teacher Interview

^{***} Classroom Observation

^{****}Focus Group

Data Analysis

This research project amassed a significant amount of data, as demonstrated by the data collection schedule per school community (Table 4) and the data collection tools proposed (Table 5). In order to analyze the data, analysis commenced at data collection start-up. In this sub-section, I highlight the approach used to organize, code, and interpret the data, which was done in collaboration with the research team. The analysis was framed from a crystallization approach where I acknowledged that not only is data collection interpretive, but the analysis of the data can create a variety of different representations:

"Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of the observer and the observed" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.19).

Therefore, the analysis steps frequently employed reflexive techniques with researchers in order pull out our own socially constructed interpretations as well as foster indigenous forms of knowledge. These steps follow Marshall & Rossman's (2011) suggested data analysis approach which calls for organizing the data, data immersion, coding, generating themes, creating interpretations as well as always searching for alternate understandings.

Data immersion is not a static period that stops and starts in the data analysis phase. It is integrated into every aspect of a qualitative research project. The researcher familiarizes herself with the data by living the data collection process, reviewing organized data analysis tools, removing herself from the data in order for it to "simmer" and "live" with it (Rossman & Rallis, p.281). Data immersion for this study began with

the conceptualization of the study and was actively pursued and "simmered" from the onset of the data collection process.

The research team continuously reflected on our underlying assumptions about teachers and our preconceived notions about what we would and what we were finding in the data. In the data collection workshop, for example, we conducted our own focus groups to talk about the assumptions that we had about teachers in rural and conflictimpacted contexts. This process and the results of these focus groups could lead to a study in its own right that examines what it means to be an "outsider" and "insider" within the Congolese education system. There were many assumptions that proved "true" after data collection, yet there were other statements and ideas that did not at all reflect the realities on the ground in some schools. For example, when talking about conflict in Katanga, my counterparts indicated that Katanga is a safe province with minimal to no violence. These were interesting conversations given that the MaiMai were actively encroaching around Lubumbashi, the city in which the data collection workshop was held. Given that the researchers had experienced decades of conflict in the past, could the MaiMai rebel movement have been considered an "illegitimate" and/or "minor" conflict? Could they have been a result of a group of researchers who had never experienced direct displacement and conflict in their lives, a condition noted in the literature (Stearns, 2011)? The data collection workshop helped set the context with my Congolese colleagues and thus helped draw out our own biases.

The researcher focus groups purposefully set the stage for the research team to think out loud and to talk about interviews, observations, artifacts collected, always in reference to the conceptual framework explicated in the data collection workshop. These

sessions also allowed the research team to think more about our assumptions about teachers and their realities. It helped us "mess around" with the data and make preliminary connections and interpretations. These meetings often felt like a "messy" process, where there was really no goal at the end of a session. The one objective was to talk. Informal focus groups also happened during rest periods and during meals that the research team shared. Because the research team lived, ate, and traveled together during a month-long period, conversations turned into data analysis sessions. This was especially true at the end of each day, when the team traveled back to our lodging in the car.

The continuous analysis conducted by the research team demonstrated researchers "living" and "becoming intimate" with the data. Data became a part of who the researcher is, which is neither objective nor impartial. The researcher can "silently fill in the gaps with assumptions and beliefs" (Etherington, 2007, p. 600). It becomes problematic if the researcher compartmentalizes data so that it fits into tidy theoretical constructs and is generalized to the point where the context of the case can be forgotten (Stake, 2003). The "messiness" of the process is part of "living with the data."

Reflexivity, a major component of the crystallization approach to data analysis, is used to uncover initial and budding assumptions that reoccurred both in my field notes and during research team focus group sessions. A reflexive dialogue with myself and with the team was established (Ellingson, 2008; & Frisoli, 2010). Reflexivity was used as a tool to increase awareness of how we viewed the contexts in which we conducted the study, how our worldviews impacted our understandings of contexts, and how these

understandings influence the story told of teachers. Reflexive techniques are ethically important (Etherington, 2007; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; & Mosselson, 2010).

Bringing the backgrounds of researchers to the table to examine how they potentially influenced data analysis helps to uncover more in-depth and context-specific complexities of participant voices and actions (Mosselson, 2010). One salient example in our case stemmed from a researcher who was an MEPSP inspector. At the beginning of the data collection workshop, other researchers pointed out to him that his observations were continuously stated in the form of judgments. This appeared linked to his role as an inspector whose role is to provide feedback and suggestions to schools, HTs, and teachers. During the first teacher interview, he picked out a teacher's errors and tried to conduct a feedback session with him. The research team, together, held each other accountable in order to step back and try to put away the different professional roles that we played in order to put on our researcher hats. Working in a team proved to be an effective tool to highlight each others' interpretations that were based on assumptions founded on who we were and from where we came. It was effective for drawing out categories and themes that brought to the surface "indigenous ways of knowing."

These formal and informal conversations amongst the research team aided in creating questions and member-checks for the teacher focus group sessions. These were always conducted on the last day of each school visit. The evening before each teacher focus-group, the research team met together to propose preliminary categories, codes, themes and clarification questions concerning participant data from multiple schools. Teachers, therefore, became researchers at the end of the data collection in each site. They were able to highlight what themes and codes were important to them and comment

on findings from different schools. This was important to the data collection and analysis process because it was during these sessions that it became abundantly clear that teacher contexts, according to the teachers themselves, have an impact on their attitudes and abilities to do their jobs effectively.

The collective data analysis continued after the data collection process. During the last week that I was in the DRC, the research team conducted a five day data analysis workshop together. This entailed a more systematic immersion in the data. As a group, we read, re-read, and read once again all of the hand-written notes and reviewed a select amount of data that arose from conversations around categories, themes, and sub-themes. Using a two-pronged approach, we looked for key words and categories during the data immersion process. First we conducted "focused coding" by examining the data from the pre-determined categories (Emerson et al., 1995, p.143). This process helped the team to realize that many of the categories in the TPD conceptual framework did ring true. We then used "open coding" across all data to generate other emerging key words and categories in order to contextualize the data (Emerson et al., 1995, p.143).

The focused coding technique underscores the conceptual framework mentioned above when reading and re-reading the data (Wolcott, 1994). During open coding, we looked across all data instruments using an inductive approach that focused on emerging categories and themes that originated in the raw data (Thomas, 2006). I felt that it is necessary to used this double-layered approach in order to search for alternative understandings and indigenous ways of knowing and "indigenous categories" (Rossman & Rallis, 200, p.282). Once key words and categories were coded, we then assembled similar ideas and concepts together to create themes and sub-themes (see Figure 6). This

provided an initial model of themes and sub-themes and their interactions. This is where interpretations and narratives were formed and serve as the rich analysis of the case study.

PRELIMINARY THEMES AND SUB-THEMES

- 1) Motivating Factors
 - a. Working Conditions (salary, class size, classroom conditions...)
 - b. Psychological and Intellectual Motivation / Drive
 - c. Capacity Building Opportunities
- 2) School Environment Impact on Teachers
 - a. Relationship between the Head Teacher (HT) and teachers
 - b. Relationship between the community and teachers
 - c. Impact of outside education stakeholkders (MEPSP, NGOs, etc)
- 3) TLC Functioning Characteristics
 - a. Frequency
 - b. Structure
 - c. Teachers' opinions
- 4) Sharing together
 - a. Discussing together
 - b. Helping one another
 - c. Collegial influences
 - d. Resolving Difficulties
 - e. Relationships between colleagues
- 5) Trying out new strategies
 - a. Usefulness and use of teaching and learning manipulatives
 - b. Usefulness and use of TLC demonstration activities
 - c. Usefulness and use of project tools
 - d. Explanation and use of IRC's « Healing Classroom » concepts

Figure 6: Preliminary themes and sub-themes from data analysis workshop

After the data analysis workshop, I proceeded to organize all French transcribed data from the audio and video recordings so that they were easily retrievable and visible. All data was organized in NVIVO, a software package that allows data to be organized according to a wide variety of parameters. I classified all data into school categories.

With NVIVO, I then coded all the data, using the different themes and sub-themes indicated in Figure 6. While coding, I also created "open" categories that seemed to refer more to the contextual nature of each school.

After the coding process, it became evident to me that the "open codes" provided more of a profile for each school. Therefore, I queried these open codes by school. Data from each school presented itself as a narrative to better understand the context of each school. As a result, I created "school profiles" for each school. These highlight the various conditions in each community that seem have an impact on schools and teachers. These findings are presented and discussed in more depth in Chapter 4. These findings also bring "indigenous forms of knowledge" to the forefront.

Once the school profile memos were written, I then queried the different findings per theme and sub-theme for each school. I created findings memos. Due to the similarities between Dalémo and Sumané schools, especially in terms of context, I created only one findings memo for these two schools. However, for the Tuso, Lané and Molbé schools, although they were located in relative geographic proximity to one another, I created two memos. These highlight the contextual differences between these schools. I created a findings memo for Molbé school because of the rural setting of this community, non-government funded, thus non-paid school. The Tuso and Lané schools finding memo reflects the crisis-context. This unique piece in particular offers a contribution to the field of education in emergencies.

During the drafting of the school memos, I translated all data from French into English. I translated at this stage in the process because I was cognizant that translating brings up nuanced issues of meaning and connotations. I therefore "aim[ed] for

reasonable approximation of the interview partner's words and intent" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p.112). Doing this at the memo-creation stage helped assure that meaning would not be lost during the coding and analysis stages.

In writing up my findings and interpretations, I have used the writing process as a generative learning process as well. During the analysis, the initial themes and subthemes may have shifted due to potential links and nuanced patterns that arise from the more detailed and in-depth analysis conducted after the data analysis workshop. Yet the essence of the preliminary analysis remained the same, something especially true for the overall structure and meaning of the themes. The themes and sub-themes are organized around the conceptual framework, the research questions, as well as the school profiles.

Ethical Considerations

During my data collection and analysis I frequently referred to Stake's (2003) provocative statement that "qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world" (p.154). This is important to remember for all qualitative projects, especially in this context where I will never fully grasp the past experiences of the Congolese teachers who participated in this study. Knowing that I conducted my research in a setting where there are ongoing rebel clashes and areas that are beginning to recover from decades of conflict, I tried to be sensitive to the potential vulnerability and resiliency of the teachers who participated.

I took a variety of different measures to ensure that this case study research did not create a fragile and vulnerable context that could potentially put the teacher-participants at risk. I assured confidentiality to the participants, and made sure that I

could deliver on this promise (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). This was a challenging endeavor, especially since I was assisted by the Ministry of Education (MEPSP) and the International Rescue Committee (IRC) to complete the data collection. In my contract with the IRC, who is currently an implementing partner of the MEPSP, I stipulated that all data collected will be used for the sole evaluative purpose of this case study, even though IRC and I will be the proprietors of all data collected. This will require both parties to agree that audio and video-recordings will not be played or displayed in presentations, conferences, or any other setting. I am confident that upon signing our memorandum of understanding that IRC and the MEPSP will respect these ethical considerations since they are committed to protecting the rights of all individuals.

All data I collected either through audio, video or artifacts will be held in my possession and will be transferred to IRC once all identifying information has been omitted. Electronic data is stored in a locked file on my computer and was removed from any recording apparatus and memory chip as soon as the file was transferred to my computer. In terms of physical documents, these remained in a locked room in the field and then in a locked filing cabinet in my personal office. Data that has been organized in NVIVO is stored in a secure computer file that requires password authentication. All participant names, school names, and locations remain confidential. These steps are necessary to ensure the confidentiality and safety of my participants, and are also required by IRC.

Another step I will take to protect participants from possible harm included the provision, review and signing of an informed consent form. The goal of this form is to help participants understand that their participation is first and foremost voluntary and

that they have the option to opt out of the study whenever they want with no consequences whatsoever (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; & Rossman & Rallis 2003). The form explained the different components of the research, the time allotted for different data collection methods, the purpose of the research, how the data will be recorded as well as how the data will be used once collected. Participants who agree to participate signed this informed consent letter, which was locked in my room while in the field and then locked in a filing cabinet back in my office in the United States.

Upon analysis and interpretation of the data, these narratives have been, and will continue to be used in conferences, presentations, and other venues that inform individuals of teacher experiences in TPD. Teacher-participants were informed of this and consented to how, when, and where I intend to represent their voices. The goal of this research is always to protect individuals who have been impacted by crisis. Therefore, the ethical considerations will be strictly adhered to in order to ensure this essential priority.

Limitations

A crystallized qualitative case study must unearth the researcher's assumptions and worldviews as well as indicate the study's limitations at the beginning of the research process (Ellingson, 2008). One of the limitations of this study is that findings will not be able to be easily generalized from one (post)crisis context to another. Post-crisis situations stem from local settings and are context-specific. The lessons learned in this case study may provide insights for other practitioners in the field of emergency education. However, the impacts of crisis on teachers may be different in a variety of

locations. Practitioners and scholars in the field of education and emergencies have expressed excitement to learn more about these findings. Yet, these findings are valid only for the contexts studied. It would be risky to generalize these findings, especially those found in Molbé, Tuso and Sumané schools, to other crisis impacted settings. In Tuso and Sumané, there was an acute crisis, while in Molbé the indirect impacts have lasted for at least a decade. Practitioners and scholars can use the different themes and revisualization of the TPD challenges and successes in order to examine and study different contexts. However, it is not possible to say that in a place like Pakistan, for example, TLCs would have similar results in an acute crisis, or that in more stable places, like Mali, could TLCs be a success. It would be risky to generalize the findings from this study to other locations. Attempts to apply programming in these new contexts could be harmful and not helpful to vulnerable populations.

Another important limitation to note revolves around my professional involvement in the TLC design and trainings in the DRC. For the past three years, I have been actively working on and supporting IRC and MEPSP staff in the development and implementation of the TLC content and programs. I acknowledge that there could be a conflict between my role as a qualitative case study researcher and my role as the TLC designer and trainer. It is for this reason why I felt it necessary that a crystallized approach was necessary as well as work with Congolese colleagues as a research team, where we could monitor our own assumptions and perceptions simultaneously while collecting data. During the informed consent process, we made HTs and teachers aware of my involvement in the TLC creation process.

Research was conducted over an intensive six week period. In this short time, the research team was able to observe 10 TLCs, interview 26 teachers and 4 HTs, observe 26 teachers in their classrooms, conduct 4 focus groups and collect over 100 different documents. This large volume of data has been very useful, but was collected in a relatively short amount of time where the research team was not able to fully immerse itself in each school and community in order to better understand the context and realities of teachers. The data and findings provide a five day snap-shot of teacher experiences in each school. This could be seen as a limitation.

During the multiple levels of data analysis, we as a team had more and more questions about context and about teacher personal and professional lives. However, because of the MaiMai rebellion, many of the communities that we visited had been infiltrated or shut off due to the rebels shifting locations. Five days is but a snapshot of the school profile and actual teacher participation in class and during the TLCs. As a team, we reconciled this lack of time by coming from a strengths-based approach. When observing teachers, we focused more on teacher capabilities instead of what they did on a daily basis. Capabilities present clues as to what teachers are able to do. By contrast, an approach that looks at what teachers normally do often amounts to a weakness-based approach connoting what teachers fail to accomplish. The timing, though short, allowed the team quick access to each school, to talk with and observe as many teachers as possible. The purpose of the study was to be able to find themes and patterns across teachers, schools, regions, and contexts. This data is some of the first to demonstrate a snapshot of teacher experiences in TPD in (post)crisis contexts.

A final limitation was a result of language. Though I have worked in the DRC and lived throughout sub-Saharan Africa, people know that I am an outsider due to my race and linguistic abilities. Though I am fluent in French, I do not speak any Congolese national language. Researchers spoke to some teachers in the local language, but it may have been more effective if more teachers would have been encouraged to speak in the language in which they felt most comfortable to express complex ideas. This could have detracted from data credibility in the sense that meaning could be diluted by speaking in French. By trying to conduct all interactions with participants in French, this may have prevented more detailed data from arising.

Summary

Through the use of this crystallized qualitative case study, the purpose of my study was to better understand Congolese teacher experiences of TLCs in which they participate. What do teachers feel are the advantages of the TLCs in terms of learning content, instructional skills as well as creating a sense of community among colleagues? What do they see as the challenges? How do teachers adapt and use content-focused, instructional skills, and community of practice elements? The structure for answering these questions and the tools and lenses have been laid out in this chapter. The crucial component of this research was to allow participant voices to shine through. Crystallization is a creative technique to use in order to accomplish this. Therefore, the goal of this research was to illuminate how teachers feel about their TPD, how TPD makes them feel, and what impact it has on how they do their jobs. The findings and analyses are presented in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER 4

SCHOOL PROFILES

Introduction

Where does one start to talk about findings and trends that appeared in this crystallized case study of teacher experiences of TLCs? If the goal of this research is to bring teacher voices to the forefront, especially in terms of participating in reform education projects that focus on TPD, it's necessary to avoid painting simplistic and positivistic conclusions that place all schools and teachers into one case. During the data collection and multiple data analysis sessions, the concept of variation became one of the most striking findings of teacher experiences and abilities to adapt techniques and community support elements from the TLCs. The five schools that agreed to participate in the study varied by size, location, socio-economic level, teacher experience, and community support. The 26 teachers who participated in interviews, classroom observations, TLC observations, and focus groups came from a variety of different backgrounds, with different amounts of teaching experiences, had multiple views and opinions of the TLCs, experienced well-being and motivating factors that varied, and used the TLCs for many different reasons. As a result, this research will not be able to paint a picture of a typical teacher and a typical school in a post-conflict setting.

In this chapter, I revisit the previous literature on teacher well-being and motivation in Katanga province in order to then present the five different case study schools and their contexts. First by resetting the stage, I review the problem of context in the DRC in order to refresh the argument that a focus on context is essential to experience

school contexts. Then, I will present different characteristics of each of the five schools who participated in this study. These characteristics become important elements to consider and revisit in the chapters that follow. These school factors and elements will be used to compare and contrast teacher experiences of participating in TLCs. I argue that context-based elements cannot be overlooked when examining other findings of this case study research, where current quantitative findings present a mere "tip of the iceberg" understanding of the settings in which teachers live and work.

Revisiting Previous Research on Teachers in Katanga Province

During the data collection and analysis processes, I have continuously referred back to Torrente et al.'s 2012 study on Congolese teacher motivation levels and feelings of well-being. This study is the sole piece of research that has systematically mapped out teacher experiences in the DRC, and specifically in Katanga province. Though I cannot use the NYU study to demonstrate how the TLC program has changed teacher motivation and well-being, I can use it as a barometer to better understand complex issues and overall contexts in Katanga. My study provides another view of experiences that allows education practitioners and researchers to go deeper into context to better understand the nuances of the problems successes of teachers. I quickly reset the stage from the perspective of the Torrente et al. (2012) study to my own which focuses deeply upon teacher voices and experiences from a descriptive and qualitative approach.

After decades of war in Southern and Eastern DRC, the MEPSP has not had the means to adequately maintain school infrastructure and provide quality TPD, and thus support for schools and teachers has fallen to communities. The MEPSP is now taking

steps to do more to lead education. They are allowing greater access to education and providing higher quality through the elimination of some school fees, updating and codifying their in-service teacher training program, and looking at ways to restructure certification and salary structures (De Herdt et al., 2010). However, student learning outcomes, as previously mentioned, reveal a minimally literate primary school population: More than 80% of 2nd graders in Katanga cannot identify the initial sound of a word and more than 50% of 4th graders could not read a single word of a simple text (Torrente et al., 2011, p. 11).

Congolese teachers in Katanga province face enormous challenges in their personal and professional lives. In order to better understand teacher realities, in 2011, New York University (NYU), in conjunction with the IRC, developed a tool to measure Katanga teacher social and emotional well-being. Baseline data was collected in 2011 with 456 teachers in 8 of Katanga's sub-divisions. Socio-demographic findings from the study are indicated in Table 6. Of notable significance, the descriptive statistics do not also reflect the wide variation and spread of data, especially in relation to teacher responses associated with well-being and motivation.

Table 6: Teacher Demographics and Salary Realities

- Average age of teachers: 30 years old.
- Average years of teaching experience: 12 (many begin as teenagers).
- Average of more than 5 dependents in teacher households.
- Average Secondary Schooling: 96.6% attended
- Average Secondary Schooling Completion: 69%
- * In the DRC, secondary school is where teachers get their pre-service training, 1/3 of teachers never finished the basic level of preparation.
- Certified Teacher Salary Amount: \$50/month. (~1/3 of all teachers)
- Under-Qualified Teacher Salary Amount: Varies (paid by communities)
- 66% of teachers report receiving their salary late.

Torrente et al. (2012) posit that low and uncertain salaries, insufficient preparation, and responsibility for multiple dependents have an impact on teacher well-being, motivation, and performance. Teachers struggle to meet their basic needs; approximately 25% of teachers in the study reported going to bed hungry up to one third of the time. nOn the other hand, approximately 65% indicated feeling respected by their communities. Since communities are the ones who make schooling possible, this is not a surprising finding. Teachers reported feeling emotionally exhausted, a condition associated with burnout, using a scale from 0 for never to 6 for every day. They averaged 3.31; more than half the time, they felt emotionally exhausted. Additionally, using the same scale, they averaged 1.27 for feeling personal accomplishment, which means that they only felt accomplished about a quarter of the time. These factors are significant factors that affect teacher well-being and contribute to burnout (Torrente et al., 2012).

In terms of motivation, the questionnaire explored reasons teachers went into and stay in teaching, what their greatest difficulties are at work, their job satisfaction, and the quality of their supervision, among other factors. Most teachers went into and stay in teaching because they care; approximately 80% reported that they stay in teaching for an altruistic reason. Yet their job satisfaction is low. On a scale from 1(low) to 4 (high), the average score was 1.73. Interestingly, those most satisfied with their jobs were those who reported the highest quality of supervision (Torrente et al., 2012).

Teachers were asked to indicate the difficulties that prevented them from doing their jobs. Teachers indicated a lack of teaching materials (77%), quality of learning materials (66%), and lack of student table/benches (65%) (Torrente et al., 2012, p.6-9). This indicates that they went into teaching knowing and accepting the reality of their

contexts – the poor infrastructure, large classes, and extreme climate conditions – but did not anticipate the lack of tools to do their job or the lack of access to a minimum of furniture and materials for students (Torrente et al., 2012).

Further analysis of the data by the NYU team revealed that more motivation was associated with certain findings from the demographic and household background items of the questionnaire. For example, teachers who are more motivated also reported lower numbers of sick household members, better income to consumption ratios, being born in the community, a favorable view of the policy environment, and support from students' parents (Torrente et al., 2012). The research report stressed that there is wide variation among teachers, which can be due to the variation among project school sites and living and working conditions. Furthermore, while motivation and its correlates favor performance, they do not guarantee it.

Another important contextual element to note in Katanga province is that both student and teacher well-being can be indirectly and directly impacted by conflict, but that this varies for each child and teacher. In Katanga, there are OPEQ project intervention zones that have experienced relative stability and peace for ten years, although they are exposed to indirect effects from the ongoing conflict (e.g. lack of institutional and financial support to the schools) while there are schools that are sporadically impacted by conflict, as experienced with the MaiMai Rebel insurgencies in Katanga from January until June of 2013 (De herdt et al., 2010; Pearson, 2011; & Stearns, 2011). Teachers who have experienced trauma and extreme stress may be less able to support the well-being and learning of their students. Just as we know that children need to be well in order to learn

well, teachers need to be well in order to teach well (Kirk & Winthrop, 2008; VSO, 2002; UNESCO, 2012; UNESCO, 2011).

The NYU study is the first study of its kind that has attempted to better understand teachers. It does so using a quantitative methodology that was conducted in a rigorous, valid and credible manner that provides initial answers to teacher contexts, but left me asking question of the kind this study undertakes to address. These included questions like: What was the community and school environments like for these teachers? Where did these teachers come from and how do they feel about their teaching? What do they think of the TPD in which they participate and how does it impact them? I wanted to know more in-depth details about what was researched. While my study does not claim to explain the environments in which teachers of the NYU study lived, it does provide a more holistic, context-specific outlook for a smaller sample of teachers that is rich in description. The NYU study is valuable for understanding some of the findings that come out my study as well, as it helps to start linking different themes and findings together. In the next section, I first set the stage by articulating seemingly important context elements in which teachers live and work on a daily basis.

The Five Schools in Katanga Province

This is a study about teacher voices and actions. These voices and actions are understood by situating them in the contexts in which these teachers lived and worked.

Qualitative research allows for the natural setting to be explored and explained, from words of participants and from the observations of researchers (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

The schools that took part in this study are located within Katanga province, spread over

two sub-divisions (sub-provinces), and are within a two-hour radius of one another by automobile. As this close proximity might suggest, the communities in which the schools are located share similar characteristics, such as income-generation activities, languages, school structures, for example. But I found there also were many differences that are important to note, especially since teachers frequently referred to these differences as impacting their physical well-being, their social-emotional well-being at school, as well as their abilities to excel as teachers. In this next sub-section, I describe a "profile" for each school that details information about the community context, the school conditions, and school personnel. I also provide a brief description of the TLCs for each school. I conclude by mapping out school profile characteristics that are associated with "well functioning" TLC cases (wTLC) as well as characteristics that are embedded with "struggling" TLC cases (sTLC). These findings are important because they also may influence teacher participation in the TLCs and the creation of community support structures that are conceptual benefits of TLCs.

Dalémo School (wTLC)

Dalémo may be one of the most privileged schools, relatively speaking. The school itself is situated in the middle of a major mining community, which has seen prolonged periods of relative stability. Because mining provides a large portion of funds for the government's budget, mining communities are usually protected by the national army and are not usually sites of conflict (Stearns, 2011). The research team chose this site with the knowledge that the MaiMai rebels would not be allowed to infiltrate this community. This mining community was the first site of data collection.

The overall socio-economic level of the community is rather high. The foreign-contracted mining firm opened in 2004. As a result, the village has become a crossroads for workers and families who travel throughout most of southeastern DRC in order to find higher-paid jobs in the mines. The mining firm regularly contributes to community schools in the form of community development funds and by providing schools with benches and other school-related materials. However, according to the Head Teacher (HT) and the teachers of Dalémo schools, the parents who send their children to the school are not the most well-paid families in the community. The teachers mentioned that most people who work in the mines are men who have left their families and have come from other towns and villages throughout southeastern DRC, and thus send their salaries back home. Most of the families who send their children to Dalémo are subsistence farmers and are not able to regularly pay the school fees required by Dalémo school (including school management and teacher salary top-up fees).

Dalémo school is a "Christian Sponsored School," which means that the MEPSP officially recognizes the religious school as an primary education provider. It gives the school administrative functioning funds and pays the certified teachers in the school. Those teachers who are un-certified are paid with the community contributions indicated above. The school is owned by the Seventh Day Adventist church, whose members have raised funds to build four buildings that house eight classrooms constructed of bricks and metal roofing. Each classroom has benches, a teacher's desk and chair, and a large new blackboard at the front of the room. Some of the classrooms have so many benches that the room feels cramped (please see figure 7). There are a total of 8 primary school classes. The largest class is comprised of 135 students in third grade and the smallest

class had 73 students, second-graders. Each year, the HT has raised funds to construct more classrooms. There were a total of 797 students.

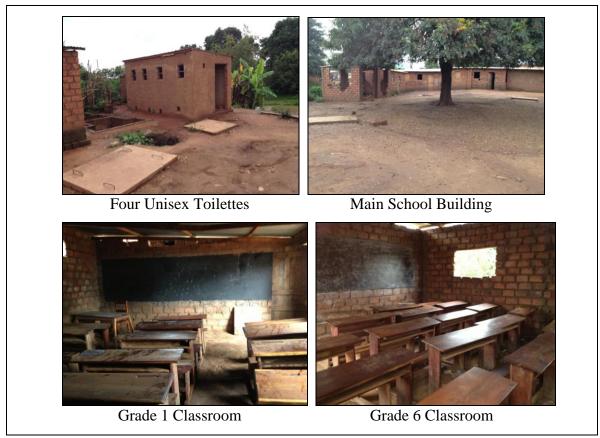


Figure 7: Dalémo School Conditions and Classroom Examples

The school is on a main road and bordered by a small river. There are at least four new unisex toilettes located in the school courtyard. The school courtyard is medium size. During recesses, children play out in the yard and are able to buy snacks such as popcorn, drinks, and fruit from women who sell goods. The HT has his own office which is equipped with electricity and many different types of materials, such as text books, teacher-made materials, letter charts, number charts, slates, chalk, a printer, rulers, and other math equipment. There are also story cards. The materials are place in

one area of the room on a large table. There is an annex in the back of the office with other supplies that the HT gives out.

In terms of school personnel, there is one HT, one warden, and eight primary school teachers. The warden serves as the HT's assistant and the recess watch-person. Of the eight primary school teachers, five are certified teachers (paid by the MEPSP) and three are non-certified (paid solely by the community). Years of teaching experience ranged from twenty years to two months of teaching. The three non-certified teachers are in their first year of teaching. Two of the eight teachers are female. All but two of the teachers seemed to be between 20 and 40 years-old. All teachers live in the community and are part of the church community.

The HT, Monsieur William², is in his third year of being a HT. He was a primary school teacher for over twenty years. According to the research team, Monsieur William seemed to be quite a dynamic HT. He was often visited by parents, liaised with different organizations, and held regular staff meetings at the end of the day. He was a Cluster Coordinator for the TLC OPEQ project, which means that he oversaw other schools implementing the IRC OPEQ project TLCs. I also worked with him and trained him during the 1st Master Training in July 2011. He understood phonics and phonemic awareness very quickly, concepts that are not easy to grasp. He was a helpful resource person during that training. For example, he helped his colleagues understand the difference between a letter and a letter-sound. At the end of the Master Training, I was very confident that he had mastered the content and was able to train other people on the content and key OPEQ related techniques. He was a co-trainer for his cluster and the team lead for the teacher training during the second year training series of the project.

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² All study participants have been given pseudonyms in order to maintain confidentiality.

Monsieur William conducted a school-level TLC meeting during the data collection. His facilitation skills modeled the type of participatory and student-centered approaches that are part of the OPEQ TLC materials. He was able to quickly explain different activities and practice them with teachers. He was a very committed Head Teacher.

Dalémo school seemed to be conducting the TLCs regularly. At the time of data collection, Dalémo school had been participating in the OPEQ TLCs for 1.5 years. Monsieur William kept immaculate records of the TLCs. Looking through the meeting minutes, there was a lot of content and practical approaches that the teachers seem to be using. There were seven meeting minutes for the grade-level TLCs and 7 school-level TLC meeting minutes. It appears that they met in their TLC two times per month. Each grade-level meeting minute was marked in red by Monsieur William. This was also true for the teacher weekly planning and daily lesson plans. This indicates that Monsieur William regularly and actively looked at the content and tools and provided feedback and suggestions for improvement to his staff. In general, teachers at Dalémo school talked in detail about the different components of the TLC, articulated specific ways in which teachers collaborated together in the TLCs, were able to indicate concrete activities and techniques that they tried in the TLCs, and how they tried these out in their classes. The abundance of TLC materials, detailed accounts of these TLCs, as well as observations in class and at the TLCs led the research team to consider Dalémo school a "well functioning" TLC (wTLC) who adapted project strategies from the TLCs into their classrooms.

Sumané School (wTLC)

Sumané school is located in the same mining community as Dalémo school, and it shares many of the same profile features. As part of the same set of cluster schools, the two participate in cluster TLCs together as well as conducting their own school-based and level-based TLCs. Like Dalémo, Sumané is a "Christian Sponsored" school.

According to the HT and the teachers, families who send their children to this school are farmers and small-scale vendors. They all indicated that parents do not always pay the school fees, especially not the teacher top-up salaries.

The physical structure of Sumané school is similar to that of Dalémo: there are three brick buildings with metal roofs, 4 latrines, a Head Teacher's office, and a courtyard where students recreate and can purchase small snacks from vendors. However, Sumané school is currently borrowing space from the Catholic secondary school until their permanent structures are built behind the current school buildings. This means that teachers are not always able to create and decorate their classrooms with student materials and other teaching and learning manipulatives. In terms of class sizes, they are a bit smaller than Dalémo: There are 8 classes with the largest class housing 80 students and the smallest class 61 students. There are more than 561 students at the school. Materials such as text-books, locally made reading and math manipulatives, and posters can be foound in the HT's office. There TLC meeting minutes and the school schedule are posted. Class conditions vary depending on the classroom. Since most classrooms have few benches, children are required to bring their own seating to school (plastic chairs, stools, used water jugs, etc.). In the higher grades, students sit on

benches. Each class is equipped with a teacher's desk, a chair, and a blackboard located prominently in the front of the room (please see figure 8).

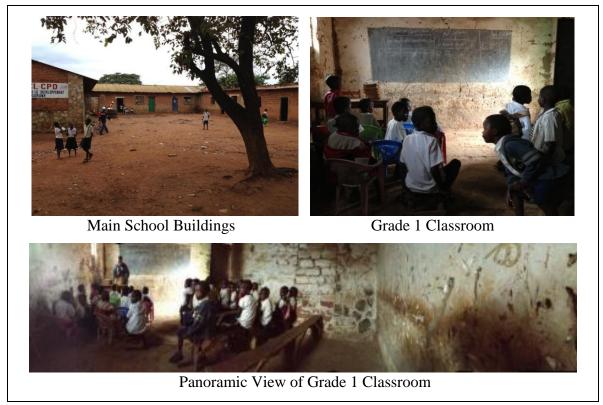


Figure 8: Sumané School Conditions and Classroom Examples

The composition of school personnel is similar to that at Dalémo: There is a Head Teacher and a Warden. At the time of data collection, the warden served as a long-term substitute teacher for the 1st grade class. With a faculty of 8 teachers, four are certified and four are non-certified. Years of teaching experience ranges from seven to one year of teaching. Five of the eight teachers had one to three years of teaching experience. Six teachers were female and two teachers were male. This ratio contrasts with the province average of 71% of teachers being male (Torrente et al., 2012). For the

most part, teachers appeared rather young, in their mid-twenties. They all lived in the community, but it was not clear if they were part of the Catholic church community.

The HT, Monsieur Raymond, had been in his position for the last three years. He helped start up the primary school since its inception. Like Monsieur William from Dalémo, Monsieur Raymond had been a teacher for over 20 years. He and his staff noted that he had been very ill the months leading up to our data collection visit. During our stay he was still ill and had to leave for the hospital a couple of times. He was feeling better towards the end of the time at the school. He, like Monsieur William, is a Cluster Coordinator for the IRC OPEQ project. I also worked with him and trained him during the 1st Master Training in July 2011. He was very resourceful and understood phonics and phonemic awareness. He was a helpful resource person during that training and helped his colleagues understand the difference between a letter and a letter-sound. At the end of the Master Training I was very confident that he mastered the content and was able to train other people on the content and key OPEQ related techniques. He has been a co-trainer for his cluster as well as the team lead for teacher training during the second year training series of the project. We were not able to see him conduct a school-level TLC.

Sumané school also seemed to be conducting TLCs on a regular basis. Sumané also had been participating in the OPEQ TLCs for 1.5 years. There were also TLC meeting minutes records that were kept by teachers in each "sister-grade." There were a total of 16 TLC meeting minutes, which indicates that there had been six TLCs conducted per sister-grades. Looking through the meeting minutes, it became clear that teachers were actively using content and strategies that they learned in the TLCs. When

examining their lesson plans, they also were using the prescribed lesson planning format along with specific activities that they had addressed in the TLCs. In the TLC meeting minutes and in the teacher lesson plans, Monsieur William had provided feedback and comments to teachers. However, we did not find school-level TLC meeting minutes, which was attributed to Monsieur Raymond's illness. In general, teachers in Sumané were not only able to articulate the different steps that they regularly follow during the TLCs, they also provided concrete examples of strategies and problems that they worked through together in the TLCs. They could also articulate specific solutions that they brought to their classrooms. This was triangulated by observing lesson plans that also embodied these solutions. Teachers were also able to provide an abundance of locally-created materials that they had created corresponding with TLC meeting minutes and lesson plans that they had written. These pieces of evidence demonstrate the Sumané sister-grade TLCs were also "well-functioning" (wTLC).

Molbé School (sTLC)

After collecting data for Dalémo and Sumané schools, the research team was granted approval by the IRC and the MEPSP to collect data in a sub-division south towards Lubumbashi, even though at this point the MaiMai rebels had advanced further south. We were granted access to Molbé school, which is located in a rural community six kilometers from Kilasi, a crossroad town. The crossroad town, which I explain in more detail when presenting the last two schools, is the site of artisanal mining and where many internally displaced peoples (IDPs) have settled after being pushed out of their communities by the MaiMai rebels. Though located in a region that is directly impacted

by the displacement of thousands of people, Molbé school is situated in an isolated farming community that had not experienced an influx of people. The HT and the teachers indicated that the community is comprised mainly of subsistence farmers that walk to the Kilasi to sell their goods. All personnel indicated that parents have a difficult time paying them regularly, as they are not located in a socio-economically privileged area.

Molbé is a new school that was initiated and created by the community three years prior to the data collection. The school is "Government Recognized" but not sponsored. This means that the MEPSP does not currently pay for administrative fees or teacher salaries. The community is responsible for paying all expenses related to the functioning of the school. The school structures are remnants of an old fishing plantation that was operational during the colonial era. The school is constructed of large red bricks and with metal tin roofing. Each building is split in two in order to allow for two classes to fit one structure. Most of the structures are shaded by mango trees. There is a courtyard. The school in surrounded by high grasses. There is 1 toilette. There is a dried up well and no water sources. There is another school being built by the community with help from an IRC community development project. The new school building will house two more classrooms. There are currently six classes at Molbé's main campus school. The largest class size is 41 students with the smallest being 23 students.

There is an annex school that is located in a hamlet 5km north of the Molbé community. Parents in a small agricultural town asked the principal to create a school that was closer to them. The year 2012 was the first year that the annex was set in place. The annex is a wood tent structure covered with straw for shade. There is a courtyard

where children can play sports. There are no toilettes or water sources. There is one teacher located in this school who conducts a multi-grade class of grades one and two, with a total of 29 students (please see Figure 9).



Figure 9: Moblé School and Annex

Classroom conditions vary between locations (please see figure 10). In the main building, classrooms mostly had cement floors. Students brought their own chairs or stools. There were big bricks for some students to sit on. The chalk boards had holes in them and it was difficult to see written words on the board. Some materials were posted in the classroom. Teachers used materials such as flipchart, colored chalk, and letter cards. When we were there, the wind blew one piece of flipchart away. The 6th grade class had benches that were built with financing from the OPEQ project. In the annex classroom, there was a dirt floor. Bugs fell from the thatch roof. Children sat on objects such as stools, tin cans, buckets, etc. The chalk board was a piece of wood painted with black paint that was attached to wood pillars at the front of the classroom. Materials

were posted in front of the classroom on a straw wall / mat. These materials included letter cards and letters written using colored chalk.



Figure 10: Moblé and Annex Classroom Conditions

The school personnel was rather inexperienced. There was one certified teacher with 27 years experience, though he was not paid by the MEPSP because the school is not recognized as "sponsored" by the MEPSP. The other six teachers are uncertified and have two to five years of teaching experience. There is one female teacher and six male teachers. Two teachers live in the village of Moblé The female teacher lives with her family in the village. The newest teacher left his hometown over 300km away and resides in the HT's office when school is not in session. The other teachers, including the HT, live at least 5-6 km away in Kilasi town. They walk to school. One of the teachers had a bicycle, but it was broken and he said that he could not use it. The HT indicated that the 5th grade teacher was very ill and would be absent the whole time.

Similar to Dalémo and Sumané schools, the Molbé HT had three years of HT experience. He had worked with the community to start the Molbé school. He was a primary school teacher in Kilasi. He was also a Cluster Coordinator for the OPEQ project. At the time of data collection, he was in his first year participating in OPEQ. Teachers talked about the HT's school attendance as inconsistent.

Molbé was in their first year of the OPEQ TLCs at the time of data collection. In terms of recording TLC frequency and activities, the Molbé school documents were not as thorough as those of Dalémo and Sumané schools. Instead of sister-grade TLCs, the HT had created one unified school TLC. He had appointed the experienced teacher as the TLC leader. There were 10 TLC meeting minute documents, which indicated that teachers were participating in TLCs on a regular basis. Upon examination of the TLC minutes, the content does not necessarily indicate that they were talking about instructional practices and strategies to teach reading. The reports are general conversations and topics. When we asked teachers about what they talk about in the TLCs and the structure, they were not able to talk about the direct procedures and steps. They also had a difficult time explaining the specific activities that they conducted in the TLCs and how they transfer that to class. Teacher lesson planning seemed to reflect different types of OPEQ TLC activities, but not all teachers used the techniques. Classroom observations also demonstrated some teachers using TLC supported strategies, while other teachers used the same call-response techniques that they are used to. The research team felt that this TLC should be labeled "struggling" (sTLC). This designation was not due to non-functioning TLCs, but because not all teachers participated in the TLCs. The data indicated that not all teachers felt conformable participating in this TLC.

This will be discussed more when talking about themes and context-specific findings.

However, it does seem that teachers are struggling, in terms of attendance, active participation, and application of what they talk about in the TLCs. This could also be due to the fact that this is the first year of TLCs functioning in Molbé school.

Tuso and Lané Schools (sTLC)

Tuso and Lané schools share the same school compound and are jointly operated. Though they are technically two different schools recognized by the MEPSP, they function as one school. For the sake of this study and the presentation of findings, I talk about them as being one sole entity. These schools are situated in a unique context compared to the other three schools. They are found one kilometer north of Kilasi town, which is the crossroads town mentioned when referring to Molbé school. HTs and teachers indicated that because of the MaiMai rebel activities, families from nearby towns and those infiltrated by the MaiMai had fled to Kilasi. The HT indicated that previously the town's population comprised of approximately 40,000 people, but that there had been a large uptick of IDPs moving to Kilasi in order to work in artisanal mines and find subsistence income generation activities. Tuso and Lané personnel also indicated that only local NGOs have helped these families establish housing and have provided them with basic food staples. At the time of data collection, no international humanitarian missions had set up food, health, sanitization or other services in Kilasi and in any other town or village in the region.

Traditionally, Kilasi was a small crossroads town where vendors came from surrounding villages and hamlets on a daily basis to sell their goods. It is also situated on

the main highway that links two major cities in southeastern Katanga province. The HT and teachers indicated that residents who sent their children to Tuso and Lané schools either work in the artisanal mines, are vendors who sell on the highway, or practice subsistence farming. IDP families who send their children to Tuso and Lané struggle to find appropriate housing and work. IDP parents, according to the HT, often find work in the artisanal mine or are forced to walk long distances to other type of farming or vendor jobs. As a result, parents are not always at home or are available for their children. All teachers indicated that IDP parents rarely, if ever, pay children's school fees.

Tuso and Lané are both Christian government-sponsored schools where the MEPSP provides funds for administration and salaries. The schools are both Protestant schools and originated in the suburbs about seven kilometers from Kilasi. Both schools share the space of separate secondary vocational school. The school grounds occupy two long buildings that face one another. Tuso and Lané operate in the morning and the secondary vocational school holds class in the afternoons. This is a temporary arrangement. Both Tuso and Lané schools are in the process of constructing new buildings that are closer to town. Their furture location is linked to the village populations moving closer to the urban town center, a phenomenon that pre-dates the arrival of the IDP populations from the north. The early grade classes are currently housed in temporary structures where the new schools will one day be located. Grades three through six are located in the vocational school.

The two buildings of the school were long and hosted four classrooms each. Each classroom had large windows on two sides of the room (please see Figure 11). They were all equipped with benches, a teacher's desk, a teacher's podium, and a large

blackboard. At the time of our classroom observations, because of the influx of students, there were not enough benches for each child, and about one-third of all students stood or sat on the floor. There were no materials hung up in classrooms, but the teachers all brought materials with them. There was an uncompleted third building which served as the HT's office. In the office, there was a table and chairs with boxes of books and other materials that are placed on the floor. The school courtyard was large. At the entrance of the school, children played in the yard and were able to purchase popcorn, drinks, and more form women who sell goods. At the back of the school were an ample amount of latrine toilettes that were disaggregated by sex. According to teachers and the HT, class sizes have soared due to the influx of a large amounts of IDP students. At the time of data collection, we were only able to meet with four teachers in Tuso and Lané. These teachers were situated in the main school. Class sizes ranged from 63 students in fourth grade to 119 students in another fourth grade class. Across the four classes observed, there was a total of 356 students.



Figure 11: Tuso and Lané Schools – Main Buildings

The school conditions presented potential health hazards for children and teachers. The first thing that we noticed upon arrival at the school was a metallic odor

that increased upon walking into the classrooms. A bat infestation problem was evident as bats lived between the roof and the ceiling of each building. Bat droppings fell onto the ceiling, hastening their decomposition. Bat droppings, when decomposed, can foster the growth of Histoplasmosis, a fungus that produces airborne spores, especially when a clumping of droppings is disturbed. When inhaled, these spores can cause flu-like symptoms, high fever, and, for people with compromised immune systems, sever pneumonia (CDC, 2013). This may be one reason why the HT and teachers indicated that a top priority for both schools is to find the materials and funding to continue building their new school as soon as possible.

It was unclear how many school personnel existed in each school. During data collection, the MaiMai rebels continued to slowly advance south towards the areas where the research team had collected data. Tuso and Lané were the last schools to participate in the data collection. This meant that our research team was not able to collect data from all teachers because we had to leave these schools sooner than anticipated. The teachers with whom we did meet ranged in experience from 13 to 44 years of teaching. They all seemed to be in the middle or at the end of their teaching careers. Not one teacher was under the age of 40 years old. All teachers were certified and paid by the MEPSP. These experienced teachers all lived in Kilasi.

In principle, Tuso and Lané schools have two HTs. Before we started the research, we were able to meet with both HTs. At the time of data collection, Monsieur Célestin was the only HT present. He seemed to speak for both Tuso, the school under his jurisdication, and for Lané school. This is another reason why I address these two schools as one sole establishment. Monsieur Célestin had been the Head Teacher since

the inception of both schools, about seven years before the data collection. Compared to other schools, his office lacked organization. Customarily, information like the school schedule, code of teacher conduct, and numbers of students should have been posted. But such information was not posted in the HT's office. His top priority seemed to be to solicit partners and other NGOs to help him continue to build the school. During the interview, on at least three occasions, Monsieur Célestin asked if the IRC would be willing to give funds to purchase bricks and other construction materials. This was his first year participating in the OPEQ TLC program. It was unclear if he had already conducted a school-level TLC.

In general, there was a lack of indication that the HT supported the TLCs and that TLCs functioned on a regularly basis at Tuso and Lané. According to the TLC records, there were a total of five TLC meetings, across the different levels, that had been conducted. There were no school-level TLC meeting minutes. Of the minutes examined, they did not seem to follow the prescribed structure that was part of the OPEQ accelerated training in which they participated over the summer. Teachers all indicated different types of steps that they undertook during each TLC. When asked questions about what they specifically addressed in a TLC, teachers were not able to give concrete examples and activities. Asking more in-depth questions, such as what specific strategies they had implemented from the TLC into their classrooms, teachers remained general and always used the present or future tense, referring instead to what they could or planned to do. The researchers and I, in general, felt that the frequency, structure, and activities implemented from the TLCs were unclear. As a result, we placed the Tuso and Lané schools in the category of "sTLC."

Discussion of wTLCs and sTLCs

Though I have been able to classify the five schools into two categories, wTLCs and sTLCs (please see Figure 12), the purpose of providing school profiles is to better understand how context can play a role in better understanding teacher levels of motivation, well-being, and ability to do their jobs. The NYU teacher motivation and well-being study (Torrente et al., 2012) was able to capture descriptive statistics of teachers in Katanga which paint initial characteristics of teachers in this province. The case study approach that I implemented highlights not only teacher levels of experience and qualification, but also the community and school conditions that may help to explain how and why some teachers felt valued and sensed accomplishment, stayed in their jobs given adverse teaching conditions, and remained motivated, including by living in a crisis setting. In this final section, I map out how variation of contexts in the case study helps to understand teacher experiences of TLCs and how teachers take content and strategies from their TLCs into their classrooms.

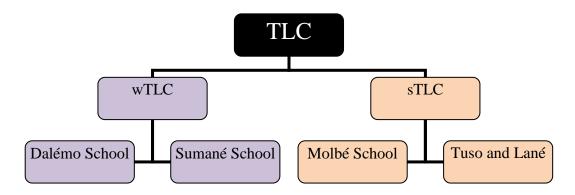


Figure 12: Classification of Schools by TLC Functioning Type

The NYU study provided personnel information, such as average teacher age, average years of teaching experience, levels of certification, and salary. In all case study schools, we saw that there was a wide spread of teacher years of experience. Table 7 enables quick comparison across schools. Note that in Dalémo, Sumané, and Molbé schools, most teachers are younger and have lower levels of teaching experience, especially compared to Tuso and Lané schools. However, in Dalémo and Sumané schools, there was a mix of those teachers who were qualified and those without their teaching certificates, while in Molbé school, there was only one certified teacher. Other personnel-related data that appears to be important revolves around the level of organization and presence of HTs at the school. I noted varying opinions that teachers had of their HTs. This type of information is important because it pops up when teachers discuss positive experiences of the TLC and how the HT and teachers influence and help one another.

Table 7: Case Study Schools General Profiles (continued onto next page)

Schools	wTLC		sTLC	
Schools	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
			-Systemic indirect	-Directly impacted by
	-Mining town (years of	-Mining town (years of	impacts of conflict	conflict
	stability)	stability)	-Village (isolated 5km	-Artisanal Mining /
Context	-Mining firm school	-Mining firm school	from Kilasi town)	Crossroads town
Context	contributions	contribution	-Community cannot fund	-Families: Miners,
	-Families: Subsistence	-Families: Subsistence	/ afford to pay teachers	farming, vendors
	farming	farming / Vendors	-Families: Subsistence	-Increase in class size due
			farming	to IDPs
School	-Christian Government	-Christian Government	-Public Government	-Christian Government
Type	Sponsored (MEPSP Paid)	Sponsored (MEPSP Paid)	Recognized (Un-Paid)	Sponsored (MEPSP Paid)
			-Repurposed buildings	-Buildings, toilets,
	-Buildings, toilets,	-Renting School Space	(main school)	benches, blackboard
	benches, manipulatives	(1 location)	-Hut structure (annex)	-Health hazards
School	-Large class sizes*	-Building, toilets,	-1 toilet in main school	-School Dispersed
Condition	(73 to 135 students)	manipulatives	-illegible blackboard	(renting space / new
	-HT office organized with	-Some benches / lack of	-Lack of materials	school)
	materials	seating	-Some benches /seating	-Large classes (IDPs)
			-Small class sizes	-Lack of materials

Personnel	-1 HT, 1 warden, 8 teachers -Teachers: 20-40yrs old -2 mo to 20 yrs teaching -5 certified / 3 non-certified -Teachers live in community and part of church community -HT TLC Master Trainer	-1 HT, 1 warden / teacher, 7 teachers -Teachers: 20-30 yrs old -1 yr to 8 yrs teaching -4 certified / 4 non- certified -Teachers live in community -HT TLC Master Trainer -HT ill	-HT, 7 teachers -20 to 60 yrs old -2 to 27yrs teaching -1 certified / 6 non- certified -2 Teachers live in community -4 teachers / HT walk 5- 10km each day to school -HT lack of presence -TLC Cluster Coord.	-All qualified teachers -13 to 44 yrs of teaching experience -40+ yrs old -All certified -Teachers live in community -HT, 4 teachers (participated) -13 to 44 years teaching -HT 7yrs at school -HT lack of presence
General TLC Findings	-1.5 years in OPEQ TLCs -Regular TLCs -Detailed TLC minutes reflected in teachers lesson plans -Strategies and Materials Creation TLC Content -HT feedback -Locally created materials	-1.5 years in OPEQ TLCs -Regular grade-level TLC -No school-level TLC -Detailed TLC minutes reflected in teachers' lesson plans -Strategies and Materials Creation TLC Content -Locally created materials	-1/2 year in OPEQ TLCs -1 unified TLC (no grade or school-level TLCs) -Administration and lesson planning TLC content -Some teachers applying TLC techniques -Some locally created materials	-1/2 year in OPEQ TLCs -2 schools join TLCs -Lack of TLC artifacts -No school-level TLCs -General TLC activities in interviews and observations

^{*}Large class sizes do not necessarily infer negative school conditions. Teachers across schools articulated that having large class sizes helps to ensure that they receive the expected family contributions to their salaries. Small class sizes do not necessarily guarantee for a teacher that they will receive the family contributions.

Comparing school profile data shows a type of variation similar to that of the NYU study: There were teachers of differing ages; schools where payment was given by the government and/or the community. Yet this data also highlights some very important context and findings related to school type that the quantitative NYU study did not. Molbé and Sumané school were funded by the governmental Ministry of Education (Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire, Secondaire et Professionnel, or MEPSP) and situated in relatively stable and privileged communities. Molbé, a school that is not-funded by the government, is in a poor, rural community that is indirectly impacted by conflict. Tuso and Lané schools are MEPSP-funded and are in a socio-economically advantaged community, yet directly impacted by the conflict. This contextual data becomes extremely valuable when exploring themes around teacher quality of life and well-being. These contextual factors are also present in the explanations of teachers

when discussing their motivations for teaching, how their school environment impacts them, and how the environment affects their experiences in the TLCs.

School conditions are noted in the NYU study. Teachers articulated that they came into teaching knowing that the large class sizes and classroom conditions would not be favorable. However, they had not recognized that they would often be faced with a lack of tools for them to do their jobs and for students to learn. In the wTLC schools, I noted that students had available locally made manipulatives created by teachers, had textbooks, and in general had appropriate seating and learning tools. This differs from the NYU study. In both schools HTs had proactively applied to funding and sought out contributions from different organizations, like the mining firm, to remedy any lack of tools. In the sTLC schools, it appears that a lack of tools is a perennial condition, and it prevents teachers from doing their jobs to the best of their abilities. For example, Molbé school blackboards were illegible, and Tuso and Lané schools lacked textbooks and other materials. Details of these conditions are exposed when teachers discuss how the school aids them in doing their jobs and when they talk about their opinions and effort in the TLC. Once again, these five schools provide a variation that will be helpful to unpack when discussing these different elements.

Finally, the general TLC findings provide a rich amount of information that the NYU study did not collect. Looking across the TLC findings row in Table 7, it becomes clear that the wTLCs exhibit active participation for 1.5 years, while the sTLCs had just started the TLC process. This is something to keep in mind when discussing the different perspectives and actions of teachers in these schools. It is important to understand this context so that the reader does not interpret the themes and further findings as binary. In

essence, this data provides snapshots of different schools on different spectrums of the OPEQ TLC process. However, findings associated with each of these schools can be used to recognize characteristics that may require more attention and support than others. The school profile will be continued to be featured as a key concept in what follows. It has helped not only to refrain from using a cause-and-effect binary approach, but also has allowed context to be brought into understanding teacher experiences with the TLCs. It can help explain more of the "hows" and "whys" that the NYU study was not able to, especially when exploring how certain findings about teacher physical, social, and emotional well-being come into play in their decisions to participate in the TLCs.

CHAPTER 5

TEACHER MOTIVATING FACTORS – 1ST ORDER THEME

1st Order Themes – Factors that Impact Teacher Performance

Regardless of the type of TLC, three major themes emerged from the data from each school. The themes relate to teacher experiences in the TLCs and are labeled as: *motivating factors* of being a teacher; *school environment* factors that influence teachers; and the *characteristics of a functioning TLC*. In this chapter, I address the first theme, which, along with the second theme, I coin as "1st order themes." The majority of the data were coded under these two themes. Though presented in a hierarchical model, I am not inferring that the "2nd level theme" related to TLC characteristics is of any less importance. However, I do believe that the 1st level themes can directly impact one another as well as the 2nd level ones, especially taking into consideration the school profiles that I have discussed in Chapter 4 (see esp. Figure 13).

In the next three chapters, I demonstrate how I conceptualize and justify this link between themes, which almost always originates from the perspectives and actions of participants. Yet for the sake of scope, in this chapter I discuss findings related to the first theme, which describes various internal motivators that led teachers to take up the teaching profession and stay within it. Finally, all of the themes related directly and indirectly to conflict, depending on the TLC case.

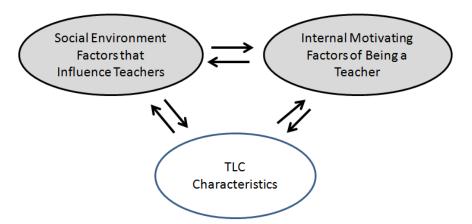


Figure 13: 3 Main Themes of TLC Case Study

Teacher internal motivators refers to that which drives teachers to do their jobs (this definition consistent with Torrente et al.'s (2012) definition of motivation in their NYU study) and how they feel as teachers (which the NYU study connects to the concept of well-being). This first theme contributes to understanding how teachers feel about themselves and their jobs after they have answered the first two questions of this research project: what do they like and what are the challenges of the TLCs? I demonstrate how motivating factors, both internal and external, appear to contribute to these experiences.

Teacher Internal Motivating Factors

Teacher motivating factors vary across the schools. The sub-themes that popped up around this theme are multiple. They include teachers talking about working conditions, such as the amount and payment of salaries, class size, and classroom conditions. The value that teachers place on capacity building opportunities, though it may seem out of the realm of this larger theme, is the final sub-theme. The theme and sub-theme speak directly to the internal factors that motivate teachers to show up, do

their jobs well, and grow as professionals. The wTLC teachers, in Dalémo and Sumané schools, demonstrated overall favorable attitudes and perspectives of themselves, their jobs, and their drive to grow. The sTLC teachers, in Molbé as well as Tuso and Lané schools, discussed internal features that more negatively impacted them. I will show how the data from wTLC and sTLC schools seems to have different types of internal motivating factors that are important for teacher experiences at the workplace.

Dalémo and Sumané Schools – Professional Factors

In Dalémo and Sumané schools (wTLCs), teachers did not refrain from reporting challenges. This is consistent with NYU's teacher motivation and job satisfaction findings. Challenges included low and irregular salaries, classroom conditions, and the lack of available teaching resources and materials. For example, in both schools participants discussed that, due to minimal salaries and infrequent pay, they are forced to use time outside of class for other income-generating activities. Some teachers indicated that they come to school hungry, which also affects the quality of their teaching and student learning. Class conditions were also cited by teachers as problematic. Teachers in Sumané explained that children are not able to write and learn properly in their classrooms because they are not all able to come to school with chairs and stools in which to sit. In Dalémo, where crowded conditions resulted in a surplus of benches, teachers indicated that they could not observe and follow-up with students during group or independent work simply because they could not move freely throughout the class. In Sumané, since the school is renting its space from another school that functions in the afternoon, teachers cannot leave their materials up in their classrooms.

Yet, teachers described, in more detail and with more frequency, their positive working conditions, the first sub-theme findings. In Dalémo, they applauded the HT's work to have the community purchase and deliver new benches for students and for building sex-designated washrooms. Interestingly, these teachers articulated what the HTs have done to resolve negative working conditions, such as finding more materials and focusing on teaching and learning manipulative creation in the TLCs. Although they did articulate the difficulties in working conditions, they also offered up examples of how these elements were improving with help from outside sources and via their own efforts.

The wTLC teachers spoke positively about their work, which included the second sub-theme item of internal motivation. For example,

Motivation can have two faces. Meaning, we talk about psychological motivation....This motivation, it motivates us in terms of gaining new skills and knowledge in order to improve our teaching. However, in terms of material motivation, in the TLCs, this financial incentive does not exist. In the TLCs we are uniquely motivated in terms of our own education and learning.

Another noted that teaching is a sound profession because it provides job stability, whereas working in the mines on contracts is risky because it is never absolute that a contract will be renewed. These types of findings are similar to what teachers indicated in the NYU study, especially related to their expectations and reasons for entering the profession (Torrente et al., 2012). Teachers recognized that they could work in the mines and earn higher incomes, but that teaching, for them, was a safer and a more guaranteed profession.

The wTLC teachers seemed to value the teaching profession. They describe teaching as a "calling" or their "civic duty" that they have had, whether originating from childhood or by following in the footsteps of their parents. One teacher explains, "We

give ourselves, body and soul, and God will pay us back one day because the work that we do will be blessed by his grace." Though they might not be paid as much as mining workers in their community, they viewed their profession as something that would repay them down the road, as if they constantly banked their true compensation for future use. They also talk about their value in terms of parents entrusting in them. This also links back to the NYU study where teachers with the most motivation and job satisfaction felt respected and valued by their communities (Torrente et al, 2012).

The wTLC teachers viewed themselves as professionals and as benefiting from teaching. This differs from the NYU study, where teachers articulated feeling a lack of personal accomplishment (Torrente et al., 2012): "Even though the salary is low, I am learning. For example, before, I didn't even know what types of student-centered activities that I could use, I didn't even know what a TLC was. Today, I can leave this school and people will know that I came from Sumané school where teachers are well qualified and that I have a good grasp of the teaching profession." A handful of teachers compared themselves to other professions such as doctors, lawyers, and magistrates. They made the link that TLCs are forums that help them attain new skills each year. There seemed to be a sense of respect that was attached to this concept of "teaching as a profession." One teacher compared himself to a farmer: "Everyone has to respect a farmer and this is true for a teacher. Teachers in the TLCs can give much more to students when they work together." Teachers in both schools talked about a pride they had in their school, knowing that they were working together to better their practices and where they were getting a positive reputation in the community. Capacity building appeared to be a sub-theme that equated to bolstering the professional abilities of teachers along with their value in the eyes of parents, community members, and other schools.

Dalémo and Sumané teachers expressed satisfaction and feeling like they were benefiting, especially from the TLCs.

In wTLCs cases, teachers seem to be working through challenging conditions, view themselves as working professionals. They feel that TLCs benefit them by helping to advance their skills, create social relationships with their peers, and boost their confidence and worth. Bandura (1998a) indicates that characteristics of strong self-efficacy include approaching difficult conditions and tasks as challenges to be overcome, setting goals, having a strong commitment to achieve goals, trying again and again, having low vulnerability to stress, and creating resiliency despite difficult conditions which they face. At Dalémo and Sumané schools, while teachers were candid about the difficulties that they faced, they talked more about their drive, the positive elements of being a teacher, the value that they placed on themselves as professionals, and the pride that they have in their schools. These characteristics paint a picture of positive self-efficacy. The wTLC teachers demonstrated relatively strong positive senses of self-efficacy.

These internal motivating factors match some self-efficacy-building elements noted by Bandura (1982). Teacher discourse about gaining new skills and knowledge can be related to the enactive mastery and modeling elements of self-efficacy. The wTLC teachers discussed how parents and communities trusted them, feedback that reinforced the idea that teachers are doing a good job and are respected in the community. Teachers' sense of their own professionalism and pride in their schools served as an important coping mechanism when confronting difficult working conditions. Self efficacy is

demonstrated in the way professionals have the necessary tools to do their jobs, despite difficulties that they confront.

The literature on effective TPD is linked to increased job satisfaction, improved beliefs in abilities, increased professional worth, and confidence building (Arbaugh, 2003; Belay et al., 2007, Johnson, 2006, Johnson & Yahampath, 2003; Mothailal, 2011, & Taylor et al, 2005). Teachers in wTLCs talked about how important the opportunity to learn and grow as teachers was to them, and about their challenges and difficulties. They appeared to have overall high levels of self-efficacy. Overall, wTLC teacher enthusiasm and drive appeared more often in the data than the hindrances and lack of desire that prevented them from teaching. While I cannot say that this is a sole result of participating in the TLCs, I can state that the data shows that indications that teachers perceive and value their roles as professionals are correlated in the data with discussion about the TLCs in which they participate. Together, this fits with the model of a community of practice, where individuals view their group as a professional venue to learn and grow, as well as a way to be recognized, express their voices and concerns, and help cope with and resolves issues related to teacher extrinsic motivation factors (Wenger et al, 2002).

Molbé School – Salary Factors

In Molbé school (sTLC), teachers talked more about their challenging working conditions and lack of internal motivation to do their jobs. They also recognized the importance of capacity building. These findings are consistent with NYU's teacher motivation and job satisfaction findings (Torrente et al., 2012).

The context in which Molbé school is situated should be considered when discussing the findings for teacher internal drivers. As previously indicated, Molbé is a rural community school where parents are expected to pay school operating costs as well as teacher salaries. Data was collected right before harvest season when families had yet to gather and sell their agricultural goods in Kilasi, the crossroad town that is six to ten kilometers away.

All teachers at Molbé school discussed salary-related problems they faced, which included lack of payments and inconsistent salary amounts. One teacher equated his sense of aimlessness with the lack of payment: "Since I'm not paid by the government, I live aimlessly. I'm not 'motivated' by parents....I'm just waiting for the month of June." He insinuates that he is going through the motions, biding his time, and that come the month of June, he may leave the teaching profession or try to find another teaching job elsewhere. Another teacher equates lack of performance and instructional change with something missing support, presumably salary: "If something is not working in this school, it's because there is something else missing. So, if we are trying out the trainings without that support, there may not be much change." All teachers except for two, live in Kilasi and are required to walk anywhere from five to ten kilometers to and from school each day. They indicated that it's necessary to live in town so that they can have other income generation activities. Teachers that live in Molbé cultivate their own fields in order to eventually sell their crops for income. This distance along with the time spent on working in the fields seemed to be a major priority for teachers so that they could take care of their families' physical well-being.

Moblé teachers talked about other unfavorable working conditions, such as the severe lack of materials and lack of teaching and learning manipulatives, which seemed make their jobs more difficult. Teachers talked about the lack of appropriate seating for children given that there were only five benches in the school. Children are expected to bring their own seating, which the teachers equate with parents not being able to pay for basic school equipment. In both the main and the annex schools, blackboards were unreadable because they were either too small or damaged with small holes. Teachers also indicated that they lacked materials for them to prepare and teach their lessons. They lacked textbooks, national curricula, and OPEQ TLC materials. On multiple occasions, teachers indicated that they had to purchase their own chalk. Teachers disliked the small class sizes at Molbé school, where the largest class was 41 students. They indicated that the smaller the class, the least likely they were to receive payments from parents, and the lower their salaries were. The larger the classes, according to Molbé teachers, the more likely they were to get some type of salary payment from parents.

In terms of the internal motivation sub-theme, most teachers articulated that they jumped into the teaching professional in order to make a positive impact on children's lives. They also talked about the inherent respect that comes along with being a teacher. These positive elements seemed to help push teachers into the profession. However, the reality of their contexts seemed to impact their ability to do their jobs. One teacher recognized the value of teaching, but could not move beyond the working conditions: "Teacher is a good career, but taking into account the current situation that we are living in our country, it's difficult." The annex school teacher sees his current position as a punishment: "I have a lot of difficulties. I don't have any notebooks and do you see the

blackboard? I see this school as a type of punishment for me, the fact that I am here. I don't even have an attendance book. I don't even have books to prepare my lessons."

Other teachers believe that having adequate teaching materials is a sign of being a real teacher. Without these materials, teachers believe it is not only more difficult to do their work well, but also reduces learning opportunities. On multiple occasions teachers equated themselves with being "false" teachers who are not respected or valued. For Molbé teachers, challenging working condition seemed to equate with negative feelings of self-worth.

When talking about the value of capacity building, Molbé teachers recognized that in principle TPD helps them in the long run. This was especially true for the newer teachers at Molbé, which make up six of the seven teachers at the school. The newer teachers articulated that they jumped into teaching in order to learn. One teacher stated: "Teachers need to have continuous training. They need to refresh each time, that's the objective of being a teacher." They recognized that the teaching profession constantly changes and that they need to be kept up to speed and incorporate those innovations. They noted that the TLCs create the opportunity in order to be able to learn and try out new strategies, methods, teaching and learning manipulative. However, unlike wTLC schools, these teachers did not make the jump from TPD to professionalism. They did not discuss how more training impacts their qualifications nor did they discuss views that others have of them.

In Molbé school, which is a sTLC case, teachers seemed to be struggling to cope with the challenging working conditions where they did not necessarily view themselves as legitimate teachers. They saw the benefit of TPD, such as participating in TLCs, to

learn and perfect their skills. Unlike what occurred with wTLC schools, they did not mention that TPD helps to boost their confidence and sense of being a professional. Bandura (1998a) indicates that characteristics of negative self-efficacy include individuals who cannot get over difficult challenges, have a hard time committing to goals, are under performing, attribute failures to their working conditions, display high levels of stress, and feel powerless over their environments. For Molbé school, teachers seemed unable to get over the salaries and lack of materials. These findings are congruent with the NYU study, where teacher working conditions contributed to their levels of sense of accomplishment and job satisfaction (Torrente et al., 2012). Teachers talked more about the barriers they have to doing their jobs instead of the positive elements that contribute to them feeling good about themselves as professionals. Molbé teachers talked more about not feeling like a true teacher, which could be an overall indicator of a low sense of self-efficacy. I am in no way suggesting that the apparent low level of self-efficacy is the fault of teachers. I instead am attempting to make comparisons and parallels to other cases in order to highlight how self-efficacy may be influenced by such sub-themes, like working conditions and teachers' sense of internal motivations.

These findings at Molbé school have direct parallels with the literature on teacher outlooks under negative working conditions. In Belay et al.'s (2007) study of new teachers in their first teaching posts in Eritrea, those teachers that felt overwhelmed and unable to change their practices indicated that workload was a major barrier. This is also true for Shriberg's (2008) meta-analysis of Liberian teachers coming back to the teaching profession after years of conflict: Teachers who could not meet the needs of their own

families and whose own psycho-social well being were impacted felt an adverse affect on their commitment to, and motivation for, their jobs (as shown by frequent absences, minimal classroom time on task, and use of non-nurturing classroom practices). Data from Molbé school suggests that teachers do not always show up to class, are tardy because of the distance of the school from their homes, and are unable to provide ample commitment to schooling, especially given the burden of needed income-generation activities. For teachers in Molbé school, it appeared that teaching was their secondary job, while other income-generation activities were their first priority.

Interesting, Molbé teacher equate TLC as important for their learning and ability to do their teaching jobs. What does this mean given that teacher working conditions seem to overshadow their internal drivers to remain in the profession? What does this mean in terms of participation levels in the TLCs? These are questions that I explore when discussing the two other major themes that arise from the data around social impacts and characteristics of the TLCs. I will note that Molbé's social climate seems to speak more to the elements that could create low self-efficacy, whereas wTLC school social environments tend to address positive self-efficacy elements. Also, Molbé TLCs do not function as regularly, and with the same structure, as they do in wTLC schools. It is possible that the Molbé TLCs do not form the same type of community of practice which, according to Wenger et al. (2002), serves as support to grow and cope with challenging circumstances? Molbé may not foster an effective TPD environment.

Tuso and Lané Schools – Conflict Factors

Context and timing are equally, if not more, important to understand the internal motivating factors of Tuso and Lané school teachers toward doing their jobs and participating in the TLCs. Molbé school teachers talked more about the relationship between salary and other working conditions. In the wTLC schools teachers described how challenging and positive working conditions impacted their drive as teachers. In Tuso and Lané schools, teachers talked more about increased workload in relation to conflict. With regard to the Tuso and Lané school profile, one of the most salient school characteristics revolved around the influx of IDP students months before and during data collection. As a consequence of these new conditions, teachers expressed concerns about how to cater to the needs of IDP children and about how the increase in students resulted in a lack of teaching and learning materials. The context in Tuos and Lané schools is very different from that of the other schools visited by the research team. When discussing teacher motivating factors for remaining in the teaching profession and the value of capacity building endeavors, the context of direct and indirect impacts of conflict is significant.

In Tuso and Lané schools, teachers more frequently noted how class conditions negatively impede their abilities to do their jobs. All teachers articulated that within two to three months up until data collection, the school experienced rapid increase in the student population due to IDP families settling in Kilasi town and enrolling their children in primary school. According to teachers, this created an unfavorable teaching and learning environment. They lacked enough seating and space for all students in the class and indicated that there was an instant lack of textbooks for children to use. They also

indicated that IDP students rarely had the required "student instruments," such as notebooks, pens, and pencils to use for learning activities. For these teachers, these were signs of a negative learning climate. These elements seem to correlate with the findings from the NYU study around teacher expectations and working conditions, although the drivers of these conditions may have been different (Torrente et al., 2012).

The social and emotional well-being of IDP children presents a unique characteristic to the working conditions sub-theme for teachers in Tuso and Lané schools. One teacher explains: "This population they have traveled 100 or 200km because they are threatened by the enemies and when they flee, they set up in our town. Last year we were about 40,000 people in our town but now the town has so many more people. The children come to school suffering...they don't have materials, they don't have homes, they don't sleep." Teachers expressed that, though they feel it is their duty to help and guide these students, the students come with a handful of issues and problems to which teachers are not accustomed.

First, teachers talked about how these students have characteristics that differ from their regular students. For example, many come to school with behavioral issues or are too timid to participate in class. Teachers explained that these students are not taken care of at home because both parents usually work outside the home, and often must travel great distances to get to jobs or find basic provisions for the family, such as water. They also indicated that IDP students are not at the appropriate grade level and were unfamiliar with the new OPEQ TLC-learned teaching activities: "These students that are coming from areas where there are the MaiMai, they have a lot of difficulties, difficulties learning. It's seems like they weren't well taken care of at their schools. When I ask

questions to their parents, they say that in these rural areas there were only 2 or 3 teachers for all 6 grades in the primary school that they attended." As a result of these myriad differences, teachers frequently explained that the feel overloaded and overworke. They felt obligated to back-peddle and help these students catch up, something that required extra time in and outside of class.

In terms of other working conditions, Tuso and Lané school teachers also talked about the need to supplement their salaries through secondary income generation activities. They did not refer to the lack of salary or infrequent payments as a difficulty in doing their jobs. These teachers are all certified and receive their payments directly from the MEPSP. They are highly experienced teachers, and are solicited to provide paid tutoring opportunities for students in the town. However, teachers were clear that IDP parents rarely, if ever, paid teachers their top-up fees. Because of this large increase in workload, teachers wanted outside organizations and the MEPSP to compensate them for the extra work. One teacher explained: "If there wasn't a motivation problem at the school, you'd see big changes. They could be some small changes, but once you leave it will fall back to normal. Why? Lack of motivation [financial]....Teachers must be motivated." Teachers may have been motivated, but since they were also overloaded, they appeared reticent to do more or participate in other initiatives that could help resolve some of the issues that they faced in their classrooms. They viewed other TPD initiatives as increasing their load.

The internal motivator sub-theme has already been discussed in relation to the unique working conditions and context factors. Yet, when were asked explicitly why they chose to remain in the teaching profession, Tuso and Lané personnel seemed to

answer in was that were similar to both wTLC and Molbé school teachers. Some teachers explained that they went into the profession because of family duty, or that "teaching chose them." They also talked about what "once was." For example, one teacher explains why he chose to teach:

I was born in the village and when I saw how teachers lived, this was a while ago, they were doing really well for themselves. And when I boarded at my uncle's house in 1st and 2nd grade, we ate very well. His salary was consistent. He even had a car and his children were able to go to secondary school and university. This is why I was interested in becoming a teacher. I thought that this type of life of a teacher would always be the same. This is why I chose teaching.

They talked about themselves as poor and as victims: "We teachers shouldn't accept this type of poverty and shouldn't be victims to it. Here, right close by in Zambia, teachers are well. In Libya, they are well. In Tanzania, they are well. Always here in the Congo, our authorities have bad faith." Intrinsically, it appears that Tuso and Lané school teachers jumped into teaching for similar reasons as wTLC teachers, but that their current day situations may be impacting their sense of selves, where they see themselves as victims and not necessarily professionals with a sense of pride in what they do, especially given their many years of experience. They related their poverty, suffering, and mistreatment as the fault of the MEPSP.

When examining the value of capacity-building sub-theme, Tuso and Lané teachers indicated that in principle it is beneficial, but that it takes time away from taking care of their students and that it can be discouraging when they know that TPD can add to their workloads. The HT explained that many of his teachers are "tired" and should retire, that they no longer had the drive and desire to try out new approaches in their classroom. When referring to capacity building, teachers would usually talk about why they haven't fully participated in the OPEQ TLCs. One teacher was brutally honest:

"The vision of OPEQ is a very good one, we have to help to increase the level. But you'll notice that we didn't always meet, but if we can support the teacher then we will go...if not, one day you'll come back here and ask, where is Mr. Pierre³ and I'm not here. Why? Because I'm fed up. Why participate when there is a lack of 'motivation'." It seems that teachers equated motivation to participate in TPD as financial incentives coupled with their workloads and perceived benefits of the TPD.

Interestingly, the findings from Tuso and Lané school speak to some of the working conditions, low sense of accomplishment, and low job satisfaction levels described in the NYU study on teacher well-being and motivation, yet they reflect different origins and reasons (Torrente et al., 2012). Teacher accounts about the factors that impact their willingness to do their jobs (teaching and participating in TPD), provide rich descriptions related to a conflict-setting. Worlkoads correlate as barriers to teachers changing their practices (Avalos, 1998; Belay et al., 2007; Frazier, 2009; Smith et al., 2003). Teachers who felt that TPD was time consuming and required a lot of extra work were those who were also less likely to participate and gain from the endeavor (Birman et al., 2000). These concepts seem to ring true for sTLC teachers. However, it has also been demonstrated that teachers in conflict-impacted areas have even less access to teaching and learning materials (Buckland, 2005; IRC, 2011; Rappley & Paulson, 2007). Tuso and Lané teachers have explained how this impacts their professional lives. Shriberg's (2008) meta-analysis of post-conflict Liberia showed little incentive for teachers to enact shifts in their instructional practices. They didn't have support or see the value of gaining new knowledge and skills. Tuso and Lané school teachers talk about the need for incentives for them to want and be able to try these TPD initiatives.

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³ Name has been changed to ensure confidentiality

In sTLCs, teachers face working conditions that are unlike their wTLC counterparts. Teacher salaries are rarely paid, they feel overwhelmed and undersupported, or at times equate themselves to illegitimate teachers. In Tuso and Lané, teachers seemed to have low levels of self-efficacy which, according to Bandura (1994) can be related to the conditions in which they work. They experienced the direct impact of conflict, like the sharp increase in students with behavior and learning issues, and also indirect influences, like the lack of benches and manipulatives seemed. Together, they overshadowed other internal drivers of teachers. They talked about being overwhelmed and overloaded. These observations bring up findings from Kirk & Winthrop's (2008) study on the sense of legitimacy of teachers. When they experienced crisis-impacted working conditions, new adult teachers felt like disingenuous teachers. This also appears to relate Alisic's (2012) study of teachers who expressed feeling incapable and unsure about how to respond to students who have been impacted by trauma. Stretching these comparisons a bit more, in Betancourt et al.'s (2012) study on the stress on caregivers and their impact on children, adults who had more stress and anxiety inadvertently influenced the youth they tried to nurture negatively. Though teachers are not necessarily caregivers, they are assumed to provide a nurturing role, which would indicate that feeling overloaded is a common symptom of being impacted by trauma. Of equal importance, it is then unclear how, and to what extent, Tuso and Lané school teacher responses to the direct and indirect impacts of conflict serve or disserve their students. Within the scope of self-efficacy, teachers discussed having a lack of power and feeling like victims, all signs of a low sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1998a). These signs may serve as an indicator of teacher efforts and abilities to do their jobs effectively.

Comparison of Teacher Internal Motivating Factors

The preceding discussion on internal motivating factors for teachers demonstrates findings that are context-specific. Table 8 highlights some of the major findings for each sub-theme per school. In terms of working conditions, we see similar challenges, such as low salaries and lack of tools (benches, blackboards) and lack of materials (textbooks, manipulatives). However, the extent to which there are deficiencies seems different across the wTLC and sTLC schools. This can be explained by attention to context. Dalémo and Sumané schools lack some materials and tools and minimally discuss salary difficulties. Yet they also discussed successful efforts to gain more tools and materials in their schools. However, in the sTLC schools, working conditions are emphasized and are important priority-level topics for teachers. In Molbé the lack of payment, materials, and tools seems to be related to the lack of MEPSP sponsorship and the community failing to uphold its commitment to support the school. In Tuso and Lané schools, these deficiencies seem to be related to conflict and to the sense teacher have of feeling overwhelmed and overloaded.

Table 8: Most Common Teacher Motivating Factors Findings Per School

TLC Case	wTLC		sTLC		
/ Schools	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané	
Working Conditions	-Low salaries -Class conditions -Lack of some materials -Lack of some tools -HT's efforts to get tools -HT's efforts to find materials		-Lack of payment -Infrequent payment -Live outside of Molbé -Lack of time to prepare lessons - 2ndary income -Physical well-being -Lack of materials -Lack of tools -Small class sizes (lack of \$)	-Conflict Impacted -Lack of Materials -Lack of Tools -Health Problems -Disjointed School -IDP Student Issues -Feeling Overloaded -Feeling Overwhelmed	
View of Teaching	-Duty to teach -Teaching as a "calling" -Teaching to learn		-To help change lives -Molbé as a punishment -Don't view selves as teachers	-Duty to teach -Need 2ndary activities -See selves as Victims -MEPSP manipulate -See selves as Poor	
View of Capacity Building	-Capacity buildi professionalism -Related to Scho		-Important to build skills -Teachers need to learn -Gain skills	-Good, in principle -Need financial motivation to participate	
General conclusion	High sense of se	elf-efficacy	Low sense of self efficacy	Low sense of self-efficacy	

Other working conditions also show how wTLC schools are different from sTLC institutions. The wTLC teachers highlighted positive working conditions, while sTLC teachers did not. Molbé school teachers talked about their struggles for physical well-being due to low salaries and time constraints associated with income generation activities. Molbé school teachers prioritize their income generation activities over their teaching jobs to provide and fulfill physical well-being for themselves and their families. In Tuso and Lané, the exposure to health risks at school, the lack of a cohesive school personnel and structure, and sudden impacts from conflict create unfavorable working conditions. Teachers responses to this conflict appear to link to the literate on trauma and stress. Teachers themselves have indicated that these instant changes in the workplace

not only stressed them, but made them unsure of how to help (Alisic, 2012; & Betancourt et al, 2012).

Teacher perspectives on teaching also share similarities across case studies. Teachers felt a sense of duty, a calling, and a mission to help change lives. However, differences are also found in common across the wTLC and sTLC types. The wTLC teachers talked about the benefits of teaching, while sTLC teachers had trouble seeing the positives of their profession. Molbé teachers did not always view themselves as teachers, and they felt "punished" for being assigned to Molbé school. In Tuso and Lané, teachers view themselves as victims, perhaps in response to the conflict impacting them. Reflecting parts of the literature on trauma, in Tuso and Lané school socially-constructed responses to trauma were linked to daily stressors (Miller & Rassmussen, 2010; Miller et al., 2007; Bonanno & Diminich, 2013). For Tuso and Lané, it is important to note that teachers discussed their sense of conflict-related stress in respect to their relationship with the MEPSP. They indicated feeling like they were victims and at times pawns of the MEPSP's policies. I cannot conclude that the impacts of conflict and their feelings about the MEPSP are mutually exclusive. These are daily stressors that could also contribute to their new conflict-influenced situations, especially when these teachers articulated feeling unsure about how to help IDP children. The impacts of conflict and of daily stressors can all have an impact on mental wellness (Bonanno & Diminich, 2013; & Miller & Rassmussen, 2010).

Teacher views of capacity building seemed to differ greatly. Dalémo and Sumané teachers talked about capacity building as part of their profession and in relation to others viewing them as professionals. In sTLC schools, by contrast, while teachers recognized

the principles of TPD as important to learn to improve upon practices, they remained in the theoretical realm. In Tuso and Lané, teachers indicated that in order to be motivated to participate in TPD, they need to be compensated, especially given their increased workloads in relation to conflict. In a sense, TPD in Tuso and Lané appeared to be viewed as an additional daily stressor (Miller & Rassmussen, 2010). Teachers did not indicate that capacity building could help them with their conflict-influenced classroom situations. They talked about regular TPD as adding to their workload, and therefore contributing to an already tense and overworked environment.

In general, in wTLCs cases, teachers seem to be coping with challenging working conditions, create efforts to modify their work situations, view themselves as working professionals, and feel that they benefit from the TLCs as a means to advance their skills, create social relationships with their peers, and boost their confidence, all signs of positive self-efficacy. In sTLCs, teachers face working conditions that are unlike their wTLC teacher counterparts. Teacher salaries are either lower or rarely paid, and teachers feel overwhelmed, under supported, and at times like illegitimate teachers. The sTLC teachers appear to have low levels of self-efficacy which, according to Bandura (1994) can be related to the conditions in which they work. The working conditions of sTLC teachers did not seem conducive to developing self-efficacy. In Molbé school, selfefficacy could be related to teacher commitments and priorities as a teacher. In Tuso and Lané schools, teachers expressed and demonstrated the commitment to show up at their jobs and had the desire to help troubled and traumatized students. However, their selfefficacy levels could have been impacted by the new challenges, new daily stressors, and previous stressors that they experienced, which could add more stress and challenges

upon teachers (Bonanno, 2005; Bonanno & Diminich, 2013). In a sense, teacher internal motivating factors paint a general picture of teacher self-efficacy levels, and in some cases clear examples of elements that help to bolster or hinder their self-efficacies. These findings, especially those from the schools directly impacted by conflict, suggest that teachers already felt stressed and overloaded, which in turn may have created a scenario where capacity building in the form of TPD had adverse impacts on their motivation to attend. Could this also have contributed negatively to their psycho-social well being? In the chapters that follow, I describe how the two other themes suggest that there is a correlation between teacher motivation, their school environments, and their participation and efforts in the TLCs.

CHAPTER 6

SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT FACTORS – 1ST ORDER THEME

School Environment Elements that Impact Teachers

The school environment is another important first order theme that popped up in the data. This theme speaks to the different social influences that play a role in the daily lives of teachers at the school. This theme is broken into sub-themes like HT organization, support, and encouragement, the community and parental relationships with teachers, and outside education interventions that influence teachers, which can include the MEPSP, NGOs as well as other types of education associations. These subthemes, like those found in the first theme on teacher internal motivating factors, speak directly to elements that appear to impact teachers to show up, do their jobs well, as well as grow as professionals. In the wTLC schools of Dalémo and Sumané, the overarching school environment suggests individuals who were encouraged to collaborate together, had a strong and organized leader, and felt supported and respected by parents. The sTLC school sub-theme characteristics are quite different. In Molbé, for example, there appears to be a lack of support from parents, strained relationships with the HT, and conflicting NGO interventions at the school. For Tuso and Lané teachers, given the conflict context, there was a lack of presence and support from the community and leaders, while NGOs compete for education initiatives. The school environment theme depicts stark characteristic differences across subthemes, which paint a picture that may help better understand how self-efficacy elements may be supported, stifled, and hindered. This theme also highlights salient characteristics of communities of practice while also

indicating elements that may prevent communities of practice from forming, especially given the conflict-impacted context.

Dalémo & Sumané Schools – Supportive Parents & HTs

Overall, in wTLC schools, there appeared to be school environment structures that encourage, support, and promote teacher well-being. Teachers described their relationships with the community and parents in two ways: When teachers referred to their salaries, they discussed how parents irregularly paid their top-up salaries. Yet, as with the internal motivators theme, teachers also discussed positive relationship elements, especially in reference receiving parental support. In Dalémo, one teacher described an encouraging interaction he had with a parent who said "I've done quick evaluations with my child at home and I see that you're a very useful man." Parents also tend to tell teachers when a child is not thriving. This type of encouragement and support may also be inadvertently contributing to the large class sizes, as one teacher expressed, "The [large] class numbers are due to the training that we have acquired. Parents trust us and that if they send their children to our school that those children will be well taken care of." This finding also provides more detail to the NYU study where 65% of teachers expressed feeling respected and valued by the community (Torrente et al, 2012). The wTLC school teachers talked more about how parents helped them and encouraged them, rather than mentioning hindrances in their jobs, thus representing positive parent-teacher relationships.

Another important sub-theme in wTLC schools revolved around the HT's relationship with teachers. Both schools exhibited a high level of organization and

leadership. In Dalémo, the HT's office was organized with detailed records of TLC meeting minutes and posted school statistics, such as class sizes, school schedules, school rules, teacher code of conduct, and staff meeting schedules. This HT also organized all manipulatives so that the teachers could easily pick up their teaching tools and textbooks. In terms of leadership, both Dalémo and Sumané HTs provided announcements, conducted and recorded check-ins during regular staff meetings with their teachers.

While observing the HTs and talking to teachers, it appeared that another component of the HTs relationship with their teachers highlighted the availability of a HT to be present, and ready to help their staff. Both HTs were seen as supportive and approachable leaders. For example, in Sumané, a teacher expressed "When I'm stressed, I go to the HT and I ask him to help. He encourages me and guides me." In Dalémo, one teacher talked about feeling like a family where the HT is like a father who guides them and gives advice. During observations, this amicable climate seemed evident where teachers and HTs joked with one another while also asking advice of the HT during the school-wide TLC.

By recognizing and espousing the importance of the TLCs to their teachers and for themselves, HTs may also have influenced teacher opinion of the TLCs. Both HTs articulated the importance of TLCs for their own learning. The Sumané HT recognized that teachers need to try new things:

The world is changing and we can't remain in our routines where all we do is talk about what we could do. No, we need to try and insert other ideas and systems so that we can evolve how we teach and contribute to new innovations in the world.

In Dalémo, the HT related in-service training, and especially TLCs, to football practice. He stated "Before playing a game, we have to practice. For the TLCs, we need

to see each time how we can evolve with the new content. If we don't practice during the TLC, we risk losing and not benefiting from one another." Both HTs promote this climate of inquiry and learning where all teachers noted that the HT is there to help them. Interestingly, the NYU teacher motivation study also highlighted that those teachers who felt most satisfied with their jobs were those who reported the highest quality of supervision (Torrente et al., 2012). This seems applicable for the wTLC cases.

Another important sub-theme, in relation to the other schools studied in this intervention, revolves around the influence of outside partners at the school level. In both schools, multiple NGOs operated education initiatives. For example, World Vision actively sponsors socio-economically depressed students. UNICEF provides supplies. The IRC provides, in partnership with the MEPSP, both school improvement project funds and TPD opportunities. In these schools, the different interventions do not seem to conflict with one another. They operate in separate domains of the school, which appear to complement one another. In Molbé, Tuso and Lané schools, NGO interventions overlapped in many different ways. When I discuss these schools, I highlight this phenomenon and explain how teachers viewed and adopted the different interventions. Overall, the school environment characteristics suggest that teachers feel like they are part of an organized working environment where they felt supported by parents and the HT. This is consistent with the literature on what can motivate teachers to participate in TPD and make changes in their classrooms. Avalos' (1998) nation-wide study of teachers who participated in the Chilean TLC program, highlights that schools who implemented the program were those where the school administration was supportive and encouraging with its teachers. Teachers in Ethiopian refugee settings expressed that they

felt emotionally supported and encouraged by their communities, which they also attributed to helping them transform and view themselves as authentic and legitimate teaching professionals as well as feel respected and valued by their communities (Kirk & Winthrop, 2008). In a comparative study of 196 English and Finnish teacher professional learning communities, HT's attitudes, relationships, and communications with teachers was one of the major indicators of teachers participating in training opportunities and teacher change (Webb et al., 2009). This support effort seemed to be consistent with the findings in wTLCs. Dalémo and Sumané teachers highlighted feeling supported and respected by not just the HT, but by the community as well, where I was also able to observe concrete signs of what that support looks like, which I have mentioned above.

Smith (2010) demonstrates that when teacher workload and external support factors are promoted and managed, that it can positively impact their TPD effectiveness as well as self-efficacy. The findings from this theme suggest that there are concrete examples of self-efficacy elements that were developed. HT and parental praise and encouragement of teachers seems consistent with Bandura's (1977; 1982; 1986) self-efficacy element of praise and feedback. Bandura (1994) points out that individuals that are given praise and recognition, by the HTs for example, are likely to give greater efforts and sustain them. Additionally, the HTs espouse the importance of the TLCs, which in their leadership role, can also influence teachers to see the value and importance of capacity building and TLCs for their improvement and advancement. The leadership of the TLC program by HTs seems to set a model for teachers to follow and emulate, which also seems to speak to the modeling element of self-efficacy and creates a discourse that

promotes a community of practice and a positive valorization of TLCs. This also suggests a positive sense of collective efficacy (Bandura, 1997).

HTs also presented themselves as resources to help resolve teacher instruction-based problems. This could potentially serve as one strategic avenue for teachers when they experience difficult challenges. Instead of avoiding these challenges, teachers often spoke about using the HT as a credible resource. This suggests the self-efficacy element of "emotional arousal," or being able to cope with difficulties by having concrete strategies and problem-solving pathways (Bandura, 1982). Community support and the involvement of outside organizations were other sub-themes that also seemed important to highlight. Generally favorable and supportive of teachers, they may also highlight an environment where teachers feel respected, valued, and important members of their communities. In such environments teachers have tools and support to do their jobs, which could be described as a positive "praising" element of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982).

Overall, wTLC school environment sub-themes point to an atmosphere of support and encouragement where the self-efficacy elements of "modeling," "praise," "coping mechanisms" are promoted by parents and HTs and complemented by outside NGO education partners. The HT seems to play an extremely important role in this process, which is demonstrated in the literature on the impacts of school leadership on teachers (Smith et al., 2010; Webb et al., 2009). HTs may be an important player in helping to promote self-efficacy and the collective efficacy of the group. Collective efficacy is the concept of valuing the group and recognizing the benefit that a group process can have on

oneself (Bandura, 1997). The HT's promotion of the value of the group can also serve as a model to support a sense of positive collective efficacy for TPD and at the TLC level.

Molbé School – Absent Parents & HTs

The school environment sub-themes at Molbé school appear to be quite different given the context and relationship between the school and the community. Interventions by the community, the HT, and NGOs did not to be as supportive and complimentary as what I have deciphered in Dalémo and Sumané schools. There seems to be a lack of HT and community support and encouragement. There also appears to be a lack of NGO coordination of their interventions at the school, which may create more work and time spent for teachers on administrative components and technical requirements of these projects. These different factors together do not seem to demonstrate positive elements of self-efficacy and collective efficacy, which I demonstrate below.

Molbé school teachers most frequently talked about their relationships with the community and parents in a negative light. Since Molbé school is a government-recognized but unsponsored school, the community is responsible for contributing to the school operating budget, which includes payroll. This may explain why teachers rarely talked about the positive impact and relationships that they had with the community. All teachers expressed that the community does not do enough to support them; they don't pay teacher salaries regularly, they don't contribute to the school functioning fees, and this in turn creates a difficult learning environment that lacks teaching resources. When talking about the PTA's role in supporting and advocating for teachers, one teacher stated "The PTA here is difficult. Instead of holding meetings and doing awareness raising with

parents so that they pay us teachers, they are inactive. We give many reports to the PTAs but nothing happens." Teachers seemed to be frustrated with parents and the community. A couple of teachers explained that they cannot leave their materials up in the room because they did not trust parents. They might come back the next day and find community members have stolen them to use for cigarette rolling papers. Molbé teachers don't feel supported by the community.

Teachers also expressed that the community is not satisfied with them. The teacher who lives in the HT's office explained that "It's not everyone who is happy with me....they see me differently." Four of six teachers live in Kilasi town and are not members of the community. In the NYU teacher study, teachers from the community felt more respect and valued by parents, while teachers not from the community felt less job satisfaction, respect, and support (Torrente et al, 2012). This may also be what is playing out for Molbé school teachers. The lack of salary and financial support seemed to equate with the lack of respect that teachers felt that parents gave them.

The relationships between teachers and the HT seemed to differ depending on the teacher. The most experienced teacher explained that he worked closely with the HT to develop the TPD sessions at the school. However, the majority of teachers did not positively promote the HT. They explained that there was an organizational problem at the school. One teacher noted: "Even the Head Teacher doesn't often come to the TLCs. Maybe if you ask him he will say that he attends, but I think it's just 1 or 2 times. He even has his own difficulties coming to school. Sometimes he can do 1-2 weeks outside of school and if he comes here, it's for a special circumstance." The annex school teachers expressed feeling rejected by the HT, where he indicated being thrown into the

annex school all by himself. He indicated that the HT had not yet visited him. Overall, teachers felt that the HT was not doing all that he could to advocate to the PTA and parents so that sufficient school fees were paid regularly. The HTs actions and relationships also seemed to equate with a lack of feeling supported.

In terms of the education stakeholder impact sub-theme, the NGOs who were involved focused their interventions around student learning. It appeared that these interventions were not coordinated and were also heavily time consuming for teachers. Teachers in grades one to four explained that they participated in trainings given by IRC and UNICEF, where the IRC promoted reading, math and their student well-being "Healing Classroom" curricula. They also indicated taking part in the UNICEF "Competency Based Approach" (ABC) and another student well-being program called "Child Friendly Spaces." Teachers articulated the different links between the Healing Classroom and Child Friendly Spaces. However, when they explained the different approaches in reading, Math, and ABC, there seemed to be some confusion. Both IRC and UNICEF use the TLC structure to refresh and reinforce concepts learned in accelerated trainings.

It became clear that IRC and UNICEF had different TLC formats and methods for conducting the TLCs. IRC's approach follows the MEPSP model and has already been explained. Participants rotate TLC facilitation responsibilities, conduct the different parts of the TLC (Reflection, Learning, Planning), and are then supposed to try out techniques refreshed in the TLC during the "Action" period in their classrooms. The UNICEF TLC required one leader who was supposed to observe teachers each week and come to the TLC ready to explain what teachers did well and didn't do well. Both projects required a

different "meeting minute" format that teachers had to fill out. While these are not necessarily conflicting TLC approaches, they require some different strategies and requirements that all take up time. It demonstrates a lack of coordination. Teachers have indicated that sometimes it's confusing for them and they don't know where to start or which format to maintain.

Teachers in grades five and six participate in three project interventions: IRC, UNICEF and a French Cooperation project named IFADEM. IFADEM is a parallel project to IRC's French reading intervention. Teachers in these grades attend workshop trainings for both projects, and they are supposed to participate in IRC and UNICEF TLCs on a regular basis. When observed, these teachers didn't seem to be implementing IFADEM project activities and continued to use traditional "call-response" activities which they renamed using some of the OPEQ project jargon. Once again, project coordination may be influencing teachers to not participate and try out new techniques.

For all teachers, this was the first year that they were participating in all three projects. This is an important context-specific piece of information. The school appeared to be inundated with new approaches at the beginning of the school year. They had many trainings from organizations saying similar things while at the same time establishing different requirements. This is concerning in relation to various literature on effective TPD. In Taylor et al.'s (2005) study of teachers in early grade reading TPD projects, researchers found that 1/3 of schools that did not implement the TPD program failed to do so due to a variety of factors that included time commitment, lack of leadership, and non-participation of teachers. This is confirmed by another study where the lack of leadership combined with a negative school climate contributed to teachers

disinterest in teacher study groups and a lack of enhanced self esteem during the project (Avalos, 1998). These outside factors seem to also impact the teachers at Molbé school. Major education implementers in the field of international education also insist that support for TPD needs to be fostered and articulated at the central, regional, and school-based level for site-based TPD to be effective (INEE, 2011; OECD, 2009; UNESCO, 2012; VSO, 2002).

Molbé school environment findings seem to paint a picture of elements associated with low self— and collective—efficacy levels. In terms of modeling, the HT's lack of presence and indications of not advocating as much as teachers would like, sets a school-wide tone that suggests to teachers that they too can come to school late, not always show up to school, and not always participate in TPD and TLCs. Literature on leadership highlights how HTs set a school climate tone that teachers are more apt to follow (Webb et al., 2009). As Bandura (1994) suggests, modeling creates a scenario where peers or subordinates feel the drive to imitate and follow such behavior. This is possibly the scenario at Molbé school.

The school environment factors do not seem to provide praise or constructive feedback to teachers. Bandura (1994) explains that praise and constructive feedback are used as barometers for teacher self-assessment. It's interesting that one teacher discussed feeling uncomfortable or unsure of what the community thought about him. He said that he thought they were not happy with his performance and presence in the community. This could demonstrate that a lack of praise and recognition could contribute to an ambiguous sense of accomplishment as a teacher and sense of importance to communities. In one instance, a teacher explained that he feels more like a babysitter for

parents than a valued teacher helping children in the community. This points to a low sense of self-efficacy and self-worth within the eyes of the community.

Finally, with multiple NGO interventions that overlap, the projects present an overlapping time burden and add more work for teachers. Research demonstrates a link between increases in working hours, revisions to curricula, and teacher willingness to change (Bennel & Akyeampong, 2007; OECD, 2009; VSO, 2002). Unlike in wTLC schools, Molbé teachers did not talk about the types of outlets that they used to cope with some of these new concepts and challenges. From the findings, I did not find conducive means that teachers used to cope during stressful situations, which is another element of Bandura's concept of self-efficacy that is not promoted (Bandura, 1994).

Overall, Molbé school environment sub-themes suggest an atmosphere that does not appear to support and encourage self-efficacy elements for teachers. The type of modeling demonstrated by the HT may actually lower teacher self-efficacy. The community's lack of support may discourage teachers. The HT also seems to play an important role setting a complacent tone and relationships with teachers. The HT did not seem to promote TLCs, which is another example of modeling where teachers minimally valued the collective efficacy of the group to participate in TLCs. Community also seems to play a big role in impacting teachers' sense of worth at the school. Perceptions of negative community evaluation also appear to contribute to overall low levels of self-efficacy of teachers.

<u>Tuso and Lané Schools – Unavailable Parents and HTs</u>

The school environment sub-themes at Tuso and Lané schools share characteristics that are similar to Molbé school where positive relationships with the community and the HTs did not pop up in the data. HT and community members seemed to be unavailable to support and encourage teachers in their work. This occurred within the new context and challenges that teachers faced given a climate that seemed more directed towards continuing to build the new schools closer to Kilasi town. Similar to what was observed in Molbé school, a lack of NGO coordination was apparent.

Although the school support environment in sTLC schools did paint a picture of unavailable communities and HTs, in Tuso and Lané schools this seems to be true for different reasons. Tuso and Lané schools seem to lack positive elements of self-efficacy and collective efficacy. This could be the result of teachers trying to navigate a new conflict environment.

Overall, teachers did not talk in-depth about their relationship with the community. No school data demonstrated supportive and encouraging parents. All teachers referred to parents in a negative tone. For example, teachers indicated that IDP parents almost always failed to pay the teacher top-off fee. They did articulate feeling conflicted about reminding these parents of their inability to pay, given that most of these families lack proper shelter and income-generation activities due to the conflict. When teachers talked about the role that the PTA plays in their professional lives, one teacher's voice seemed to sum up the general view: "PTA? PTA? We have a PTA but I don't see their impact here." The HT did mention that the PTA was tied up helping to find support to continue building the new schools, and that they were able to mobilize parents in order

to pay for bricks. It appears that parents are contributing, but that the teachers do see that type of contribution as a helpful impact on their lives.

When teachers talked about the HT, they described him as someone who is busy and concerned about building the new school. One teacher articulated, "We are not well guided. If we were well guided you'd see TLCs functioning well and regularly and we wouldn't have any difficulties [with TLCs]." Teachers also expressed that they do not necessarily feel that the HT advocates for them. They have asked the HT for textbooks and other supplies, but he has yet to indicate the steps that he is taking to try to acquire materials for teachers. During the last half of the data collection, the HT was not available at the school. Teachers noted that this is a regular occurrence and indicated that they are used to teaching and do not need a lot of guidance. They did not indicate that the HT helps them do their jobs, which is very different from what I have noted about the wTLC HTs. In Molbé, teachers talked about the HT's lack of leadership, while in Tuso and Lané they didn't talk much about the HT, which also demonstrates a lack of presences and leadership at the school. This may be true as well for the Lané HT who was never present during data collection.

The same NGOs at Molbé school were also located in Tuso and Lané schools, which created a similar situation noted in the Molbé school findings. There were no humanitarian relief NGOs present to help with children's basic needs for physical well-being or to provide IDP children with tools and materials. As in Molbé school, the NGO interventions did not appear to be coordinated. Tuso and Lané teachers picked up on this and expressed unfavorable opinions of the different projects. For example, they discussed how the UNICEF ABC approach and the IRC OPEQ TLC method do not

always align explicitly with the DRC national curriculum. They also compared the amounts of per diem that each project gives. They indicated that the IRC doesn't give enough money for the trainings to motivate them to participate in the TLCs.

The general consensus for Tuso and Lané teachers is that NGOs should provide them with top-up salaries in order to participate in their programs. Their rational is embodied in the following quote by a teacher: "With OPEQ, we have to write a lot. Too much, too much literature. When you have an empty stomach, you don't hear or do anything." It almost seemed that teachers participated in the different project trainings in order to make some extra income, but that the amounts that they did receive were not sufficient enough for them to regularly participate and put in the effort at school and classroom levels, especially given the extra workloads that they faced in school with the flood of IDP students.

Tuso and Lané school environments paint a picture where there are low collective efficacy levels. HTs lack of presence and teacher perceptions of their support and encouragement do not suggest a group dynamic and learning environment that is part of a sense of collective efficacy. Teacher relationships with community members also seem to depict an atmosphere where teachers feel unsupported by them financially. They feel second in priority compared to the building of the new school. These are all indications that the collective is not favored by potentially supportive stakeholders. Taylor et al. (2005) demonstrate that teachers working in a school that lacks leadership and community commitment directly impacts their commitment in their jobs and to participate in TPD. Schools that lacked leadership and that had a negative school climate are those where teachers felt a low sense of self-esteem and disinterest in learning new

skills (Avalos, 1998). The relationships that teachers talked about indicate a lack of leadership and a disinterested climate, especially in terms of the new crisis-related increase in IDP students.

Teacher participation in NGO projects appeared to overwhelm them and not necessarily aid them in their classrooms, especially given the influx of new students who had been impacted by crisis and violence. The different projects lacked coordination and did not necessarily address a context where children had been acutely impacted by conflict. Though the IRC and UNICEF programs did include the concepts of psychosocial well-being, teachers did not talk about the value of these interventions. They viewed NGOs as coming from the outside, where they should benefit financially from what the NGO has to offer. Studies have depicted teachers being resentful about their jobs and about new interventions when policies are set in place that force teachers to undertake new practices while not getting support and resources to do so (Asimeng-Boahene, 2003; Oplatka, 2007). Tuso and Lané teachers did not note feeling supported or encouraged by HTs, communities, and NGOs. Could it be that these teachers felt a certain resentment that they have to undertake new practices while feeling overloaded due to a crisis-related situation? In Belay et al.'s (2007), teachers who did not enjoy their jobs said that they saw no way to make a difference and that they put the blame on exterior factors that prevented them from changing their practice. Trauma-literature also suggests that the NGO interventions could have served to add to the daily stressors of teachers in the wake of trauma (Bonanno & Diminich, 2013; & Miller & Rassmussen, 2010).

Overall, teachers in Tuso and Lané seemed to lack some of the basic elements of self-efficacy as well. They did appear confident in their ability to teach some of their students. However, for new IDP students, they did not know how to help them. It appeared to take up too much time and effort for them. Bandura (1994) may say that they lacked coping mechanisms. However, the stressful situation in which these teachers were found could be considered an anomaly. Teachers were exposed to a completely new set of working conditions that they did not know how to navigate. This happened in an environment where there were minimal signs of praise and encouragement from the school community. They did not talk about the HT as being a model to follow and as a person to help them through difficulties. Even though these teachers had many years of teaching experience, they seemed to lack the models, praise, and abilities to navigate the difficulties.

Comparison of School Environment Elements

The preceding discussion on school environment elements that impact teachers demonstrates findings that are context-specific. Table 9 highlights some of the major findings for each sub-theme per school. In terms of relationships with communities, we see that in all cases families did not regularly pay teacher salary fees, whether that be top-up fees in Dalémo, Sumané, Tuso and Lané schools, or the whole salary, as was the case in Molbé school. However, once again, in wTLC schools, teachers were quick to shift from negative to favorable ways in which the community participated in their professional lives. This includes recognizing teacher strengths and talking about the entrusting role that parents place in them. In sTLC schools, these positive community-

teacher relationship characteristics did not surface in the data. Teachers in these schools indicated either a lack of a relationship with parents, or difficulties in dealings with parents. Not feeling trusted or uncertanity if they are respected were added to difficulties. Regardless of the context in sTLC schools, teachers did not feel like their communities helped and supported them. In wTLC schools, the support and encouragement from families seemed important to teachers. This is an ingredient in helping to booster self-efficacy. In sTLC schools, I did not observe or hear teachers talking about this ingredient from parents. The lack of praise and encouragement can create the opposite result, lower self-efficacy (Bandura, 1994).

Table 9: Most Common School Environment Elements That Impact Teachers Per School

TLC Case /	wTLC		sTLC	
School	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
Relationship with Community	-Families don't pay salary -Families are supportive -Families are trusting		-Families don't pay admin costs -Families don't pay salary -PTA doesn't listen or help -Lack of trust -Lack of respect	-Lack of data on community -IDP Families don't pay salary -PTA doesn't help -PTA concerned with new school
Relationship with HTs	-HT organization -HT leadership -HT as approachable and helpful -HT as cheerleader / model		-Different relationships with HT -1 worked closely with HT -HT organizational problem -HT not present -HT not a strong advocate	-Lack of data on the HTs -1 HT not present -1 HT present ½ of the time -HT not a strong advocate -HT not valuable to teachers
Outside Intervention Impacts	-3 NGOs intervening -Non-overlapping interventions (complimentary)		-3 NGOs intervening -1 st year of NGO interventions -Competing curricula -Increase in time / workload	-3 NGOs intervening -1 st year of NGO interventions -Competing curricula -Increase in time / workload -NGOs should pay them
Conclusions	-Positive Self Efficacy -Modeling Element (HT) -Praise Element (HT / Parents) -Coping Element (HT) -Positive Collective Efficacy (HT)		-Low Self-Efficacy (new teachers) -Minimal Modeling Element (HT) -Minimal Praise (HT / Parents) -Coping Element (HT) -Lack of Collective Efficacy (HT)	-Low Self-Efficacy(conflict) -No Modeling Element (HT) -No Praise (HT / Parents) -Overwhelmed / Lack of Coping (conflict) -Lack of collective efficacy (HT)

A major sub-theme of utmost importance revolves around teacher relationships with their supervisors. It appears that the HTs in wTLC and sTLC had opposite characteristics in this aspect. In Dalémo and Sumané schools, the relationship between teachers and the HT was characterized by organizational and leadership skills that appeared to create a collective. The HT in these two schools created an environment that actively favored TPD. Moreover, the HT served as an approachable mentor who promoted TPD and the TLCs. This type of cheerleading creates a sense of collective efficacy, where the group is valued (Bandura, 1994). The HT also served as a role model and resource for teachers in times of difficulty, fulfilling more of Bandura's self-efficacy elements (modeling and coping mechanisms). Bandura (1982) would note that the HT in wTLC schools helped foster the sense of self-efficacy and collective efficacy of teachers.

Relationships with the HT in sTLC schools differed. In Molbé, Tuso, and Lané schools, teachers did not mention the HT as being supportive or showing them respect. HTs were talked about as not being available, present or advocates for teachers. In Webb et al's (2009) study of Finnish professional learning communities, the HT was key to increased teacher well-being and change in practice: "Where teachers were most enthusiastic about their school's supportive culture, they attributed this in large measure to the personality, values and actions of the headteacher" (p.409). Given the different circumstances at the schools, it would be interesting to know more about why and how HTs were not being supportive or available. In Molbé, is the HT just as focused on his salary as the teachers such that he needs to focus more attention on other income generation activities? In Tuso and Lané, do the HTs feel just as overwhelmed as the teachers given the direct and impacts of conflict on teachers? Hernández-Wolfe (2011)

may note that I may not have a nuanced understanding of the context-based culture of processing and moving through trauma. Maybe it is possible that one way to move through trauma in the DRC is by not addressing it head on. The school leader can react to his the stress and sense of overload of teachers in a culturally-appropriate manner. This would be something for further study and analysis in order to better understand what role the supervisor plays in mitigating or contributing to teacher conflict and daily-stressors and anxieties.

The final sub-theme across schools relates to outside interveners in the school, which in all schools, is the result of outside NGOs conducting specific projects and programs. In wTLC schools, the NGOs seem to have complementary interventions, without much overlap among different projects that would confuse or create more work for teachers. I cannot assume that the different NGOs actively coordinated efforts, however. In the sTLC schools, NGOs interventions have similar messages, teaching strategies, and TPD approaches, but they provide competing elements, such as administrative and TPD tasks. Teachers in Tuso and Lané schools go as far as to solicit NGOs to pay them in order to do this work. In Molbé, teachers are the least experienced of all schools. They said that even though the NGOs have different approaches, that they use the programs as learning and growing opportunities. In Tuso and Lané schools, teachers have been in the profession for at least a decade and don't necessarily feel the need to further their skills. This is another interesting finding given that they explain feeling overloaded and unable to figure out how to help guide new IDP students in class. In sTLC cases, the NGO involvement may be adding to teacher stress levels and inadvertently creating more difficulties for them. Bandura (1982) would articulate that

these approaches may increase stress levels and serve as a negative element of self-efficacy. In Dalémo and Sumané schools, Bandura (1982) would highlight that the new NGO approaches that are complimentary may not add to teacher stress levels and may be just enough motivation for them to cope with difficulties.

In general, in wTLC cases, teacher school environment elements appear to create a conducive atmosphere where teachers feel supported and encouraged. They feel like they work in a professional environment where they have human resources, such as the HT, to help them with their job-related difficulties. This sets a stage that directly endorses self-efficacy and collective efficacy elements. In sTLC schools, this conducive environment does not seem to be present. Teachers seem to have lower levels of self-efficacy which, according to Bandura (1994), can be related to the types of individuals that are around to support them. These conditions do not seem to help develop self and collective-efficacy.

It would be interesting to note more nuanced, context-specific details to gain a better understanding of the impact of conflict on school environment factors. It already appears that NGO involvement can serve to add to the daily stressors of teachers.

Teachers did not view the interventions as tools that could help them with some of the internal motivating factor issues that they faced. It would also be appropriate further explore the impact that conflict had on non-IDP families and for HTs. These are other elements that may contribute to how the school environment impacted these overwhelmed teachers.

CHAPTER 7

TLC CHARACTERISTICS – 2^{ND} ORDER THEME

TLC Characteristics

In this next chapter, I present the final major theme exploring TLC characteristics like frequency of meetings, teacher opinions of TLCs, and how teachers influence one another inside and out of the TLCs. Before engaging in a more detailed discussion of these findings per context, I provide a résumé of the previous two chapters, which will help to contextualize and explore possible linkages between the more prominent first order themes and the TLC characteristics to be explored next. Table 10 provides the most salient findings from the first order themes. It paints a picture of different contextrelated factors that interact with teacher perspectives of their motivation to become and remain teachers, and the different type of school environment factors that impact the work that they do. The table helps to look across the different sub-themes for each of the major first order themes to gauge similarities and differences for teachers in these contexts. However, it also allows one to look down each column to see the type of environment that these subthemes seem to paint per school. Before jumping into the summary, I ask the reader to briefly study Table 10 according to the six sub-themes presented in the previous chapters. The similarities, differences, and contexts are striking and depict scenes that seem to support teachers in some cases while creating more obstacles and barriers for teachers to do their jobs in others.

Table 10: Overview of 1st Order Themes: Motivating Factors and School

Environment Elements Per School

TLC Case /	wT	LC	sTLC	
Schools	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
Working Conditions	-Low salaries -Class conditions -HT's efforts to get tools / materials		-Lack of / infrequent payment -Live outside of Molbé -Lack of materials / tools -Physical well-being	-Conflict Impacted -IDP Student Issues -Lack of Materials / Tools -Health Problems -Disjointed School -Feeling Overloaded / Stressed
View of Teaching	-Duty to teach -Teaching as a "calling" -Teaching to learn		-To help change lives -Molbé is a punishment -Don't view selves as teachers	-Duty to teach -See selves as Victims / Poor -MEPSP manipulate
View of Capacity Building	-Sign of professionalism -Related to School Pride		-Important to build skills / learn / gain skills	-Good, in principle but need financial motivation
Relationship with Community	-Families don't pay salary -Families are supportive & trusting		-Families don't pay -Lack of PTA support -Families trust / respect issues	-IDP Families don't pay -PTA not advocating for teachers
Relationship with HTs	-HT organization & leadership -HT as model & resource		-HT lack of leadership -HT's unfavorable example	-HT Absence -HT not advocating for teachers
Outside Intervention Impacts	-NGO non-overlapping interventions		-NGOs – Competing curricula -Increase in time / workload	-NGOs – Competing curricula -Increase in time / workload
Conclusions	-Positive Self Efficacy -Positive Elements: Modeling, Praise, Coping Strategies -Positive Collective Efficacy		-Low Self-Efficacy -Negative Elements: Modeling, Praise, Wanting to Escape/ Lack of coping (new teachers) -Lack of Collective Efficacy	-Low Self-Efficacy -Negative Elements: Modeling, Praise, Overwhelmed / Lack of Coping (conflict) -Lack of collective efficacy

The motivating factor sub-themes highlight differences in findings. Since all teachers discussed salaries as a problem, this appears to be an MEPSP-wide policy problem of not being able to support teachers with a living wage (De herdt et al., 2010; Pearson, 2011). However, there are stark disparities across schools. In wTLCs, the efforts of HTs have paid off in acquiring learning tools and teaching manipulatives, while in sTLC schools teachers talked about and demonstrated in-depth challenges around the quality of tools available to them. Differences across sTLC schools highlight

contextual factors. In Molbé school, most teachers were uncertified new teachers who had challenges providing for their own physical well-being, and therefore needed to prioritize other income generation activities over teaching. In Tuso and Lané, direct and indirect impacts of conflict seems to have created a new type of working environment where seasoned teachers were unsure of how to support IDP students and thus felt overloaded and stressed.

Teacher views of themselves and their drives for capacity building also appear to be influenced by their contexts. In wTLC schools, teachers appear proud to be teachers in their communities. Capacity building was an identifying signifier of who they were as professionals. In Molbé school, for example, teachers recognized the potential value they placed on teaching and the need to build and learn new skills, but they also talked unfavorably about teaching in Molbé. Some of these teachers didn't view themselves as professionals. In Tuso and Lané schools, teachers expressed their initial drives to become teachers and that capacity building, in principle, is a necessary element of being a teacher. Yet, they also talked about themselves as victims who were poor and manipulated by the MEPSP. They also articulated the need for financial motivation to be part of capacity building activities. Once again, context seems to be an important factor in these sub-themes that highlight a general overview of teacher self-efficacy levels.

The school environment sub-themes seem to set a tone that influenced teachers in the work that they do. All teachers across all schools expressed concerns that parents and families did not do enough to pay for their salaries, whether it be top up fees or whole salaries. Again, this is an MEPSP policy issue where communities have been expected to provide social services for the MEPSP (De herdt et al, 2010; Pearson, 2011). The wTLC

school teachers all articulated being supported and feeling respected by parents. This seemed to carry over and be more pronounced in terms of HTs supervising them, and created an environment where wTLC teachers felt organized, encouraged, and able to approach the HT for help. In sTLC schools, such as Molbé, teachers said that they were discouraged by the community and didn't feel respected. Teachers admitted that the HT also contributed to this lack of support. A similar story is applicable to Tuso and Lané schools. NGO interventions also pop up as a sub-theme that complemented efforts in Dalémo and Sumané, but created confusion and extra work to teachers in Molbé, Tuso and Lané schools. These characteristics, regardless of school, point to self-efficacy elements and collective efficacy levels.

Overall, positive self-efficacy elements, like providing praise, serving as a role model, and creating coping mechanism outlets, are found in wTLC schools. Community and HTs promote self-efficacy and collective efficacy building opportunities. Teachers in these communities talk more positively about their experiences and demonstrate more positive general signs of self-efficacy. This includes feeling motivated to participate in TPD, feeling a sense of professional pride, and feeling respected (Bandura, 1982). Teahcers in Molbé, Tuso and Lané schools do not seem to demonstrate these same positive self-efficacy traits. They discussed feeling more like victims who are taken advantage of within a crisis-setting, or as if they were punished for being part of the school. This sense of self-worth does not coincide with high levels of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982). The community and HT do not seem to promote positive self-efficacy elements or collective efficacy opportunities. Literature on teacher change points to teacher perspectives on TPD and their ability to make change. Those teachers who are

open to reflecting and exploring were those who changed their teaching practices as a result of TPD (Smith et al, 2003). In the case of wTLC and sTLC schools, teachers in wTLC schools demonstrate characteristics and are submerged in environments that seem to favor being more open and able to change. In sTLC schools, the environments, though different, appeared to hamper teacher perspectives and efforts.

In schools where the school profile elements, internal motivators, and school environment characteristics were more positive, I observed more favorable characteristics in the functioning of TLCs. The converse was true for sTLC schools. In the next section, I use the school profile, internal motivators, and school environment findings in conjunction with the different TLC characteristic themes and sub-themes in order to demonstrate my assertions. The prominent characteristics of a functioning TLC include two sub-themes. The first sub-theme relates to operational characteristics of the TLCs,: TLC meeting schedules and meeting frequency, the ways in which TLCs were structured and teacher opinion and perceived value of the TLCs. The second sub-theme examines how teachers seem to influence one another: mutual influence along technical, social, and emotional lines in and outside of the TLCs. In this chapter, I highlight TLC findings using the themes and sub-themes mentioned above, which are important findings that answer all three research questions. Additionally, TLCs appear to be sites where selfefficacy elements are developed and where communities of practice help to develop teacher self-efficacy. It becomes increasingly evident that context plays a major role in this process, which I posit, can also be influenced by 1st order themes and sub-themes.

Functioning Characteristics & Teacher Opinions of TLCs

TLC characteristic sub-themes appeared consistent across the five schools. The characteristics of these themes were quite different depending on the context. In this section, I explore data and findings related to the overall functioning of the TLCs, as understood through frequency of participation and TLC functioning structure. This includes observations of how teachers worked together during the TLCs. Another major sub-theme that I highlight is teacher opinions of the TLCs. In wTLC schools, the regular functioning, teacher-driven sessions, and value that teachers place on the TLCs paint a picture that parallels the sense teachers' sense of themselves as professionals. The TLCs themselves may be contributing to that sense of professionalism. In sTLC schools, TLCs happen with less frequency and in a disorganized way. Teachers purport the value of TLCs while also feeling discouraged to attend. I dive more into these findings and nuances below, especially in relationship to conflict. At the end of the section, I discuss how the frequency, structure, and opinions of the TLCs provide important information about collective efficacy and the value placed on the community of practice.

<u>Dalémo & Sumané Schools (wTLCs) – Regular, Diverse Approaches, Favorable</u> <u>TLCs</u>

In Dalémo and Sumané schools, TLCs functioned regularly and for a sustained amount of time, which is why I label the TLCs as "regular." In both schools TLCs met at least two times per month. This happened since the beginning of the school year, and documentation from the previous year paints a similar picture in terms of TLC functioning. TLC meeting minutes coupled with teacher lesson plans and manipulatives

produced for those lessons indicated to the research team that the TLCs were operational. Teachers participating in TPD over a long period of time at regular intervals are an important element of effective TLCs, (Smith et al., 2003).

Of equal importance, all teachers in the wTLC schools were able to indicate how the TLCs functioned and their processes. This included teachers discussing in-depth and identifying the different TLC steps (reflection, learning, planning, and action steps). This was something that the research team observed in all of the different wTLCs. Teachers also frequently referred to the different roles that they played in the TLCs. This includes roles such as being the moderator, facilitator or note-taker during the TLC activities. This was also observed during the TLCs, where teachers reminded each other of their roles. Teachers seemed comfortable talking about these components and with their roles during the TLCs as well. The research team commented on the sense of routine that the teachers had developed during the wTLCs.

From the document analysis, the first TLC meeting was conducted by the HTs to explain the phases of the TLC meeting and the roles and topics from which teachers could choose. All teachers were able to clearly articulate what types of activities they conducted in each phase of the TLC. For example, in the "Reflection" phase, teachers highlighted that they often shared their successes in class and discussed their difficulties with each other to gather possible solutions. On multiple occasions teachers emphasized that "We all have a chance to lead the TLCs. The responsibility alternates. Someone can organize the TLC this week and then another person will organize it next week." These types of statements were coupled with teachers discussing how TLCs were led, "the

leader of the group for the week, when he comes into the room, he doesn't dictate what we do. He's there to facilitate and help move the discussion and activities in the TLCs."

The structure of the TLCs was determined by the teacher leading the TLC and varied across the different "sister-level" TLCs. I observed three different types of TLC structures in the wTLC schools, which I label "top-down," "facilitated" and "collegial" approaches (please see Table 11 for general characteristics for each structure). In one of the TLCs, the "top-down" approach was used, where 1 teacher presented his lesson and the other teachers sat, recopied the lesson, and answered close-ended questions. The facilitator spoke mostly about how he would use the activity "The Letter and Sound Song" while his co-teacher listened. The "facilitated" approach was one of the most frequency observed TLC structures in Dalémo and Sumané schools. For example, the 1st sister-grade TLC (teachers in grades 1 & 2) in Dalémo used this approach where one teacher led the TLC and other teachers answered questions, demonstrated ideas and activities, and everyone brainstormed together. Teachers all talked about the difficulties that they've had with different activities such as "Create a sentence," and "Reflective Reading" while the facilitator guided the discussion. Some teachers came to the front of the room to quickly demonstrate techniques they used in class.

Table 11: Observed wTLC Structures

TLC Structure Name	Characteristics	
	"Teacher centered"	
Top-Down	Facilitator talks	
Top-Down	 Participant listens 	
	Close Ended questions	
	Facilitator leads	
Facilitated	Participants brainstorm	
racilitated	 Participants share ideas and techniques 	
	Close and open-ended questions	
	Participating together	
Collogial	Facilitator as mentor	
Collegial	Building upon ideas	
	Create together	

The most collaborative TLC used a "collegial" approach. Teachers who implemented this strategy often sat side-by side, brainstormed different activities that they could use, and thought of different materials and content that they could try out in conjunction with the activities. In Sumané school, teachers in sister-grades 3 (grades 5 & 6) used this technique to brainstorm manipulatives to use for the week, and then together created the manipulative. In Dalémo school, level 3 teachers wrote a lesson together and participated equally. The more "senior" teacher served as a colleague-mentor to the "junior" teacher. They first addressed the "categorizing" activity where the more experienced teacher explained the importance of the activity and different ways to use the activity in class. For example, teachers explained how categorization helps students to classify words and to understand that words have meaning and have different meanings depending on the context. And then the newer teacher articulated some ideas about how to use the activity (for example, with synonyms, antonyms, homonyms). He articulated the different steps that can be used to conduct this activity in class, while the more experienced teacher added other ways to use the activity. Together, they simulated the activity using these new suggestions.

The different structures highlight an important part of the TLCs; they were teacher-driven and sustained by teachers in wTLC schools. All teachers in wTLCs equated the TLCs with meaningful professional development opportunities and enjoyed the collective and social nature of the TLCs. As one teacher noted, "It's better to learn with others than to learn alone. If I learn all by myself, I am limited. But if I learn in a group, I can find out anything that I need for my job." This seemed especially true for the individuals who were newer to the teacher profession. These spoke of how it was

helpful to participate in the TLCs where the more experienced colleagues helped them get "up to speed." Another teacher explained the difference between asking a colleague for help individually and creating a regular space and time for colleagues to come together and share. In sum, teachers reported seeing the benefit of meeting together, no longer being isolated in their classrooms, and learning from one another.

The frequency, structure, and opinions of TLC sub-themes seemed to interact with one another to create favorable results for teachers in wTLCs schools. This is consistent with the literature, where teachers who felt that they could gain from quality TPD were those who were more likely to participate (Smith et al., 2003). Where initiatives are context-based and are led by teachers, TPD initiatives also are more regular and effective (Arbaugh, 2003; Avalos, 2011; & Avalos, 1998). In the Dalémo and Sumané schools, teachers not only lead the TLCs, they also alternated roles and were allowed to choose the structure in which they facilitated the process. It seemed like teachers took ownership over the TLC process and determined their TLCs based on themes that were important and necessary for them.

This makes me think back to Bandura's (1997) idea of collective efficacy and Wenger's (1998) concept of communities of practice. Collective efficacy is linked to the value that individuals place on a group and how the motivational commitment of a group is linked to performance (Bandura, 1997). The higher value that individuals place on a group, the more commitment and effort they will put into the group, and the longer the group's staying power (Bandura, 1997). The wTLC teachers placed a great deal of value on the TLCs in which they also participated regularly, and they led the TLCs based on their own needs. These were elements of positive collective efficacy for the TLCs in

Dalémo and Sumané schools. Wenger (1998) highlights that when individuals come together and lead their own learning based on a common interest in a particular area, they feel like they have the opportunity to grow and learn from one another. Teachers in Dalémo and Sumané expressed and demonstrated these same types of concepts. They came together regularly. They directed their own TLCs. They articulated the importance of stepping out of isolation to learn from one another. They seem to be defining and creating their own communities of practice. These communities of practice appear to have a strong sense of collective efficacy, which are important components of the wTLCs.

Molbé School (sTLC) – Irregular, Top-Down Approach, Mixed Opinions of TLCs

In Molbé school, the TLCs functioned differently than what I presented for wTLC schools. In terms of regularity and duration, I label the TLCs in Molbé as "irregular." Sometimes the TLCs met two times per month, but during other months, especially at the beginning of the school year, the TLCs did not meet. The TLC documentation paints a picture of TLCs that failed to start up right after the accelerated training in which teachers participated, but more meetings did happen during the second half of the school year. Another important element to note is that this was the first year that teachers participated in the OPEQ TLC approach.

Teachers also explained that they do not always participate in the TLCs. Some of these reasons include other priorities: "If I don't participate in the TLCs, maybe that day I have other priorities, such as helping my family or finding ways to feed my family."

Teachers, who did participate in the TLCs, seem to view their colleagues in a negative

light: "There are some teachers who think they can do whatever they want and that it's not important to participate in the TLCs. We as colleagues need to be on the same path in order to share our ideas." The teacher at the annex school explained that he does not participate because he needs to walk long distances, at times in difficult weather conditions, in order to attend the TLCs. He also explains that if he did participate, that he would need to cut instructional time short and the time he attributes to working in the field for secondary income. With some teachers attending regularly and others choosing to attend sporadically, there seem to be tensions amongst these two camps of teachers.

The TLC structure is also different from what is found in the wTLC schools. The HT, along with the most experienced teacher, determined that the TLC would be held at the school-level, The experienced teacher continuously served as the TLC leader.

Instead of "sister-level" TLCs, the TLC leader facilitated all levels simultaneously. The TLC leader indicated that his role during the week is to continuously survey the other teachers and then come to the TLC explaining to teachers what they are doing wrong and what they need to improve upon in their teaching. When observed, the TLC structure appeared to fit into the "top-down" approach mentioned above (please see Table 11). The TLC leader talked most of the time, while also using the OPEQ TLC tools as reference materials. He asked close-ended call-response questions that were based solely on the material found in the OPEQ tools. In this structure, the TLC leader chose the theme, took notes, and reported back to the HT. The structure seemed to create an "expert" and "novice" environment, where the TLC leader self-prescribed as the most senior and experienced teacher.

Interestingly, the TLC leader indicated that "I talk a lot in the TLCs and others don't talk at all....Often I tell them to interact and that they need to follow the OPEQ approach....but they don't talk enough." In his interview, the leader stressed that he wanted more interaction and effort from his colleagues, and especially from those who don't attend regularly. He didn't like that he was always telling others what to do. It appears that the manner in which the HT set up the TLCs is conducive to creating a power structure where teachers may not have felt comfortable to interact, where their own needs and themes were not taken into account. I talk about this in more detail when linking back to the literature and theoretical constructs.

It is also important to note that Molbé teachers were not always able to explain the different components of a TLC. They did not maintain a focus on the specific names of the TLC steps, such as reflection, learning, planning, and action. However, they did indicate, for example, that at the beginning of each TLC, they discussed their difficulties and successes followed by talking about different things they needed to do.

In terms of content and themes, this is also another structure-related characteristic that is different from what was observed in wTLC schools. In Molbé school, the TLC leader, according to the meeting minutes and observations, addressed basic building blocks of teaching that were not necessarily part of every-day instructional practices. The themes were more administrative and logistical in nature, aside from spending a considerable amount of time on lesson planning. Themes such as taking attendance, filling out the daily journal, and other required administrative tools were those that were addressed in the TLCs. These were presented in step-by-step instructions where the TLC leader talked and the teachers listened. Lesson planning, however, was a major topic that

was addressed in the TLCs. The TLC leader presented the steps and then the teachers worked with their colleagues in "sister-grades" to use the OPEQ materials to create their own lesson plans. During the observation, teachers seemed to solely recopy what was found in the OPEQ TLC materials while the TLC leader did not provide feedback on the different lessons. By contrast in wTLC schools the content was determined by teachers and usually addressed instructional strategies and materials development, practical applications that could be used in the classroom. The different structures highlight an important part of the TLCs – they were driven by one teacher and not always sustained or attended regularly by teachers.

All teachers in Molbé expressed that, in principle, the TLC was a positive form of TPD. Similar to the case for Dalémo and Sumané teachers, one teacher noted, "It is advantageous for me to participate because it strengthens my abilities. I'm adapting myself and getting to the level that my colleagues have." Other teachers expressed that it helps them perfect their teaching and feel more adept and mobile in the classroom. There were three teachers who talked about not wanting to share and participate in the TLCs. They felt that their voices were not appreciated and their experiences discredited.

Another teacher indicated that the tools they used were too complicated and different from what they were used to. Molbé teacher opinions of the TLCs varied and seemed divided across the two camps of teachers.

The frequency, structure, and opinions of TLC sub-themes seemed to interact with one another to create mixed results for teachers. This is also consistent with the literature, where teachers who did not feel like they benefited from the TPD were those who decided to drop out or not participate (Smith et al., 2003). TPD literature also

highlights that when TPD is not necessarily driven by teachers and does not reflect the realities of teachers, initiatives may not be as regular and effective (Arbaugh, 2003; & Avalos, 2011). In Molbé school, teachers did not rotate the TLC leader role nor did they choose the content. The structure was more of a top-down approach based primarily on content that addressed administrative responsibilities of being a teacher. It did not appear that all teachers took ownership over this process. Some teachers chose not to attend while prioritizing other context-based realities.

Moblé's TLC also makes me think of Bandura's (1994) idea of collective efficacy and Wenger's (1998) concept of communities of practice; but, for reasons different from those indicated for wTLC schools. In terms of collective efficacy, not all members of the group valued the process enough to participate and commit regularly. This may associated with less participation and effort during the TLC (Bandura, 1997). The lower the value that individuals place on the group, the less commitment, the lower staying power, and the less effort they will likely be put into the group (Bandura, 1997). For Molbé, I labeled the TLC as sTLC with a low level of collective efficacy. In a community of practice, individuals come together based on a common interest they feel in the opportunity to grow (Wenger, 1998). While three of the six teachers indicated feeling that they were growing, the others three teachers felt differently. The latter didn't attend because they didn't feel like they would learn from others or be considered by other colleagues. For these teachers, TLCs may not have been seen as viable and valuable communities of practice. Molbé school findings seem to reflect two different camps of teachers. The lack of cohesion points to a lack of collective efficacy.

<u>Tuso and Lané Schools (sTLC) – Irregular, Popcorn Approach, and Unfavorable</u> <u>TLCs</u>

Tuso and Lané school TLCs functioned similar to those of the Molbé school. The TLC frequency and duration was also "irregular." Document analysis showed TLCs that functioned at most once per month. The two schools conducted "sister-grade" TLCs together. It was also unclear if school-level TLC happened. Teachers and documentation demonstrated that there was negligence at the beginning of the school year when it came to starting up the TLCs. The TLC documentation paints an unclear picture of the different steps that teachers took part in during the TLC. At times some minutes were incomplete or lacked details on the specific topics and activities addressed together.

Granted, as in Molbé school, this was the first year that Tuso and Lané participated in the OPEQ TLC program.

Teachers also talked about sporadic participation. The rationale was similar to that used by Molbé teachers: When talking about the attendance of colleagues, one teacher explained: "They would say simply, I've got to get back socially. That's a factor. And then there were colleagues that didn't want anything do to with the TLCs or trying out new types of teaching techniques." Reasons given for not participating include what they term "social" aspects, i.e., not being paid to participate. Other teachers didn't have the motivation to participate, which could be linked to the stress they felt due to their new student situations.

Teacher provided uneven accounts explaining the steps required for their TLCs.

One teacher explained the TLC process as being the following: "When we enter the room, we greet each other and then we take the packet of documents and we read them

for the TLC. For example, we read and then we share an idea. We debate on a subject that we are going to talk about together. After, we ask questions and then we write a short text and conclusion." This does not closely reflect the TLC structure described in the toolkit all teachers received. The explanation above appears to be more fluid and open-ended. The theme is determined upon arrival at the TLC. As stated, it is unclear as to when and how teachers are supposed to apply what they learned from the TLC into their classroom. Most of this account also involves back and forth discussion.

During the TLC, the research team observed teachers using this type of "popcorn" (apparently random) structure (please see Table 11). There seemed to be the lack of one TLC leader. Teachers came to the TLC not knowing what they were going to talk about,. No one had prepared a theme for the session. One individual, who played the role of a facilitator at the start of the TLC, instructed the colleagues to open their OPEQ Teacher's Guide and to read together the teaching activity entitled "Show me." One teacher read the introduction and description of the activity. Teachers then discussed how they could use this in their classroom while others gave examples. After back and forth discussions about the feasibility of the adaptations, the teachers adjourned the TLC meeting. The overall impression that the research team pulled from this TLC was that the TLC appeared unstructured. There appeared to be minimal planning and input, a lack of a coherent message, and an inability to indicate the planning component of the TLC and next steps. Some co-researchers questioned if the TLCs even occurred in Tuso and Lané schools.

Table 12: Observed sTLC Structures

TLC Structure Name	Characteristics	
	"Teacher centered"	
Ton Down	Facilitator talks	
Top-Down	Participant listens	
	Close Ended questions	
Danasan Anguard	Unclear TLC facilitator	
	Adhoc / Unstructured	
Popcorn Approach	 Discussion / Debate Focused 	
	 Unclear planning / next steps 	

Teacher opinions of the TLCs were congruent with their perspectives on TPD: they valued the principle of the group-based approach, but insisted that participating in the TLCs would require the NGO and MEPSP paying them extra. One teacher expressed the following: "The TLCs discourage us. If a teacher is motivated, then we would continue. But if he's not motivated, we'll stay like this," referring to sporadic meetings and attendance. Teachers appeared to influence one another's participation. One teacher explained that he doesn't put in time and effort because he doesn't see other colleagues doing the same. Teachers expressed more difficulties with the TLCs than they did positive benefits.

The unfavorable opinions, lack of participation, and unstructured performance during the TLCs seemed to create an environment that did not drive teachers to participate. Teachers attributed this lack of participation to not being compensated for their efforts. As the TPD literature shows, when teachers don't see a benefit to the TLCs, feel overwhelmed, and lack the necessary time, they don't value and participate in the TPD (Avalos, 2011; OECD, 2011; Oplatka, 2007). In terms of collective efficacy, teachers who don't value the group process are not likely to stay in the process and perform to their abilities (Bandura, 1997). Tuso and Lané teachers seem to lack the drive

and the sense of collective efficacy. In a sense, they appear to be participating in a disjointed community of practice whose goals appeared unclear, undefined, and underspecified.

Once again, teacher reactions in Tuso and Lané must also be contextualized within a conflict environment setting. The Tuso and Lané TLC characteristics provide more questions than answers for teachers dealing with crisis-impacted students in such settings. Teacher reticence and negative opinions of the TLCs could be seen as another stressor added to their workloads and anxieties. These daily stressors were newly added because of the crisis situation (Miller & Rassmussen, 2010). Their lack of commitment to attend and to perform during the TLCs could be a socially-constructed, context-based response to trauma and conflict (Bonnano, 2005; Hernández-Wolfe, 2011). These are mere hypotheses that would need further explanation and investigation. However, the Tuso and Lanés teacher reactions to the TLCs do indicate a sense of low collective efficacy and low value placed on TLCs as a community of practice. The reason for this could be because of conflict; however, further research would be necessary to understand this process.

Comparison of TLC Functioning and Opinion Characteristics

The preceding discussion on the functioning and opinions of TLCs reveal characteristics that are unique to each school. Table 16 presents some of the major findings for each sub-theme per school. In terms of TLC frequency, wTLC schools have regularly functioning TLCs with consistent teacher participation happening over a longer

period of time. In the sTLC schools, I've noted findings that suggest irregular TLCs and participation over a shorter period of time.

The TLC structures and opinions seemed to correlate with TLC frequency, where in wTLC schools, teachers were able to articulate the TLC steps, their roles during TLCs, and drive the content and structure of the TLC. They articulated that the TLCs were productive forms of TPD from which they benefited. In Molbé school, the teachers participated in 1 TLC that was organized and created by the most experienced teacher in a "top-down" manner. Teachers expressed that they did not value this form of TLC because the facilitator did not always respect their opinions, which resulted in them choosing not to attend regularly. In Tuso and Lané schools, the ad hoc structure and casual participation in the TLCs along with teacher inability to view the TLCs as a benefit could also account for irregular and erratic participation.

Table 13: Overview of Functioning Characteristics & Teachers Opinions of TLCs

Per School (continued onto next page)

TLC Case /	wTLC		sTLC	
Schools	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
Frequency	-2 TLCs per month -TLCs since beginning of year -All teachers participate		-~2 TLCs per month (2 nd semester) -Irregular since beginning of year -Not all teachers participate	-1 TLC per month -Irregular since beginning of year -Not all teachers participate
Structure	-Reflection, learning, planning, action steps -Articulate TLC roles -Teacher led -"Facilitated" structure most common -"Collegial" structure		-General TLC steps -1 TLC leader -"Top-down" structure -Administrative TLC content	-Lack of uniformity in TLC steps -"Popcorn" structure -Lack of planning
Opinions	-"Meaningful" TPD -Value of learning in group -Colleagues help one another		-Value of learning in a group -Not all teachers wanted to participate -Not feeling valued	-Value of learning in a group -Financial incentives to participate -Not see the value of TLCs

TLC Case /	wTLC		sTLC	
Schools	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
Conclusions	-Value the group: Collective Efficacy -Teacher directed and felt they were learning: community of practice		-Mixed value of TLCs: Mixed collective efficacy -Directed by 1 teacher and others felt like they didn't want to share: Lack of positive community of practice	-Lack of value of TLCs: No collective efficacy -Adhoc and unsure of benefits: No community of practice

The TPD literature suggests that those teachers who viewed TPD as an extra time commitment in schools that lacked leadership tended not to participate in a TPD program (Smith et al., 2003; Taylor et al., 2005). This could explain the irregular frequency, structure, and diminished opinions in sTLCs. Teachers who felt that they gained the most from their TPD thought that content was high, and this was correlated with extended hours of training over a long period of time. Such teachers felt that TLC time was valuable for them to work and reflect together (Frazier, 2009; Garet et al, 2008, Smith et al, 2003). This could explain the frequency, structure, and opinions of wTLC teachers.

From a theoretical perspective, the wTLCs and sTLCs also seemed to have characteristics that suggest varied types of collective efficacy and communities of practice levels. In Dalémo and Sumané schools, teachers participating regularly and their multiple positive outlooks on the TLCs suggest high collective efficacy. Their ability to lead their TLCs and feel a sense of purpose and benefit also suggest that they are a part of high functioning communities of practice.

In Molbé, the collective efficacy indicators paint a more mixed picture. There were some teachers who valued the forum provided by the TLCs and participated regularly. This would indicate a high level of collective efficacy. However, there were other teachers who did not participate regularly and did not feel that they benefited from

that Molbé school had low levels of collective efficacy. In the upcoming section, I dive more deeply into teacher relationships in order to get a better feel for collective efficacy levels. The same argument is true as well for the community of practice elements in Molbé school, where half of the teachers expressed a lack of benefit from participating in the TLCs, something often linked with the opportunity cost lost in order to provide for themselves and their families. This also could be linked to teachers feeling like the community and HT don't show them respect and value.

In Tuso and Lané schools, there were low levels of collective efficacy and an absence of a community of practice in the TLCs. Time commitments seemed to be a concern that cut across the different themes in Tuso and Lané. Teachers articulated that they did not have time to participate in different forms of capacity building. They indicated that they needed to spend more time with IDP students in order to help them get up to the level of other students in their class. They indicated that TLCs took extra time, which impeded upon other income generation activities. Interestingly, TLCs address IRC's "Healing Classrooms" approach, which aims to help teachers guide students who have been impacted by trauma. It does not appear that teachers saw the value of TLCs in order to help them overcome some of the overwhelming obstacles that they themselves faced because of the impacts of the MaiMai rebellion.

Technical, Social and Emotional Influences On and By Colleagues

The concept of teachers influencing each other during the TLCs is the second major sub-theme around TLC characteristics that emerged from the data. In each TLC

case, teachers influenced each other and were impacted by one another on a variety of different levels. In this section, I demonstrate how teachers talked about, and were observed contributing to, their technical abilities and social and emotional well-being. The technical and socio-emotional impacts appear to be linked to one another, just as I noted in the first sub-theme around frequency, structure and opinion. Once again, I highlight similarities and contrasts based on TLC type. It becomes evident that in wTLC schools not only did teachers help one another in their technical teaching skills, they also created a collegial social environment where teachers expressed confidence and faith in their abilities to do their jobs well. In sTLC cases, the technical and socio-emotional elements appear context-specific. The realities of teaching in Molbé, Tuso and Lané schools demonstrated different types of technical, social, and emotional influences. This is one of the more important set of findings. Not only do they provide insights into teacher experiences of the TLCs and how teachers adapt concepts in and outside of the TLCs (relevant to all three research questions), but I also am able to clearly link elements of self-efficacy, collective efficacy, and communities of practice to teacher perceptions and actions.

Dalémo & Sumané Schools (wTLCs) – Sharing Skills, Praise, Confidence

In Dalémo and Sumané schools, technical assistance is the most frequent and observable teacher influence. In these schools, teachers most frequently talked about the power of "discussion." During one TLC at Dalémo, two colleagues demonstrated a dialogic form of discussion where they proposed to speak about a teaching activity entitled "Categorize." They first discussed the activity steps, proposed different types of

content to use for the activity, and then bounced ideas back and forth between each other in the creation of a concrete activity that they then agreed to try out in their next vocabulary lesson. This ability to discuss and share technical ideas with colleagues seemed to be an important aspect for the teachers in the wTLCs.

Another important technical influence appears to be the concept of teachers helping each other. For example, one teacher explains how her colleague demonstrated a writing activity for her. She articulates "One of our colleagues was really good at this activity [Drawing Poetry – a creative writing activity where one drafts a text in the shape of an object related to the text] and he helped us in the TLC. He wrote a short text and a drawing. He said that after analyzing the text, you have to draw the sentence at the border of the image and then erase the image." Teachers said they were able to "bank colleagues' ideas" and then use them at a later date in their classrooms. This type of help also materialized in the form of teachers solving challenges and resolving difficulties in class with one another. One teacher comments.

If I have difficulties, when I arrive in the TLC, I talk about them. And when I talk about them to others, they will help me. And when they help me, I will go try it out in class. After trying it out in class, if I still have problems, I will go back to the TLC and my colleagues will always help me so that I understand even better.

The wTLC teachers also seemed to influence each other on a social level. They supported and tried to motivate one another. Teachers talked about and were observed praising one another, encouraging one another to participate in the TLCs, trying out new techniques, and creating an overall positive and welcoming environment in the TLCs. There are many accounts of teachers discussing how colleagues praised each other: "One day, my colleague came into my class and asked me what I was doing. I told him that the students were working in groups where they were writing a paragraph together. My

colleague told me what a great job I was doing and then he left." Teachers also highlighted how their colleagues motivated them to try new things:

One day I watched what the 6th grade teacher did. The students and the teacher walked out of the classroom and they worked in groups outside. Each group had a book and they were reading to each other and asking each other questions. I was at the door and I was smiling at what they were doing. After class, I asked the teacher how he did that activity. He told me that first they read together, after he drew a picture, then he grouped the students, he gave them instructions and then they went outside to work in groups. I want to try this out and I did....

Other teachers also expressed that seeing their colleagues try new techniques helped them put in the effort to try that activity out as well.

Another social influence revolved around teachers holding each other accountable. Teachers expressed ideas such as,

When I am alone I usually figure things out one way. Yet, when we are many in a TLC, I have to push myself. My colleagues push me to think differently and to improve upon my teaching. How do they encourage me, for example, we look at a theme that I'm not familiar with. It helps me reflect more and participate so that I give my opinions and indicate what I don't understand. Others react to these ideas and I learn from them and their ideas in order to improve and grow.

Teachers also held each other accountable at the end of the TLCs where each individual indicated what she or he commits to do in the classroom.

The social and emotional influences seemed to overlap in wTLC cases. Teachers frequently talked about a positive TLC atmosphere. One teacher explained the tone of her TLC,

When we are together in the TLC, we are there to exchange and share ideas. No one should come into the TLC saying 'you have to do this and accept it'. We facilitate each others' learning. No, we have to complete and add to what each other knows in order to find solutions to our challenges.

Throughout the interview and TLC observation transcripts, wTLC teachers often talked about their colleagues as "friends" and the confidence that they have in their "friends'" support:

When something seems difficult to me, I have to always invite my friend. He will help me with my lesson. If I have given a lesson, I still invite my friend. I tell him I did this, I did that, is it good or bad? He'll continue to help me with the 2nd attempt.

Teachers spoke about how participating in the TLCs helped them feel better about their teaching practices. Teachers spoke about their previous "doubts" and insecurities in using new types of teaching strategies and teaching materials: "When I have doubts, when I got to the TLCs and access other peoples' knowledge, they can really help me understand something better." They also mentioned feeling better and more confident as teachers.

In the TLC, we must talk and we must exchange. Now, in doing an activity, like 'working in pairs', we need to talk to our friends. We get used to the activity and we get used to talking. One day, you feel good to talk more about what you have done in front of the other colleagues.

This also seems to transfer to teachers having pride in their schools. In both schools they articulated how TLCs not only help legitimize who they are as professionals, but that other schools in the area see them as model schools from which to learn.

The technical, social, and emotional influences discussed above paint a picture, according to the literature, of effective TPD. All effective TPD notes that, when TPD happens at the school level, the elements that foster teacher change relate to collective participation. This allow teachers more time in and out of the TPD to talk about their contexts, try out new strategies, share experiences, and talk about specific content and resources (Birman et al, 2000; Smith et al, 2003; Taylor et al, 2005). In Frazier's (2009) study of Senegalese English teacher participation in inquiry groups, she noted that

teachers felt that they gained most from the collaborative reflection and discussions. In these they could learn and then try out new instructional techniques. The wTLC teacher perceptions appear congruent with parts of the literature that discuss the benefits of group discussion, sharing, helping one another with teaching techniques and with manipulative creation.

Teachers who participate in simulations, demonstrations, observations, lesson planning report the use of, and were observed to use, new content and instructional skills (Birman et al, 2000). In the wTLCs mentioned above, teachers noted the action component of the TLCs. They tried out new techniques, they observed their peers doing so, they shared strategies, and they built lesson plans and manipulatives together. These findings from the literature and in this study point to two important self-efficacy elements: enactive master and role modeling (Bandura, 1982). It appears that wTLC teachers practiced enactive mastery and consequently also viewed their colleagues modeling new strategies and content as well. These are elements that help to build self-efficacy.

Avalos' (1998) study on TLC teacher experiences demonstrates that in effective TLCs where teachers participated regularly, teachers felt that they had developed new ways to communicate with one another. Teachers learned from one another and viewed each other as human resources instead of just relying on textbooks and other written materials. The support component, such as helping each other with difficulties and knowing where to go for help, are strategies that wTLC teachers discussed and practiced. This is a direct link to Bandura's (1982) fourth element of self efficacy, the creation of coping mechanisms in times of difficulty. The wTLCs teachers knew where to go and

whom to ask for when they needed help. Teachers felt comfortable making mistakes, exploring and troubleshooting problems together. These techniques are coping strategies that help build wTLC teacher self-efficacy.

TPD Literature also suggests that a positive social climate is another important ingredient of effective TPD. In Arbaugh's study (2003), teachers highlighted that praise and critical feedback were elements that were infused into working together and collaborating to help improve their abilities and confidence. This type of support also influenced teachers to experiment with new methodologies and strategies (Berkvens et al, 2012). The wTLC teachers articulated acts of, and were observed, praising one another and supporting one another. Mothilal's (2011) study of clusters in South Africa highlighted that this type of support helped teachers feel valued, encouraged, and appreciated. The concepts of praise and support relate to Bandura's (1982) third element of self-efficacy: Praise. The social influences that I laid out in wTLCs embody the praise and critical feedback that serve as indicators and barometers for teachers about their progress and performance.

Technical and social influences appear to be attached to emotional influences, such as creating a collegial environment where teachers feel safe and confident. Webb & al. (2009) demonstrate four main areas regarding teacher well-being and practice change: school climate, collaborative working environments, continuing professional development, and creating a culture of trust and accountability. Such an environment seems to resonate from the emotional influence findings of the wTLCs. Teachers noted the group had helped them feel more able and confident in their abilities to teach. I posit that this is a materialization of positive self-efficacy, which is also embodied in elements

of collective efficacy, where teachers recognize the importance of the group for their own benefit (Bandura 1997).

This type of environment is also explained in many other studies where increased job satisfaction, improved beliefs in one's abilities, increased sense of professional worth, and confidence raising are major emotional elements that are built during effective TPD (Arbaugh, 2003; Belay et al., 2007; Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Yahampath, 2003; Mothailal, 2001; Taylor et al, 2005). This type of collegial TLC environment seemed to speak to a conducive community of practice and a welcoming environment for teachers to be able to try things out (enactive mastery), watch others (modeling), feel comfortable and supported (praise), and foster an environment where teachers are able to cope with challenges and difficulties with colleagues (emotional arousal).

Molbé School (sTLC) – Instructing Peers, Critiques, Mixed Collegial Climate

The technical assistance portion of the collegial influence sub-theme in Molbé school demonstrated mixed feelings and interactions amongst teachers. In Dalémo and Sumané schools, teachers talked about sharing ideas, discussing together, and helping one another. In Molbé, some teachers used this type of language, but did not demonstrate these characteristics, in contrast to the observed actions and interactions in the wTLC schools. For example, one teacher stated that "...we all can discuss what we want. A colleague can discuss what he thinks. At the end of the TLC, what do we do? We conclude together and come to an agreement." However, two other teachers expressed that they didn't feel comfortable discussing together with colleagues, and they felt like their ideas and opinions are not valued.

During the TLC observation, the discussion followed more of the "top-down" approach indicated in the structure-related sub-theme. The TLC leader directed the conversation in a manner that did not necessarily suggest freedom of expression. The following excerpt highlights the TLC leader's more instructional and one-way form of communication:

We just read the definition of the demonstration activity 'Clap your hands, Stomp your feet. In reading this activity not you have the general idea. When you go to teach it, you must read. You read the demo activity, you understand it, you master it. In class, you apply it. If you don't read the demonstration activity, you won't apply it in class, even if you plan to use it in your weekly and daily lessons.

This passage demonstrates the TLC leader dictating to other teachers what they are supposed to do. Most of the TLC was conducted in this manner, and seemed in conformity with teachers who felt that they were not able to speak freely and converse together.

The HT expressed that "the advantages of the TLCs is the exchange of ideas. For example, if I am weak in one area, maybe my friend can help me." This appeared to be similar to wTLC schools. However, when diving into the thoughts of teachers, once again, some teachers felt that the TLCs were helpful to resolve difficulties and work through them. Other teachers said that the TLCs didn't help because the TLC leader dictated what to do. Interestingly, those teachers that did explain the TLC's usefulness were not those teachers whose lesson plans or teaching practices reflected trying out OPEQ instructional techniques and the use of different teaching manipulatives.

The social influence findings tell a story that helps to better understand the environment in which Molbé teaches worked in the TLCs. Some teachers recognized that there is "power in numbers...It's through this idea that we can force ourselves to find

solutions to our problems. In the TLCs we benefit from other people's knowledge and they help strengthen my teaching skills.." Yet other teachers expressed interpersonal relationship problems. One colleague noted that the TLC leader

...tries to force us to do something based on the difficulties that we are having. We just decide to not talk and to hide what we're going through and we don't talk about the realities in our classrooms, for example, if I'm not understanding something or if there is a manipulative that I don't know how to use. I hide all of that because we are treated like new teachers and have nothing to share, that's the elder's role, according to him.

Other teachers explained that in the TLCs they are treated "brutally," and that the TLC leader is "impatient" with them, saying they what they were doing was "wrong" and cutting them off. They said it was "difficult to participate in the TLCs because of him."

The female teacher in Molbé school indicated that she felt like the TLC leader always signals her out. She explained more on how she felt when she participated in the TLCs:

We're not all of the same quality and level. I mean, we don't all have the same qualifications and quality, but we all have faults and qualities. Some colleagues are brutal and impatient. You ask a question and they respond as if you are stupid. This type of treatment makes me reticent to share. It's tough asking questions that you want to know the answer to in the TLC. We're not treated like we have something to offer and share as well.

There seemed to be two camps of teachers in Molbé school: those who felt that they benefited and those that felt unappreciated, undervalued, and reticent to take part regularly in the TLC.

The social influences tend to go along with how teachers feel emotionally about the TLCs. The teacher in the annex school indicated that he felt "thrown away" and forgotten. There does not seem to be the accountability and caring that is observed in wTLC schools. The TLC leader explained "If a teacher is absent, it's not our problem.

We get together every Friday even if a teacher is absent." This seems like the TLC was not viewed as a team effort. The TLC leader put down the female teacher in his interview and during the observation. He stated "She's not even qualified, she doesn't have her certificate. She studied until the 3rd or 4th grade in secondary school.....Qualified teachers prefer not to come here, when we do it's a sacrifice." This type of perspective seemed to be translated into the TLC. When she talked, the TLC leader and other teachers interrupted her. This environment seems very different from the wTLC schools, where the teachers explained feeling safe and able to make mistakes. In essence, in the Molbé TLC, the environment seemed to punish teachers when they did make a mistake and a group of teachers explained how this made them feel like not being a part of the school community.

The characteristics of the Molbé TLC influences allude to the challenges associated with effective TPD indicated in the literature. Teacher motivation to participate in TPD is correlated with the amount of support given to teachers by colleagues and by the school administration (Arbaugh, 2003). Avalos (1998) demonstrates that school climate seemed to indicate the type of participation and commitment that teachers put in to attend and participate in TLCs. In schools that lacked leadership and had a negative school climate, teachers stated that they were not very interested in the study groups and that their self-esteem had not changed as a result of the groups. Shriberg (2008) sheds more light on teacher realities in conflict-impacted settings. When needs related to physical and psycho-social well-being are unmet for teachers, there is a reciprocal-synergetic relationship with the quality of education and effort on the part of teachers.

Molbé TLC characteristics appear to match with some of the common challenges of delivering TPD. Molbé TLCs created an unfavorable working climate. Some teachers felt disrespected, disregarded, and like they were being forced to adopt the perspectives of the TLC leader. This top-down structure did not seem conducive to collaborative and reciprocal sharing. Teachers did not feel like they could make mistakes and depend on all colleagues for help. This hints to a mixed view of collective efficacy. The group was not valued by all. Nor did the majority of teachers feel like they benefited and learned from the TLCs. This is another unfavorable element of collective efficacy, and ultimately a dysfunctional community of practice.

Self-efficacy elements do not seem to be promoted in Molbé TLCs. Teachers were more focused on what to do during TLCs, which does not align with enactive mastery and modeling elements of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982). Some teachers felt criticized and put-down. This does not resonate with the praise and encouragement self-efficacy element (Bandura, 1982). Teachers indicated that they preferred not to share their difficulties and remained silent when they did not understand something. This is a coping mechanism that is unlikely to help teachers overcome obstacles in their jobs (Bandura, 1982). Overall, Molbé teachers did not express the same type of confidence in themselves and pride in their school noted in wTLC schools.

Tuso and Lané Schools (sTLC) – Broad Influences

The data relating to technical, social, and emotional influences in Tuso and Lané schools paint a broad picture that I feel does not provide the type of detail and specificity found in the other schools. When discussing the different characteristics of this sub-

theme, it is necessary to take the previous sub-theme findings into consideration. In general, teachers articulated that their participation was random and infrequent. They participated in TLCs that were adhoc and unstructured. Lastly, teachers articulated that they were discouraged that they were not paid extra money for taking part in the TLCs. Some teachers indicated that they didn't really care about participating in the TLCs. Of equal importance, the context in which teachers worked at the time of data collection also shifted dramatically. In general, influence-related findings appear to be broad and superficial. It appears that teachers were not necessarily influencing each other during the TLCs. This could be due to a lack of participation and/or to the conflict-impacted context in which they found themselves.

Teachers espoused value in the TLCs in terms of technical help. For example, one teacher explained the benefits of the TLCs, "Working in group, it's a good system because there is power in numbers. Maybe I'm ignorant in a specific lesson and in the group, I can learn from someone else's intelligence." Other teachers used appreciative language where the TLCs can help teachers discuss and problem-solve together. One teacher gave a general example of how TLCs help teachers:

During one of the TLCs we talked about the different demonstration activities that we all use. And it was interesting to see the activities that we use and others that we neglect, and in fact those that we neglect are essential to intellectually stimulate students.

The language that teachers used usually remained general.

When probed for more specific details of what types of activities teachers used or how teachers helped one another, conversations remained vague and future-oriented.

Teachers talked about specific ideas that they could talk about in the TLCs. For example, one teacher posited, "in front of a difficulty, I'll present it at a TLC and we will work

together to find a solution. That seems promising to me." The teacher recognized the potential benefits of the TLC as promising, as if he hadn't applied such a technique before in the TLC.

In terms of social influences, the TLC functioning characteristics previously discussed indicate one way in which teachers impacted each other in the TLCs. Teachers talked about not putting in the effort or wanting to participate in the TLCs. This sets the tone for the TLCs themselves, which is a social impact. However, teachers did talk about one way that they help one another:

We always do a demonstration lesson where a colleague goes to the front of the class and teachers at the end, they make comments. When there are remarks, we can't tell him no, you didn't give this lesson well. On the contrary, that would discourage him. We try to encourage him and suggest what he could try next time to improve upon his lesson.

When probed for more details, this teacher and other teachers gave future-oriented examples of what they could do.

The emotional influences in Tuso and Lané TLCs also appeared more broad in nature. TLC observations and interviews highlight that there did not appear to be a negative environment, as that demonstrated in Molbé school. At the school level, it is important to note the physical split between teachers in each school. Early grade teachers, in grades one through three, teach in a different location, while the later grade teachers were situated in the same context. With the HTs moving back and forth between schools, there lacked a sense of unification and camaraderie amongst colleagues across locations and even in the studied location. Teachers did not indicate that participating in the TLCs helped them feel better about their teaching practices. If anything, they expressed that the TLCs discouraged them during an already overwhelming time at the

school. They did not talk about any pride they had in their school and in their profession. They did mention feeling like victims whom the government did not support. Given the influx of IDP students, teachers continuously articulated that anything that took them away from helping the new students adapt was something that also prevented them from doing their jobs.

The technical, social, and emotional influences that teachers had on one another at Tuso and Lané schools paint an unfinished picture. The impression that co-researchers had during data collection and throughout the multiple data-analysis sessions was that these teachers did not necessarily use the TLCs to their benefit. Avalos (1998) notes that Chilean teachers that did not participate in TLCs were from schools where the HT and other teachers did not promote the TLC benefits. In Molbé school, I noticed how a negative climate amongst colleagues seemed to impact teacher willingness to share technically, and to support one another both socially and emotionally. In Tuso and Lané, non-participation may be a result of a lack of teacher unification and from impacts from abrupt school climate changes due to conflict. Shriberg (2008) does note that teachers whose physical and social-emotional well-being were impacted by conflict appeared to put in less effort into their teaching and teacher responsibilities. This may be the case for Tuso and Lané teachers. Tuso and Lané teachers may not have been able to put in any more effort into their capacity building as they struggled to create conducive learning environments for trauma-impacted students. This in turn suggests that crisis negatively influenced them.

The general self-efficacy levels of teachers indicated that they were stressed, overwhelmed, and felt pulled in many directions by NGOs and by the government. With

TLCs rarely functioning, it seems that the elements of self efficacy were not promoted and could not contribute to improving self-efficacy levels. It is clear that the collective efficacy levels were also low. Teachers recognized the potential benefits of TLCs, but did not value site-based TPD enough to participate in it regularly and to gain a feeling like they were learning. This could also be due to their many years of teaching experience. This is interesting given that they felt that the new conflict-impacted contexts had made their jobs that much more difficult without the tools needed to help their students. Tuso and Lané teachers seemed to remain in their silos. A community of practice did not appear to function in the form of TLCs. In Tuso and Lané, because of the conflict setting, it appears that their social and emotional well being was stressed, creating a scenario where they felt that TLCs were not as important. It would be interesting to investigate how teachers felt about the other competing NGO interventions as well in order to examine if the daily stressors that teachers articulated resonated in those programs.

Comparison of Technical, Social, and Emotional Influences

The preceding discussion on the different influences that teachers have on one another during and outside of TLCs highlights characteristics that are unique to each school and context. Table 14 demonstrates some of the major findings for each sub-theme per school. In terms of TLC technical influences, all teachers noted the benefit of resolving difficulties together in the TLCs. However, the degree to which teachers share and help one another is skewed in favor of wTLC schools, while sTLC schools show differences. In wTLC schools, teachers noted, and were observed in the practice of,

sharing ideas and strategies during discussion periods. They provided concrete solutions to difficulties and talked about being able to "bank" the ideas and techniques of colleagues for future use. The wTLC teachers were able to state concrete ways in which this technical assistance aided them, and they were able to provide detailed accounts of activities, conversations, and instances of this type of help (please view Table 14).

In the sTLC schools, the technical influence findings vary by school. This appears to be linked to the school-specific factors. Molbé teachers gave mixed messages about the technical help that they give each other give during the TLCs. Some teachers indicated that this was a space to resolve difficulties. Observations and other interviews demonstrated the TLC leader used a more "top-down" instructional method during TLCs where discussion was close-ended. Other teachers felt that they didn't discuss and share together because of this TLC structure. In Tuso and Lané schools, teachers talked about the potential technical benefits of participating in the TLCs, but the lack of concrete evidence demonstrated unclear amounts and types of teacher participation.

Table 14: Overview of Technical, Social, and Emotional Influences Per School (continued onto next page)

TLC Case /	wTLC		sTLC	
Schools	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
Technical	-Dialogic discussion sharing -Concrete help -"Bank colleagues' ideas"		-Conflicting opinions on how discussion happens -Teachers instructed "top- down" -Resolve / Hide difficulties	-Random participation -Positive beliefs about technical help, discussions, sharing -Lack of concrete evidence
Social	-Concrete praise -Colleagues inspiring one another to try something new -Accountability (attendance & practice)		-"Power in Numbers" - Negative TLC climate - Not comfortable to share - Signaled out	-Teachers following each other: Lack of participation & lack of effort -Lack of concrete evidence

TLC Case /	wTLC		sTLC	
Schools	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
Emotional	-Allowed to make mistakes -Safe space to try -Confidence building		-Feel disrespected & "thrown away" -Not always comfortable to speak up	-Overwhelmed -Lack of unified teachers -Lack of concrete evidence
Conclusions	-Enactive mastery promoted -Modeling promoted -Multiple forms of praise -Multiple coping outlets -Value the collective		 Instructed: lack of enactive mastery and modeling Teachers critiqued Non-participation as a coping mechanism Unfavorable working climate – tough collective 	-Minimal evidence of self- efficacy elements -Minimal value of the collective -Conflict impacted environment takes priority

As stated in the TLC functioning sub-theme findings, TPD literature points out that non-participation and commitment can be the due to viewing TPD as an extra time commitment, given a lack of school leaders, teachers with heavy workloads, and extraneous work-related issues (Avalos, 1998; Emerson et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2003; Taylor et al., 2005). This could explain why there appeared to be a lack of technical influences in sTLC schools. In Molbé, the physical well-being of teachers were not met. They had a HT who was not necessarily supportive and did not advocate for the community to pay them. The working climate also appeared to create tensions where teachers did feel that they could share with one another. In Tuso and Lané, the influx of IDP students seems to have disrupted their routines. Teachers viewed outside interventions like TLCs as beneficial, in principle. However, Tuso and Lané teachers discussed the lack of time that they had or incentives to add another work-related task to their plates.

From a theoretical perspective, the wTLCs and sTLCs also seemed to have characteristics that suggest varied enactive mastery and modeling self-efficacy elements. In wTLCs, teachers participated and benefited from the TLCs, and they were able to

identify ways in which they tested out new teaching strategies and had been motivated by colleagues who have tried out other techniques. This suggests building enactive master and modeling elements of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982). In sTLC schools, these details were not explicit. Teachers were told what to do in Molbé and Tuso, and Lané teachers espoused the potential techniques that they could share in the TLCs. These findings suggest a lack of enactive mastery and modeling development in sTLC schools.

Social influences also paint different pictures according to the TLC contexts. In wTLC schools in general, teachers praise and support each other and attempt to hold each other accountable for their participation and enactive mastery of new practices. In Molbé, some teachers explained that "power in numbers" is helpful to learn, but other teachers elucidated the tense climate that seems to be formed in the TLCs when all teachers are present. Teachers did not share, and the TLC leader critiqued teachers for not interacting. In Tuso and Lané TLC, teachers influence each other by not participating and not putting in effort.

Emotional influences appear to align with technical and social factors as well. In general in wTLCs, teachers feel that mistakes are learning opportunities and that TLCs are safe spaces to try something out to get feedback and support from colleagues.

Dalémo and Sumané teachers felt that social and emotional influences helped to bolster their confidence as teachers. In sTLCs, this appears to be a very different picture. Molbé teachers seem divided on the issue. Some felt like part of a team, but also indicated feeling disrespected and silenced. Tuso and Lané teachers continued to discuss feeling overwhelmed and stressed because they felt TLCs add more time to their already crisis-impacted context.

The social and emotional findings suggest that the views of wTLC teachers toward TLCs complement Shah's (2011) findings of a Pakistani continuous professional development program in Islamabad. In this case teachers who participated in technical activities also created new ways to communicate together. They supported one another through collaboration. These findings are also congruous with other TLC studies indicating that teachers who value the quality of TPD created collective participation opportunities and built meaningful relationships amongst colleagues (Avalos, 1998; Berkvens et al., 2012; Smith et al, 2003). This suggests yet another way in which teachers develop self-efficacy through praise, support and identifying each other as resources to cope with challenging circumstances (Bandura, 1982). In sTLC schools, teachers demonstrated signs of unhelpful strategies that potentially lower self-efficacy. Molbé teachers didn't praise each other, they criticized and condemned each other. They choose to remain confused instead of discussing their challenges amongst colleagues. Tuso and Lané teachers appeared to lack the effort to praise and serve as stress outlets for one another. The "influence" sub-theme tells a similar story of participants self-efficacy, collective efficacy, and value of communities of practice.

wTLC and sTLC Characteristics

The discussion on TLC characteristics present findings that create better understandings of all three research questions asked during the qualitative case study. In general, teacher experiences of the TLCs were embodied in their attendance, participation and opinions of the TLCs, and also in how teachers influenced each other when they did choose to participate. The structures, technical, social and emotional influences also provide

insight into how teachers used content, instructional practices, and community support components of the TLCs. Table 15 synthesizes the different TLC characteristics findings. In general, wTLCs appeared to function regularly over a sustained period of time, were led and driven by teachers, and were viewed as legitimate forms of TPD. Their participation and influences demonstrate teachers who benefit from one another, support one another, and create a positive collegial working environment. The sTLCs were irregular, and not all teachers chose to participate. Structures were more "authoritative" or "ad hoc," and this reflected the diverse and at times nonchalant opinions teachers had of the TLCs. In terms of concrete actions, sTLC teachers didn't seem to always share and help one another. TLC climates were either not unified or caustic. Teachers in the sTLCs felt overburdened and stressed to participate in the TLCs. The expected that taking part in the TLCs potentially added to their stress. This could be due to a lack of resources and support and from instant community and school population changes arising from conflict.

Table 15: Most Common TLC Characteristics Per School (continued onto next page)

TLC Case /	wTLC		sTLC	
School	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
Frequency	-Regular / Sustained, -All teachers participate		-Irregular -Not all teachers participate	-Irregular -Not all teachers participate
Structure	-Informed teachers -Teacher driven structures		-1 TLC Leader -"Top-down" structure	-Ad hoc -"Popcorn" structure
Opinions	-"Meaningful" TPD		-Not all teachers wanted to participate	-Not see the value of TLCs
Technical Influences	-"Bank colleagues' ideas & strategies		-Resolve / Hide difficulties	-Positive beliefs about technical help, discussions, sharing
Social Influences	-Praise, support, accountability (attendance & practice)		- Negative TLC climate - Signaled out	-Teachers following each other: Lack of participation & lack of effort

TLC Case /	wTLC		sTLC	
School	Dalémo	Sumané	Molbé	Tuso and Lané
Emotional Influences	-Safe space to try -Confidence building		-Feel disrespected & "thrown away"	-Overwhelmed -Lack of unified teachers
Conclusions	-Value the group: Collective Efficacy -Teacher directed and felt they were learning: community of practice -Positive Self-efficacy elements promoted		-Mixed value of TLCs: Mixed collective efficacy -Directed by 1 teacher and others felt like they didn't want to share: Lack of positive community of practice - Low Self-efficacy elements promoted	-No collective efficacy -Adhoc and unsure of benefits: No community of practice - Low Self-efficacy elements promoted -Conflict impacted environment takes priority

For wTLCs it appears that the first sub-theme supports the functioning of TLCs in these schools. These TLCs met regularly over a sustained period of time. Teachers introduced their own content and led the TLC process. This fits with the very definition of Wenger's (1998) community of practice, where individuals come together to solve problems collaboratively and work together towards specific goals. Teachers value the TLCs as learning and professional development. They encourage each other to fully attend and participate. This may link back again to Bandura's (1998) description regarding collective efficacy. Individuals recognized the importance the group holds toward bolstering self-efficacy elements. The data suggests teacher influenced one another consistent with elements of self-efficacy. Teachers provided model behavior and encouragement for one another, including using praise to encourage trying out techniques (enactive mastery).

Teachers talked about the social support and feedback that they got from their peers in and outside of the TLCs, which seems to be another match to the praise and feedback element of self-efficacy. Teachers spoke of and demonstrated confidence in their abilities to try new techniques and materials in the TLCs and in the classroom. Their

positive feelings about their abilities and work assignments could also link to the emotional arousal element of self-efficacy. This element describes how teachers feel confident in their abilities during challenging times, and they establish coping strategies (Bandura, 1977; 1982; 1986). Finally, the school climate also seemed to be an important topic for teachers. They expressed their appreciation for methods of freely participating, closely in line with the definition of collective efficacy (Bandura, 1998). Dalémo and Sumané schools appeared to be an ideal community of practice. Self and collective efficacy components were both promoted. The situating of Dalémo and Sumané schools in a privileged and relatively stabile mining town could be a major reason why these schools demonstrated wTLC characteristics. As noted previously, mining communities usually have been protected by the DRC government during active conflict since minerals were used to help finance the national army against different waves of rebels (Sterns, 2011). Economically privileged mining communities also have experienced political stability. This may be the reason why Dalémo and Sumané schools were able to effectively implement the TLCs. Teachers in these schools appeared to have extra financial resources to aid them in doing their jobs effectively.

In sTLCs the first sub-theme also seemed to set the stage for the second sub-theme. Molbé TLCs met irregularly and were slow to start at the beginning of the school year. Content and themes were indicated by the TLC leader who directed the TLC process from the beginning to the end of each session. His "top-down" approach provided minimal space for teachers to share and interject. They responded to questions and followed orders during the TLC. Tuso and Lané TLCs were less regular than Molbé's. Teachers reported that they did not participate. TLC observations

demonstrated an ad hoc and unstructured approach to the TLCs, which appeared unprepared and disorganized. Tuso and Lané teacher opinions of these TLCs expressed dislike for the program and a lack of enough time to participate. These sTLCs appear to differ from Wenger's (1998) concept of community of practice in that individuals did not want to come together, they had trouble interacting with one another, and they did not view the TLC as a place to achieve goals. These teachers appeared to have different priorities, where only for some did the TLC seem like a place for them to learn and grow. This may reflect a lack of a sense of collective efficacy in that teachers did not view the importance of the group enough to participate (Bandura, 1997).

Additionally, in sTLCs, the teacher influence sub-theme paints a picture where low self-efficacy is promoted. Teachers chose, or were not allowed to try out, new techniques (enactive mastery and modeling). They didn't feel praised or encouraged. Instead, the type of feedback that they got promoted silence and non-participation (negative praise). They chose to not use each other for help because of their strained relationships and due to a context of crisis (lack of coping mechanisms).

The school contexts seem to influence school climates at both sTLC schools. Molbé teachers did not feel supported from families and their supervisor. They didn't feel supported from colleagues, and instead felt tension. Tuso and Lané teachers felt overwhelmed and explained how their teaching situation had drastically changed with the introduction of large numbers of IDP students to their classrooms. They felt a lack of support from IDP parents, from the HT, and from NGOs providing programs that appear to create more work for them. In both instances, teachers talked about these factors as creating more challenges for them, barriers that they did not know how to overcome.

They had minimal coping mechanisms, both socially and emotionally, to overcome and work through these challenges (Bandura, 1982). Given that these schools were situated in challenges contexts, this could be a major reason how and why they demonstrate sTLC characteristics.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this study, I have mapped out the nuances and barriers to TPD and teacher change in low-resource and (post)crisis contexts in order to argue for the need of specific TPD elements that favor context, teacher participation, and supportive teachercommunity building. I have done this by first setting the stage that identified an overarching problem in the field of international development education – teachers in low-resource contexts are expected to implement education policy reforms with increasing challenging conditions in their classrooms, such as large class sizes, a lack of materials, increased working hours, and minimal coaching and support (Avalos, 2011; INEE, 2010; OECD, 2009). Within the last decade, reports on teacher job satisfaction levels, effectiveness, and attrition rates indicate that teachers are being asked to do more and learn quickly, but are offered little in terms of job-specific incentives. This is resulting in a teaching work force that may lack the motivation and drive to implement these potentially stressful reforms (Bennel & Akyeamonong, 2007; Guajardo, 2011; UNESCO, 2012). What is missing from these barriers is a in-depth understanding of the plethora of different types of contexts, and especially how intricacies impact teacher motivation and performance.

This study chose to examine another context, for which there is a large gap in research. This context is one where teachers who have been, or are currently being, impacted by conflict are expected to take on new education innovations. The trend to

implement education policy reform, such as executing early grade reading and math programs, has spread to teachers who teach in various crisis-impacted settings. These teachers face similar scenarios as their counterparts in low-resource contexts, but are also are expected to serve as "nurturers" for children impacted by trauma. Simultaneously, they are asked to nurture their own physical and socio-emotional well-being (Bond, 2010; INEE, 2011; IRC, 2011; Johnson, 2006). The problem, therefore, is that it appears that crisis-impacted teachers are being asked to do even more than the already hyper-stressed, non-crisis-impacted teachers are required to do to face professional and personal challenges. This is an important assumption that I have made in the beginning of this study.

In essence, in the field of education in emergencies, little rigorous evidence exists to better understand teacher experiences, especially in terms of how they implement education reform in their particular contexts. The purpose of my study was, therefore, to provide empirical insight into the experiences of teachers who partook in a large-scale early grade reading project in Katanga province in southeastern DRC. I chose to focus on the TPD component of this reform project. Teachers were supposed to regularly meet in Teacher Learning Circles. This study sought to gain, in the end, a rigorous understanding of how the TLCs functioned, the extent to which teachers perceived benefit from the TLCs, and how teachers took what they learned in the TLCs and adapted it to their contexts.

It was important from the start of this study to highlight the importance of context, whether in relation to conflict and crisis, or to different community elements that influence teachers on a daily basis. My research question, therefore, was created from an

emic approach and asked: In crisis and (post)crisis DRC, what are teacher experiences of the TLCs? These questions were flanked by the following sub-questions that attempted to dig deeper: 1) According to Congolese teachers, what are the advantages and disadvantages of the content, instructional practices, and community support components of the TLCs?; 2) How do Congolese teachers adapt and use content, instructional practice and community support concepts in and outside of the TLCs? The first question targets teacher beliefs while the second sub-question attempts to examine teacher actions.

These research questions were answered using a conceptual framework that drew from the work of Bandura (1982) and Wenger (1998), from the concepts of "indigenous forms of knowledge" and "discursive practices" (Rappleye, 2006), and from various concepts related to adult responses to trauma (Betancourt et al., 2012; Bonanno & Diminich, 2013; & Hernández-Wolfe, 2012). The contextual forms of knowledge were harnessed through a data collection and analysis methodology that used a diverse research team comprised of myself and six other Congolese education stakeholders. We collected data and practiced continuous member check-ins in order to ensure that local forms of knowledge and ways of doing were assessed. Particular effort was made to ensure that the impact of trauma and crisis was accurately measured and represented in the analysis and findings. As a team, we also used the elements of self-efficacy as a lens to gauge the belief teachers had in their abilities to achieve desired results, this being an indicator of positive teacher change (Bandura, 1977; 1982; 1986; 1994). We also tracked elements of collective efficacy (Bandura, 1997) and communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) to better understand teacher beliefs and the value of the TLCs in which they participated. As a result, three main themes appeared from the data. Teacher perceptions

and adaptation of elements from TLCs were associated with their internal motivators, the school environment support elements, and a variety of TLC characteristics.

In this concluding chapter, I provide a final analysis that synthesizes findings across schools. In Chapter 4, I provided a quick snapshot of important school-context elements, which I termed school profiles. In Chapter 5 through Chapter 7, I indicated major findings across themes and sub-themes which I then linked to TPD literature and theoretical constructs. In this final chapter, I make claims that start to map schoolcontext elements that begin to explain the "how" and "why" of findings for each theme. I do this by telling an integrated story for each TLC case, which explicitly bridges context, themes, and theory. I then move to a more general discussion of how these contextspecific findings provide valuable contributions to the field of education in emergencies, and to the general field of TPD. This then leads into a discussion of future areas of research, such as broadening such studies to various crisis-related contexts and for different forms of TPD. I posit that this study has helped to spark future research on TPD, research that concentrates on teacher effectiveness while creating a valuable space for teacher voices and enabling detailed contexts, especially (post)crisis contexts, to remain at the forefront.

Synthesis and Integration of Themes and Findings

In Chapters 4 through Chapter 7, major context elements and themes were presented in chapter-specific format and were summarized and compared across schools. I did this in order to show how the contexts of each set of schools blended and differed, and how the themes and sub-themes demonstrated many similarities and differences that

depended on the TLC case (wTLC or sTLC). This approach helped to extract the intricacies of each set of findings. However, I refrained from using the profiles and findings to make connections and claims about each school. Given the detailed analyses and findings, in this section I talk about the school, teachers, and TLCs more comprehensively as a whole. I do this in order to provide answers to the research questions and to assert the obvious: context matters, especially in crisis-impacted settings. This approach demonstrates that a one-size-fits-all TPD model does not always work, especially given such different situations and contexts. It also provides salient factors to consider for TPD, especially for teachers impacted by active crisis.

<u>Dalémo and Sumané Schools – Stable, Privileged, wTLCs</u>

Dalémo and Sumané schools appear consistent with the findings presented in the NYU teacher motivation and well-being study (Torrente et al., 2012). NYU's study highlighted that teachers with high levels of motivation and well-being exhibited the following elements: a high level of supervision, feelings of being supported by HTs, availability of teaching materials, and tools for children to learn (i.e. benches, pencils, notebooks); teacher residence in their home community; teacher professional accountability; teacher feelings of appreciation and respect by the community (Torrente et al., 2012). The findings for the contexts and teaching at Dalémo and Sumané schools suggest these same elements. They point to teachers who were motivated and well (please see Table 16).

A combined Dalémo and Sumané school profile appears to reflect somewhat favorable conditions for wTLC teachers to do their jobs and feel well while doing so.

The two schools were located in a significant mining town in the DRC. In relation to other communities in the region, these teachers lived in a more privileged socioeconomic environment. In terms of impacts of conflict, the mine had been stable and operational since it's opening in 2004 (Stearns, 2011). Because the government generally uses the revenue from the mines to pay for large portions of its operating budget, communities like the one in which Dalémo and Sumané are situated have experienced relative stability and protection over the last ten years. The nature of a prospering economy and stability create routine and expected conditions for teachers in these wTLC schools. Teachers were paid for the most part. Of equal importance, teachers lived in and were a part of the religious communities that operate the schools. There was a balance of certified and uncertified teachers, who were relatively young in their careers and were looking for more tools and tricks of the trade. They all came with different experiences and skill levels to share with one another. Their HTs were supervisors who created organized, routine, and predictable environments for the teachers and the students. Teachers at these schools knew what was expected of them. Their experience included 1.5 years of participating in the OPEQ TLCs. These were all favorable conditions that I believe promoted the views and functioning of the TLCs in Dalémo and Sumané schools.

Table 16: Dalémo and Sumané Schools Consolidated Findings

TLC Type/	wTLC				
Schools	Dalémo Sumané				
School Profile	-Mining town (stability and economically privileged) -Christian Government Sponsored (MEPSP Paid) -Buildings, toilets, benches, manipulatives -2 mo to 20 yrs teaching -Balanced mix of certified / non-certified -Teachers live in community -1.5 years in OPEQ TLCs -Regular TLCs with HT feedback -Detailed TLC minutes reflected in teachers lesson plans, locally created manipulatives				
Motivating Factors	-Low salaries -HT's efforts to get materials / tools -Duty & "calling" to teach -Teaching to learn -Capacity building as a sign of professionalism -Related to School Pride				
School Environment	-Families are supportive & trusting (despite infrequent top up payments) -HTs set the tone (organized, leader, model, resource) - NGO non-overlapping interventions				
TLC Characteristics	-Regular / Sustained / Full Participation -Teacher driven structures and approaches -"Meaningful" TPD -"Bank colleagues' ideas & strategies -Praise, support, accountability (attendance & practice) -Safe space to try and build confidence				
Conclusions	1) School Profile: Stable, Privileged, Mixed Teachers 2) Motivation Theme: High sense of self-efficacy 3) School Environment Theme: - Positive Elements Present (Modeling, Praise, Coping Strategies – Community & HT facilitated) - Collective Efficacy (Value TPD) 4) TLC Characteristics Theme: - Collective Efficacy (Pride) - Teacher directed and felt they were Learning (community of practice) - Positive Self-efficacy Elements Developed & Promoted (In TLCs)				

The motivating factors for being a teacher in these schools and participating in the TLCs relate to a sense of professionalism and school pride. Despite the low salaries, teachers had materials and tools to use for their jobs. The HTs had taken multiple steps to acquire these items and promote the capacity building of their personnel. Teachers explained that their motivation to jump into teaching stemmed from a "calling" or "duty" to teach; this drive seemed to be a constant at Dalémo and Sumané schools. They had

opportunities to learn, to grow, and were recognized by the community and other schools on the importance of this. These motivating factors appear to reflect, and potentially contributed to, a positive sense of self-efficacy. The pride that these teachers expressed relates to a positive-valued collective efficacy. The drive to learn and grow in a group suggests a true community of practice environment.

School environment factors appear to have promoted motivating factors for teachers. Even though not all families supported teachers by paying top-up salary fees, teachers recognized the respect and trust that parents instilled in them. They articulated something that was observed on multiple occasions, a type of professional tone that the HTs set at their schools. Both HTs were organized and present leaders. They served as models for TLCs, cheerleaders for teachers to participate in the TLCs, and as human resources for TLC groups in times of difficulty. Of equal importance, the NGO interventions at both of these schools, instead of hindering teachers and creating more work, seemed to complement one another. The school environment findings provided concrete positive self-efficacy elements. For example, the community and HTs provided praise and encouragement. The HTs provided modeling and served as a positive coping mechanism in times of difficulty for teachers. Because the HT valued the TLCs, this tone also seemed to motivate teachers to value them as well, a sign of positive collective efficacy.

These first two themes appeared to influence teacher views, participation, and types of interactions in the TLCs. The wTLCs were regular, happened over a sustained period of time, and saw the participation of almost all teachers. The TLCs themselves reflected the facilitation styles of individual teachers. Themes were also teacher-driven.

Teachers viewed TLCs as quality TPD that enabled them to work together to "bank colleagues' ideas." The TLC environments were collegial. Teachers shared technically, socially, and emotionally. Teachers also felt accountable to one another to participate and try out new strategies. All self-efficacy elements were promoted in the wTLCs. Teachers felt that they were learning and that the group was the major reason. This is an essential ingredient for a community of practice to function properly. Teachers felt safe and proud of their TLCs, which also speaks to the value they placed on the collective nature of the TLCs.

These findings paint an evident response to the first research question: Teachers believed that the TLCs were quality TPD and that they benefited from their colleagues in order to bolster their practice. For the most part, in wTLCs, the experiences of teachers have been positive. They attributed to the TLCs an increase in skills and confidence in the classroom. They also demonstrated high levels of self-efficacy. Given the findings, this suggest that the TLCs have had a positive impact on the self-efficacy of teachers. Therefore, teacher experiences of the TLCs and the teacher-community support structures appear to promote self-worth and a sense of collegiality amongst teachers. Both are important ingredients for teacher psycho-social well-being. I believe that the school profile environment also played a role in this process. Teachers came together with different levels of experience and recognized what each other had to offer. The HTs also contributed by holding their teachers accountable and serving as an important tone-setter and model for teachers to follow.

Finally, teachers did not appear to be exposed to, or directly impacted by, the ongoing conflict in the region. This low conflict zone did not seem to create an

emotional ripple effect, which is unlike the situation in the next two cases that I will discuss. Molbé school appeared to be indirectly impacted by conflict due to years of systemic degradation in the MEPSP. Tuso and Lané schools were directly involved in conflict. Teachers day-to-day realities shifted suddenly because of massive influxes of IDPs. These are all elements that Dalémo and Sumané schools did not have to deal with, given their privileged and safe socio-economic context.

Molbé School – Indirectly Impacted by Conflict, Diminished Well-Being, sTLC

Molbé school findings tend to reflect some of the challenging conditions and tenuous situations that teachers expressed in the NYU teacher motivation and well-being study (Torrente et al., 2012). As a quick review, the NYU teacher study demonstrated external factors that had a negative impact on teacher motivation and well being. These include: a lack of teaching materials, teacher economic hardships due to salaries that covered only 57% of their total household expenses, the reluctant taking non-paid jobs outside of school by 55% of teachers, and disorganized leadership (Torrente et al., 2012). These findings are reflected and appear in exaggerated form in Molbé school, where all teachers reported not being paid by the community. They felt forced to spend considerable amounts of time outside of school. The NYU study also highlighted the factors of motivation and well-being that appear to impact teacher self efficacy. Teachers who felt burnout and unable to make changes in their jobs were those with less wealth and were in poor physical health. They had minimal community and parental support (Torrente et al., 2012). Molbé school's context and findings suggest very similar, if not

amplified, conditions that point to teachers who are not motivated nor feeling well (please see Table 17).

The Molbé school profile suggests rather unfavorable conditions for teachers to do their jobs and sustain physical and socio-emotional well-being. The school was located in a remote, underprivileged village with minimal opportunities for residents to make a living or afford to send their children to school. Molbé school is indirectly impacted by decades of conflict in the DRC. It is a community-created school that the MEPSP recognizes, but finds whose administrative, technical, or personnel costs it fails to fully fund (De herdt et al., 2010; Pearson, 2011; & Stearns, 2011). The load of educational services falls on the shoulders of parents who want to send their children to school, a indicator of the MEPSP's inability to provide educational services for its population. Findings highlighted that the community was not able to pay school upkeep and revitalization projects for things such as repairing blackboards and building toilets. They also indicate a scenario where teachers lacked materials. More importantly, teachers were erratically paid with inconsistent salary amounts. These small amounts were not likely to allow teachers to cover their own expenses to ensure the well-being of their own families. This type of school environment exhibited fiscal instability and consequently the aforementioned negative impacts on teachers. The decades of structural chaos at the MEPSP level, clearly evident in Molbé school, highlight the complete lack of MEPSP intervention on all counts.

Molbé teacher profiles show many similarities. All teachers, except one, are new to the teaching profession. Because of a lack of experience, they may not all be able to share ideas, strategies, and tools that they bring with them to the profession. Two of the

seven teachers live in the community, where the non-residents are required to spend more time traveling the five to ten kilometers to get to and from school. This additional time is also infused with other income generation activities, which take time as well, and ultimately prevents Molbé teachers from focusing on their teaching responsibilities. The HT demonstrates these same characteristics. Teachers talk about a lack of commitment to be at school, to create routines, and serve as a leader for teachers. Molbé teachers, who are predominantly new, do not necessarily know what is expected of them. This could be explained as another indirect consequence of conflict in the DRC. Years of conflict have prevented the MEPSP from training teacher educators and therefore not having the capacity to train new teachers. Given that they have been part of the OPEQ TLC program for only half of a school year, this uncertainty and lack of routine is likely extended to the TLCs. The previously mentioned school profile findings suggest a setting that does not likely promote positive views and regular functioning of TLCs in Molbé school.

Table 17: Molbé School Consolidated Findings

TLC Type/	wTLC	
School	Molbé	
School Profile	-Village (isolated 5km from Kilasi town) -Public Government Recognized (Un-Paid / Community Paid) -Repurposed buildings (main school) / Hut structure (annex) -School Condition challenges: lack of toilets, illegible blackboard, no materials / tools -2 to 27yrs teaching -1 certified / 6 non-certified -2 Teachers live in community (4 teachers / HT walk 5-10km each day to school) -1/2 year in OPEQ TLCs -HT lack of presence -1 unified TLC (no grade or school-level TLCs) -Some teachers applying TLC techniques / locally created materials	
Motivating Factors	-Lack of / infrequent payment -Lack of materials / tools -Physical well-being issues but teachers remain to help change lives -Teachers see Molbé is a punishment and/or don't view selves as teachers -TPD as Important to build skills / learn / gain skills	
School Environment	-Families don't pay / lack of PTA support -Families trust / respect issues -HT lack of leadership/ unfavorable example -NGOs – Competing curricula	
TLC Characteristics	-Irregular / Not all teachers participate -1 TLC Leader enforces a "Top-down" structure - Negative TLC climate - Some teachers feel signaled out, disrespected & "thrown away"	
Conclusions	 School Profile: Well-Being Issues, Under-privileged Motivation Theme: Low sense of self efficacy School Environment Theme: Low Self-Efficacy (new teachers) Negative Elements: Modeling, Praise, Wanting to Escape/ Lack of coping (new teachers) Lack of Collective Efficacy (HT) TLC Characteristics Theme: Mixed value of TLCs: Mixed collective efficacy Directed by 1 teacher and others felt like they didn't want to share: Lack of positive community of practice Low Self-efficacy elements promoted 	

The motivating factors for choosing the teaching profession and for participating in the TLCs suggest the lack of physical well-being indicators which ultimately prevent teachers from acting upon their drive to teach. As mentioned, all teachers depend on the community to pay their salaries and to provide an operating budget for the purchase of materials and other necessary school-related tools. While teachers talked about their

"drive" and love of teaching as a learning process, they more frequently discussed how challenges at the school prevented them from doing their jobs. Not receiving a salary for the services that they render had a major impact on their ability to provide for themselves and their families. Teachers referred to Molbé as a punishment, where some even viewed themselves as "babysitters" instead of real teachers. While they espoused the benefits of TPD, the commitment towards TLCs was mixed. These lack of motivating factors appear to have negatively impacted their physical well-being and demonstrated a low sense of self-efficacy. The recognition of TPD fused with a lack of pride in their school also suggest a mixed sense of collective efficacy and mixed opinions about TLCs as a community of practice.

School environment factors continue to point to the lack of teacher physical well-being. Teachers constantly talked about their relationships with the community. They felt disrespected and misused. One teacher articulated that by living in the community he felt that parents still didn't value the work that he was doing. Teachers were influenced by the HT, but in ways that suggest disorganization and unfavorable working habits such as not coming to school, coming late, and not setting a positive example. Of equal importance, NGO interventions in Molbé seemed to compete with one another. These at times helped teachers, but also confused them and created more administrative work for teachers. The school environment findings provided concrete low self-efficacy elements. The community and HTs treated teachers unfavorably and failed to provide frequent encouragement. The HT modeled a lack of proactive coping mechanisms. There also appeared to be a lack of collective efficacy as illustrated by the HT by not participating or

being present. Equally, new teachers didn't feel like they had the mentorship and guidance to grow in their jobs.

The school profile elements and first two themes set a stage that does not seem to favor teacher views, participation, and positive influences during the TLCs. Molbé TLCs were irregular given that not all teachers chose to participate. Teachers expressed concern over the TLC structure. The TLC leader seemed to enforce his experience and ideas on teachers using a "call-response" methodology with them. In principle, teachers expressed the potential value of TLCs, but there were a mixture of opinions. The TLC environment appeared tenuous at best given not all teachers felt comfortable sharing their challenges and expressing the types of strategies they apply in the classroom. There lacked a sense of accountability to one another, possibly due to the negative working climate amongst Molbé teachers. TLCs did not appear to boost teacher confidence.

Rather, some teachers felt that they were disrespected and "thrown away" without being considered. All self-efficacy elements appeared to be negative. Teachers hid their views and didn't value the group. This is contrary to the functioning of an effective community of practice. Instead, the collective appeared toxic.

In this case these findings provide a nuanced answer to the first research question. New teachers in Molbé see the value of TPD and TLCs in order to gain knowledge, skills, and comfort to build their practice in the classroom. However, the school profile and environment prevented them from being able to constructively participate and learn collaboratively. Teacher experienced the teacher-community support structures in TLCs in ways that reinforced insecurities and uncertainties for these new teachers, detracted from their self-worth, and fostered a lack of collegiality amongst teachers. Consequently

their psycho-social well-being suffered. The HTs also perpetuated the lack of structure and commitment to the school, and so provided a negative model for teachers to follow.

The school profile environment, which is indirectly impacted by years of conflict in the DRC, played a role in this process. Teacher physical well-being was not guaranteed because of a disjointed and outdated salary structure and teacher certification process (Pearson, 2011). Congolese teachers are paid the lowest salaries in all of Africa. Community school teachers, who are not paid by the MEPSP, are more likely to suffer from even lower salaries (UNESCO, 2012). Conflict is a major justification for the degradation of what once was one of sub-Saharan Africa's premier education systems (Mokonzi & Kadongo, 2010).

Tuso and Lané Schools - Conflict Impacted, NGO Overload, sTLC

Tuso and Lané schools are situated in a context that is different from the ones studied in the NYU teacher motivation and well-being study. This TLC case provides new information and findings that shed light on how conflict directly impacts teachers and their commitment and participation in TPD such as TLCs. In general, conflict in Kilasi at the time of data collection influenced teachers by rapidly changing their teaching environment, which in turn impacted their psycho-social well-being, and thus an ability to respond to the needs of their children and partake in interventions. All interventions seemed to lack the flexibility to provide teachers with what they actually needed in their classrooms in ways that would have helped them most.

Tuso and Langé school profiles suggest tenuous conditions for teachers, in contrast to those factors mentioned in Molbé school. Located in a crossroads town with

multiple employment opportunities, Kilasi town appeared to be an ideal location for internally displaced peoples (IDPs) who were driven out of their communities to the north of Kilasi. Teachers and HTs indicated families had fled to Kilasi in order to find job opportunities and provide a sense of stability for their children. As a result, large numbers of IDP children had been enrolled in schools in Kilasi. which included Tuso and Lané schools. This school profile element took a front seat in conversations and observations with teachers.

Teachers were some of the most experienced in this study. All of Tuso and Lané teachers were certified and paid by the government, i.e., MEPSP-sponsored. All teachers lived in the community and also indicated that they also had secondary income generation activities. The NYU study indicates that years of experience and affiliation with communities in which they teach are crucial factors that aid in teacher motivation and well-being levels (Torrente et al., 2012). However, the HTs in both schools lacked a constant presence in the school. Teachers stated that they had been teaching for quite some time and were not in need of the HT to organize and direct them. This attitude may have influenced the irregular participation of teachers and the lack of artifacts that demonstrate functioning TLCs. Given that they have been part of the OPEQ TLC program for only half an academic year, teachers may not have felt the need, given their experience, to reinforce their teaching skills. The influences of conflict suggest barriers that prevented Tuso and Lané teachers from valuing and participating in the TLCs.

Table 18: Tuso and Lané Schools Consolidated Findings

TLC Type/	wTLC		
School	Tuso & Lané Schools		
School Profile	-Artisanal Mining / Crossroads town -Increase in class size due to IDPs (results in a lack of materials, tools, benches) -Christian Government Sponsored (MEPSP Paid) -Health hazards -All qualified teachers with 13 to 44 yrs of teaching experience -Teachers live in community -HT lack of presence -1/2 year in OPEQ TLCs -2 schools join TLCs -Lack of TLC artifacts, no school-level TLCs, very general TLC information		
Motivating Factors	-IDP Student Issues & Lack of Materials / Tools -Disjointed School -Teachers feeling overloaded / stressed / unsure of how to help IDP students -Remain in teaching as a duty -Teachers see selves as Victims / Poor (MEPSP manipulated) -Value capacity building in principle but need financial motivation		
School Environment	-IDP Families don't pay -PTA not advocating for teachers -HT absence & not advocating for teachers -NGOs – Competing curricula -Feel an increase in time / workload (IDP student needs and NGO programs)		
TLC Characteristics	-Irregular & not all teachers participate -Ad hoc "Popcorn" structure -Not see the value of TLCs -Teachers following each other: Lack of participation & lack of effort (not unified)		
Conclusions	1) School Profile: Conflict Impacted Issues, Coordination Overloading, Minimal Leadership 2) Motivation Theme: Low Self-Efficacy (minimal coping) 3) School Environment Theme: - Negative Elements: Modeling, Praise, Overwhelmed / Lack of Coping (conflict) - Lack of collective efficacy 4) TLC Characteristics Theme: - No collective efficacy - Adhoc and unsure of TLC benefits: No community of practice - Low Self-efficacy elements promoted (demonstrated in TLCs) - Conflict impacted environment takes priority		

The motivating factors for Tuso and Lané teachers demonstrate that teachers chose teaching at a time where the profession sustained their physical and socioemotional well-being. They indicated that they stayed in the profession as a "duty" but

that they feel like they are taken advantage of by the MEPSP. This discourse was coupled with a sense of feeling overwhelmed and overloaded as a result of the influx of IDP students. Despite the many their many years of experience, teachers were bewildered by new classroom conditions. IDP students demonstrated behavior issues and lower content knowledge than students from Kilasi community. Teachers discussed feeling overloaded and having to put in more time for the IDP students. In terms of capacity building opportunities to alleviate these issues, they indicated the did not have enough time and needed to be paid more for these extra efforts. These de-motivating conflict-related factors suggest stress levels with minimal coping mechanisms and outlets for teachers. Thus, they point to low self-efficacy levels despite the extensive experience of teachers.

School environment findings also reflect the direct impact of conflict upon teacher stress levels. Teachers demonstrated that the larger number of students to teach did not translate into being paid more since IDP families could not afford to pay school fees. They also felt as if the PTA and the HT did not advocate for and support them in this difficult time. The increase in students instead resulted in a lack of teaching materials, learning tools, and basics like benches for seating students in the classroom. Teachers viewed the decline in resources and tools to do their jobs as an increase in time and effort. They also made it clear that NGO interventions were helpful in that they supplemented their salaries, but that these programs often overlap and unintentionally compete. All programs started at the same time, which also seemed to overwhelm teachers given the new IDP students had varying needs. The school environment factors in Tuso and Lané appeared to add to stress levels, a negative self-efficacy element, as

was influx of interventions that did not seem valued. Equally, the teachers did not feel like they had the mentorship, encouragement, and attention of their HT.

The school profile elements in Tuso and Lané seemed to be the sole influence over first order themes. This resulted in an environment where teachers didn't feel like they could or wanted to participate regularly in the TLCs. Teachers indicated that they would no longer participate in the TLCs if they were not paid. The TLCs were characterized as irregular, time consuming, and plagued by an unpredictable and ad hoc "popcorn" structure. They didn't feel that the TLCs had as much value as the time that they needed to spend in order to make sure IDP students were learning. Teachers influenced each other by not participating and putting in minimal effort when they did participate. This suggests no collective efficacy as the TLC community of practice appeared non-existent. Low self-efficacy elements were promoted in Tuso and Lané schools by their levels of stress and compromised psycho-social well-being.

These findings provide new insights into how direct conflict-related events influence teachers and answer the first research question of this study. Experienced Tuso and Lané school teachers did not value TPD and TLCs in a heightened period of crisis. They viewed TPD and outside interventions as potential ways to supplement their income, but they did not make the connection that these initiatives could help them learn how to support IDP students or find strategies to cope with unfamiliar crisis-related classroom situations. It may be that teachers believed in theory that TLCs were useful, but that in practice, by not being paid, it added to their daily stressors. If teachers were paid to participate, it would have been interesting to better understand if the salary contributions would have help reduce other stressors, such as taking up other secondary

forms of income generation. Being paid to participate in the TLCs may have created the available space and time for teachers to participate and hopefully benefit from the crisis-response content embedded in the TLCs.

The interventions themselves added to their stress and seemed to contribute to low self-efficacy levels. These findings indicate that the "one-size-fits-all" model of TLCs was not positively viewed by or appropriate for teachers, given the context. It may have created a new daily stressor and caused more harm – an assertion that requires further research (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010). The lack of advocacy and support from both the community and HTs could have also been a result of the conflict-related responses of these stakeholders, local reactions to conflict that always require further analysis (Hernández-Wolfe, 2012). HTs were supposed to provide leadership for teachers, however, given the influx of students and different needs of teachers, this situation could have also added to daily stress levels (Miller et al, 2006). Communities could have also felt the stress of the massive influx in population, which could have created competition for jobs and jeopardized the incomes of host-community families. A more nuanced study highlighting conflict seems to be needed in order to better understand teacher context and culturally-relevant responses to trauma and crisis (Hernández -Wolfe, 2011).

Contributions to the Field of TPD (in Conflict Settings)

Within the literature on teachers in (post)crisis situations, teachers face unique working conditions. Adults may be recruited with no formal teacher training (Buckland, 2005; Kirk, 2004; Kirk & Winthrop, 2005). They might play ad hoc roles as nurturers (IRC, 20011; Shirberg, 2008). Students might come to schools with different crisis-

impacted experiences, yet teachers have minimal training and tools to help these children learn and bounce back from trauma (Buckland, 2005; IRC, 2011; Rappley & Paulson, 2007). The psycho-social needs of teachers themselves are often unmet (IRC, 2011; OECD, 2009; & Shriber, 2009). This study helps to shed light on three different schools that have been impacted by conflict, and has surveyed their experiences and practices participating in school-based TPD. Of equal importance, it helps to start to fill in unknown factors of TPD that inhibit or promote knowledge teacher enhancement and skills for change (please see figure 4 followed by figure 14).

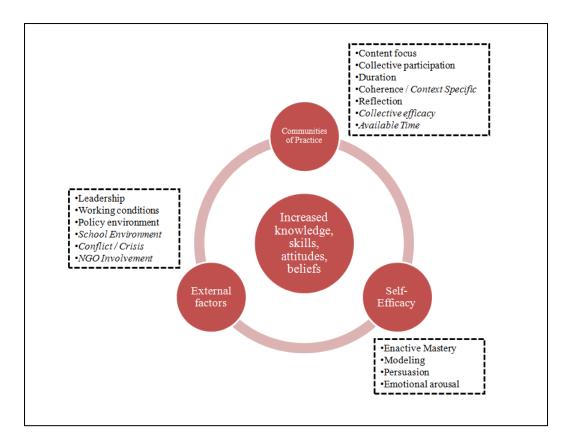


Figure 14: TPD for teacher change: Links between external factors, self-efficacy and TPD/Communities of practice in crisis and (post)crisis settings

Figure 14 is amended from Figure 4, which is a representation of major successes and challenges of TPD. The most salient contributions to the field of education in emergencies are presented below, and are italicized in Figure 14..

In the conflict-impacted situations of this study, leadership, working conditions, and the central MEPSP policy environments were major findings reflected in teacher experiences of TLCs. However, the school environment factors, the context/school profile elements, and NGO involvement at the conflict-impacted (direct and indirect) schools also played a role in preventing or promoting the functioning of the TLCs. These are first insights into how external crisis factors have impacted a small sample of teachers, especially in relation to their views, participation, and effort in new TPD interventions.

Another major contribution to the field of TPD in crisis is that the self-efficacy elements remained pertinent, regardless of the context. When external factors were promoted and positive, as in the wTLC schools, self-efficacy levels appeared higher, and vice-versa for sTLC schools. The external factors of school environment and leadership appeared to have a large impact on teachers, regardless of the direction of impact. Yet, self-efficacy can be used as a barometer for understanding teacher beliefs in their abilities and how they react to certain types of stressors. However, this does not suggest that teachers in crisis-impacted settings merely must try harder or find different coping strategies. Self-efficacy is used here as a descriptive lens and does not suggest what teachers in such contexts are not doing accurately or correctly.

The final alterations revolve around the communities of practice developed in the three TLC cases studied. Collective efficacy, valuing the TLC and recognizing the

learning that could come from the TLC, seemed to indicate the quality of the community of practice. The frequency and duration of the TLC still appear to be an important ingredient in creating a functioning community of practice. One of the major communities of practice items noted for the crisis-impacted schools revolved around context. The three TLC cases were located in different contexts with profiles that promoted or prevented the functioning of the TLC community of practice. In the wTLCs, socio-economic and political stability appear to be the major pillars that supported the three major themes. In Molbé school, a lack of political stability from years of conflict created a scenario where the government was unable to respond to the needs of communities to build new schools and support new teachers. These were the contextspecific consequences of conflict. In Tuso and Lané schools, the inability of any organization, MEPSP and NGO, to coordinate and provide teachers with context-specific needs due to immediate crisis also created a scenario where teachers did not value TLCs as a community of practice. Finally, teacher perceptions of time and workload also appeared as an item that determined the quality of the community of practice, which reflected the physical, social, and emotional well-being of teachers.

This revisualization of the successes and challenges of TPD in crisis-impacted settings is a contribution to the field of education in emergencies. It provides the first conceptual framework for TPD in the field that is based on rigorous evidence that is context-specific and reflects "indigenous forms of knowledge." It also debunks my original hypothesis of TLCs as being a universally-appropriate model of TLC for teachers impacted by crisis, which states:

TPD in emergency education environments will be effective for teachers when it favors community of practice elements while finding creative solutions to external

de-motivating factors....TPD, especially in the form of TLCs, is appropriate for not only learning content and instructional knowledge but also to create an even more supportive community environment in the DRC, where colleagues can come together to support one another professionally, socially and emotionally.

This may be true for a stable post-conflict context like Dalémo and Sumané schools, where there is relative socio-economic and political stability. However, in Molbé school, the lack of physical well-being elements seemed to prevent the community of practice elements from materializing. In Tuso and Lané schools, the lack of psychosocial well-being strategies seem to inhibit the functioning of the community of practice elements.

These conclusions provide helpful insights to school leaders, MEPSP policy makers, and NGO practitioners. Though not generalizeable to other schools, the findings indicate that context matters. Figure 14 can be used as a starting point to analyze and try to adapt different TPD methods, including TLCs, to the needs and contexts of a school. Regardless of whether schools are currently directly impacted by conflict, or are in a liminal stage where indirect consequences of crisis are still felt, communities are nevertheless major providers of social services, like education. Educational interventions at the school level matter, and there is a need to coordinate with MEPSP and other NGO partners in order to examine how these programs can have their intended impact instead of adding to teacher workloads. TLCs may need to look different and allow teachers to explore different content and themes, ones that are more pertinent to their current-day contexts.

Directions for Future Research

This section highlights research endeavors that are needed to have a more broad understanding of teacher realities, their effectiveness, and how teachers change their practices in (post)crisis impacted environments. Conducting research in locations where there is conflict and crisis can have major safety and ethical implications for those teachers who agree to participate in the study and for the researchers who collect the data. This is a major reason why there exists so little data on education, teachers, and students in these contexts. However, this should be a motivating factor for future researchers, given the importance of better understanding teacher realities and avoid the perpetuation of ineffective education interventions that ignore context.

By examining the findings and the limitations, this study has generated more questions than answers. There are at least two different research approaches that need to be taken after this study. First, it would be valuable to conduct more ethnographically-informed research that pulls out more specific and in-depth details of the lives of teachers and their participation in TPD, like TLCs, in (post)crisis settings. Teacher cultural responses to trauma, the setting and the context also need to be better understood. I have been able to show general context characteristics, but having an idea of how and why they impact teachers on a daily basis is also necessary to adapt TPD programs so that they work. This should be coupled with studies in different contexts, which could include, for example, TPD after natural disasters, in prolonged conflicts, on different continents. It would also be interesting to have a better understanding of breadth, meaning a way to compare and contrast teacher change and effectiveness across countries and contexts.

We also might ask, "What are the specific factors that provide traction for teachers to show up to TPD and want to implement change in their classrooms?" The field of TPD in low-resource and crisis contexts needs a valid and rigorous mixed methods study that could help discover what strategies policy-makers and practitioners should promote to encourage teachers to change practices. Such a study could also dive deeper into teacher self-efficacy. This study was able to highlight self-efficacy and collective-efficacy elements that might positively impact the experiences and actions of teachers. But it seems necessary to take this a step further to dive more into what the process of self-efficacy building looks like for teachers in different TPD models.

Conclusion

Though research on teacher change indicates that the TPD format is not necessarily a predictor of teacher change, I assert that, when examining TPD in (post)crisis contexts, TLCs seem to be an appropriate format that encourage not only content and instructional knowledge, but more importantly, the support and well-being that teachers in (post)crisis contexts need in order to create similar environments in their own classrooms. However, little is known about the impacts of professional development techniques like TLCs on teachers in these fragile environments.

I have questioned the view that low student achievement levels – for example, in reading – have been attributed to a lack in teacher abilities, unwillingness to master content, and a reluctance to perform best-practice instructional approaches. This view fails to examine the complex realities that teachers in low-resource contexts face. These include a variety of intrinsic and extrinsic motivating factors, as I have described above.

As NGOs became involved in (post)crisis settings in this study, reading-specific education initiatives appeared to conduct a "copy and paste" process of education initiatives that were often unsuccessful in low-resource contexts. These organizations failed to recognize contexts in which they work, including extrinsic and intrinsic factors and crisis-related issues, such as teacher education backgrounds and the social-emotional well-being of teachers. I posit that TPD which purposefully focuses on the extrinsic and intrinsic, as much as it can, and the social-emotional levels of teachers may help teachers feel better about themselves and bolster their practices for the betterment of student reading levels. This creates a clear agenda for other studies that examine how TLCs operate and are received in the DRC, which is a simultaneous post-conflict context. Such studies would rigorously understand context and recognize the multitude of layers that must be examined when studying teacher performance.

The abovementioned directions for future research are worthwhile, because they ought to give a wider and deeper picture of the nature of TPD effectiveness across contexts. They also can be used to test some of the conclusions that I draw up from the conducted research. The following condensed findings could be tested:

• Teachers who participate in the well functioning TLCs (wTLCs) appear to be surrounded by difficult but manageable working conditions, have a more positive view of themselves as teachers and think of themselves as professionals, are supported by their communities, participate in an encouraging and helpful school community that is fostered by the Head Teacher, and participates in TLCs regularly over a sustained period of time.

- These wTLCs appear to incorporate many different elements of self-efficacy, which support and mutually reinforce each other. Overall, wTLC teachers are able to adapt and translate what they learn in the TLCs into their classrooms;
- Teachers who participate in struggling TLCs (sTLCs) appear to be located in contexts
 where they feel overwhelmed and undervalued. In these schools, working conditions
 appear to be extreme, for different reasons. They do not necessarily have a positive
 view of themselves in the community and cannot fathom more work in the form of
 capacity building sessions.
- The school environment does not seem to support or encourage them. TLC participation is irregular where relationships are strained. These sTLCs appear to incorporate negative elements of self-efficacy, which prevent teachers from participating and practice change in the classroom.
- TPD is not universal across contexts.

Future studies can help provide more nuances in the field of education in emergencies. This is especially true to learn more about the psycho-social well-being and responses to trauma of teachers themselves. An ideal research agenda would parallel the work of Betancourt (2012) and Boothby (2012), where adult and teacher trauma is explored, but also linked to their performance and impacts on students in the classroom. This could potentially demonstrate powerful links between the well-being needs and academic achievement of students coupled with the psycho-social wellness and professional abilities of teachers.

APPENDIX A

LARGE TABLES

Characteristics of Effective TPD Programs For Teacher Change According to TPD Research (continued onto next 3 pages)

Author / Year	Study Type	Findings
(Birman, Desimone, Porter, & Garet, 2000)	(TPD) Mixed Method of 1000 teachers who participated in Eisenhower TPD -1000 Surveys -6 Case Studies	*DURATION: sustained and longer trainings allow for more time for content, activities, and details thank shorter one-off trainings *COHERENCE: Longer trainings also affords more time for teachers to bring in their own contexts and try things out in their contexts based on their realities *COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: teachers from the same department, discipline, school allowed for more active learning and to bring in context, try out strategies, share them, and share tools together *ENACTIVE MASTERY/ MODELING: teachers who participated in simulations, demonstrations, observations, lesson planning, micro-teaching reported and where observe to use new content and instructional skills *Challenges: effective TPD is time consuming for teachers and expensive to implement
(Smith et al., 2003)	(TPD & TLC) Mixed method study of 106 adult educators in New England who participated in 1 of 3 different TPD activities: 1) Multiday workshops 2) Study Groups 3) Practitioner research	*CONTENT: Focusing on subject matter was an indicator of teacher change. The higher the perceive quality, the more teachers felt they learned. *DURATION: sustained and regular TPD allowed for reflection, analysis, practice, observation *Collective participation: Reflection, analysis, practice and observation were important parts of TPD for teachers *WORKING CONDITIONS: Teachers with access to resources, supportive colleagues and supervisor, and with job benefits were also predictors of change. *EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Teachers with a strong motivation, willingness and openness to change implemented trained teaching practices *REFLECTION: Teachers who were open to reflecting and exploring changed in their teaching practices *EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Newer, the least experienced, fewer years of education were traits for teachers who changed their teaching practices. *Empowerment *FORMAT Format did not matter in terms of teacher change. The quality of activities matters *JOB-EMBEDDED TPD: more convenient for teachers with limited time to travel *Challenges: Teacher drop out was 38% for practitioner groups and 14% for study circles

(Garet et al., 2008)	(TLC) Impact evaluation of 270 second grade reading teachers in the United States who participated in TLCs. Surveys, teacher observation, teacher content knowledge assessment, student reading outcome assessments 1) Group 1: Sustained TPD with coaching 2) Group 2: Sustained TPD 3) Group 3: No TPD	*DURATION: Teachers who participated in both treatments scored higher than control group teachers on content knowledge assessments and implemented instruction techniques learned during the TPD *COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Participating in TPD from the same subject, department or school allowed for coherence and active learning and content appropriation
(Belay et al., 2007)	(TPD) New primary school teacher study in Eritrea. Three year qualitative case study of XX new teachers working and participating in PD in rural areas using observation and semi-structure interviews.	*EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: teachers that put the blame on outside factors year after year seemed less able to develop their teaching practices regardless of participating in TPD. Teachers who look for solutions to issues were able to be more competent over the years and saw barriers as challenges to overcome. *EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Teachers who said they enjoyed their work and helping children felt optimistic about their profession and wished for more TPD *EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Teachers that did not enjoy their profession stated that they saw no grow possibilities *COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Teachers that enjoyed their profession stated a warm collegial working environment, supportive colleagues and used reflection strategies to better their classroom practice
(Taylor et al. 2005)	(TLC) 2 year School Change Framework study group project. TLCs met once per month for an hour each session. Qualitative study over two years examined teacher's perceptions and practices via TLC observation and semi-structure interviews.	*LEADERSHIP: Study circles set their own agendas and learning outcomes. Higher performing schools saw an organically created teacher leader who organized and motivated colleagues *DURATION: Sustained TLCs allowed teachers time to scaffold their learning of content and practice as well as implement new reading instructional techniques *COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: TLCs that read research on instructional practices, reflected upon them, and tried them out were high performers in the classroom *Challenges: 1/3 of the schools did not fully implement the program or instructional practices due to lack of leadership, commitment, and non-participation

(Frazier, 2009).	(TLC) 6 month case study with 8	*COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Teachers reported feeling more support from colleagues and a changed
	English teachers who participated in	relationship of collaboration and no longer working in "silos."
	15 study group sessions in Senegal.	*REFLECTION: Participants stated their enjoyment and noted the benefits of collaborative discussion to
	Action research, observations, semi-	bolster instructional practices
	structured interviews	*LEADERSHIP: It was difficult to have one emerging leader, but participants considered each other as
		equals, regardless of their years of teaching experience
		*COHERENCE: Teachers brought lesson plans for peers to provide feedback as well as shared concerns
		and suggestions for challenging instructional practices, etc.
		*Challenges: At times there was a need for more focus and more direction from the researcher-participant
		in order to talk about specific content, practices and reflections.
(Avalos, 1998)	(TLC) School based teacher study	*SELF-EFFICACY: Teachers where the study groups were functioning reported that they had grown in
	group that focus on reflection,	their confidence as a teacher
	collaboration in order to build new	*COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Teachers reported a social gain of getting to know their peers, creating
	knowledge and teaching practices in	a supportive environment where they were able to learn from each other and establish new ways to
	their contexts. 78 study group	communicate and share information with each other.
	observations and case studies of 2	*PERSUASION: Teachers reported the study groups helped them take their learning and development in
	schools in Chile.	their own hands
		*ENACTIVE MASTERY/ MODELING Teachers tried new instructional practices as a result of interacting
		with peers.
		*Challenges: School climate such as a strong supportive administration seemed to reflect the quality of the
		study groups
		*Challenges: In schools that lacked leadership and had a negative school climate, teachers stated that they
		were not very interested in the study groups and that their self-esteem had not changed as a result of the
		groups
		*Challenges: Teachers' workloads were heavy, which resulted in minimal time to prepare for using new
		instructional practices.

(Arbaugh, 2003)	(TLC) School-bases math study group action research project over the course of 1 school year. The research/participant used observations of 10 study groups, semi-structured interviews and participant journals for data collection	*COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Participants placed a high value on their participation because of the relationships they built, the moral support, the mentoring from more experienced teachers *DURATION: Carving out time for study groups create a space to reflect and try new techniques as well as meet colleagues *REFLECTION: Teachers talked about their challenges, set a reading agenda to do research on the challenges, reflected together on strategies that they read about, and attempted to find solutions collaboratively. *ENACTIVE MASTERY/ MODELING: Participants indicated it was helpful to know the "why" behind content based instructional practices and helped try out large student-centered learning concepts like "critical thinking" and "questioning" techniques into practice. *PERSUASION: Working together with colleagues helped improve teachers' confidence in their abilities especially when receiving praise and critical feedback on teaching practices. *Challenges: Costs associated with allowing teachers time away from their classes to participate in the study group. However, the support of the administration to do so was a major factor in teacher's
(Molthilal, 2011)	(TLC – Clusters) Case study of 5 teachers' perceptions of participating in one year of TLC-Clusters in South Africa. The study used semi-structured interviews with the teacher-participants	*Professionalism: Teachers were excited to participate in TPD *PERSUASION: Teachers felt valued, respected and valuable contributors in their clusters *COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Teachers viewed the clusters as safe spaces where they could explore issues and alternative solutions to problems together collaboratively *Empowerment: Participants alternated facilitation of the clusters *SELF-EFFICACY: Teachers indicated confidence in building their content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge.
(Johnson, 2006)	(Mentoring) – Master teachers from math resource centers mentored teachers in their classrooms over the course of 10 weeks in both Sri Lanka and the Gambia. Action research with teachers using observations, artifacts / portfolios, semi-structured interviews	*CONTENT: Teachers indicated that the mentoring sessions provided them with content knowledge especially that was solidified during mentor's follow-up visits *ENACTIVE MASTERY/ MODELING: teachers felt that in-classroom activity support was helpful for their students' learning and the mentors helped teachers with context based issues that they faced *REFLECTION: Feedback sessions from mentors as well as examining student work with the mentor and other teachers provided insights into what techniques work more effectively than others in the classroom *COHERENCE The intervention helped teachers understand that each child learns differently in their context. Therefore teachers learned more about their own contexts.

Teachers' Realities in Crisis and (Post)Crisis Settings (continued onto next page)

Author / Year	Study Type	Findings
(Shriberg, 2007)	8 month study on teachers' realities in	*WORKING CONITIONS / EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: When physical and psycho-social well-being
	post-conflict Liberia. A mixed method	needs are unmet for teachers, there is a reciprocal-synergetic relationship with the quality of education that
	study of 700 teachers using semi-	teachers deliver
	structured interviews and teachers	*EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: A large proportion of teachers reported that they are coping with obstacles in
	surveys of primary school teachers in	their professional and are committed to being effective teachers
	Liberia.	*COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION / CONTENT / COHERENCE / REFLECTION: Teachers who worked
		in refugee education programs and then resettled back in Liberia indicated sharing their knowledge and
		skills (lesson planning techniques, pedagogical approaches, classroom management tools) with their
		colleagues
		*LEADERSHIP / POLICY ENVIRONMENT/ EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Teacher survival and the quality
		of education appeared to be negatively impacted by the lack of attention to their needs as educators
		(professional, psychosocial, physical).
		*WORKING CONDITIONS / EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Teacher's attendance, time on and "corruption"
		seems to be related to their low salaries and the lack of resources that they are given.
		*WORKING CONDITIONS / EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Low-resources (salary) is seen to negatively
		impact their psycho-social well-being
(Shah, 2011)	Quantitative study of 364 teachers in 17	
	schools in Islamabad. The study used a	*ENACTIVE MASTERY / MODELING: General findings indicate that teachers who participated in
	teacher questionnaire to understand the	common planning activities and peer observation shared a common collaborative and supportive vision of
	cooperative nature of teacher	their working environment
	relationships.	

(Kirk & Winthrop,	Action research with teachers in refugee	*WORKING CONDITIONS / EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Under qualified teachers who began teaching as
(Kirk & Winthrop, 2005; 2007, 2008)	Action research with teachers in refugee and internally-displaced-persons camps in Ethiopia and Afghanistan. Teachers reported on their experiences being teachers in crisis contexts	*WORKING CONDITIONS / EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Under qualified teachers who began teaching as a result of a community identified process reported not feeling confident about their ability to be "real" and "good" teachers *ENACTIVE MASTERY / MODELING: With in-service teacher training, teacher's instructional practices changed and their confidence improved, but they frequently reported not feeling 100% like a teacher. Many teachers indicated that in order to be a "good" teacher they would need to complete their education. *PERSUASION: Teacher reported feeling emotionally supported and encouraged by the communities who encouraged them to become teachers for the first time. *COHERENCE: Teachers reported an intuitive understanding of the needs of their students, especially the
		psycho-social needs, which was a result of them being part of their communities. *WORKING CONDITIONS: Teaching was reported as a temporary occupation for the community teachers, as long as they could provide for their families *EMOTIONA AROUSAL: Teachers were motivated by opportunities to learn, develop and contribute to their students' knowledge. *PERSUASION: Teachers reported that they felt respected and valued in their communities and that parents sometimes helped them out with small expenses (for example: taxi fare). *PERSUASION: Women expressed enjoyment as teachers because they gained a new social status in the community *WORKING CONDITIONS: Many women community teachers expressed feeling isolated due to the fact that they help class in their homes for girls and had minimal opportunities to communicate with other teachers.
(Kirk, 2004)	Case study of women teachers in Pakistan. 4 in-depth semi-structured interviews, group discussions with five to ten women teachers, and 19 questionnaires of women's perspectives of being a teacher in Pakistan.	*EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Female teachers indicated that for men, teaching in Pakistan is seen as an unfavorable profession. For those female participants, they believed that for them it is a worthy and noble profession *ENACTIVE MASTERY / EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Teaching allows female teachers to gain invaluable child development principles and use their own creative talents and interests for children's benefits *PERSUASION: Female teachers indicated that teaching would not be possible without the support of their families. Participants indicated that this support was encouraging for them to continue on as teachers. *EMOTIONAL AROUSAL: Teacher expressed job satisfaction when students worked hard and when they were eager to learn.

Characteristics of Effective TPD Programs for Teacher Change in Crisis and (Post)Crisis Settings (continued onto next page)

Author / Year	Study Type	Findings
(Berkvens,	(TLC) Action research with	*ENACTIVE MASTERY / MODELING: Participants tried out different training and facilitation skills used
Kalyanpur, Kuiper,	participants in post-conflict	during the curriculum development TLC intervention
& Van den Akker,	Cambodia. Participants from the	*CONTENT/COHERENCE: Participants worked together to create common language and common
2012)	Cambodian Ministry of Education to	framework/tools for the curriculum design and TPD framework
	collectively designed an effective	*COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Working collaboratively worked well when modified to reflect the
	teacher curriculum that takes local	individual first instead of brainstorming outwardly in the whole group. This was due to the fact that there
	context into account. The participants	needed to build consensus, which was seen as an important value that many participants indicated due to three
	met every 2-3 weeks for a total of 11	decades of civil strife.
	TLCs. The researcher observed and	*DURATION: Over time they seemed to communicate more easily with one another and provide support and
	interview participants in terms of how	created working relationships outside of the intervention.
	their TLC support structure was	*PERSUASION: Participants indicated that the facilitator support and praise was an important factor for
	reflected in the collectively created	feeling like they were on the right track
	TPD design.	*REFLECTION: Participants felt that they had learned practical skills by working collaboratively and
		communicating together.
		*EXTERNAL LEADERSHIP: Where there was strong support from supervisors, those group members who
		were the most actively engaged in the TLCs.
		*PERSUASION / LEADERHSHIP: The amount of support also seemed to influence the extent to which
		group members experimented methodologies learned during the TLCS
		*INTERNAL LEADERSHIP: Participants communicated more regularly over time and after the intervention
		they developed another training on their own
		*SELF-EFFIACY: Participants' positive views of new types of facilitator practices did not always reflect what
		they practiced in reality, while those participants that attended regularly experimented and applied new
		techniques

(Emerson, Deyo,	(TPD Cluster) Revitalizing,	*COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Location (which is a working condition) is a necessary element to
Shoaib, & Ahmed,	Innovating, Strengthening Education	consider as an element of coherence. Teachers need to be able to access one another and not spaced out over
2010)	(RISE) project in post-earthquake	long distances, especially in highly mountainous areas of Pakistan. This became an element of motivation,
	Pakistan which focused on creating	highly motivated teachers trekked over an hour on regular occasions while other teachers refrained from
	and maintaining TPD clusters.	regular participation due to distance
	Clusters met monthly (primary grades)	*COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION: Participants noted a sense of community amongst those who regularly
	or twice per month (secondary grades)	attended.
	during the school year. 12 cluster	*DURATION: Over time, participants indicated that they developed trusting relationships with their peers and
	teachers interviewed, focus groups,	were able to speak up and ask for help. They used telephone to ask for help in between the meetings
	and cluster observations.	*PERSUASION: Within the sense of community, participants indicated their colleagues being supportive and
		encouraging of each other
		*ENACTIVE MASTERY / MODELING: Participants indicated that watching their peers and helping one
		another built confidence in using new instructional practices.
		*LEADERSHIP: Clusters that had more of a community atmosphere lacked a cluster leader, but clusters
		where a leader did emerge were also "successful"

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL – TLC TEACHER INTERVIEWS

Introduction:

- Review the signed informed consent form (participants will have signed this form during the first meeting with the researcher), the purpose of the research, and the interview process;
- Ask the TLC teacher-participant if s/he has any remaining questions;
- Ask the TLC participant background questions to help them feel comfortable in the interview (Name, School Name, Grade Level, Years Taught, Number of Students in Class)

Communities of Practice – TLC Structure Questions:

Content

- What is the structure that you use in the TLCs?
- o What have you learned in the "learning" part of the TLCs?
- What types of activities have do done during this part of the TLC? How did you feel about that?
- Do you think that your teaching practices have changed during your participation in the TLC? How?
- Please comment on this statement: "I feel that I learned a lot from the topics of the TLCs"

Reflection

- During the reflection component of the TLCs, what do you do?
 Can you give an example?
- O How do your colleagues interact together during this part of the TLC? Can you give an example?
- o What does reflection mean to you?
- Please comment on the phrase: "I feel that the TLCs afford me time to think about and improve my teaching"

• Collective Participation:

- What are your relationships with your colleagues like? Do you help each other during and after TLCs? How? Do you share materials and ideas? Can you give examples? Do you talk about teaching? Do you agree or disagree? How do you handle the disagreements?
- How do you feel that participation in the TLCs affected your interactions with your colleagues in the TLC?
- Please comment on the phrase: "I feel that participating in the TLCs gives me opportunities to interact and get help from my colleagues"

Duration

o Can you indicate the amount of time you devote to the TLCs?

- o How do you feel about the frequency of TLCs?
- o How do you feel about the length of each TLC?
- Please comment on the phrase: "I feel that meeting regularly in the TLCs is beneficial for me"

Coherence

- How would you describe the content and instructional techniques that you learned in the TLCs?
- Do you feel like they could be applied in your classroom? Why? Why not?
- What did you do to adapt TLC techniques in your classroom? Can you give examples?
- Please comment on the phrase: "I feel that the topics covered in the TLCs were pertinent to my teaching realities in the classroom"

Self-Efficacy in TLCs/ In Class Questions:

• Enactive Mastery

- What types of TLC-based practical activities have you tried in the TLCs? In your classrooms?
- What types of activities did you try out in the "planning" section of the TLCs?
- What types of activities did you do in the "action" part of the TLC cycle? Who did you work with on those activities?
- What were the results of those attempts? Can you give an example?
- How did you feel when you succeeded? Had difficulties? What did you do to perfect certain techniques?
- Please comment on the following: "Trying out techniques from the TLCs makes me feel more confident about my teaching"

Modeling

- How do you feel when you see your colleagues trying out new techniques learned from the TLCs (content, instructional practices)?
- Do you feel you benefit from seeing your colleagues try out new practices? How?
- Please comment on the following: "My colleagues who try out new techniques motivate me to try them as well"

• Social Persuasion

- How would you describe the way that your colleagues treat you in and outside of the TLCs?
- What types of nice things do your colleagues say to you? Can you give examples of this during and after TLCs?
- Please comment on the following: "Getting support and praise from my colleagues helps me feel better about my ability to teach"

Emotional Arousal

- Describe how you go about tackling challenges. How do you feel about them? What do you do?
- How do you feel that the TLCs have contributed to the challenges? Tackling challenges?
- Please comment on the following: "The challenges in my classroom and in teaching make me feel like I'm not a good teacher"
- Do you think that your view as yourself as a teacher has changed in any way during your participation in the TLCs? How?
- How do you see yourself as a teacher? Have the TLCs changed those ideas of yourself?

External Factors Questions:

- Describe your workload as a teacher? How has the TLC contributed or alleviate your work load?
- How does your workload impact your outlook on work?
- What type of leadership has been demonstrated during the TLCs? From your principal? From other colleagues? Can you give specific examples?
- Are there other factors that have helped you benefit from TLCs? Prevented you from benefiting from TLCs?

Overall /General Questions:

- What are the advantages of the TLCs? In terms of content learned? In terms of instructional practices? In terms of community support?
- What are the disadvantages of the TLCs? In terms of content learned? In terms of instructional practices? In terms of community support?
- Talk more about your TLC experiences and your attitudes towards them;
- Can you think of instances when you have used ideas from the TLCs in your teaching? Can you give me some examples? [Ask detailed questions of when, how, how many times, why, what in order to gauge specific details of the elements that the participants indicate]

Open Topics/Questions:

- Imagine that you are talking to another colleague from another school. What would you tell him/her about the TLCs? Would you recommend that s/he form a TLC at his/her school? Why or why not? What would be necessary to make the group a success?
- If you were to repeat the TLCs next year, what are the things that should stay the same? What should change?
- Do you feel that TLCs have helped your teaching? How? How not? Why? Why not?

APPENDIX C

STANDARD NOTETAKING AND OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

Please use this tool for ALL of the data collection activities during the qualitative case study for the OPEQ project. One uses this form to <u>write</u> <u>notes and make objective observations</u> when a specific activity is happening. On the left hand column, write down all that you see and hear. At the end of the activity, write down your impressions, possible interpretations and links back to the conceptual framework.

TLC Observation

Focus Group

Date:

Artifact Collection

Classroom

Observation

Activity Type:

(Please circle)

School:

Interview

Teacher Name:	Duration:
Researcher 1	Researcher 2
(Note taker)	
Notes on what you see and hear	Impressions, Interpretations, Conceptual Framework

Notes on what you see and hear	Impressions, Interpretations, Conceptual Framework

APPENDIX D

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

Introduction:

- Review the signed informed consent form (participants will have signed this form during the first meeting with the researcher), the purpose of the research, and focus group process;
- Ask the TLC participants if they have any remaining questions;

Communities of Practice – TLC Structure Questions:

Content

- o What type of content have you learned in the TLCs? Give examples
- Please comment on this statement: "The content I learned has helped me with my teaching"
- Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree

Reflection

- How have the TLCs impacted they way you think about your teaching and challenges in your classroom?
- Please comment on the phrase: "When I am writing my lesson plans or in the process of teaching, I think about certain ideas that we discussed in the TLCs"
- Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree

• Collective Participation:

- Would you agree with the statement: "Our work environment is collegial."
 Give examples that confirm or challenge this statement.
- o Talk about specific examples of when you work together.
- o Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree

• <u>Duration</u>

- Would you agree with any part of the statement: "I like sustained teacher professional development. It motivates me." Explain with what you agree or disagree.
- Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree

Coherence

- Reflect on the statement: "The TLCs did not reflect what I could use in my teacher context"
- Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree

Self-Efficacy in TLCs/ In Class Questions:

• Enactive Mastery

- What types of activities that you demonstrated or tried out made you feel good about yourself as a teacher? Why do you think this made you feel good?
- Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree

Modeling

- Do you feel jealous of your colleagues when you see them trying out new techniques? Explain.
- Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree

Social Persuasion

- Do you feel that your colleagues are supportive of you? Explain specific incidents of that support.
- Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree

Emotional Arousal

- What do you do to cope with challenging situations in your classroom?
- o Present raw data excerpts from interviews and artifacts. Ask participants to comment, explain how/why they agree or disagree
- Do you think that your view as yourself as a teacher has changed in any way during your participation in the TLCs? How?
- How do you see yourself as a teacher? Have the TLCs changed those ideas of yourself?

Open Topics:

- What else do you want to talk about concerning the TLCs?
- How would you modify the TLCs next year?
- Would you want to participate in the TLCs next year? Why? Why not?
- Talk about other ideas or topics that emerged during the structured interview question.
- What would you say are the five major themes that one should take from the TLCs?

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