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DEVELOPING TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM AND IDENTITY IN THE MIDST OF LARGE SCALE EDUCATION REFORM – the case of Kosovo

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ABSTRACT

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This case study examines the development of teacher identity and professionalism in the midst of large-scale education reform in the Republic of Kosovo - the newest state in Europe, which has gone through a recent war and is aspiring European Union integration. Utilizing principles of socio-cultural theory alongside theoretical perspectives on teacher professionalism, teacher identity and school change, the study reveals that the dominating features of teacher professionalism as currently produced in Kosovo are (i) the orientation to resources, (ii) didactical view of teacher role and tasks, and (iii) the feeling of being an isolated professional. The study, however, suggests that the framework for analysing teacher policy environment should be seen as multi-dimensional and dynamic in view of increasing demands for teacher professionalism, the evolving education context, and broader historical and cultural background. The uniform models of developing teacher professionalism - though global practices and trends can provide valuable development input - should yet be considered with care by adopting the *'what works here'* approach to education policy making. Developing education systems need to manage external influences and lessons from elsewhere deriving as a result of interaction with global practices and standards. The study suggests that transition towards desired teacher professionalism is best managed through a phased approach raising the need for conceiving a zone of proximal development (ZPD). Introducing a ZPD as a transformation zone implies the need to reconceptualise the nature and purpose of teacher professional development as a tool to facilitate translation of education policy into school practice, namely ensure teachers' socialization into their own personal practical theory and teacher related policies. The transformation processes should lead into an extended zone of proximal development - the desired target - whereby teacher professionalism is characterized as reflective collegiality and schools function as learning organizations.

Keywords: teacher identity, teacher professionalism, context, frame factors, education policy, school culture, professional collaboration

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation work is a culmination of a professional journey, which, like many of the journeys in life on which one finds oneself, was a surprise. The journey in one hand led me to better understanding of myself and becoming aware, in more depth, of education and the context in which my work is embedded on the other. Thus, two metaphors can be used to explain the reality of completing this PhD program.

The ***first metaphor*** is related to the choice of canoeing or using a motor-boat to sail down a river. The metaphor elaborates very well the idea of this dissertation. People can choose to use a motor-boat which is steered and managed by a well-trained person brought in for the purpose of ensuring the mission is successful. Alternatively, people can choose to use a canoe - not investing in solutions such as bringing in people (experts) specifically trained to manage such situations, but ensuring that local people and the skills, commitment and shared interest they have, would steer and manage the canoe to the end destination in the best possible manner and speed. It will take longer and it is likely to take more efforts, however it is important that they will manage to engage with the process and be able to manage such situations on future occasions as well.

The ***second metaphor*** relates to the travels back and forth from Kosovo to Finland. Before each departure, the aircraft security instructions were played and/or demonstrated loudly "…. in the event of a loss of oxygen, put the oxygen mask over your own face first before helping others … including your children". This PhD program was a reflection of the same principle. Trying to understand the identity and professionalism of teachers I realized the need to understand my own professional identity and work practice first in order to be able to best perform the task of educating prospective teachers. The journey has thus been twofold. I now know why I do what I do!

The completion of this dissertation work would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of several individuals. Special thanks go to my supervisors Professor Tuula Asunta and Professor Eira Korpinen for their continuous encouragement and advice. Their consistently positive attitude and trust in me as a researcher kept my energy and motivation going. Your patience throughout this PhD program has been astounding! I also feel honoured that Professor Sheelagh Drudy and Professor Pavel Zgaga provided feedback on this dissertation draft. Their comments were highly reinforcing and thought-provoking, leading thus towards a better clarity.

I also want to acknowledge the advice and feedback of several friends, colleagues and former colleagues. The continuous feedback and advice of Dr. Mike Wort, formerly a member of staff at Uppsala University and currently an education consultant in Kosovo, was very valuable and motivating. Our endless discussions and consultations enabled this dissertation work to best reflect the increasingly dynamic context of Kosovo teacher professionalism and educational

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Last, but not least, I want to acknowledge the support and encouragement of my family. Thank you for making time for me to complete this PhD program. Above all, this journey required patience. Edita, thank you for persistence in making this journey together with me. It wouldn't have worked otherwise!

Jyväskylä, September 2013
Author

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Starting points for the study

> "People usually ask: How do reforms change schools? Here we examine the opposite: How do schools change reforms?" (Tyack & Cuban 1995, 60)

Teachers in the Republic of Kosovo have been working in an environment of ongoing reform for over a decade. Like all the other dimensions of life in Kosovo, transformation in the field of education started in 1999 soon after the end of the war. Education reforms were largely driven by different international models and good practices as a form to set education development in a recovery path and align it to the wider European family values. New curricula were designed to shift classroom teaching from a lecture-based mode towards learner-centred teaching approaches owing to substantial international community support and influence. For the last decade, the quality of teaching and learning has been at the forefront of the education development agenda (See MEST 2011a). At this time, it remains unclear whether the education reform approaches and initiatives could be systemized further in order to ensure a successful education transition and whether teacher development has been targeted sufficiently and successfully.

Rightly, teachers are considered the main actors in school life and when talking about school reform one cannot avoid referring to the need to change teachers. Societal changes at national and global level have been forcing teaching profession to change despite the fact that schools are known for their resistance to change (Niemi 1996). Educational systems around the world have been subject to similar influences resulting from global changes and innovations (Webb et al. 2004). The concept of globalization, as "a set of processes by which the world is rapidly being integrated" (Gibson-Graham 1996, 121; Teresa-Tatto 2007, 8) fits the ways countries have been viewing education reform. In addition, the increasing need and opportunity for mobility of students and teachers throughout Europe have been influencing the ways countries view and shape teacher development policies and practices (Teresa-Tatto 2007, 59, Zgaga

2008). Though a voluntary process, the Bologna Process has for example pushed higher education institutions around Europe to reform their pre-service teacher education (Zgaga 2013) to accommodate the need for student mobility among other purposes.

As Cheng (2009) emphasizes, because of serious international or regional competition, countries very often initiate changes in their educational system due to either competitors or role models. Influenced by globalization, most competitors would follow the emerging international trends in educational reforms as quickly as possible. This is why many countries and areas in the world shared similar patterns or trends in educational reforms, also known as reform syndrome (Cheng 2009, 70). The problems with the reform syndrome occur at many levels and vary from context to context. However, some of the common issues that arise are (i) policy makers attempt to ensure quick fixes, (ii) focus is placed on the final behaviour and outcomes, and (iii) very often ignore the local educational contexts. Situation becomes more sensitive when a system launches education reform in more than one sub-sector and they run in parallel and incoherently and are placed in under-resourced education context.

Similarly, Day (2002) viewed reform efforts internationally as sharing a number of characteristics including (i) reforms are proposed because governments believe that by intervening to change the conditions under which students learn, they can accelerate improvements, raise standards of achievement, and somehow increase economic competitiveness; (ii) reforms address implicit worries of governments concerning a perceived fragmentation of personal and social values in society; (iii) reforms challenge teachers' existing practices, resulting in periods of, at least, temporary destabilization; (iv) reforms result in the increased workload for teachers, and (v) reforms do not always pay attention to teachers' identities – arguably central to teacher commitment, motivation and job satisfaction (p. 679). Unmotivated teachers and reforms that are not congruent with teacher identities will hardly lead to changing teacher practice.

It is understandable that teachers everywhere in the world unavoidably are caught in school reform situations, which require them to change their existing practices. When these practices have been embedded in their working culture, this turns into a resistance factor for the policy makers and managers. A question for education systems and education managers remains still open: will teachers adopt the reform underway to rethink and reconstruct their beliefs, or will they alter the reforms in the way that reinforces their beliefs about what schooling is about and what types of teaching best fit their context and students (Coburn 2003). This is not an easy answer to obtain and has to be viewed from a broader perspective and more deeply.

In general, teachers complain about lack of involvement in designing the reform agendas. In situations where teacher involvement in reform design is unsatisfactory, their reactions to the implementation of any type of reform are largely dependent on whether the reform empowers or challenges their identities (Ketelaar et al. 2012, 273). On the other hand, when teachers are opposed to the values embodied in imposed change, it is difficult for them to adjust their

professional identity, adopt new roles and work patterns (Woods et al. 1997; Day 2002). Therefore, the sustainability of education reform is dependent on the extent to which the reform endeavour accommodates the existing teacher identity or whether it projects the development of a desired teacher identity. Furthermore, it is also important to note the link of teacher identity to the demand for professionalism and the ways education policy facilitates and hinders the interchange and influence of the two.

At a different level, the successful implementation of school reforms, particularly those targeting changes in teaching and learning practices in schools, are, to a large extent, dependant on the coherence of policies with the desired teacher practices. Usually policy-makers assume that the policies are right ones and blame a lack of success on inadequate teacher capacities and commitment to implement the reform (Tyack & Cuban 1995). Communication of the reform vision through necessary coherent and consistent policies is important, yet the reform vision is more realizable when the school context and existing teacher identities are taken into account during the formulation of the reform agenda or its actual implementation.

Internationally, the rationale for addressing educational change from the perspective of teacher professional identity and professionalism arose as a counter-reaction to the culture of leaving teachers in the shadow (Goodson 2008, 6). Diverting the attention away from teachers and adopting a policy design focus can characterize the practice of education reform in Kosovo over the last decade. A policy-focussed agenda in Kosovo was partly driven by the influence of donor partners in the post-1999 period, pushing education policy-makers towards adopting the agenda of aligning education policies with those of international best practice or harmonizing them with standards deriving from political structures such as European Union. The counter-reaction places the voice of the teacher at the centre of the research and development process. To date, the performance of the education system in Kosovo has been measured from the perspective of policy and policy-making (See for example MEST 2013). Furthermore, from the policy-makers' angle, teachers are viewed statistically, whether in light of qualifications obtained, the number of teachers trained (MEST 2013b, MEST 2013d), or the quality of teaching, as measured by student performance in national exams (MEST 2012).

Despite major reform initiatives in the education sector in Kosovo, it is not known which of the system elements hold the biggest potential for sustainable change. As a developing economy, Kosovo has not been able to afford major investments in education. Also, unknown are the ways in which teachers have been reacting to ongoing school reform in terms of their pedagogical thinking and classroom behaviours. Teacher identity in developing countries has been an under-researched area in general (Izadinia 2013), while scant research on the quality of teaching and learning in Kosovo schools opens debates on teachers' values, orientations and pedagogical reflections against the professionalism demanded (Saqipi 2012). As the development of teacher professionalism and professional identity has not been examined to date in Kosovo, this study

builds more on the existing research on teacher professional identity and professionalism in western cultural contexts aiming to broaden an examination of teacher development, namely development of teacher professionalism and identity, in a new and developing country undergoing large-scale education reform.

1.2 Policy debates and implications for the reality of teachers' work

During the past decade, teachers and schools have been confronted with expectations of change, policy instruction and policy demands with the aim of improving the quality of education (Ballet and Kelchtermans 2008, 47). Debates around international comparisons of student achievements have brought teachers to the front of the global education policy agenda (Teresa-Tatto 2007, 7). This can be seen through the work of some of the biggest global education policy players including the OECD, Eurydice and UNESCO (see for example UNESCO 1998, 2002; Eurydice 2002; OECD 2002a, 2002b, 2009), which have focussed their efforts in international practices and comparisons of teacher development policies. However, the danger of this increasing focus on teachers is related to the possibility of drawing teaching and teacher development policies from unexamined data and decontextualized conclusions (Teresa-Tatto 2007, 7).

In reaction to falling standards of achievement in comparison to the competitive economies and nations, many countries have reoriented their education polices from a liberal-humanist approach towards a more results-based approach to schooling (Day 2002; Helsby 1999, 16). This has led to the increasing phenomena of limits set on teachers' autonomy (Day 2002) and a focus on accountability and control. External standardized student assessments have started to test academic achievements by prioritizing traditional subjects while ignoring the others. Standardized testing usually ignores the more complex areas of student thinking and behaviour which are considered as the core of the schooling nowadays (Winters 2012). Testing and accountability-driven agendas are narrowing the scope of teachers' work to what is known as the practice of 'teaching to the test' (Hargreaves 2003; Hargreaves 2007; Day 2002; Sloan 2006; Sahlberg 2007).

Table 1 provides an outline of the main trends in education reform internationally (also known as Global Education Reform Movement - GERM) and the school based development approach. In light of the increase of the focus on results-based approach internationally, teachers in many countries have been faced with centrally-driven agendas, new curricula and curriculum guidelines prescribed from the top, and systems that reward those teachers performing to the centrally-imposed performance standards (Day 2002). Such systems impose reward and punishment mechanisms for teachers, including performance-

related pay systems, based on their compliance with the centrally-imposed systems and criteria.

Table 1 Global education reform movement and its alternative (Sahlberg 2007)

Global Education Reform Movement	School-based development
Standardized teaching and learning	Flexibility and loose standards
Focus on literacy and numeracy – academic achievement	Broad learning combined with creativity
Teaching predetermined results	Intelligent accountability with trust-based professionalism
Adopting market-oriented reform ideas	
Test-based accountability	
External control	

The global education reform (GERM) movement, otherwise known as the performance agenda, which became popular in the 1980s and 1990s (Goodson & Numan 2002; Sahlberg 2007), places the focus on the achievement of predetermined results and advocates uniformity (Sahlberg 2007; Sahlberg 2011; Hargreaves & Shirley 2009; Drudy 2008). This has driven research work away from studying teachers' lives and work realities (Goodson 2010). In the last decade the increasing focus on international comparisons and assessments have led to policy debates as to why certain education systems are performing well compared to others. The background factors, such as teacher roles have been re-emphasized as an important factor to take into account.

Some researchers view the policy debate between an accountability-driven agenda and liberalization agenda, also known as teacher empowerment agenda, with some concern and criticism. It should not be seen as an all good/all bad dichotomy (Sloan 2006). There is a lack of classroom-level research to support claims that accountability agendas are successful policy instruments to change teaching and learning. The accountability agenda ignores the more specific features of school culture and collegiality which are deemed as prerequisites for successful school reform (Sloan 2006). More research is therefore needed to discuss the policy orientation in specific education systems, particularly in the light of nurturing teacher professionalism and identity to support school reform.

Research interest on teachers' lives and careers increased, beginning in 2000, as opposing views to the managerial, prescriptive views of school change. Research attempts to focus on teacher life and career were directed towards linking local teacher knowledge and perceptions of the broader context, and social and educational change (Goodson & Numan 2002, 72). This study adopts this approach of studying educational change and development from the perspective of the teacher's life and career, given that the Kosovo context has been

largely managerialist, top-down oriented and subject to various political and professional control agendas embedded in a unique social and cultural context.

1.3 Research questions

This study is based on the assumption that teacher and organizational quality are key to improving the quality of the overall student experience in schools. However, the quality of teachers and teaching is normally examined in the context of several factors surrounding teachers' lives and careers. This qualitative study aims to explore the aspects of teacher professionalism and identity in Kosovo as a developing country alongside such assumptions. More specifically, it examines the profile of teacher identity and professionalism in the context of an evolving education system and a rich and complex cultural and historical background. The main research question for the study is:

How is teacher professionalism and professional identity in Kosovo manifested in the midst of educational transformation?

The sub-questions deriving from the main research question are:
- What are the features of current teacher professionalism and identity among Kosovo's teachers?
- In what ways do contextual factors influence teacher professionalism and professional identity in Kosovo?
- What is a feasible model of managing change to lead towards developing teacher professionalism in a developing country?

The study provides a vivid description of teachers' work realities in Kosovo in an education system that has been undergoing major reforms in the last decade and a half. This study seeks to understand the role and scale of teacher thinking and behaviour in a context of education transition. Though they may be generalized, the factors influencing the Kosovo education system may also be specific due to the developments in Kosovo as a society in recent decades. A society that has lived under nearly five decades of a communist regime, followed-up by a decade in which education was not accessible in mother tongue for the Albanian majority population, due to the political situation in the country, certainly makes this context unique and important (See Chapter three for an elaborated contextual background).

The answer to the research question can help provide more insights into the long-term potential of innovations currently aimed at the school system (as Kosovo is moving towards the European Union accession and developing as a democracy) and insights into the congruence of current teacher thinking and orientations in Kosovo (as a model for other countries undergoing such transition) with the ambitions of school reform. Lastly, the study will elaborate the model for enacting change towards developing teacher professionalism in con-

texts such as Kosovo's. The research questions for this study evolved over time as is during qualitative research, particularly in designs involving narrative research (Craig & Huber 2007). This was partly due to the evolving nature of the data gathered and due to the researcher's advanced understanding of the research context. Lack of prior research conducted and published in the area and in the particular context represent a rationale for such an evolution.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

Following the introduction (Chapter 1) that outlines the starting points for the study and a broader context for it, Chapter 2 offers a summary of theoretical perspectives that derive from the literature on teacher professionalism and professional identity. This section provides an analysis of how relevant literature views teacher professionalism and professional identity. In addition, it examines the connections that can be made between professionalism and elements of teacher identity. The section ends with the theoretical perspectives that will provide a framework for data analysis and interpretation.

Chapter 3 provides an in-depth elaboration of the Kosovo context focusing on teacher work realities and the demands placed on teachers to change, with a more focussed examination of teacher development, curriculum processes, quality assurance and school management issues. This Chapter provides a historical analysis of the development of education system over the last two and a half decades, which are crucial in shaping the current education practices.

Chapter 4 elaborates the research methodology including the elaboration of the research design adopted, the way this research has addressed the elements of research trustworthiness, data collection and data analysis. Chapter 5 provides a summary of main findings, divided into two sections - the section on the findings from the beginner teachers related to the features of their teacher professionalism and identity; and a section on the findings with expert teachers to build on the findings from beginner teacher interviews in an attempt to better understand the evolving context of teacher work realities in Kosovo.

Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the findings by utilizing the sociocultural framework and other elements of the theoretical perspective by elaborating the particular context of developing teachers and the implementation of classroom teaching reform in Kosovo. Chapter 7 brings together the discussion of the main findings and provides conclusions on the ways teacher development, with a particular focus on teacher professionalism and identity, can be reconceptualised and suggests ways it can be addressed in school development and education reform contexts. The Chapter proposes a model for managing change process for developing teacher professionalism in developing countries. Chapter 8 is a section is focussed on identifying the future possibilities and needs for further research as well as recognizing some of the limitations that were faced during the research process.

2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This Chapter provides an outline of some of the theoretical perspectives that were adopted in the design, data collection, data analysis and discussions of findings for this study. The theoretical perspectives section consists of the (i) the views on socio-cultural theory (section 2.1), (ii) understanding teacher work reality - namely teacher identity and teacher professionalism (section 2.2) and (iii) views on education policy and change perspectives that help understanding of broader perspectives in which teacher development is placed (section 2.3).

2.1 A socio-cultural perspective on teacher work reality

There is no unified or common theoretical framework used in studies on teacher professional identity (Izadinia 2013) and professionalism. However, there seems to be a dominance of theoretical frameworks that involve a social dimension (Ibid, 706). Among those is the socio-cultural theory. This study has adopted the socio-cultural theory as a dimension of the theoretical perspectives despite the fact that there has been criticism of it being used as a frame for analysing development of individuals as part of the process of becoming members of a community. The criticism of the use of socio-cultural theory is oriented towards the fact that it does not examine the development of individuals as a part of conflicting discourses that are present within those communities (Lewis et al. 2007). However, the use of socio-cultural theory in this study was adopted in view of seeing changing teachers in light of the individual, social and contextual background they are situated.

The work of socio-cultural theory is to explain how individual mental functioning is related to cultural, institutional, and historical contexts. Hence, the focus of the socio-cultural perspective is on the roles that participation in social interactions and culturally organized activities play. Vygostky is considered the founder of socio-cultural theory. From the socio-cultural perspective, the mental functioning of the individual is not simply derived from social inter-

action; rather, the specific structures and processes revealed by individuals can be traced to their interactions with others.

Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory advocated that learning develops through interaction with others first and then, as such, it is integrated into an individual's mental structure.

> "The social dimension of consciousness is primary in time and in fact. The individual dimension of consciousness is derivative and secondary" (Vygotsky 1979, 30).

Therefore, this perspective gives priority to the social and cultural context as tools that shape teacher work practices and orientations. According to socio-cultural theory everything appears twice in the learning process. First at the social level and then later at the individual level. It would first happen socially among learners and then individually as mental constructs representing the individual's learning (Vygotsky 1978, 57).

Secondly, the theory suggests that the potential for further development is limited to the "zone of proximal development" which is known as the area of exploration for which capacity exists but assistance is needed to fully develop to that level. Vygotsky defines the zone of proximal development as the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined under the guidance of and collaboration with others (Ibid 86).

Though the "zone of proximal development" is a theory on student learning, the concept may be applied to teacher development. The implications of Vygotsky's theory on teacher work reality is that teachers should be provided with socially rich environments in which to explore knowledge domains with their peers, managers and outside experts. It is thus understandable that teacher perceptions and understanding of their work and themselves are changing in nature as they are influenced by a variety of factors and contexts they are faced with during their career as well as interaction and collaboration within those contexts. Therefore, the development within the zone of proximal development is not so much about the more capable others that it requires, but also the willingness on the part of participants in the interaction and collaboration (Wells 1999, 324). The zone of proximal development determines the lower and upper boundaries of the development, whereas these are very context specific, it is impossible to determine the ability of specific participant or context without examining it more broadly (Wells 1999, 330).

The participants in the zone of proximal development are involved in various activities including *acting, learning and feeling* (Wells 1999, 330). The important questions to ask in the context of understanding the reality of teachers' work are: What is the current ability zone? What is the zone of proximal development that is manageable and achievable? What/who are the 'Others' that will be able to influence the progress in the zone of the proximal development? What type of environment needs to be created to enable the social and cultural interaction that is deemed necessary?

2.2 Understanding teacher work reality

Understanding teachers' working lives has become an important international field of research. For societies undergoing transition, the area of teacher professional identity is particularly significant since in contexts where resources are scarce and human capacities for leadership for quality in education are limited, teachers remain the only tool and force for the improvement of teaching and learning for the students they serve. Teachers who are not aware of the sources of pedagogical thinking, their values, norms and beliefs will be led by intuitive thinking that leads to making instructional choices which appear to be unexamined against the context, situation and the desired outcome.

Teachers' work reality can be viewed from two angles. Firstly it can be examined from the angle of professionalism and, secondly, from the angle of identity. *Teacher professionalism* in one hand is defined as teachers' responsibilities to control and develop their own knowledge and actions for the benefit of the clients (Webb et al. 2004). This knowledge development and actions normally would derive (i) as a consequence of pressures be it from policies or other forms of pressure such as community requirements and (ii) the level of mastering the skills as well as the personal dimensions such as commitment, job satisfaction and values. In other words, teacher professionalism is the reflection of teacher performance in the classroom level.

Based on such a perspective, the definition of professionalism follows a 'performance quality' line: 'Professionalism is about the quality of practice and the public status of the job' (Sockett 1996, 23). As definitions of professionalism vary and professionalism itself is a changing concept, it may be more acceptable to conclude that it is related to the quality of service rather than the enhancement of the status (Hoyle 2001, 148). A combination of the quality of service and status seems to provide a good description of what a professional can be viewed nowadays. On the other hand, *teacher identity* is related to the way teachers perceive themselves as persons and professionals. Relevant literature speaks of two dimensions of teacher identity - the personal and professional identity - and they are often used interchangeably or in combination. Furthermore, teacher professional identity has been viewed as an ongoing process of integration of the personal and professional side of being a teacher (Beijaard et al. 2004). The personal identity is how teachers perceive themselves as individuals, whereas professional identity is defined as a constellation of teachers' perceptions of how he or she views himself or herself as a teacher, otherwise known as a teachers' sense of self (Beijaard et al. 2004; Korthagen 2004, 84). While personal identity reflects the question "Who am I as a person?", professional identity reflects the question "Who am I as a teacher?"

2.2.1 Teacher identity

> "Consciously, we teach what we know, unconsciously, we teach who we are" (Hamachek 1999, 209)

Though good teachers are key to providing successful learning experiences, the quality of teaching cannot be judged in isolation or restricted to their actual classroom actions. The relevant literature argues that teachers' perceptions of their own professional identity and professionalism influence their instructional decisions and actions, their commitment to work as well as their ability and willingness to cope with the challenges of the profession (Beijaard et al. 2000; Day et al. 2005). This calls for looking at teacher performance within a frame of a number of personal and professional factors.

Thus, teacher identity has been an important research field for the last two decades and there has been an increasing trend in researching teacher identity (Akkerman & Meijers 2011). Being an area of intensive research, a number of definitions of teacher identity were used in the literature (Beijaard et al. 2004). Korthagen (2004) says there is not yet a clear definition in the literature related to the concept of teacher professional identity (p. 82). However, prior research on teacher identity, according to Beijaard et al (2004, 107), concludes that teacher identity has generally been considered from the angle of:

- the formation of teacher identity,
- the characteristics of teacher identity, or
- teacher stories/narratives

Regarding the existing definitions and perceptions of teacher identity, research says that (1) identity is influenced by context, (2) identity is formed through relationship, (3) identity is changing, and (4) identity involves meaning making (Rodgers & Scott 2008). Similarly, Beijaard et al. (2004) considers the professional identity of teachers as being dynamic, consisting of sub-identities, involving agency and implying both person and context. Their research studies teacher identity from the angle of characteristics and formation, specifically examining the influencing factors that shape teacher identity and work reality.

The questions remain why and how do we understand identity issues? The best explanation is to base our thinking on the assumption that the way teachers act in classroom settings is normative – thinking according to certain values. To get to know this, it is best to ask the teacher what kinds of arguments lie behind the decisions s/he makes (Kansanen et al. 2000, 3). Such arguments shape teacher practices and the underlying professional identity. Classroom dynamics are very intensive and teachers are faced with increasingly high demands. These demands are often caused by developments in the system as well as the developments in the perceptions regarding teaching and learning, which leads to the need for changing teacher practices. Teachers find it difficult to reflect on the sources of and influences on their pedagogical thinking, as well as the rationale behind instructional choices that they make. Therefore teacher

identity, both personal and professional, have become an important field of research in the last decades (Schepens et al. 2009; Beijaard et al. 2004, 113).

The elements of person in the professional

> "We teach who we are" (Palmer 1998).

The self is a crucial element in the way teachers themselves construe the nature of their job (Nias 1989). The teacher brings both a conception of the role and a view of herself or himself as a person to the classroom, school and school system. Teachers' knowledge of self is critical for teachers to understand their own beliefs and assumptions that lie behind their instructional practice.

The notion of self contains the whole of an individual's actions and behaviour, what a person is. Self-concept is an organised, cognitive structure formed through an individual's experiences of her/himself. Self-concept is a relational concept and is determined by how we see our relationships with others (Korthagen 2004, 84). A common definition of self-concept is "an organized summary of the information rooted in observable facts concerning one's self, which includes such facts as character traits, values, social roles, interests, physical characteristics and personal history" (See Korthagen 2004, 83). Self-concept fits under the broader frame of self-schema. The self-schema acts as a structural framework on which we organize all the information which goes to make up a working self-concept and includes others' feedback, past experiences, memories, personality attributes, habits, self-knowledge, roles, emotional reactions, goals and future hopes and an encompassing sense of how well these all hang together (McKnight & Sutton 1994).

The concept of identity and self needs to be viewed in more narrow terms by looking at constituent elements that compose the self. Some researchers draw a distinction between the self-image, which is the factual picture people have of themselves, their likes and dislikes, and self-esteem, which is the evaluative part of the self-concept and contains the social judgement people have internalised (Hayes 1993; Korpinen 2000). These two dimensions of self are closely connected to one another and they both are closely linked with the work of teachers. With the evolution of teaching and learning towards a practice-based approach, the importance of self in teaching certainly plays a significant role. The practical nature of teaching can create a strong sense of self in practice (Shulman 1999). As opposed to cases of lecturing when teachers reproduce what others have said about the matter, in a practice-oriented context, teachers can hardly hide the element of self in teaching situations. It is certainly the case that you can take the person out of the teacher but you cannot take the teacher out of the person (Haworth 2008).

Naturally, teachers internalize the role and "own" specific elements of their practice when they see it as successful and right approach and choice for their class and students (Guskey 2002). This is how they come to believe in the way they teach (See Day 2002). The notion of what works in a specific classroom is also subject to changes and a matter of perceptions and views on teach-

ing and learning at a specific time. If we are to understand the new lives of teachers then it is necessary to take account of the person within the professional (Day & Gu 2010, 33). The development of the self-concept and identity are also interlinked with teacher orientation to teaching and they evolve over time depending on the need, motivation and development of the work context in which they are placed.

The professional self

In general, when people talk about teacher professional identity, the initial image in one's eyes is teacher orientation to their work – namely their orientation to the task of teaching and perception of the role of the teacher. According to the work of Beijaard et al. (2000), teacher orientation to their work can be categorized as:

- Teacher as subject expert
- Teacher as didactical expert
- Teacher as a pedagogical expert

The way teachers translate the relation with the dimension of content and students is guided by or shaped into a personal guiding theory (see, for example Goodman 1988; Bullough et al. 1991; Kelchtermans 1993). Kansanen and Meri (1999) which suggests that every teacher has a teaching approach of his/her own, implying teachers' relation to the various dimensions of their work – student and content – is individual, though the commonality lies in the fact that their choices are shaped by similar influences. This means that the personal guiding theory is a negotiation of personal and professional side of the work. Korthagen (2004) calls this a personal practical theory. Diagram below (Figure 1) explains teachers' "personal practical" theory relation to teacher orientation to the task of teaching, namely their academic, didactic and pedagogical orientation.

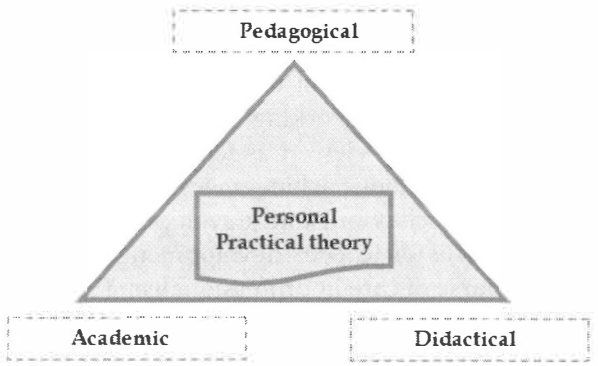

Figure 1 Understanding teacher professional identity

Academic expert: It is very normal that teachers consider their relation to subject matter as crucial. The knowledge of the subject matter has been traditionally viewed as an important part of teachers' knowledge base (Beijaard et al. 2000, 751). Few decades ago, teacher's job was perceived as being able to master the concepts of the specialized field while ignoring the complexities of classroom dynamics that nowadays can be seen everywhere. Teachers' academic orientation to their work responds to "What am I going to teach?" The link between the academic knowledge and didactical knowledge is strong. Teaching is no longer a transmission of knowledge (Beijaard et al. 2000, 751), thus education systems in this context have been challenged by the new conceptions of teacher education and education research refocusing on the area of teacher pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman 1986). The concept of pedagogical content knowledge has emphasized the importance of the skills to teach the content (Shulman 1986).

Didactical expert: While the teaching job was becoming more demanding, the emphasis was placed on the need to develop teacher skills on planning, execution and evaluation of lessons. This led to the development of the concept of professionalization of teaching. Thus the relevance of didactical training for prospective teachers received more attention. The didactical orientation of teachers responds to the question "How am I going to teach?"

According to Laursen (1994), didactics is the field of education theory that provides the tools and guidelines for the development of the practice of teaching. The didactical expert implies the relation of the teacher to both the content and the student (Kansanen & Meri 1999). It raises the need for the teachers to master a number of skills and dispositions. Among these are knowledge of the skills and competencies to enact classroom teaching; knowledge of students and best ways of ensuring they learn; knowledge of various educational contexts and how they influence the learning processes. Knowing how students understand their particular subjects and having a repertoire of strategies to help students engage with the discipline is at the core of pedagogical content knowledge (Darling-Hammond & Bransford 2005).

Pedagogical expert: In the recent decades, with the increase of complexities in societal development, and due to increasing demands placed on schools for moral and psychological education of students, the knowledge of ethical and moral features of teaching or working with students gained increased attention. Teaching cannot thus be viewed as technical or instrumental action to gain certain outcomes and academic achievement (Beijaard et al. 2000, 751). The issue of managing student behaviour and developing right attitudes has been increasingly under the focus of teacher development processes. This is otherwise known as the discourse of care in professionalism (Drudy 2008). Nurturing this type of professionalism remains the focus of the education systems around the world. The need to develop appropriate values and attitudes among students remains a core mandate for schools nowadays and thus a mission for teacher education institutions as well. The pedagogical orientation of teachers responds to the question "Am I doing the right thing?"

Van Manen (1991) views pedagogical relation as an approach for teachers to care for students not as they are now but rather as they may be in the future. Furthermore, the pedagogical relation to teaching needs also to be viewed not only as an orientation towards present but future as well. It is not only what the student needs to be like but rather, in the current globalization agenda, what the student is required to be for the anticipated future. It relates more to the development of student individuality, personality and autonomy rather than their academic achievement.

On the other hand, Kelchterman (2009) suggests a different angle of viewing teacher professional identity raising the need to examine teacher identity from the perspective of how teachers react to content and teaching – the professional self. The professional self, according to Kelchtermans (2009), consists of five interrelated parts:

- Self-image: how teachers describe themselves through their career stories (image of how we see ourselves as teachers and how others see us);
- Self-esteem: the evolution of self as a teacher, how good we define ourselves or are defined by the others;
- Job motivation: What makes teachers choose, remain committed or leave the job.
- Task perception: how do teachers define their job;
- Future perspective: Teachers' expectation for the future development of their jobs (How do I see myself as a teacher in future).

Furthermore, Harjunen (2009) suggests the view of teacher identity in the frame of Pedagogical, Didactical and Norms and Rules dimension. The Norms and Rules dimensions of teacher identity are rather external influences, which teachers reflect in performing their role. Such external influences can include curriculum and other policies. Hooge et al. (2011) go beyond the past studies on teacher professional identity arguing that besides being an academic, pedagogical and didactical expert, teachers feel that they also have a social development responsibility as a core dimension of their work.

Traditionally, teachers view their role primarily being an academic expert. Hargreaves (1994) talks about the Balkanized culture of teaching whereby most secondary school teachers are strongly grounded on subject specialism. Beijaard et al. (2000) confirm that upper secondary school teachers tend to demonstrate an inclination towards academic thinking and seeing their role as academic experts. This should be viewed in the context of levels as well as types of schools these teachers perform their duty. Teacher orientation to their work is also contextual and it matters where teachers are working as well as the level they are teaching. However, their relation and depth of connection to the academic, didactical and pedagogical expertise remains a matter of debate and open to instructional choices made by teachers on specific situations given their overall orientations, competencies, professional values from teachers' side and their encountering with the demanded professionalism.

Linking personal and professional self

Research to date has viewed personal and professional identity in a number of dimensions. The influence of personal dimension has been viewed to have a significant influence on teacher identity and professionalism. Teachers' self-identity influences the way teachers see their role as a teacher as well as how they approach the instructional activities.

Akkerman & Meijers (2011) suggest that future research should avoid studying teacher identity in the dichotomy framework but rather view it as two ends that operate in the spirit of conflicting dimensions. These two dimensions will continuously interact over the teachers' career, negotiating thus a professional identity that reflects into teacher instructional choices and behaviour. Kelchtermans (2009) also suggests an integrated approach (professional self-understanding and subjective education theory – feeling about ourselves and feeling about teaching) to researching teacher identity.

The level of influence and the patterns of communication between these two layers of teacher identity in different contexts remains a relevant field of research while researching teacher identity in light of how teachers act in the classroom and in terms of better understanding the professionalism in a particular context. Therefore both the layers of personal biography and practical competencies developed by teachers through pre-service and in-service experiences are worth studying separately while making the links and connections.

2.2.2 Teacher professionalism

Teacher professionalism has been the subject of numerous studies in last three decades (Hargreaves 2000; Day 2002; Heslby 1996; Talbert & McLaughlin 1996; Hoyle 1974). As a result, teacher professionalism can normally be viewed from the perspective of how do teachers approach their work in terms of organizing teaching activities. This implies the focus on issues and aspects prior to going into the classroom, the actual teaching as well as work that arises after the class, such as student assessment. Each of these phases involves certain skills and dispositions. This approach is otherwise classified as pre-active, interactive and post-active phases of teaching (Nevalainen & Kimonen 2009). In other words, it refers to the ways teachers react to the narrower task of classroom enactment and the professionalism it requires.

When talking about professionalism, teachers refer to two things (Helsby 1995). First, they will talk about *being professional,* in terms of the quality of what they do, the conduct and standards which guide their performance. The literature qualifies this as *professionalism* (Englund 1996). Teachers will also talk about being *a professional.* Being a professional usually has to deal with how teachers feel they are seen through other people's eyes - in terms of their status, professional standing and actual performance. The attempts and input to improving this status and standing of teaching are known as *professionalization* of teaching (Hargreaves 2000). Professionalism (improving quality and standards of practice) and professionalization (improving status and standing) are often present-

ed as complementary concepts - meaning by improving standards you will improve status - but sometimes they are contradictory. For example, defining professional standards in high-status, scientific and technical ways as standards of knowledge and skill, can downgrade, neglect or crowd out the equally important emotional dimensions of teachers' work in terms of being passionate about teaching, and caring for students' learning and lives (Hargreaves & Goodson 1996; See also Drudy 2008).

In 1970s, Hoyle formulated two models of teacher professionalism: *restricted* and *extended* professionalism (Hoyle 1975, 318). As can be seen in Table 2, the characteristics used to illustrate these two models created what may effectively be seen as a continuum with, at one end, a model of the 'restricted' professionalism, which is essentially reliant upon experience and intuition and is guided by a narrow, classroom-based perspective which is related to the day-to-day practicalities of teaching. The characteristics of the model of 'extended' professionalism, at the other end of the continuum, reflect: a much wider vision of what education involves, valuing of the theory underpinning pedagogy, and the adoption of a generally intellectual and rationally-based approach to the job.

Table 2 The restricted and extended professionalism (Hoyle 1974)

Restricted Professionalism	Extended Professionalism
Skills derived from experience	Skills derived from a mediation between experience and theory
Perspective limited to the immediate in time and place	Perspective embracing the broader social context of education
Workplace events perceived in isolation	Workplace events perceived in relation to policies and goals
Introspective with regard to methods	Methods compared with those of colleagues and with reports of practice
Value placed on autonomy	Value placed on professional collaboration
Limited involvement in non-immediate professional activities	High involvement in non-immediate professional activities (e.g. networks, research, professional associations)
Infrequent reading of professional literature	Regular reading of professional literature
Involvement in professional development limited and confined to practical courses	Involvement in professional development considerable and includes learning of theoretical nature
Work seen as an intuitive activity	Work seen as a rational activity

Given that professionalism is a developing phenomenon in nature, an interesting perspective is to see how the professionalism of teachers has evolved historically in international dimension. Hargreaves (2000) viewed teacher professionalism based on the teacher response to the demands of the profession. In light of this context, teacher professionalism should be seen as a still developing phenomenon in attempts to respond to meeting the needs of students and schools.

Hargreaves (2000) conceptualized that:

> "the development of teacher professionalism as passing through four historical phases in many countries: the pre-professional age, the age of the autonomous professional, the age of the collegial professional and the fourth age post-professional or postmodern. Current experiences and perceptions of teacher professionalism and professionalization, it is argued, draw on all these ages. (p. 151)"

Forces for change include escalating expectations around the world and rapidly changing contexts. Hargreaves (2000) stated that "more and more teachers are now having to teach in ways they were not themselves taught" (p 151). Communities and parents increasingly engage in schools and their work, governments more clearly mandate central curriculum and publish checklists of performance standards or competencies for teachers and their students. These changes are "leading teachers and those who work with them to re-evaluate their professionalism and to make judgments about the kinds of professional learning they need to get better in their job (Hargreaves 2000)."

Hargreaves continued to categorize teachers by how others perceive them to hold professional standing and how they perceive themselves possessing competencies required to meet the needs of students today. Hargreaves (2000) identified, " ... four broad historical phases in the changing nature of teachers' professionalism and professional learning." These phases are not universal, but are relatively common across Europe - although there are differences even there. The phases are ones with which many other nations are now engaging although not necessarily in the same order. The ages should therefore be seen as a contingent history of Anglophone nations that now contribute a collage of opportunities with which other cultures engage, rather than being viewed as discrete stages with an evolutionary necessity that all other cultures must follow.

Hargreaves labelled the four ages that were identified to exist in Anglophone nations, the:

- pre-professional age
- age of the autonomous professional
- age of the collegial professional, and
- post-professional age.

Pre-professional Age

> "In the still pervasive and influential pre-professional view, teachers are (at best) enthusiastic people, who know their subject matter, know how to `get it across', and can keep order in their classes." (Hargreaves 2000, 157)

Teaching is considered to be a demanding job which used low technology methods. Of primary concern for teachers is establishing a flow of teaching and maintaining control of students in the class. Teachers were trained in Normal Schools and were skilled in recitation and lecturing methods that involved students in note taking, question and answering and seat work. This method of transmission teaching relies upon few learning resources, often only one textbook and enables school directors to create large class enrolments. In such sys-

tem, teachers ask individual students for answers and this answer, if judged correct by the teacher, it would represent the knowledge of all students in the class. Teachers' primary concern is to maintain a flow in the lesson to maintain student attention and reduce control problems. Once teachers learned to do this well, they considered teaching to be easy and they did not require any further help or learning after that. Teachers, who are influenced by the pre-professional perspective, tend to work in closed classrooms isolated from other associates.

Age of the Autonomous Professional

Although in this view of autonomous professionals, where teachers earned more money, were educated in universities to the baccalaureate level, held greater autonomy over the curriculum and decisions around teacher practice, it was reported that:

> "Teachers are isolated people. They don't know what others are doing. Things that work for them, they keep year after year. You don't have the time to sit down and discuss with each other from different areas. As small as this school basically is, I don't know all the people who are here" (Johnson 1990, in Hargreaves 2000, 160).

Teacher autonomy was strengthened for there was less emphasis upon final exams and covering specific content in the curriculum was no longer a major concern. With the introduction of computer technology and then telecommunications technology, teachers were challenged to integrate these resources into their daily practice. "Professional autonomy might have stimulated many innovations, but with no support structures for teachers, few innovations moved beyond adoption to successful implementation, and fewer still became institutionalized throughout the system as a whole" (Fullan 1991 in Hargreaves 2000, 161).

Some teachers attempted to innovate while others did not, leaving a fragmented approach to teaching from classroom to classroom. Teachers who chose to innovate often interacted with associates. "When teachers did interact, this tended to be around materials, discipline, and individual student problems rather than about curriculum goals, teaching behaviour, or classroom learning (Lortie 1975; Little 1990 in Hargreaves 2000, 160)."

Progressive teachers developed excellent reputations amongst some of their colleagues, parents and members of the community further fuelling a debate over the merits of progressivism versus traditionalism, child centeredness versus subject centeredness, and basic skill development versus discovery learning and cooperative group work. Teaching methodology and practice became fragmented across school systems a fact that demoralized new teachers entering the system who were trained in idealized progressive methods. In addition experienced teachers who upgraded their skills through in-service programs that emphasized progressive methodology became demoralized because of the lack of system support to implement it.

Hargreaves (2000, 162) stated that:

> " ... pedagogy largely stagnated as teachers were reluctant or unable to stand out from their colleagues and make anything more than modest changes of their own. The age of professional autonomy provided teachers with poor preparation for coping with the dramatic changes that were headed their way and against which their classroom doors would offer little protection."

Age of the Collegial Professional

Hargreaves (2000) stated that the Collegial Age of professionalism was initiated because, "The role of the teacher has expanded to embrace consultation, collaborative planning and other kinds of joint work with colleagues. In a world of accelerating educational reform, this kind of working together can help teachers to pool resources, and to make shared sense of and develop collective responses towards intensified and often capricious demands on their practice." (p. 162)

Teachers were called upon to develop "new skills and dispositions, and for more commitments of time and effort, as teachers rework their roles and identities as professionals in a more consciously collegial workplace (Hargreaves 2000, 162)." Collaboration among teachers was driven by many unrelated structural and social forces including:

- Expansion and rapid change in the substance of what teachers are expected to teach.
- Expansion of knowledge and understanding about teaching styles and methods.
- Addition of increasing `social work' responsibilities to the task of teaching.
- Integration of special education students into ordinary classes.
- Growing multicultural diversity.
- The structural limits to improving classroom teaching.
- The alienating nature of secondary school structures for many students in early adolescence.
- Changing structures, procedures and discourses of school management and leadership.
- There is increasing evidence of the vital contribution that cultures of collaboration make to widespread improvements in teaching and learning, as well as successful implementation of change.

It became clear that professional development is most effective when it is embedded in the life and work of the school and when it secures the school director's support and involvement, and when it is the focus of collaborative discussion and action (Little 1993 in Hargreaves 2000). Therefore school-based development and staff development guided by the school director became the prominent way to prepare teachers to meet the challenges listed above. The continuing "challenge for educators and policymakers is how to build strong professional communities in teaching that are authentic, well supported, and include fundamental purposes, and benefit teachers and students alike (collegi-

al professionalism), without using collaboration as a device to overload teachers, or to steer unpalatable policies through them (Hargreaves 2000, 166)." Professional learning communities are also known as communities of practice. The definition of community of practice varies depending on what the community is about, how it functions, and what capabilities it has enabled. Members' beliefs and interests exercise a profound influence upon the formation of these communities. In other words, a successful professional community is one in which the contribution of each member is highly regarded (Yang 2009).

The Post-professional Age

The age of postmodern professionalism is when teachers deal with a diverse and complex clientele, in conditions of increasing moral uncertainty, where many methods of approach are possible, and where more and more social groups have an influence and a say (Hargreaves 2000)." In a post-modern professionalism, teachers are struggling to manage their work in light of requirements of centralized curricula, testing regimes and external surveillance (Hargreaves 2000; Day & Gu 2010).

Factors that lead teachers to engage as a post-professional include the advent of the global economy, the integration requirements of the European Union, the evolution of flexible and shifting corporate strategies and workplaces, and loss of autonomy of national economies. In addition, electronic and digital communication technology enabled instantaneous global access to information which crosses all borders. Governments respond by setting fiscal policies first, and apply Return on Investment (ROI) principles throughout their domains including school systems. Teachers in these situations are challenged to become flexible and to focus on market place priorities, away from providing optimal learning opportunities for each child. This is the postmodern age.

"Whether this postmodern age will see exciting and positive new partnerships being created with groups and institutions beyond the school, and teachers learning to work effectively, openly and authoritatively with those partners in a broad *social movement* that protects and advances their professionalism, or whether it will witness the de-professionalization of teaching as teachers crumble under multiple pressures, intensified work demands, reduced opportunities to learn from colleagues, and enervating discourses of derision, is something that is still to be decided (Hargreaves 2000, 175)." Content in curriculum is constantly changing and local autonomy is steadily diminishing. Any effort to encourage teachers to collaborate under these conditions is received with distrust, for teachers' sense they are being manipulated by management to adjust to shifting fiscal nation goals. Teachers respond by fighting to retain and advance their salary advantages, balancing stories of their failures by government with stories of success, regulating the increase of uncertified personnel in schools and classrooms, and maintaining a thorough knowledge base in their fields.

In summary, teacher professionalism as defined by Hoyle (1975) and Hargreaves (2000) share similar frame of viewing how teachers react to the demands placed on them and their task. Though presented at different times, they share very much in common in terms of the evolving trends of developing professionalism. The principles of extended professionalism outlined by Hoyle are very much in line with the principles of the collegial and post-professional ages outlined by Hargreaves. The Hargreaves (2000) categorization of professionalism into four ages will be used in this study as the main analytical framework in order to understand the features of teacher professionalism even in the present realities of 21st century. Given that the dimensions of education policy and reform efforts in which teachers' work is situated differ, are context specific and consequently drivers of shaping the professionalism, it is worth extending the analytical framework towards education policy and wider school education context dimensions to lead to more comprehensive understanding of teacher professionalism.

2.3 Teachers, policy, and change

2.3.1 Understanding self and being understood by others

The quality of teaching is determined not just by the quality of the teachers - although that is clearly very critical – but also the environment in which they work (OECD 2005 as quoted by Day & Gu 2010). Among a prominent factor that influences teacher work practices is the context in which their work is embedded (Day & Gu 2010). The context reflects the work reality that the institutional values create in communication with the global developments and demands placed on teachers' work (see Figure 2). Demands placed on teachers' work are universally known as ongoing but still they differ and are context dependant. The demands usually reach teachers through the pressure that is placed on institutional culture and these are a reflection of the ongoing nature of globalization and societal changes.

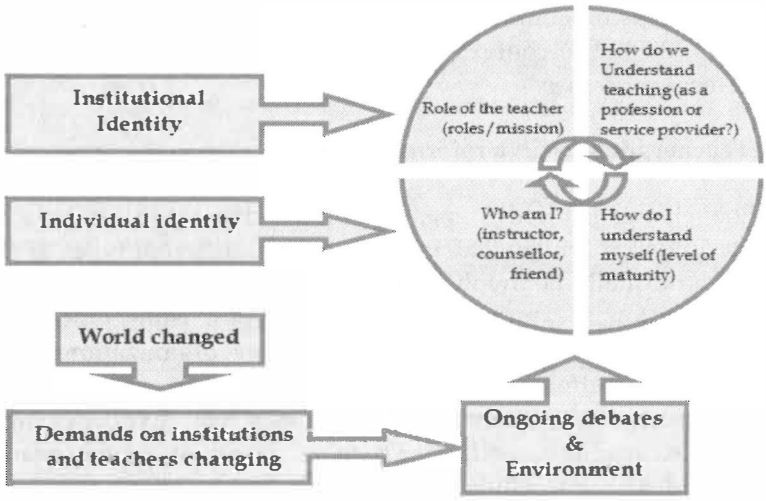

Figure 2 Understanding broad context of teacher identity (Boreham and Gray 2005)

According to Boreham & Gray (2005), teacher identity is placed in a framework that comprises a number of elements. These include individual level and institutional level elements. At the individual or personal level, two important dimensions of viewing teacher identity are "Who I am as a teacher?" and "How do I understand myself (level of maturity)?" On the other hand, at institutional or system level the dimensions of understanding teacher identity are "What is the role and mission of teacher" and "How do we understand teaching (profession or service provider). Individual and institutional dimensions are in constant contact and there are influences in both directions. Teachers' work is placed in a context whereby the expectations are set by the way systems define the roles and mission of teaching profession. This is important especially in the externally driven policy making and standardization culture of policy making.

Under such a context, teachers continuously examine their own beliefs and practices by asking important questions such as: "Who am I?", "How should I approach particular instructional situations?" etc. However, teachers deal less with the 'Why' they act in particular ways. Lack of such processes demonstrates the lack of pedagogical orientation to their work as well as lack of self-reflection and inquiry approach to teaching. The need for teachers to answer the questions "Why?" they act the way they do in particular instructional situations confirms that professional identity development should be seen as an ongoing and dynamic process (Beijaard et al. 2004, 122; Akkerman & Meijers 2011, 310). The "why" question is not the desired end in itself though. "Who do I want to become?" is also an important question to be asked in relation to teacher identity development. Kelchtermans (2009) emphasizes the aspect of *"future perspective"* in teacher identity. In other words, he urges the thinking on teacher expectations of their role in the future (p. 263) as well as how others define their role. Teacher identity is therefore seen as shifting according to context

and relationships on continuous basis (Rogers & Scott 2008, 736; Akkerman & Meijer 2011, 309). The context certainly develops in close connection with the school reform processes.

2.3.2 Teacher identity in a reform context

The school change is highly dependent on the changes its teachers are able and willing to undergo (Fullan 2007). There are two different types of changes that schools can normally be involved in. The first order changes involve changing basic organizational features and modification of existing practices, while second order changes involve the 'reculturing' of the organization and reconsidering the goals, structures and roles within the organization (Leithwood et al. 1999; Kimonen & Nevalainen 2005). Both cases may involve changing teacher work practices but the second order changes involve inevitably changing beliefs teachers hold about teaching and learning and relations with students and school community. In cases when change is oriented towards improved teaching and learning practices, changing conceptions of teachers about teaching and learning as well as the level and ways of reasoning in relation to it remain a core dimension and target.

Research calls for more attention to be paid to the role of context in teacher professional identity formation as well as what can be counted as being a professional in certain contexts (See Beijaard et al. 2004; Day & Gu 2010). Any attempt to portray the contemporary situation of teachers' work and teachers' careers must inevitably begin by recognizing the change context within which the work is undertaken and careers constructed (Ball & Goodson 1985, 2). The contextual factors of understanding the teacher work realities can be grouped as (according to Day et al. 2006): Macro structures including broad social/cultural features as well as government policy in the field of education; Meso structures including school context and organizational culture where teacher's work is embedded as well as teacher education components; Micro structures including the relations to the colleagues, pupils and parents; Personal biographies include the level of personal values, beliefs and ideologies which may have been developed in particular historical and cultural situation.

Any educational system is subject to continuous changes nowadays. Changes in the financing of education, in the degree of political intervention in school matters, and in the views of general level of esteem for teachers held within the public at large have, and are having, profound effects upon the ways teachers experience their jobs (Day & Gu 2010, 2). Teachers' previous career and life experiences shape the view of teaching and the way he or she sets about it, and the life outside schools, their latent identity and cultures have an important impact on their lives as teachers (Ibid, 13).

Research has indicated that teacher identities are not only constructed from the more technical aspects of teaching (classroom management, subject knowledge and pupil tests) but should also be conceptualized as a result of interaction between the personal experiences of teachers and the social, institutional and cultural environment in which they function on the daily basis (Day

& Gu 2010, 34; Aslup 2006). Though it is true that teachers experience an adjustment to the teaching practices and culture in schools, it is also true that teacher education has indeed a major influence in developing teaching competence of beginner teachers (Brouwer & Korthagen 2005). On the other hand, prior research in linking theory and practice in teacher education suggests that many of the notions developed during pre-service 'wash out' during the in-service practice (Ziechner & Tabachnic 1981; See also Kelchtermans & Ballet 2002).

This is otherwise known as "reality" or "practice" shock or the "theory-practice gap". The idealistic images of teaching developed during pre-service training are shattered during the confrontation with the realities of teaching and school culture. Regardless of the level of preparation that teachers reach upon the completion of the pre-service training, they will certainly pass through an attitude shift once encountered with their practice reality during the first years of teaching. They will thus find themselves in a position to leave aside the recent scientific insights into education sciences (Korthagen 2001, 4). Research calls for a more focussed attention on linking theory and practice and the connection of separate parts of theory so that it can connect to local context practice much better (Barone et al. 1996, 546). Hence, the increasing focus on the practical side of teacher education in the last decades.

It thus remains a critical matter as to which dimensions of pre-service teacher education should be emphasized more with the view of ensuring a lasting effect in developing teacher skills and attitudes to face the ever-changing school reality. After all, pre-service training is the major and most powerful tool that education systems have at disposal to support the preparations of teachers for the school life. In such a context, it should be noted that there is a need for differentiating between the minimum teaching competence required to be able to cope with the challenges of the work context at the beginning of the career as well as need for continuous development following the trends in teacher professionalism.

2.3.3 Teachers and education policy

Though we can argue that teacher actions in the classroom are teacher bound, still education policy is an important instrument in pushing teachers towards a certain development agenda. Researchers have debated on the current trends in what is known as 'travelling reforms' (Steiner-Khamsi 2012). It is else known as learning from international best practice. They have called for increasing care on the notion of perceiving the 'travelling reforms', or else known as policy lending in education, either as good or bad.

In one hand, the good models of policy borrowing have led researchers to believe that external inputs are both useful and necessary in pushing the reform within a national context. Such researchers call for viewing policy lending more as lesson drawing rather than policy transfer (Steiner-Khamsi 2012). Steiner-Khamsi (2012) identified the cultural, political and economic motivation behind the policy lending. Usually developing countries receive aid from various de-

velopment agencies and other international organizations and through that they receive a conditioning or push towards certain best practice policies. Such best international practices are usually advocated by major international policy making institutions such as OECD, World Bank, UNESCO, and recently EU within the European benchmarking processes. Furthermore, the political motivation behind the policy transfer lies in the fact that various countries aspire the integration in various international processes (such as Bologna Process, Education for All movement) (Waldow 2012) or integration in various structures (e.g. integration in the European Union).

Policy lending in education is closely connected to comparative policy analysis concept in education. Steiner-Khamsi (2013) elaborated three types of comparisons in education policy. These are the (i) comparing over time, (ii) comparing across contexts and, (iii) comparing against the standards (p. 24). Comparing against standards is referred to the comparisons that big international players such as OECD and World Bank determine in the fields such as enrolment ratios and different averages. Comparing across contexts is usually referred to the cases of comparing any two educational systems in order to learn about the things that can be adopted from one particular system. Lastly, comparing over time is usually referred to case studies that follow the development of a particular education system by adopting lessons from other systems that have worked elsewhere in similar systems (Steiner-Khamsi 2013, 23-24). The comparing over time model is more sensitive to the particular context and less receptive to the international standards and norms.

Thus, when talking about policy lending, policy borrowing or policy transfer issues, it is important to place the debate on what is happening at the local context rather than what is the best international practice that is being adopted as a policy (Steiner-Khamsi 2012). Within this framework, national education systems have been faced more and more with the phenomenon of the standardization in various sub-sectors, including teacher development. Though there is no uniform way of using the term standardization in social sciences, at a general level standardization is referred to 'imposition of uniformity on a good or measure generally when data or products are unique or produced according to different criteria' (Calhoun 2002). Thus standardization can be understood as a push towards achieving uniformity or defining common standards. The matter of standardization has become a major factor in discussing the effectiveness of education systems internationally (Hargreaves 2003; Sahlberg 2011). While standardization in pre-service teacher education can occur, it yet preserves a level of national uniqueness given that school curricula also preserve the country context specifics (Zgaga 2008). Some degree of caution is required when ensuring the balance between the need to raise standards (standardization and policy focus) and focus on changing teachers' work realities and practice (local context).

In parallel, the literature documents ongoing debates in teacher education policy. Cochran-Smith (2001) elaborates two controversial movements and debates surrounding teacher education: the movement to de-regulate and the pro-

fessionalization of teacher education. The movement for *higher professionalism* in teacher education advocates establishing standards in teaching and teacher education, including recruitment and training standards for new teachers as well as licensing requirements and regulations for teachers in service. On the other hand, the movement to *de-regulate* teacher education calls for dismantling the monopoly that teacher education institutions are perceived to have had for so long. According to those supporting the latter movement, student academic achievement is of utmost importance and student achievement in tests should be the primary criterion to measure a school's accountability to its community. The spirit of this movement advocates that good teachers 'are born' contrary to the views of the professionalism movement that good teachers are developed and that instituting national standards and mechanisms for teacher education is the right way forward.

Thus it is important to attend to the way teachers behave, namely the interrelations between the identity, the context of standardization and organizational setting and specifics. Sachs (2000) views teacher identity as:

1. *Entrepreneurial* – Which is identified by efficient, responsible, accountable teachers who demonstrate compliance to externally imposed imperatives with consistently high quality teaching as measured by externally set performance indicators. This identity may be characterized as being individualistic, competitive, controlling and regulative, externally defined, standards-led.
2. *Activist* – Which is identified with teachers as driven by a belief in the importance of mobilizing them in the best interest of student learning and improving the conditions in which this can occur. In this identity teachers focus on creating and putting into place standards and processes that give students democratic experiences.

The former is a desired product of performativity, managerialist agendas, while the latter suggest inquiry-oriented, collaborative classrooms and schools in which teaching is related to broad societal ideals and values and in which the purpose of teaching and learning transcend the narrow instrumentalism of current reform agenda (Day & Gu 2010, 34; see also Drudy 2008). The role of policy is not underestimated in any of the two types of identity, it is more a matter of how policy is perceived and ways through which it is translated into practice. Educational standardization overloads the curriculum and burdens schools with bigger government and overbearing bureaucracy and does not enable to adapt flexibility to the future (Hargreaves and Shirley 2009).

Around the middle of 20th century the "performance-based" or "competency-based" model in teacher education, which fits under the broader umbrella of standardization, started to gain ground (Korthagen 2004, 79). The focus of education systems has thus been placed on the efforts to study the teacher skills, behaviours and competencies that need to be developed at the novice and in-service teachers. This movement denied the fact that good teachers cannot be trained by only having teachers learn a number of pre-defined competencies.

This approach of viewing teacher development started to be criticized as was not pedagogically sound. Around 1970, the contrasting view of educating teachers started to emerge. The so called movement of Humanistic Based Teacher Education (HBTE) directed the attention to the dimension of viewing the teacher as a person. (Korthagen 2004, 79). This movement has failed to generate the necessary support since many education systems around the world still have education policies that are driven by pre-determined performance standards for teachers. The debates are still ongoing. Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) elaborated the tendencies in teacher education policy towards *standardization* and *de-regulation* of teacher education. It is clear that different education systems adhere to different values of these movements at different stages of their development. As such, it is an important part of the system development that cannot be ignored.

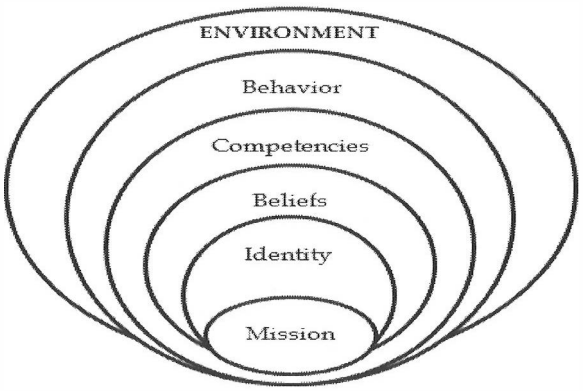

Figure 3 The onion model of levels of change (Korthagen 2004)

Figure 3 above outlines the different levels of change one can speak about when changing teachers. Education policy falls under the dimension of environment. Generally, education systems operate in such a way that *environment* of teachers' work and the teacher *behaviours* are observed easily by others inside or even outside the system. Teachers in return, very easily can become aware of the environment they and their work are placed in. They can learn about system policies, regulations and requirements placed on their work. In addition, they can learn about the environment and culture of their school. On the other hand, the competencies and beliefs of teachers can also be measured systematically, however they are not necessarily easily observed by others nor understood by teachers themselves. It is particularly true about beliefs. They are hidden and need to be explored.

Teaching of the subject matter is usually linked to the *competencies* in the first place. Teachers immediately think of the competencies and skills they need for conducting the work. This is why exposing pre-service and in-service teachers to the right competencies and skills for performing the role of the teacher in return remains a primary focus of teacher education. The humanistic-based ap-

proach to teacher education is linked to the aspect of moving the thinking and practice to the level of teachers examining the beliefs, identity and mission of their work under the particular environment and context. The focus of education systems has thus been placed on the efforts to study the teacher skills, behaviours and competencies that need to be developed at the novice and in-service teachers. The humanistic-based approach denied the claims that good teachers can be trained by only having teachers learn a number of pre-defined competencies, which could in fact be learned through short training programs (Korthagen 2004, 79). This raises the need to look broader dimensions of how teachers function within the school and its change context.

2.3.4 The school change perspectives

Similarly to the historical evolvement of teacher professionalism (Hargreaves 2000), educational development and change has also evolved in a similar way historically. Hargreaves and Shirley (2009) have elaborated the four ways of educational change.

The first way of change originated in post World War II and extended through to the end of 1970s. This stage was characterized by the phenomenon of extending the confidence in the government and its services. Its main features were innovations without consistency. Educational change in this phase would be spread among the enthusiasts, whereas the skills base for teacher education rested on intuition and ideology rather than evidence. The second way of educational change – known as the movement of Reagan and Thatcher in US and UK respectively – was characterized by the fact that governments introduced standardization to promote accountability and marketplace models to drive reform. Researchers speak of the consequences that education standardization yields. "Educational standardization has dumbed down the curriculum and burdened our schools with bigger government and overbearing bureaucracy and has enabled to adapt flexibility to the future. (Hargreaves & Shirley 2009).

The third way of educational change was launched during the time of Tony Blair and Gerhard Schroder and it was characterized by teachers and schools adhering to the accountability systems and professional discretion was under assault. This way of educational change combines the top down and bottom up agendas. The state standards setting was accompanied by support measures at school level. This led into the development of a model of Fourth Way of educational change as defined by Hargreaves and Shirley (2009). The fourth way was characterized by changes in the roles of the government and authorities. Under this movement of educational change, the government and policy makers were not there to drive and deliver but steer and support the processes. A new characteristic of this movement is that responsibility is placed before accountability. Under such circumstances governments steer educational development by developing enabling policies and processes and trusting the real development at school level. Teacher empowerment can be considered as a major phenomenon in this philosophy. The fourth way pushes beyond standardization, data-

driven decision-making and target-obsessed distractions to forge an equal and interactive partnership among the people, profession and government by bringing together the government policy, public engagement and professional involvement around an inspiring social and educational vision (Hargreaves and Shirley 2009).

Within this frame of educational change, it is important to examine how the school operates and performs as an organization. Scott (1987) categorizes schools as being open system, rational system and natural system. According to Scott (1987):

- Rational system is oriented towards achieving the specific goals and reflect a rather formal social structure;
- The natural system reflects a culture where formal structures do not directly touch the school staff, whereas staff are involved in collective collaboration for survival within the system;
- The open system interacts and exchange energy with the environment, whereas they are dependent on the sub-systems. The school too has its own subsystems.

From a slightly different angle, school as an organization may react to educational change in different ways. According to Nadler & Tushman (1995) organizational change can be incremental or strategic. Incremental changes are small changes that only affect some parts of the organization in the direction of the organization's mode, values and strategy. Leithwood et al. (1999) calls such changes "first order" changes. While strategic changes impact the whole organization changing its basic framework such as strategy, structure, and in some cases values too. Leithwood et al. (1999) call this "second order" changes. If the changes are made in reaction to some external events, it is called reactive, but if the changes are made because of the estimated external changes in the future, the changes are called anticipatory (Nadler & Tushman 1995).

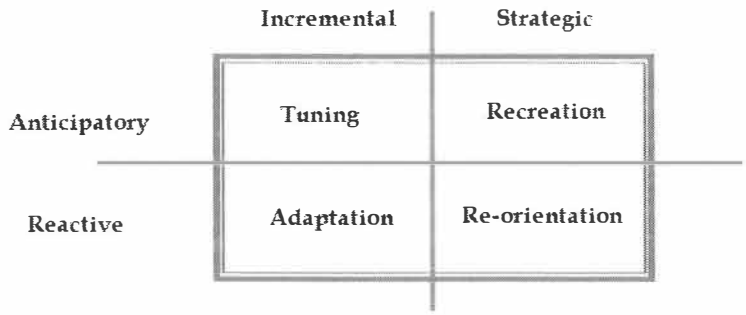

Figure 4 Types of organizational change (Nadler & Tushman 1995)

The real school change will only sustain if incremental changes are followed up by strategic changes. Certain school reactions to change are very context and time specific and what is deemed appropriate at one stage may require fundamental changes at more advanced stage. The school change should also

be seen in light of the need to address the teacher as individual, the teachers as a group or the whole school as an organization (Staw 1995). School change is closely linked with possibilities of establishing school as a learning organization. A learning organization is defined as a school in which staff demonstrate personal commitment and have a sense of community (Kofman & Senge 1999). In other words it deals with the ways teachers can work together towards a shared vision.

When talking about groups of teachers, the power of developing teacher professional learning communities is now recognized as an effective way of changing schools as an organization as well as changing teachers as professionals. Individual or groups of teachers can resist the change as a natural response when it is seen as imposed change (Lewin 1951; Fullan 2007). According to Holbeche (2006) resistance can take the forms of denial, anger, blame and confusion. Asking teachers to change what they have been doing traditionally does not only require efforts from their side but also threatens what has become part of their comfort zone (Holbeche 2006). Thus the resistance will need to be addressed after careful examination of the form it has or it can take which requires understanding in more depth the teacher work realities and school organization settings.

2.4 Extending the framework: towards a synthesis

This is the stage to tie different strands together. In doing so, it brings us to the point to consider that the four ages of professionalism (Hargreaves 2000) depict a good picture of how teacher professionalism may develop in any education system as well as the paths it may take. Education policy makers and practitioners themselves will hold a preference, or better demonstrate, for one of the ages of professionalism over the others and will respond accordingly. Even now, teachers of a particular educational context will be responding to the challenges of an earlier age or in parallel to the challenges of more than one age. The ages of professionalism thus are not meant to function in isolation but rather in combination. This creates a situation where teachers are in a situation of emotional uncertainty related to the values they hold for teaching and learning. This model of categorizing the trends in development of professionalism raises questions as to how are teachers expected to best manage situations of having to follow such standards and trends against their commitment, context and support they can get in the change process. Such questions are very valid for education systems like Kosovo's in search for understanding the way teachers see themselves and the development of teaching professionalism.

In general, earlier research has drawn the attention to the importance of teachers being aware of their personal practical knowledge including earlier experiences, values, feelings, images and routines (Korthagen 2004, p. 81). However, rather than placing teacher personal practical theory inside the frames of teacher orientation to their task and students, it is understandable to

place teacher reflection of themselves in the same interchange relation as the other dimensions of their orientation to the task. Thus, more and more importance is now being paid to the beliefs teachers have about themselves as well as how they relate to their practice, namely working with the content and working with the students (Figure 5).

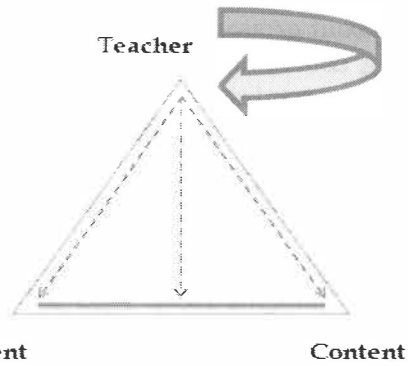

Figure 5 Understanding teachers in relation to content, students and themselves (adapted from Kansanen & Meri 1999)

The relation of teachers to themselves, else known as teachers' relation to personal practical theory (Korthagen 2004), is the development of self-knowledge and understanding of self as person and teacher. The academic orientation of teachers explains the teacher relation to the content. The didactic orientation of teachers explains the relation of teacher to both content and student learning. This is similar to the concept of pedagogical content knowledge of teachers (Shulman 1986). Whereas, the pedagogical orientation of teachers explains the relation of the teacher to the students and their broader demands of learning and education (van Manen 1991).

Given the importance of teachers understanding of themselves, research on teacher identity has been focussed recently on bibliographical-narrative approach (Keltchermans 2009, 260; Ruohotie-Lyhty 2013). The emphasis on this approach is understandable. People have a personal history, their interpretations, thinking and actions are influenced by the experiences in the past and expectations for the future (Kelchtermans 2009, 260). Teacher's relation to students (pedagogical orientation) and the tasks of the teacher (academic and didactic orientation) are developed and shaped within the institutional cultures, education contexts and broader societal aspects.

Teachers' sense of well-being is deeply connected with how they define themselves as professionals and how they see professionalism being defined by others (Day & Gu 2010, 25). A teaching role encapsulates the things the teacher does in performing the functions required of him/her as a teacher, whereas teaching identity is a more personal thing and indicates how one identifies with being a teacher and feels as a teacher (Walkington 2005, 54). The importance of

understanding the identity lies in the fact that who we think we are influences what we do, hence the identity influences professional actions (Watson 2006, 510).

Akkerman & Meijers (2011) have called on further research based on the dialogical approach to viewing teacher identity. Teacher identity has been traditionally viewed as being multiple, discontinuous and social, while researchers call for studying teacher professional identity from the dialogical approach and view identity as unitary, continuous and individual. Day (2002) also calls for looking at the unitary elements within the fragmentary teacher identity (p. 684). The manifestation of such teacher identity occurs in negotiation and due to influential relationships with a series of influencing factors.

The Figure 6 below provides such an extended framework of viewing teacher professionalism given the need to view teachers' work realities from a broader perspective of possible influencing factors which will form a basis of studying the teachers' practice. This framework was drawn based on the frame factor theory that was developed by Dahllof (1969) and Lundgren (1972; 1999). Dahllof (1996) emphasized that the frame factors set a time and space limit for the part of teaching that takes place at school, whereas Lundgren (1972; 1999) described them as measures that state takes to regulate time and space. A combination of these outlines a more comprehensive view of looking at the teaching profession and professionalism.

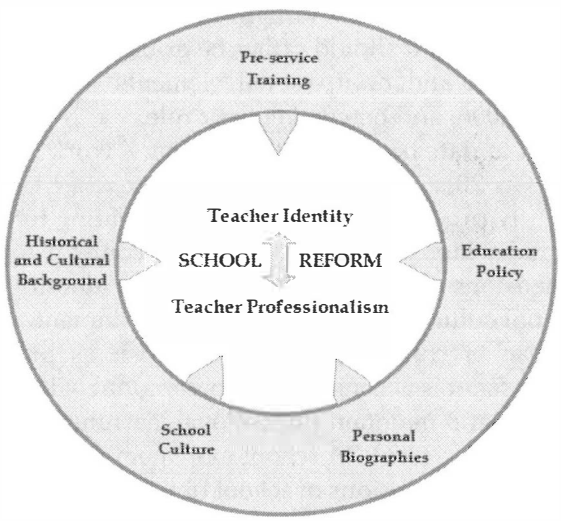

Figure 6 The frame factors influencing teacher professionalism and identity in reform context

Ballet and Kelchtermans (2008) examined the links of the teacher identity and the policy influence in relation to the shaping of teacher professional practice. They extended the view of Apple (1986) thesis of *"intensification"* of teachers' work, where more has to be done, due to the demands from outside, in less

time with fewer resources. Ballet and Kelchtermans (2008) revised this thesis into the *"experience of intensification"* emphasizing the importance of teachers experiencing and translating the externally demanded professionalism into practice. Thus the processes of negotiations that occur between the demands for professionalism and the way teachers feel and act gain more importance in interpreting and understanding teacher development.

Teacher professionalism and identity results as a negotiation that occurs between influences of factors external and internal to the teacher (Macro structures; Meso-structures; Micro-structures and personal biographies) in one hand and school reform requirements on the other hand. The professionalism of teachers can therefore be understood as a product of negotiations that occurs between these various levels. It is understandable that teacher professionalism is influenced and shaped by the nature of work and demands placed on them by various sources including the school reform. Though, the real interaction and modalities of influences exercised are not known.

On the other hand, school reforms are influenced by the way teachers behave or are able to perform. School reforms, particularly large-scale reforms, demand teachers to act and behave differently than they are used to (Day and Kington 2008; van Veen & Sleegers 2009). Teachers on the other hand interpret the reform requirements against the beliefs and capacities they have. The processes and phenomena of negotiations that occur during such interaction and interpretation are under-researched and very context-dependant. Teacher identity thus should not be interpreted in light of the sociological, contextual and occupational categories but it should rather be examined how teachers relate to the contextual, cultural and occupational elements when constructing their identities (Day et al. 2006) and perceiving their role.

While research to date has shown that teachers' work realities change continuously (Day & Gu 2010), this study examines teacher identity and professionalism as currently produced, as influenced, as relating to the school culture, education policy and wider historical and cultural context. A particular interest is paid to the dimensions of manifestation of teacher identity and professionalism within the school culture and wider policy environment. In such a view, the development of teacher collegiality, or else known as professional learning communities within schools is considered a paramount. Close nurturing is very important to generate and maintain professional learning communities (Aubusson et al. 2008) therefore the role of school management and school culture are deemed very important dimensions of school functioning (Hargreaves 2010).

In conclusion, previous studies have viewed influences on teachers' work reality as having hierarchical relations, starting from the outward influences such as policy and community towards more inward factors including more personal dimensions of life and work (See for example Korthagen 2004; Stihea & Raider-Roth 2012). This present study addresses the examination of factors influencing teachers' work from the non-hierarchical perspective. All the factors in Kosovo school system are considered at the same distance with the teacher

work reality being embedded in a context of rapid developments and large-scale transformations.

The frame factors no matter how general they can be across education systems, still they are very education context specific. This study will use the model presented in Figure 6 as an analytical framework in combination with the socio-cultural perspective which will be used as a frame for identifying the potential developments in future. This complex framework will enable to thoroughly examine the reality of teacher professionalism and identity in Kosovo (Chapter 5) – against the Kosovo education context (Chapter 3) and suggest a model of change management in developing teacher professionalism and identity (Chapter 7).

3 UNDERSTANDING THE KOSOVO CONTEXT

Kosovo is a country in transition. It came out of an open war in 1999 and had lived through almost 5 decades of communism. In 17 February 2008, it declared the independence as a sovereign state from Serbia, as inheritor of the former Yugoslavia. Under this context, Kosovo society has shown aspirations and has put efforts into joining the Western European values. In light of the efforts to push towards education development, despite increases in public spending on education from 3.3 percent of GDP in 2007 to 4.1 percent in 2012, Kosovo still spends less on education sector than the average of all Europe and central Asia countries (4.6 percent) or upper-middle-income comparators (5 percent) (See World Bank 2013). Similarly to human resources, financial resources are also critical for managing the scale and scope of the reform. The funding in education in last three years has not shown any major increase. The education and science funding for all levels of education amounts to about 240 million Euros a year, whereas the donor funding amount to 12.5 million Euros per year. Out of this, about 37% of this donor funding is directed to teacher professional development (See MEST 2013d).

After 1999, major school construction and renovation was undertaken in the after-war period, while IT facilities were introduced in most of the schools. These are only a few of the infrastructure measures undertaken to lead towards the desired changes in education. On the other hand, the most substantial change effort involved the attempts to shift away from the traditional lecture-based teaching and rote memorization towards more student centered philosophies. These efforts were driven through the re-designing of the school curricula and professional development of teachers.

Kosovo teachers have thus been continuously 'asked' to change their instructional practice. It is still unknown whether teacher professional identity and values are congruent with the aspirations for a fully-fledged learner centered environment. It is also unknown what development priorities the system should set to ensure the congruence of teacher thinking and skills with the desired reforms. This is certainly a dilemma that will be valid for all countries undergoing large-scale educational reform and a challenge for policy making, pri-

oritizing and strategizing. So a closer look at the context and evolvement of education system in Kosovo, particularly in the period of 1990 onwards, is critical.

3.1 Education system

A number of institutions provide formal education ranging from pre-schools to universities and colleges. The education system as projected in the 2011 Kosovo Curriculum Framework (KCF) (see MEST 2011b) encompasses pre-school education (children aged 0-3 and 4-5) and pre-primary grade 0 for children ages 5-6; pre-university education involves children ages 6-18 attending one of the three education levels: primary school (children ages6-11 in grades 1-5), lower secondary school (ages 11-15 in grades 6-9) and upper secondary school (ages 15-18 in grades 10-12/13). Compulsory education extends from primary grade 1 to grade 9 in lower secondary or children aged between 6 and 15 years of age with the possibility to extend it for children aged 5 (the pre-primary grade)[1].

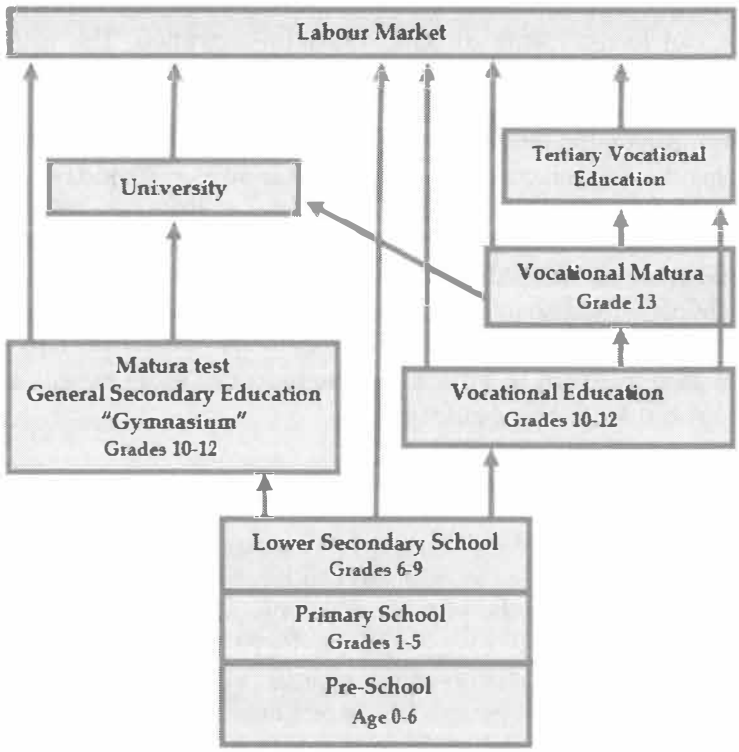

Figure 7 Education system in Kosovo (adapted from KCF 2011)

[1]The Law on Pre-University makes compulsory education from Level 1 (ref Article 9.2 and 10.2)

Pre-University education is the largest sub-sector within the education sector of the Republic of Kosovo and serves on a daily basis almost 20% of the Kosovo population (See MEST 2013b). The characteristics of teacher population in the country is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 The statistics of teachers by different levels

	Females	Males	Total
Preschool level	509	2	511
Primary and lower secondary level	8621	8711	17332
Upper secondary level	2110	3322	5432

There are about 24000 teachers in the system of pre-university education with approximately equal distribution between males and females. The exception through is the preschool level with a clear dominance of female teachers. In primary schools, 60% of teachers are females (See Kosovo Statistical Agency 2012). The primary and lower secondary schools operate within a single school and are run by the same director and administration. The upper secondary school system provides for a dual system of general secondary education and vocational education.

Non-university tertiary education extends from 18 years upwards. The Government of Kosovo is planning to make upper secondary education and one year of pre-primary education compulsory. This new policy is specified in the pre-university education law (MEST 2011c) and will take effect in the years to follow. The new KCF 2011 (MEST 2011b) has projected that grade 13 of vocational schools will seize to exist in future offering. Whereas, non-tertiary tertiary education has not been provided to date in the Kosovo education system, but is foreseen as a measure to attract the attention of young people towards more vocational and applied type of study.

3.1.1 Historical background of education

Kosovo has a territory of 10,908 square kilometres and is located centrally in the Balkan Peninsula. Kosovo is estimated to have less than 2 million inhabitants and about 60 percent of the population is under age 25 (UNDP 2006). Its population is multi-ethnic and it is estimated to be 92 percent Albanian and 8 percent Serb, Turkish, Roma, and other ethnic groups (Vula & Saqipi 2009).

Like all the other segments of life in Kosovo, education links with historical and political developments. Kosovo was part of the former Yugoslav Republic and was unavoidably influenced by political developments in the last two decades. Figure 8 presents an overview of the developments in the education system of Kosovo since 1991. In 1990/1991, the then Serbian regime imposed a Serbian language curriculum to the majority Albanian speaking population (See Shatri 2010). Albanians, representing about 90% of the entire population in the

country, reacted by establishing the so-called 'parallel' education system with tuition in Albanian language. Some schools were closed for Kosovo Albanian students earlier than the others in 1990 and 1991, however the year when the parallel education system was installed is considered the year 1991 (See Shatri 2010). Such a system was financed by the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora on voluntary basis as well as through contributions of the local population. Private houses served as school and university facilities. Understandably, due to the circumstances and conditions in which schools were functioning, the quality of the teaching and learning was significantly lower than normally possible. Teachers were working for little to no pay, classes were big, and resources very limited (See Shatri 2010; See Appendix 6 for pictures of the private houses classrooms). Classes were in many cases, especially in winter, shortened from 45 minutes to 30 minutes (Shatri 2010). Operating an education system in such a manner was deemed illegal by the Serbian regime led by Slobodan Milosevic at that time but it was recognized by wider international community. IN such a political situation, being involved in education was a dangerous activity, no matter whether you were an administrator, an academic, or even a student. And Serbian police were targeting very often the premises and people involved in parallel education (Shatri 2010).

The parallel education system in Kosovo was perceived as an instrument for preserving the national identity and the spirit of struggling for survival. In addition to educating young generations, it was the only tool for ensuring social cohesion and commitment towards making Kosovo a peaceful and democratic country. Teachers in this role were deemed as heroes for their engagement in upholding schooling. They were highly regarded for the role they had played during that period. In general, the education system operated in the same manner as in normal conditions. It was clear that the number of unqualified teachers was higher during the parallel system () because access to teacher education provision was limited and many teachers left the country to move to Western Europe (Pupovci et al. 2001; Shatri 2010). On the other hand, teachers had no mechanisms for professional development and in cases it happened these would be voluntary basis initiatives within the school. Teachers were operating on contractual basis with the Albanian Teacher Association, which was authorized by the Kosovo Government in exile at that time to manage those processes in the ground. Though an NGO type organization from an outside look, it carried out much of the functions of a Ministry of Education. Their decisions would be approved by the Minister of Education in exile (See Shatri 2010).

The 'parallel' system ran until 1999 when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervened to stop the repression of the Serb regime and allow the people of Kosovo to establish a situation where the rule of law ensures that peace prevails and people of different backgrounds co-exist peacefully. Similarly, staff and students were returning to their original school buildings. Hope for a better quality education for all Kosovar students was restored. The emergency phase was soon over and Kosovo was established as an international protectorate under the United Nations (UN) governance. Under such circum-

stances, the education system was re-designed. It was aimed to support the development of a multicultural society and a peaceful environment where members of all communities would co-exist peacefully and harmoniously, ending a long dispute and negative relations between certain communities. Management of the Kosovo Education was put under the Department of Education and Science which was run by the UN Administration, a primarily international staff. The main focus of the UN administration was the establishment of a new education system in Kosovo (Sommers & Buckland 2004).

A number of key developments were launched during the period of UN administration. DESK (Development of Education System in Kosovo) was the very first initiative to restructure the education system in Kosovo, which included both, internationals and Kosovars. The initiative was quite short-lived, but the foundations of the education system were established during this period, elements of which can be found in the education system today. The UN administration introduced the concept of lead agencies in specific education sub sectors. This may have been due to the wish to break the rhythm and logics of managing a parallel education system in difficult circumstances, or to a general mistrust of local capacities to manage education processes. In addition, the idea of appointing lead agencies in various sub-sectors was meant to partly enable the exposure of Kosovo education development processes to the good international practices and trends.

These lead agencies were active Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) or donor projects that were mandated by the Department of Education and Sciences (DES) to coordinate the activities in the specific field. The lead agencies that were appointed in the sub-sectors were as follows (See Pupovci et al. 2001, 11):

1. Curricula Development - UNICEF
2. Pre-school Education - UNICEF
3. Teacher Training - Canadian Government
4. Special Education - Finnish Government
5. Vocational Education- German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)

The Education Policy Statement (2001) authored by the Head of the DES (Michael Daxner) at that time stated that:

> The Lead Agency concept is itself a step towards modern civil administration, hence reversing Balkan tradition since neither the universities nor governmental agencies have sufficient competence or legitimacy to develop and implement the elements of reform into a system. It also means that the central department or ministry, which will emerge at the time of hand-over, will be lean and without too many substantial agendas - these will remain allocated with the lead-agencies and later with their replacements. A Lead Agency fulfils clearly defined, commissioned work for the authorities and does so within the system. It is an agent of change, yet at the same time, a handling agent in the exclusive centre of reforms. We call this "insourced outsourcing". Again, this is an instance of Kosovo society's dependence on its education. Of course, the central department must remain in control or supervision, but shall not get involved in conceptual or executive tasks where it is not competent, it being a political unit of administration. To define the rules of governance will be the noble task of the implementation of this idea. If we do not succeed in keeping the administra-

> tion free from its former bureaucratic overload, the reforms will be stopped by the sheer costs of entertaining the central offices, leaving no money for the reforms. (Daxner 2001, 4).

The installation of the 'lead agency' concept in the education sector in Kosovo, to Kosovar post-war society embedded among educators and administrators the expectation that the responsibility is external or outside. The so called 'insourced outsourcing' in UN eyes (Daxner 2001) to Kosovar society and education players meant 'let them do it'. While in the eyes of the UN administration, this meant that the corrupt and disorganized education practices that were developed during the 90s be discontinued. For the Kosovo educators and administrators this meant giving up the tradition and values people have held for education and the work of teachers.

Along with the gradual devolution of education competencies to local authorities, international partners active in the development of post-conflict Kosovo supported Kosovo in designing a National Curriculum Framework in 2001 as a tool to shape teaching and learning practices in schools. This move was a major development in the education system in Kosovo. For a long period, there had not been any development and change oriented thinking process. As such, it raised hope for the betterment of student experiences in schools. The overall aim of the post 1999 education development was aiming at societal development. Development efforts in all areas of life were aimed at developing multiethnic society, cultivating environments where people would co-exist peacefully and establish the parameters for adhering to the wider European family political structures and society.

The 2001 Kosovo Curriculum Framework recognized that learning experiences should not only focus on information, but also provide, in a balanced way, knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. Although never officially approved in its final version, the document served as a reference for what knowledge, skills, values and attitudes should be incorporated into school programs and how this should be accomplished in a post-conflict context. The document identified values that should be taught by learning areas, although it does not pay that much attention to the way they should be taught in schools nor, more importantly, addressing current realities in teacher practice and beliefs on the new philosophy. Below are a few examples:

Primary School (grades 1-5)

> "Students should be taught the basic history of Kosovo, and of different communities that live in Kosovo. An interest in exploring historical events should be encouraged. This should be from the perspective of dealing constructively with the past and praising the people and historical personalities who contributed to the spiritual and material development of the society and its well-being. As well, values such as human dignity, independence and peaceful cooperation with others should be defended and cultivated. Students should be supported in developing basic life skills and learning about society and active democratic citizenship. They should develop understanding, respect for human rights, and tolerance of diversity. Students should be confronted already at this age with gender issues, as well as with other issues involv-

> ing differences between people, and should develop capacities to value these differences positively." (p. 26)

Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights

> "The citizen of a democratic society needs to develop the competencies of participation in public life. These include: voting; taking specific actions with the view of influencing political decisions, such as taking an active role in a political party; expressing one's personal opinion, e.g. via mass media; and participating in an argumentative dialogue with others. Students should be helped to understand that democracy does not emerge and develop automatically, but that it depends on the specific contribution of everybody." (p. 42)

Environmental Education

> "Students have to be helped to understand that the environment represents a value in itself, and that it has to be protected and preserved not only because it serves human beings for survival and development. Students have to be supported to discover the links between a natural environment and a manmade environment and the importance of a natural and 'artificial' environment for health, quality of life and sustainable development." (p. 45)

There has been no systematic assessment formally conducted as to the level at which these principles and values have been implemented at school level. Nor, any identification of the challenges that were experienced during the process of implementing the intended curriculum. An initial assessment conducted by the London Institute of Education in 2005 (See Peffers et al. 2005) outlined challenges of Kosovo school system in delivering modern pedagogy teaching, learning and assessment practices while at the same time recognizing the good ground that had been established for ensuring changes in teaching and learning. However, developments in the education system were deemed to need acceleration due to the political agenda. Hence education reforms were sequenced and were developed in parallel. The general assessment has been that the 2001 Curriculum has not succeeded in changing teaching and learning practices to the expected level, whereas donor support had been extensive within the overall international efforts to develop Kosovar post-conflict society.

In the period of 2008 onwards, the education system has been largely focussed on providing the facilities and resources for enhanced quality of education by building more school buildings and improving the infrastructure of the existing schools, seen as a measure to develop the necessary conditions that would lead to the improvement of the quality of teaching and learning. Furthermore, the school infrastructure was poor and damaged during the past decades. Education was made a national priority for Kosovo and all processes and development efforts are supposed to lead to achieving the standards of excellence.

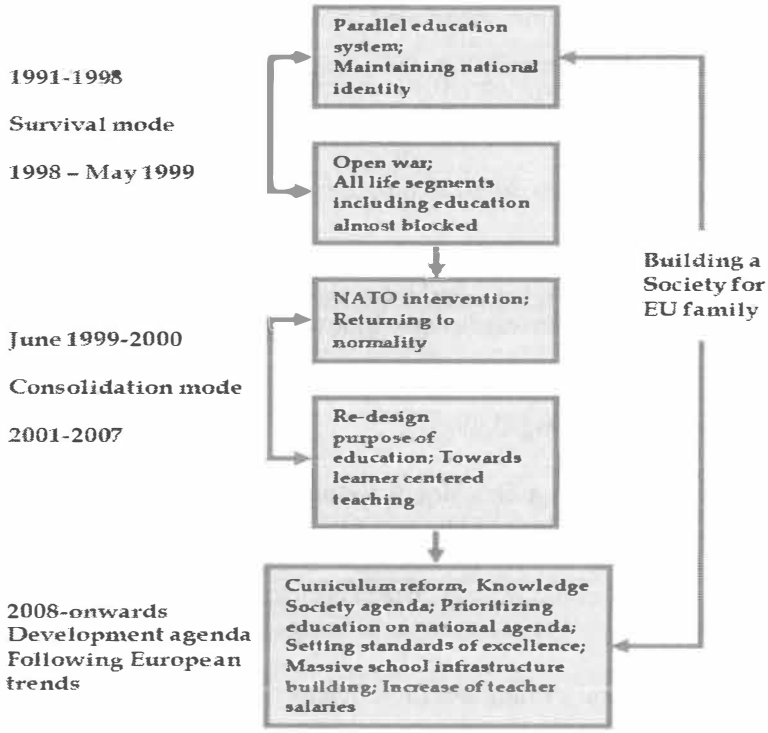

Figure 8 The evolution of Kosovo education system

In the post-2008 period, Kosovo education system has undergone a number of changes. The major structural change has been the decentralization of competencies from central to municipal and further on to the school level. Devolved competencies included:

- Financial management was decentralized to school level;
- Provision of teacher professional development became a municipal responsibility;
- Provision and monitoring the quality of education became a municipal responsibility, not excluding the overall Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) responsibility for quality assurance of the school system.

At a more substantial level, the new KCF (MEST 2011b) adopted a competence-based approach to teaching and learning in order to address various learner needs and development specifics. This policy document complies with the European Union 21st century skills and competency-based agenda (See European Union 2006). The 2011 KCF specified that teaching and learning in schools is to be organized around the following competences:

- Communication and expression competencies – Effective communicator
- Thinking competencies – Creative thinker
- Learning competencies – Successful learner

- Life, work, and environment-related competencies - Productive contributor
- Personal competencies - Healthy individual
- Civic competencies - Responsible citizen

The purpose of education according to the new 2011 KCF is:

- Cultivating the personal and national, state and cultural identity;
- Promotion of the general cultural and citizenship values;
- Developing responsibility towards oneself, towards others, society and environment;
- Developing entrepreneurship and use of technology;
- Developing life-long learning skills.

The 2001 and 2011 curriculum does not differ much in terms of the values they promote. Rather they differ more in terms of the approaches teachers need to take in order to deliver it. The competency-based curriculum requires more advanced student-centred and outcomes-based education thinking processes (Saqipi 2012).

3.1.2 Social and cultural dimension of education

In addition to being linked with the political developments, education development in Kosovo is closely connected to social and cultural dimensions. Ogbu (1995) suggests our cultural world is comprised of five components:

- customs determining behaviours;
- expecting behaviours that include codes, assumptions, expectations, and emotions;
- artefacts representing what people value or have meaning in the culture;
- institutions requiring patterns of knowledge, beliefs and skilled people in order to function in the political, economic, social and religious arena;
- patterns of social relations.

The above components emphasize the importance of relationships, rules, expectations, beliefs and values in terms of how do people act and behave in a cultural world. Some of the cultural and social characteristics of Kosovo society are outlined by Backer (2003):

> One Albanian cultural characteristic is the omnipresence of rules and regulations. There is a rule for everything: how to govern a village, how to solve family conflicts, how to approach an enemy and at what time of day, how to treat dogs, how to run a household, what duties each member has, in which order to eat, in which order to serve coffee, how to greet strangers, acquaintances. You name a problem and there is always some customary way of solving it which is codified as a standard, accepted rule. (p. 55)

Culture and history are closely tied together in Kosovo. For example, it is not unusual to see an entourage of cars with Kosovars waving the Kosovo/Albanian flags on occasions of weddings and other cultural celebrations. Education during the 1990s is of pivotal importance for understanding the reality of the education system functioning in Kosovo. The operation of the parallel education system in the 1990s by the majority Albanian population marked a number of significant developments in relation to the overall functioning of the society. Education during the 1990s connected Kosovo students, teachers and administrators to the political resistance and cultural identification (Sommers & Buckland 2004, 41). Clark (2000) noted that the struggle for education became a central symbol for Albanians and their proudest achievement in response to the repressive regime.

Education as Albanian resistance to the Serbian regime was the major organized effort of the Kosovo Albanian community and the entire society was putting efforts into organizing it. The University of Prishtina, established in 1970, was the pride of the nation. The strong leadership of University students and staff encouraged disobedience and public protests, which led to the national liberation movements. Thus, the parallel education system was more than education - it expressed rebellion to the Serb regime (Sommers & Buckland 2004). The quality of education was understandably jeopardized. Education during the 1990s was characterized by rote memorization rather than inquiry (Clark 2000, 104). The reduced length of class time, from 45 minutes to 30 minutes classes, harmed the quality further and turned teaching into lecturing and students taking notes rather than meaningful interactive learning processes.

In such a context where teachers were performing a heroic task, a teacher's authoritarian style was further empowered and there was no pressure on teachers to change their teaching practices and behaviour. Teachers were working based on in-kind contribution provided by a large Kosovo Albanian Diaspora and in many cases teacher work was deemed as voluntary rather than a properly compensated one. In addition, the difficult circumstances in which school system was operating, it was hard to look for quality improvement. The management of the education system was undertaken by an NGO type organization called Albanian Teacher Association (Sommers & Buckland 2004). Education like the society at large was managed mostly on the basis of understanding and collective contribution to maintaining the national identity and culture in reaction to the persistent and continuous attempts of the Serbian regime to ban education as one of the areas through which repression and violence was channelled. As such, it created a number of assumptions and perceptions in relation to the role of education and role of the teachers in delivering education. Those assumptions and perceptions may still be valid in the current context to some extent.

3.2 Current education policy context

At the policy level, there were a number of key developments in the last few years in Kosovo's education system. The first was the development of the Kosovo Education Strategic Plan (KESP) 2011 - 2016 (MEST 2011), which among its priorities is the development of a sustainable system of comprehensive teacher training with a clear emphasis on developing school-based teacher development practices. A priority, according to the KESP, is to educate teachers and develop in-service teacher training with a view to assure teacher competence to implement the new Kosovo Curriculum and to raise the standard of teaching in the classroom.

The Kosovo education policy context has made major efforts in raising the bar for teacher professionalism, an outline of which is provided in Table 4. The introduction of teacher licensing is also another policy dimension which is meant to contribute the increase of teacher professionalism. Preparations for teacher licensing were launched in 2004, although the implementation attempts failed to yield results until 2008 when the initial steps of licensing were put into effect. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) launched the first phase of differentiating teacher payments based on pre-service qualification. This implies that all teachers in-service were granted a (virtual) license, which then had to be renewed within the period of 5 years.

Mandatory professional development and positive performance results following a pre-designed performance assessment system were imposed as the two requirements placed on teachers wanting to renew or seek promotion within the licensing system. Administrative Instruction 05/2010 (MEST 2010) elaborates on these provisions of teacher licensing as well as the possibilities and requirements for teacher career development (upgrading in the licensing scheme). The purpose of the licensing scheme was to provide a framework within which teachers will be both motivated and mandated to continuously enhance their professional performance. While the system makes teacher professional development mandatory, as well as imposes a number of performance standards teacher performance which will be appraised by a dominating role of central authorities (confirming teacher promotion, downgrading, or renewal in the licensing scheme). The teacher licensing system current does not provide for any induction mechanism for beginner teachers.

The context of teacher's work in Kosovo is quite complex and dynamic owing to a number of influencing factors. Some of these factors are related to the present realities (including in many instances overcrowded classrooms and a lack of teacher-learning resources) while some others relate to traditional aspects of teacher development and teacher's work practices. The three most important dimensions that are related to development of teacher practice are the areas of teacher development, curriculum area and quality assurance and they will be elaborated in more details further.

Table 4 The policy context of teachers' work reality

Teacher Development	Curriculum	Quality Assurance
Teachers have to be licensed every five years Professional development for teachers mandatory Teacher performance standards regulated and published Standardized teacher performance assessment instruments (criteria and procedures) Decisive central role in teacher performance assessment School directors have a role in the overall teacher performance assessment with 30% weight within teacher licensing system School based professional development enabled but not yet functional Pre-service teacher education programming mandated at central level through competency profile and structuring arrangements	The 2011 Curriculum aims to have schools develop subject syllabi based on Curriculum Framework and Core Curriculum Documents Competency based curriculum introduced in 2011 Centrally driven school based syllabus development Centrally determined assessment criteria	Systematic and ad hoc School inspection from central authorities School external evaluation following self-assessment foreseen in strategic documents but not yet implemented Sample based assessment at end of primary school (grade 5) Standardized assessment at the end of lower secondary and upper secondary determining future progress in education Participation in PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) in progress for 2015 Pre-service teacher education is subject to national quality assurance processes of higher education leading to institutional and program accreditation

3.3 Teacher development

3.3.1 In-service teacher education

Teacher Professional Development (TPD) in Kosovo has so far been dominated by a culture of workshops and has mostly become synonymous with 'training'. Very often, when teachers talk about being involved in professional development they refer to 'going to a training' (Saqipi 2012). Statistics at MEST, Municipality and school level readily report about hours of training implemented and

the numbers trained (See MEST 2013b). Teacher training was indeed considered to be one of the major instruments in shaping the education policy in the education sector in Kosovo in the past decade and a half. The Education Policy Statement (2001) envisaged the role for the teacher education in the development perspective:

> "Teacher Training will play the central role and be the core of the reforms, providing much needed experts for implementing new curricula. Teachers will transplant the new mind-set into schools; they will translate needs into learning processes. They will be the critics and the agents of the changing environment. These are high stakes. We are convinced that, with all respect to the accomplishments of the past, experience acquired in the old system is not a relevant criterion for being an educator or getting assigned to reform tasks. Rather, the academic pre-service training of teachers will be designed to fit this purpose. The Higher Schools must change totally and will be integrated into one unified Faculty of Teacher Training (or Education) in the University. No teacher shall have less than 3 years of pre-service education. In-service training will need a new scheme of co-operation from experienced and innovative teachers. For them, re-training must start immediately and be well defined." (p. 4)

Teacher training, seen as the most powerful instrument for intervening in the classroom practice and holding a potential for change, was made a priority focus area for all development projects in the post-war education in Kosovo. During the period of the parallel education system functioning during the 1990s there were virtually no professional development opportunities provided to teachers. Teacher training workshops, the easiest and quickest projects to manage in education development, characterized the education development in the Kosovo education system after 1999 (Sommers & Buckland 2004, 95). All donor intervention post-1999 was largely focussed on teacher professional development. The area of teacher professional development, in fact, attracted significant donor attention until 2013. Viewing professional development as a one-off activity certainly does not ensure that teachers are exposed to the normal practices of examining their own beliefs and values in a continuous and systematic manner. Being project-based and, in some cases distanced from the school reform practices, teacher training in Kosovo continued to be a workshop oriented and unsustainable enterprise even until the present time (Saqipi 2012).

In the efforts to develop a self-standing continuous teacher development system, Kosovo policy makers introduced a new teacher licensing system (MEST 2011c) through the law on pre-university education in the Republic of Kosovo, providing a framework for the in-service teacher development as a balance between motivating teachers to perform well (with the incentive of remaining in the profession and the pay per performance salary scheme) and ensuring accountability mechanisms (find a way to downgrade and take other measures against teachers who do not perform up to the standards and requirements). The licensing system prescribes a number of performance standards that teachers are expected to reflect against which their teaching performance is to be assessed in order to ensure renewal or promotion in the licensing scheme. The policy was endorsed in 2013 (MEST 2013c) and they are outlined in Table 5 below. It is important to note that Kosovo has had teacher performance standards prior to this policy as well (MEST 2004; MEST 2012b; MEST 2005) that

has been operational for a number of years and have regulated the certain areas of pre-service and in-service teacher development.

Table 5 Kosovo teacher performance framework 2013

Professional standards	Competencies
1. Devotion to the students and learning	Teacher: • Demonstrates devotion for the wellbeing and development of all students • Is devoted to teach with the aim of supporting learning and attainment of learning outcomes by students • Treats all students in an equal and respectful manner • Creates a learning environment which encourages students to become problem solvers, decision-makers, life-long learners and useful members of society
2. Professional knowledge	Teacher: • Knows his/her professional field, Kosovo Curriculum and relevant education legislation • Demonstrates effective techniques of teaching and assessment • Demonstrates different strategies for the management of class activities • Knows how students learn and considers factors that impact on the learning process
3. Teaching practice	Teacher: • Uses professional knowledge to stimulate learning attainment of students • Continuously assesses student progress and their achievements, and regularly communicates the result to students and their parents • Adapts and improves teaching practices by learning and reflecting constantly, as well as by using different methods and resources • Uses information and communication technology where appropriate
4. Cooperation with colleagues, parents and the community	Teacher: • Communicates in an effective manner with parents and colleagues • Cooperates with colleagues in the school in order to create a positive learning environment • Works with other professionals, parents and members of the community in order to promote learning and raise achievement of students
5. Continuous Professional development	Teacher: • Is continuously involved in activities of professional development and uses his/her knowledge to improve teaching practice
6. Responsibility towards teaching obligations and duties	Teacher: • Performs all his/her teaching obligations and duties with professionalism, high devotion, honesty and accuracy

The six standards of professional practice are meant to serve as a driving force for developing a teaching force for the schools to ensure continuous improvement of teaching and learning practices. These standards cover a vast area of important skills and dispositions in relation to the students, tasks of the teacher, colleagues, parents and wider community. The standards are meant to drive forward teacher development in light of the implementation of new school curriculum.

3.3.2 Pre-service teacher education

In line with raising teaching standards and teacher professionalism, pre-service teacher education in Kosovo has undergone significant changes since the 1999 war (Vula & Saqipi 2009). This did not come only as a need for development of a post-conflict society but also as a need to reform the previously disintegrated and disharmonized two-year teacher education programs in the country so they are compliant with Bologna standards and European best practices (Saqipi 2008). This was in line with the wider European trends of integrating teacher education within the higher education institutions in the period of 1980s onward (Zgaga 2008; Zgaga 2013). One of the key findings of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Thematic Review of National Policies for Education carried out in Kosovo in late 2000 was that the concept of teaching as a profession was missing from the teacher training curriculum (OECD 2001). The relationship between "academic" and "professional" courses was mostly weak. Teacher training in Kosovo was mainly academic and heavily subject-based, and even some educationally relevant subjects, for example subject specific methodology, were highly academic oriented (Pupovci 2002). The reform inputs in the last decade have been an attempt to address this situation.

Changes occurred in post 1999 period in Kosovo, largely due to an increasing interest of international donor support on the reform of the pre-service teacher education sub-sector. The reform was also implemented with the aim of raising standards across the profiles and levels of teaching graduates will be involved in. The education of teachers for pre-primary, primary, and lower secondary schools was put under the umbrella of a single Faculty of Education, which began instruction in 2002 under the University of Prishtina (the only public provider of higher education in Kosovo at that time). All programs leading to teacher qualification would now amount to a 240 ECTS Bachelor degree.

The main features of pre-service teacher education reform (for pre-primary, primary and lower secondary) were oriented towards addressing the concerns over highly subject oriented teacher education, linking theory and practice and contribute to increasing professionalism of teaching profession. This reform effort addressed the following dimensions of pre-service teacher education:

- Student teaching practicum was made compulsory for all student teachers. In addition, student teaching component was planned as a development nature activity starting from observation moving towards more complex tasks of organizing teaching and learning. The student teaching component was allotted a space of 22 weeks throughout the program (MEST 2005);
- Pedagogical and general education courses were given a wider space in the teacher education programs.
- The concept of student-centered teaching philosophy was strengthened under the framework of program delivery.

The existing model of pre-service teacher education in Kosovo education system is of the concurrent nature whereby students take their academic and pedagogical training simultaneously leading to a Bachelor degree of education in respective field. The pedagogical part of the training for primary and lower secondary teacher education is very similar in terms of the pedagogical courses and concepts students are exposed to.

On the other hand, teacher education for upper secondary schools remained under the remit of academic departments within the University. Given this fragmented mode of pre-service teacher education delivery - upper secondary teacher education was conducted at the academic departments and at different standards compared to K-9 teacher education, the system continued searching for better models of organizing pre-service teacher education. The MEST, following a review and consultation process, obliged public universities to further reform teacher education provision starting initial steps in 2012 (MEST 2012d).

The reform is requesting that all teacher qualifications would conclude with a Master degree in education, while the legal basis for such a reform has been established in the pre-university education law of 2011. The Minster's decision on restructuring teacher education (MEST 2012d) mandates a consecutive model of teacher education for future under which students first take their academic degree at bachelor level (180 ECTS) in respective department and continue to a Master's level education in pedagogical and practical elements of training in the amount of 120 ECTS at the Faculty of Education. The requirement for training pre-primary and primary level teachers remains a Bachelor level degree to be provided by Faculty of Education. The first graduates under this new pre-service reform are only expected in 2018/2019. In addition to abolishing the fragmented structures of teacher education, the reform was targeted at ensuring the new pre-service teacher education serve the new curriculum reform underway at school level.

3.4 Curriculum orientation

Previous studies indicate that teaching in Kosovo schools at all levels tended, and still tends to be, transmission-based around a basis of facts with little exposure to critical thinking type of skills (Saqipi 2012; Davies 2002). Conveying facts has been a core value of teaching practice, thus making subject content the main reference point of teaching in Kosovo at all levels. Kosovo has a strong tradition of a prescribed curriculum. The Curriculum in 2001 was highly prescribed whereby teachers were supplied with the details including the themes/topic to be covered leaving teachers with the need to only outline the lesson plan details, make a few decisions on identifying and carrying out the teaching strategies and techniques. The 2001 Curriculum was assessed as being objectives oriented as opposed to outcomes oriented.

At the end of 2008, MEST launched a revision of the 2001 Curriculum Framework, a process that took almost three years to complete. As a result of this process, MEST endorsed, what is considered to be a more advanced and sophisticated KCF (MEST 2011b). This new Curriculum Framework raises expectations for drastic changes in the ways teachers organize their work and schools and system behaves (See Table 6). Besides changes projected at the system level (in terms of organization and structuring of provision of education), a major substantial change of the new curriculum is the competency-based approach to teaching, learning and assessment throughout the pre-university education. Another substantial change is teaching of integrated sciences until the end of lower secondary education. The new Curriculum very much emphasizes the learner-centred approach to teaching and learning, a phenomenon very much spoken about in education forums and teacher development policies.

Table 6 Implications of 2011 KCF in Kosovo school reality

Influences over new curriculum implementation	
External to the school	**Internal to the school**
1. Develop new Textbooks and Teaching and Learning Materials 2. Create new Demand-driven process for Teacher development 3. Create new Assessment standards 4. Create new school-based staff development regulations 5. Provide sets of teaching materials 6. Develop new mentoring and coaching roles for school directors including expectations to motivate intrinsically, nurture self-worth, interact in authority, use empathy 7. Develop trainings for teachers on methodology that is learner-centred, constructivist, leading to curriculum goals (and outcomes) achievement 8. Adopt new teacher competency profile standards to meet the demands of new curriculum; 9. Create new pre-service teacher education programs, including student teaching, to meet the new curriculum principles; 10. Restructure national assessment systems to match the outcomes based curriculum	1. Teachers experimenting with different learning activities in their classrooms 2. Teachers sharing with each other and asking support from one another; 3. Teachers seeking support of their school directors in developing differentiated learning activities 4. Teachers gathering new teaching and learning materials to support learning activities 5. Teachers engaging in professional development and are collegial 6. Teachers mastering outcomes-based teaching strategies 7. Teachers mastering outcomes based assessment strategies 8. Teachers following the curriculum implementation guidelines 9. Teachers engaging in collaborative learning practices in school 10. School director taking more pedagogical leadership role rather than managerial 11. School management managing the staff development activities addressing the challenges of teaching and learning in school 12. School director establishing mentoring practices at school level 13. Teacher engaging in peer mentoring activities

Usually, curriculum changes are meant to lead to changing the ways teachers think and behave in their classrooms. Every curriculum change that implies the need for changing teacher practice requires changes at the system level as well as school level. System level changes are measures that encourage school community to act and think in the desired direction. Implementing

changes required by policy documents requires substantial and coherent changes in the way school directors and teachers behave and act in their school. Regardless, the number of changes required, school level changes are of critical importance and of decisive nature in determining the success in change implementation.

3.5 Quality assurance

The concept of quality assurance in Kosovo education system is very recent. It was introduced in the law on pre-university education (MEST 2011c), which foresees government competencies and activities in school quality assurance. In addition, KESP 2011-2016 foresees activities towards establishing structures and processes that would lead towards assessment of school performance on periodic basis (KESP Objective 2). Activities relating to assessment of school performance, including school self-evaluation, have not yet been implemented. Currently, the activities of MEST Inspection department are perceived as the only quality assurance mechanisms in the pre-university education sector.

Education inspection is a major actor in Kosovo's education system. It is meant to be an instrument for the MEST to check school compliance with the applicable legislation as well as with the new policy on teacher appraisal (MEST 2010). In the last few years, it has provided professional guidance and quality check of the professional aspects of teaching and learning in schools. More particularly, school inspectors conduct class observations to identify teachers whose performance is a concern and suggest measures for improvement. Though inspection is also meant to be a tool for professional advising and mentoring it is still perceived as an 'inspection' and control. While, the quality assurance of pre-university education is managed by the national quality assurance processes for the provision of higher education programs.

In terms of measuring student performance, Kosovo education system increasingly focussed its attention on the external standardized assessments. Within a short period of time, Kosovo education system developed three national assessments, including a sample based grade 5 assessment, a grade 9 orientation and selection test for individual students and a Matura test at the end of upper secondary schooling to determine completion of upper secondary school and continuation into higher education. Being a high stakes exam, Matura exam was placed at the centre of education debate. Furthermore, Kosovo formally joined the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2013 and will participate in the upcoming comparison test in 2015.

3.6 School management

School management positions in Kosovo traditionally have been perceived as being administrative job. School directors have previously been teachers within the school with outstanding performance. There has been no school director career system in place in Kosovo to date. The professional development of school directors, similar to the professional development of teachers, has been project and donor led and as such not continuous and coherent.

In light of the implementation of training programs for school directors, the MEST introduced a criterion for school director recruitment which gives priority to candidates who have completed professional development programs on school management and leadership (MEST 2009). The law on pre-university education (MEST 2011c) has attempted to further professionalize the role of the school director. It introduced a demand that all school managers would need to have completed a professional program, accredited by MEST, while in-service school managers would need to complete additional in-service development programs.

Following the new law on pre-university education (MEST 2011c), MEST endorsed a new Administrative Instruction on the Standards for School Director Professional Practice (MEST 2012c). The standards determine the minimum requirements for professional skills and behaviour for school managers to perform in their role. The standards address the domains of (i) leadership and motivation, (ii) teaching and learning, (iii) planning and management, (iv) cooperation and interaction, (v) legislation and society, and (vi) professional ethics. The document in addition to specifying the performance standards areas also elaborates the measurable indicators.

The career management system for school managers does not yet exist and the school manager's job is not a career but rather a temporary appointment. As such, teachers do not have a strong motivation to embark on the school management career. In addition, the opportunities for professional development are not accessible in all locations and they are distant to the teacher. The donor-funded projects are not sustainable therefore it remains a challenge for the system to determine how to professionalize the position of school directors in Kosovo. With the increase of responsibilities in financial planning and management, as well as with the increasing role in curriculum implementation and staff development, the position of the school directors in Kosovo education has been made a key dimension of education management in Kosovo and as such requires the necessary attention.

3.7 Summary of Kosovo context

This chapter has attempted to set the Kosovo scene by providing the outline of the major developments in the Kosovo education in the last two decades and

the major influences that have been connected to them. Those developments have shaped current teacher work practices and thinking and they deserve attention in analysing the realities of teacher and school development in Kosovo.

The 1990s saw a period of hardship whereby education was inaccessible for majority Albanian population, in mother tongue, and it was organized as an 'underground' activity. The role of teachers was heroic and education played a strong role in developing and maintaining the resistance culture against the then regime. Following the end of the tragic war in 1999 and in light of the substantial and continuing donor support, the efforts were placed in re-designing education and expanding the access to education. More schools were built and existing ones renovated, curricula were designed and teachers started to be trained. In an attempt to transform school realities, Kosovo school system was subject to ongoing curriculum reform. The 2001 Kosovo Curriculum Framework (KCF) (see MEST 2001) was considered a significant step towards this goal. Education system was involved in another curriculum review process, approved in 2011 as a New Curriculum Framework (MEST 2011b) and it was planned as a further step towards reaching the target of education transformation. The curriculum documents are now being re-written to focus teaching practices on student learning outcomes.

Moving on towards the stage of declaring independence as a sovereign state in 2008, education in Kosovo was faced with the efforts to improve the quality of teaching and learning and decentralizing the competencies towards municipal and school level. In parallel to reviewing curricula, teachers were continuously asked to undergo professional development, which though occurred continuously was of ad hoc nature if it is looked form the perspective of demands-based perspective. Teacher professional development efforts in last decade and a half were commendable there has not been any systematic, evidence-based assessment of the actual impact it has had on teacher classroom practice.

In general, during the post-war period, the educational system struggled between following modern trends and recovering from the losses of the past (Vula & Saqipi 2009). The tensions between the desire to change and a nostalgia for the past can be easily traced in present realities of education system in Kosovo. Nostalgia in the sense that the type of education Kosovo managed to uphold during the time of Serbian control and even before the 1990s was heroic. In some ways it was critical in saving the national identity and maintained the spirit of unity and prosperity amongst the suppressed population. Therefore people are closely attached to it, they believe in it. They believe in it for what it was.

In light of this ever changing reality of teachers' work and in view of the current stage of developments with the new curriculum implementation, the endorsement of new performance standards, and the establishment of new power relations in the field, this study adopted a design that would enable an understanding of the past and present reality, as well as the evolving context of teachers' work in Kosovo as a rapidly developing context.

4 THE METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

This chapter elaborates the methodological approach and processes adopted for the conduct of this study. It starts with an outline of the research design (4.1), continuing with the reflections on how the element of research trustworthiness were addressed during this study – namely the aspects of reliability, validity and generalizability (4.2) and then moving into the elaboration of the processes of data collection and analysis that were adopted in this study (4.3).

4.1 Research design

In every research study, there are at least three choices that the researcher has to make. These include ontological, epistemological, and methodological choices. Ontology is a branch of philosophy and deals with the issue of "What exists out there?" while epistemology, also a branch of philosophy, deals with the questions of "What is knowledge and how can one obtain it?" The ontological assumptions adopted for this study are that individuals construct reality the way they see it. There is no objective truth (Cohen et al. 2011). The research methodology in any study must reflect the ontological and epistemological perspectives and choices made (Table 7).

Table 7 The frame of analysing the nature of social sciences (Cohen et al. 2011)

Subjectivist approach to social science		Objectivist approach to social science
Nominalism	← Ontology →	Realism
Anti-positivism	← Epistemology →	Positivism
Voluntarism	← Human nature →	Determinism
Idiographic	← Methodology →	Nomothetic

The basic idea of conducting qualitative research is that the meaning is socially constructed. It is socially constructed by the individuals involved and in

the interaction with the world surrounding them. The approach to this qualitative research is recognized as belonging to an anti-positivist approach (Creswell 2007; Cohen et al. 2011). Creswell (2007) argues that the positivist approach has the elements of being reductionist, logical, an emphasis on empirical data collection, cause and effect oriented and deterministic based on apriori theories (p. 20). This is opposed to the views of the social constructivism in which individuals seek the meaning of the world they live in and subjective meanings are negotiated socially and formed through interaction with others (Creswell 2007). Socio-constructivist approach is in line with the principles of the anti-positivist approach stating that knowledge is personal, subjective and unique (Cohen et al. 2011). This study is a qualitative case study. Qualitative research is, in broader terms, how targeted individuals or groups understand their own world and the world surrounding them and construct meaning in view of their experiences.

A distinguishing feature of a case study is the "holism" rather than "reductionism" implying that the whole is more than the sum of its parts (Cohen et al. 2011, 289). Such studies address the complexity and depth of the case/s or phenomenon to be studied (Gall et al. 2003). Yin (2009) suggests that Case Studies strive to portray 'what it is like' to be in a particular situation, to catch the close-up reality and 'thick description' (p. 11). Thus, the Case Study method is characterized by the notion of selecting a case for the study. Research emphasizes the importance of paying attention to the idea of "What constitutes a case?" in such a study. A case can be an institution, phenomenon, a set of issues that develops in a certain time in a specific context (Yin 2009). Johnson and Christensen (2004) distinguished three types of case study designs. First, an 'intrinsic' case study focuses on understanding a specific case such as an individual student. A second type, an 'instrumental' case study portrays studies that depict how a phenomena is functioning, beyond a single case, and are used by researchers when they are interested in generalizing and extending findings in research literature. Thirdly, 'collective' case studies focus on more than one case and allows for comparisons (p. 376)

The Instrumental Case Study method was deemed appropriate for this study given the intention to understand the development of teacher professionalism in Kosovo context with the aim of extending the findings of this research to similar developing context. The worthwhileness of a case study includes the clarity of boundaries for the case study, access to depth of information and terms of reference for data gathering (Creswell 1998, 63). Furthermore, Yin (1989, 54) reinforces the importance of context dependency of the case study analysis, and that generalizability needs to take account of the context of the case. These elements were taken into account in the design process of this case study research.

The research approach applied in this study is presented in the Figure 9.

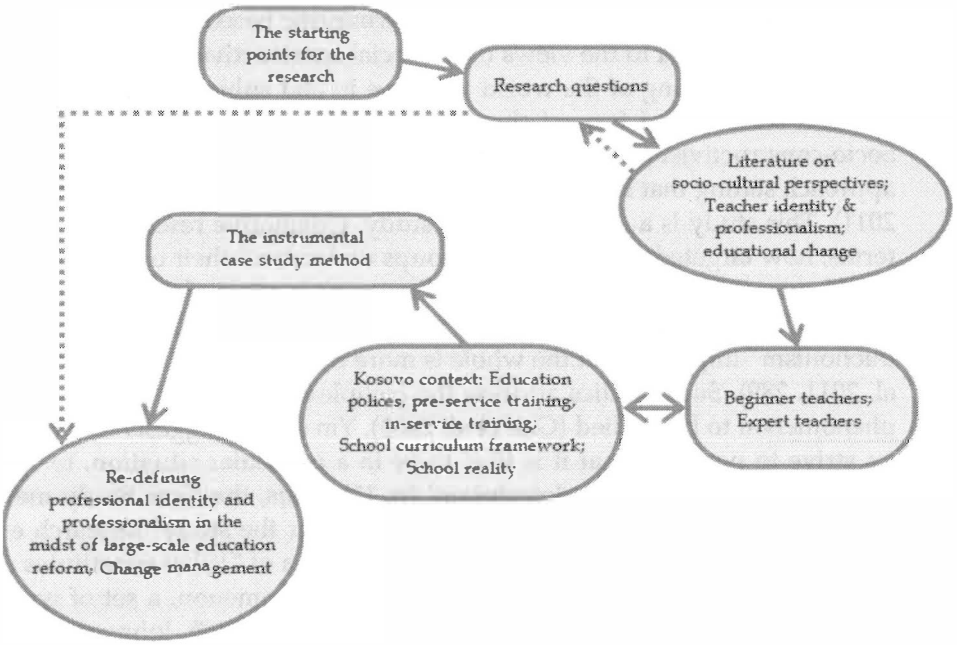

Figure 9 Research design applied in this study

The study initially investigated the type of professionalism that is being created in the Kosovo school system. At the initial stage, the study investigated teachers who are at the beginning of their career in order to identify the type of professionalism being produced currently. In the second stage, the study involved two experienced teachers through narrative interviews to elaborate and describe the context of teachers' life and career development in Kosovo trying to complement and explain the context and developments around the current professionalism.

4.2 Trustworthiness of the research

The anonymity of the participants has been protected in every step of the research. All the participants were guaranteed before the interview that their identity would not be revealed in whatever situation. Given that this research has adopted the principle that knowledge is subjective and socially constructed, it makes the principles of generalizability, validity and reliability less important and sensitive (Patton 2002). This study has carefully considered all those important dimensions of the research trustworthiness.

4.2.1 Validity and reliability

The *validity* of case study designs is seen from the perspective of (i) construct validity, (ii) internal validity, (iii) reliability, and (iv) external validity (Yin 2009, 41). The construct validity refers to the multiple sources of evidence (Yin 2009). This research has relied on forming the picture from two groups of teachers. The second group of teachers was seen as both complementing the picture created from the first group of teachers but also confirming the teacher work reality and context. In addition, the data are heavily interpreted based on the contextual background of the case.

The internal validity addresses some of the concerns for a particular type of case study research, namely the explanatory case study research. However, the internal validity for case study research applies more to the processes of inference making (Yin 2009). More specifically it examines whether all the rival explanations have been explored, and whether the inferences can be traced back to the data. This study has presented data analysis in a way that inference making can be clearly identified and examined. The coding of data, forming categories and drawing conclusions from the data are clearly indicated and elaborated throughout the study.

On the other hand, reliability in a research process refers to the possibility of a different investigator being able to reaching the same conclusions if researching the same problem (Yin 2009). Yin (2009) suggests that the most effective way of meeting the reliability demands in research is by elaborating clearly the procedures undertaken in the research and documenting all the steps in the research process so that the same study can be undertaken in exactly the same manner as yours (p. 45). This research has carefully considered the dimension of reliability throughout the process. All the steps have been clearly outlined and specified in the present study and activities can be replicated in the same way. Whereas, the external validity refers to the phenomena of what is known as generalizability of research (Yin 2009).

4.2.2 Generalizability

It is often said that case studies have a limited generalizability (Yin 2009) mainly due to the fact that they address phenomena in specific contexts. However, the case study data can contribute to greater generalizability of the particular problem (Cohen et al. 2011). Yin (2009) suggested that case studies usually opt for analytical rather than statistical generalizations due to the nature of the problems they study. The argument to support the generalizability of case studies can be supported with the idea that other types of research, for example experiments, would be similarly criticized for the inability to generalize the findings to larger populations or other contexts (Yin 2009). Generalization in a case study does not address the representativeness of the sample but rather the ability of extending the knowledge of the theory and its generalization in order to help researchers and practitioners understand similar problems in similar, or even different, contexts (Cohen et al. 2011). The generalizability of this present

case study should be looked rather at the expansion of the theoretical views of understanding the development of the teacher professionalism and professional identity whereby the particular contexts can draw on understanding and explaining their own contexts.

The role of theory is very important in the design and conducting of a case study research. No matter if the case study is exploratory, explanatory or descriptive, a good case study researcher should build a thorough theoretical framework (Yin 2009). The theoretical framework for this study proved valuable tool for designing the research, data collection and analysis. This study has made use of the principle of developing a theoretical framework based on the literature in order to develop a context for the research and also a frame for looking and interpreting the research findings. It has thus contributed to the generalizability of the findings of this study to the extent it applies to similar contexts and situations. From a different angle, the findings can prove a valuable tool for any education system undergoing change and transformations though it needs to be recognized that the starting points can be slightly or totally different.

4.3 Data collection and analysis

4.3.1 Participants in the study

Two types of data were collected for this study. In the ***first phase***, a total of 14 teachers (teacher 1-14 in the Table 8) were interviewed. Teachers were selected based on the mixed random-convenience sampling (Mertler and Charles 2004). Teachers were selected under the criteria of ensuring that teachers have graduated with the most recent/current teacher education programmes and not former two years higher education training that existed in the past. These teachers should have not had more than five to seven years of teaching experience (qualified as beginner teachers). Based on these criteria, teachers were randomly selected in cooperation with Municipal Education Authorities and school directors with the idea of involving teachers from different regions of the country and representing both rural and urban school settings.

Primary school teachers represented the majority of the sample due to the reason that primary school teacher education was more solid, consolidated and properly staffed. Lower secondary teacher education (i.e. subject teacher education) has been under external evaluation for the purposes of restructuring (see the details for the pre-service teacher education restructuring in section 3.3 above) during the period of data collection, therefore a decision was made during the process to ensure a domination of primary school teachers in the sample as a more sustainable element of pre-service teacher education. Given that the pedagogical training of both primary and lower secondary teacher education are very similar, data can also serve for more generic findings and conclusions.

Table 8 Description of teachers involved in the study

Teacher	Gender	Location	Level
Teacher 1	Male	Small urban	Subject teacher
Teacher 2	Female	Big urban	Primary teacher
Teacher 3	Female	Big urban - Capital	Primary
Teacher 4	Female	Big urban - Capital	Primary
Teacher 5	Female	Rural	Primary
Teacher 6	Female	Rural	Primary
Teacher 7	Female	Rural	Primary
Teacher 8	Female	Small urban	Primary
Teacher 9	Female	Small urban	Primary
Teacher 10	Female	Small urban	Primary
Teacher 11	Female	Small urban	Primary
Teacher 12	Female	Small urban	Subject teacher
Teacher 13	Female	Rural	Primary
Teacher 14	Female	Rural	Primary
Teacher 15	Male	Small urban	Subject teacher
Teacher 16	Male	Rural	Primary teacher

It is typical for a case study to draw on more than one source of data. As Gall et al. (2003) suggest as a typical phenomenon, this research also built on the first phase of data collection with the intention of addressing some of the emerging issues in more depth and breadth. In the ***second phase*** (teacher 15 and 16), two experienced teachers - expert teachers - were invited to talk about the evolving context of teacher work realities in Kosovo education. The expert teachers were selected in consultation with the Faculty of Education at the University of Prishtina. They were teachers who have been part of the main processes in the education development (not as leaders but as ordinary participants). These teachers had completed the former two years higher education qualification program for teachers. In years 2009/2010, these two teachers were able to upgrade the qualification to a Bachelor degree in education with the University of Prishtina's Faculty of Education. After obtaining the Bachelor degree, they started a Master Program in Curriculum and Teaching. In addition, the expert teachers had also been involved in the in-service teacher development projects. They both had the chance to work with more than one school in the country to be able to provide a thorough view of school setting.

The interviews in this phase adopted a somewhat more narrative approach. The rationale for such a choice was that increasing attention has been paid recently to biographical data, and personal narratives as tools for understanding the life and work of teachers (Coffey 2001; Connelly & Clandinin 1995; Goodson 1997). Narrative research is the study of how different humans experience the world around them and uses a methodology that allows people to tell their stories (Gay et al. 2006, 429). The extended narratives provide a more vivid and broader picture of teaching and teachers' life and career (Goodson 1997).

Completing the picture of teacher work reality in Kosovo required more in-depth and broader reflection of how teachers felt about particular context.

4.3.2 Data collection procedures

The data collection started with a pilot interview. The pilot was intended to examine the relevance and appropriateness of the questions for the main interviews, in the first phase. The pilot interview was recorded, transcribed, and analysed in order to explore any defect and challenges. As a result, some minor changes were made to the questions of the semi-structured interview protocol. In addition, in order to better allow for an understanding of professional identity reality as it stands currently, detailed sub-questions were left out in order to allow teachers to express their perceptions of the matters in the depth and breadth they could rather than guide them to a desired answer.

The ***first phase*** of data collection was conducted in the period of February 2011 to March 2012 and was focussed on issues around investigating the current features of teacher professionalism and identity in Kosovo. Teachers were interviewed in their schools at a previously agreed upon time. They were sent the information prior to the interview day with general information on the purpose of the interview. The detailed interview questions were not made known to the interviewees prior to the interview. The interview lasted between 30-60 minutes each. Each interview was recorded and transcribed for analysis purposes.

Interviews consisted of four main areas in addition to the general demographic data. The first area included questions related to (i) the challenges teachers experience in their professional practice, particularly in their first three years of practice, (ii) their perception of a good teacher and good teaching, (iii) strengths and weaknesses of their work context as well as (iv) relevance of their pre-service training to their professional practice and demands of the profession. No follow-up questions of the type "Why?" were asked to allow for understanding the current realities of the level and depth of teacher pedagogical thinking and reflection. Following the analysis of the first phase data, the need arose to better understand the context and meaning of these initial findings in a broader research context.

Two ***second phase data*** - expert teacher interviews - were collected shortly after the analysis of the first phase data was completed (in the period of May to June 2012). Given that narrative research demands a high degree of caring since it is personal and requires a more comfortable relationship between the researcher and the participant (Connelly & Clandinin 1995), a prior informal meeting with the interviewees was held separately. This meeting was arranged in order to learn about the profile of the teacher, namely years of experience and whether the teacher has been working in all major periods of educational development that are of interest to this research. The interviewee was informed of the broad purpose of the research and a time convenient for the interview was agreed.

The interview was quite open and it included such themes as (i) 'reasons behind choosing the profession of the teacher', (ii) 'the evolution of their careers as teachers and the changing nature of the job', and (iii) 'the workplace environment in school'. There were occasional interventions with sub-questions in order to lead to deeper reflection and clarity. However, as the researcher in the narrative design needs to be prepared to follow the lead of the research participant (Gay et al. 2006, 431), the interviewer decided to allow the participant to reflect on other dimensions of the work despite the fact that they may not seem closely related to the context of this study. The researcher adopted the approach of avoiding personal involvement in the sense of expressing own views, interpretations and interests (Gall et al. 2003).

4.3.3 Data analysis – two sets of data

Case Study design applies the data analysis methods to analyse the case through specific research questions. The data were analysed in a way that would provide a vivid and holistic description of the case (Johnson & Christensen 2004, 379). Case Studies are considered 'a step to action', whose insights may be directly interpreted and put to use (Cohen et al. 2011, 292). In addition, case studies are known to combine knowledge and inference and it is difficult, often, to separate the two (Cohen et al. 2011, 293). Therefore, this study has attempted to address these concerns in data analysis and reporting.

The data analysis for the first phase and second phase was done separately. In ***the first phase***, the analysis process consisted of three analytical processes: data reduction, data display, and data interpretation. Data reduction, a process to focus and simplify the data, occurred through assigning open codes to the interview data (Figure 10).

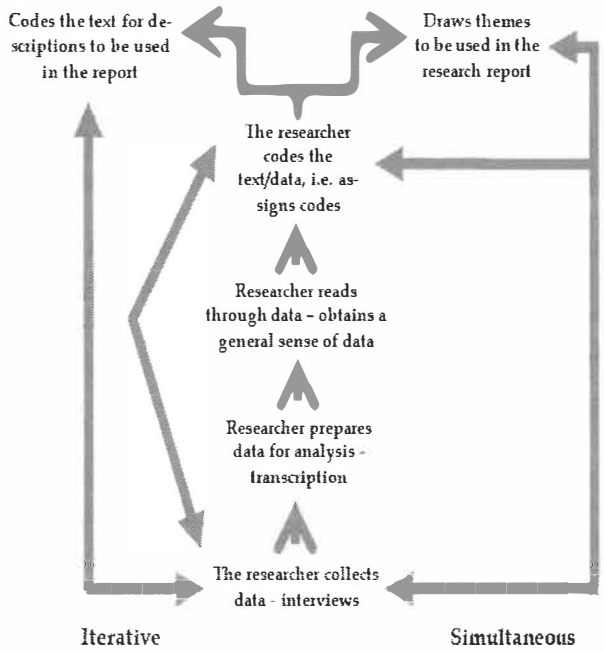

Figure 10 Data analysis process in the first phase (adapted from Creswell 2005)

The data coding is a major phenomenon in the Content Analysis method which was adopted as a data analysis method for the first phase data. There are two ways of determining the approach to data coding according to Gall et al. (2003). One way is to use the coding scheme that was designed by other researchers. Another is to determine your own coding scheme, which can be used by other people, to determine the way data was categorized and themes were drawn. The data analysis in the first phase drew on both these traditions by adopting the Hargreaves categorization of professionalism into four ages but detailing those into a list of statements that would characterize each age of professionalism (See Table 9). Data display offered further insight into the interpretation of the data. The data display presented data categories in a form of a table to be used for follow-up analysis and interpretation. Conclusion drawing and verification, the third analytical process, occurred throughout the analysis. The use of these three analytical processes in this research study was iterative.

Interviews were transcribed and scanned to obtain a general sense of data and issues appearing in the material. This was followed by an initial coding of data based on the codes that were determined apriori and elaborated (Gall et al. 2003). Strauss & Corbin (1990) describe this as *open coding*. The initial codes were assigned from one to four, number 1 representing the age of pre-professionalism, number 2 representing the age of autonomous professionalism, number 3 representing the age of collegial professionalism, and number 4 representing the age of post-professionalism. A data auditor was invited to participate in order to ensure validity of the initial data coding. The researcher and

data auditor did independent data coding based on the data coding scheme agreed on and in the follow-up discussions the unclear issues were resolved through collaboration.

Following the initial coding, the data was analysed again with the purpose of determining the descriptions to be used in the analysis and identifying sections of the text that will support the description. This process was an iterative process and occurred throughout the whole period in an iterative mode by going back and forth to reading the data for further analysis and interpretation (Creswell 2005). In a parallel exercise to coding, themes were drawn and text was identified that would be used in the narrative elaboration of the findings. The process of drawing themes and coding was occurring simultaneously.

Table 9 Data coding scheme for the first phase of data collection

Professional age	Statements
Pre-professionalism (1)	• teachers talk about knowing their subject matter is a priority • teachers talk about teaching being transmission • teachers talk about lack of need for planning • teachers talk about it being important to lecture and coordinate recitation well • teachers talk about it being important to keep order in their class • teachers fail to talk about using technology in their daily practice • teachers fail to talk about using supplementary resources • teachers talk only about using a textbook • teachers talk about how they ask questions to individual students in class • teachers talk about evaluating individual students' responses to questions • teachers talk about teaching being easy • teachers talk about not requiring extra in-service or training • teachers talk about working in classrooms isolated from peers
Autonomous professionalism (2)	• teachers talk about getting raises and earning more money • teachers talk about final exam results being less important • teachers talk about integrating technology into their daily practice OR about other teachers who do • teachers talk about frustration with lack of system's ability to support innovations • teachers talk about being demoralized by lack of system ability to support progressive methods • teachers talk about not seeing system-wide changes to support pedagogical innovation • teachers talk about how they work in classrooms isolated from peers • teachers talk about sharing with colleagues on issues related to materials, discipline, student problems • teachers talk about their teaching discipline • teachers talk about focusing on student problems • teachers talk about teaching being a facilitation • teachers talk about the importance of lesson planning • teachers talk about their professional development
Collegial professionalism (3)	• teachers talk about consulting regularly in teams of peers • teachers talk about collaborative planning • teachers talk about collegial support in delivering teaching • teachers talk about pooling resources amongst themselves • teachers talk about sharing with peers to make sense of rapid changes in social context

	• teachers talk about teachers collectively responding to changing demands in social context • teachers talk about engaging in school-based development • teachers talk about cooperating with directors in staff development planning and activities • teachers talk about belonging to a professional community • teachers talk about working as a collective staff to optimize student learning
Post-professionalism (4)	• teachers talk about responding to increasingly diverse and complex classes • teachers talk about increasing moral uncertainty impacting their profession • teachers are uncertain about which of many methodologies are best to use • teachers talk about complexities of more social groups having a say in education • teachers talk about having to meet EU Accession standards • teachers talk about how important it is for students to possess skills for the changing workplace • teachers talk with concern over the government applying ROI principles • teachers talk about the challenge to be flexible and prepare students for the workplace • teachers talk about the curriculum is constantly changing • teachers talk about their diminished ability to make decisions in the classroom • teachers talk about being manipulated by the system to work toward new national goals • teachers talk about teaching as facilitation and transmission responding to societal demands

The analysis in the ***second phase*** adopted a thematic analysis approach by determining themes that relate to the research question. This is in line with the narrative approach of interviewing in the second phase. Polkinghorne (1995) emphasizes the difference between the narrative analysis and analysis of narrative. The narrative analysis is similar to the process of restorying, or retelling, whereby the researcher collects the stories and recreates the story; whereas the analysis of the narrative is when the researcher collects the stories and analyses them to produce a description of themes that apply to all the stories involved in the research. The analysis of the narrative was focused mainly on the research sub-question explaining the context and influences on the way teachers perform their tasks in Kosovo education context.

Lieblich et al. (1998) have provided a valuable framework for analysing narrative research data. They suggest that researchers should pay attention to two major dimensions when determining a data analysis method. These dimensions are: *holistic versus categorical* and *content versus form*. The first dimension refers to the choice the researcher has to make in terms of what will be the unit of analysis. It can be an utterance, section of the text or a complete narrative as a whole (Lieblich et al. 1998, 12). This frame suggests that when the analysis is made from a categorical view it resembles the traditionally known Content Analysis method. The categorical view would lead to assigning parts of the narrative under different categories that relate to the research question it addresses, while the holistic view would look at the narrative data as a whole story and

would tend to interpret the overall story as such and qualify it in light of the research question it is addressing.

In the *content versus form* analysis, Lieblich et al. (1998) explain that 'the content' perspective looks at the actions, time, happenings, meanings as well as motives and reasons behind them, and 'the form' perspective looks at the various aspects such as structure, time sequencing and ordering of events within the narrative. The data analysis in the second phase adopted the *Categorical – Content* approach. The sections of the text were grouped under a single uniting category in relation to the particular research sub-question and it was looked from the perspective of developments and contextual situations and meanings that research participant assigned to those. Both the category and content views of data analysis were drawn from the theoretical perspectives of this study.

4.4 My role as a researcher

Before conducting any research study, it is important to recognize the researcher's assumptions, connection to the subject of study as well as any potential bias. The interpretations in the study thus can become more meaningful. It is clear that the researcher's background, persona and emotions, particularly in relation to the research topic are known to be influencing the choices during the research process as well as interpretations made out of the data.

I have had a substantially long history of involvement with the subject of this study, particularly teacher development in Kosovo. The involvement occurred in a number of ways starting with an involvement with a technical assistance donor project on reforming teacher education from a two years higher education qualification to a Bachelor level programme (2002-2004). In addition, the experience as a teacher educator (2006 onwards) – pre-service and in-service - has provided an in-depth understanding of matters and issues in teacher development. The involvement in policy design (participation in policy and legislation development and member of the State Council for Teacher Licensing) provided a different angle of experience of the same subject. Having seen the transition of the education system from this perspective and in view of the realities of teacher professional practice, it raised an interest for me to study the aspects of transitioning in teacher development and its links with professionalism and professional identity within such education transformation context.

My knowledge of the system and involvement in education policy development brings an added value to the interpretation of the situation in the field, though the limitations and delimitation of the study need to be properly acknowledged. There are various views as to whether the researcher should provide his subjective interpretations during the process of data collection (Gall et al. 2003). While, the researcher's interpretations and feeling may have direct influence on the way interviewees will choose to address the issue, it is certainly important that "researchers seek out their subjectivity systematically while

their research is in progress so that it can better determine how it might shape their inquiry and research outcomes" (Gall et al. 2003, 449).

In this case, a decision was made that no personal interpretations on either the matter under discussion or the reflections of the participants would be presented during the interview process. Whereas the examination of personal subjectivity on the research issue was consistently examined during the research process. This allowed for a continuous development of the case study boundaries and focus. The Discussion Chapter though reflects specific dimensions of personal interpretations and experiences in the context under investigation in order to contribute to the enrichment of the discussion of findings. This occurred partly due to the lack of published research on specific themes and due to heavy involvement of the researcher in the pre-service teacher education, the design of the in-service teacher education system as well as involvement in the general education policy design.

Last, but not least, I have been a student of the parallel education system (one of my classroom is presented in Picture 2 of the Appendix 6) and those experiences were in some cases helping the description of the parallel system education during the 1990s in Kosovo, which has not been written much about to date.

5 FINDINGS

The data were analysed in accordance with the research question and sub-questions. ***Firstly,*** a general perception on teacher professionalism that is currently manifested among beginner teachers was drawn from the first phase of the data. The findings are presented in view of the four ages of professionalism (5.1) elaborated under the theoretical perspective (Chapter 2).

Secondly, the findings of the second phase data is presented (5.2) thus providing a vignette of the ways in which the nature of teachers' work reality and context have evolved over the last two decades, addressing the political, contextual and education dimensions of it. Data from second stage were meant to complement the data generated from the first phase thus leading into the discussions of the broader reality of Kosovo teacher professionalism and educational change (Chapter 6).

5.1 The beginner teacher professionalism

Teacher professionalism is often considered as a continuum of development as perceived from different angles. Hargreaves (2000) categorized teacher professionalism as having gone through four ages: the pre-professional age (teaching as the technical simple craft of lecturing and recitation type of teaching with teachers who master the subject matter well); the age of the autonomous professional (teaching being a matter of judgment and choice and teachers autonomous to decide what is best for their students); the age of the collegial professional (teachers and teaching involved in consultation, collaboration and collective efforts in the organization); and, the age of the post-professional (teachers and teaching engaged with the parents and wider community to counter centralized curricula, testing regime and external surveillance) (Hargreaves 2000).

Table 10 below presents a statistical summary of beginner teacher statements that were categorized under each age of professionalism.

Table 10 Kosovo teachers' reflections against four ages of professionalism

Teacher	Age 1 - Pre Professional	Age 2- Autonomous	Age 3 - Collegial	Age 4 - Post Professional
1	7	9	2	1
2	4	8	4	0
3	0	9	6	0
4	0	1	4	1
5	5	3	0	0
6	0	5	0	0
7	1	3	0	0
8	3	0	0	0
9	6	5	0	0
10	5	1	0	0
11	12	4	0	0
12	5	1	0	0
13	2	4	0	0
14	3	5	0	0
TOTAL	53	58	16	2

Among the teachers interviewed, six teachers reflected dominating features of the pre-professional age. Six other teachers reflected more autonomous professional features in their thinking. Only one teacher demonstrated the dominating features of collegial professionalism. None of the teachers involved in this study demonstrated a pre-dominance of post-professionalism features. Thus, overall, teachers in this study demonstrate a strong tendency of viewing the teaching profession from the perspectives of the pre-professional and autonomous ages.

5.1.1 Pre-professionalism

The interviews with teachers revealed a dominant tendency of thinking about teacher practice within the frames of pre-professionalism. As can be seen in Table 11 below, teacher beliefs were oriented towards viewing teacher role as a technical expert, perceiving teaching as being unsupported by the school community and external community as well as operating under highly under-resourced conditions.

Table 11 Detailed findings for pre-professionalism

Category	Theme	Detailed findings
Pre-professional age	**Teacher as technical expert**	Teacher as manager Teacher as manager of class Teacher provides good explanation Teacher know what a class is Teacher transmitter of knowledge School organizes quizzes often Lack of equipment challenge Not sure how manage, organize class at beginning Grade 3 do not hold pencils Teacher directing a child Teacher attempts to have student achievement Teacher talks about managing to have students read and write Teacher talks about importance of discipline Repetition used in class Teacher should be prepared, quiet, behave Teachers take examples to help student understanding Teacher talks about importance of clear lectures Know whether students are learning important Cooperation, communication with students important No difficulties in work Achieving set objectives important To educate children primary role Difficult to focus children/used to play Teacher talks about student record books Teacher believes has no problems No monthly/annual plan I wish to keep discipline Teacher dressing properly important Knowing the computer important Teacher talks about presenting in class Teacher feels has no problems Noise in group work Teacher as democrat, flexible - style Good teacher knows the subject Teacher happy, free, close - style Concern over fair assessment Teacher attempts for fair assessment Discipline of students and respect first priority
	Isolated Teacher	Parents not interested Communication with parents difficult Noisy students a challenge I tried for 2 years to work with special needs student Parents not helping understand who students are Jealousy amongst teachers Lack coop with teachers Parents do not know their children Parents do not accept reality Good cooperation with peers and do tests together
	Orientation to resources	Lack labs weakness of school Talk of text books only Teacher talks about class length School cleanliness a challenge

Teacher as technical expert

Teachers falling under the pre-professionalism category dominated in their thinking towards the technical aspects of their work. The view of teaching as a technical-rational activity among the teachers in this study is also linked with the way teachers in the system see the role of pre-service training. In many cases teachers refer to the pre-service training as a source of challenges teachers face in the profession due to the fact that certain concepts have not been addressed during pre-service training.

> "Student teachers should be exposed to talking about children... about textbooks that will be used in school while working with students ..."(Teacher 4).

This type of thinking moves away from perceiving teaching as interpretative enterprise. Specific elements of pre-service teacher education were however emphasized as being relevant to the teacher work reality and professional practice. Teachers emphasized that student teaching experience has been very useful in terms of enabling students to face classroom reality. However, it did not appear as a component that participating teachers saw as addressing the broadest scope of the classroom or school reality. At least, not to the level teachers would expect.

> "I was a little bit afraid when I first appeared in front of the students, even though I had the chance to do so during the student teaching. I was thinking that my lectures will not be clear to the students. I asked for the opinion of many other teachers. I was not feeling self-confident" (Teacher 9).

This level of reflection on seeking the solution of teaching problems as ready-made solution does not align with the principles of the inquiry based teaching. However, the indications of beginner teachers referring to colleagues for advice seems to provide good potential that formal school structures should empower in future. An important feature though is that the link of the theoretical classes and the practical student teaching was not emphasized by the participating teachers. Probably this is explained by the nature of how teacher education institutions have organized student teaching placements in the program. Such experience is not integrated within, or tied with, any instructional methodology course but rather as a separate standing alone component of the program.

A similar type of thinking was demonstrated also in light of viewing communication with parents as technical-rational activity in the frames of student achievement in school. In such cases, teachers connected their views of daily task management to the pre-service training and the potential it has to develop the necessary skills and competencies among novice teachers.

"I had difficulties in organizing parent meetings - it was a special emotion to appear in front of the parents. The Faculty did not prepare us how to organizemeetings with parents. We were not exposed to this during student teaching either," (Teacher 5).

Teachers under this category reflected perceptions of teaching as transmission of knowledge and paying attention to the management of the teaching process and relation to students as far as academic achievement and assessment of their knowledge is concerned. One other important theme was that of teachers viewing teaching as an easy and not a demanding job. Such a reflection demonstrates a level of teacher pedagogical thinking that is not oriented towards the understanding of the teaching job as an evolving and ever-changing profession. Classroom management appeared as a dominating theme under this category. The fact that teachers are faced with big classes may explain the reflection of teachers at the beginning of their career

Isolated teacher

Two dominant themes under this category were teachers' relation to and interaction with parents, as well as the domain of teacher cooperation with other colleagues in the school. Teachers reported that parents were not showing much interest in their children's work.

> "Even today, I try to give less assignments for home, and do with them more class work, because I have seen that their parents are not interested so much. Probably not all parents, but each of them has different views especially between those educated and non-educated parents" (Teacher 2)

Such a reflection from teachers raises two issues. Firstly, it emphasizes the perception of teachers that parents in general are not exercising their part of the role in educating their children and are not behaving as responsible partners for the teachers. Secondly, it emphasizes perceptions teachers have about parents with different backgrounds, specifically related to educational background.

The challenge of cooperation with colleagues appeared as another important theme under this category. The only positive collegial cooperation reported by teachers was the cooperation on designing student tests. This demonstrates an isolation from a broader development perspective that collegial cooperation may bring about. In addition, teachers talked about the level of jealousy that exists between teachers, in some cases.

> "I see my colleagues who have a Higher Pedagogical Schools qualification are very jealous because our salaries with a Faculty degree are higher. I don't like situations when colleagues are jealous, it is a very bad thing" (Teacher 9).

The teacher licensing system managed by the central authorities has introduced a payment system that differentiates teacher payment level based on the level of pre-service qualification. Teachers qualified under the old system of two years higher education in Higher Pedagogical Schools, sometime reflect a 'jealousy' over the pay differential. This difference plus the lack of pay for performance mechanism in the licensing system also contribute to feelings of job-insecurity.

The level of teacher pedagogical reflection among the teachers, at the beginning of their career, seems to raise concerns for schools as an organization, as well as the system overall in light of the need to make teachers as promoters of change. Teachers reflected an understanding that teaching is either easy or that they do not face any challenges in their teaching practice. It demonstrates the lack of processes at school level and lack of self-reflection inquiry in relation to the need and demands for ongoing changes.

5.1.2 Autonomous professionalism

The most dominating feature of beginner teacher professionalism in Kosovo was characterized as being those that belong under the category of autonomous professionalism. Table 12 outlines the most important themes that occurred to be under the autonomous professionalism.

Table 12 Detailed findings for autonomous professionalism

Category	Theme	Detailed finding
Autonomous professional	**Didactic orientation**	Cooperate with students regardless of their problems Learned how to organize classes at University Try to use contemporary methods Being a teacher is quite difficult Interventions in teacher grading students inappropriate Teacher who attend trainings trying new things Lack of organizing activities Teachers should be creative Teacher plan classes at home Teacher puts activities suitable for them All children providing opinions Children express themselves Teacher using creative strategies Not an easy job Teacher as facilitator Link lesson with everyday life A year until students got used to my/different methods Teacher keeps file for every child Teacher using different methods Teacher as facilitator Difficulty in understanding what students want Using many methods important Professional development helps Free writing activity for students How to solve a problem Following a unified lesson plan a restriction Teachers stimulate students in different forms Integrate traditional with the new Teacher focuses on what is best for students
	Professional relations	Lack of cooperation within professional communities (teams) Colleague giving idea for a lesson Cooperation with school director positive We cooperate with parents Exchange ideas with peers on instructional choices Coop with colleagues not so good Teacher talks how we should not think of ourselves only Focus on the family background important Consulted with other teachers on how to teach Teachers collaborate Consult with other teachers Cooperate with colleagues to solve teaching problems Observe others teaching important Cooperate only with some colleagues Five teachers cooperate Teachers/colleagues serving as model
	Life-long learning	Non-trained teachers continue with their old way Teachers should learn continuously Teacher ready for new knowledge
	Importance of resources to teaching	Lack of resources makes work difficult Teachers have necessary resources (non-public school) Teacher pays for my own resources Lack of resources a weakness Create own teaching and learning materials

Didactic orientation to teaching

Didactic orientation to teaching characterized the autonomous professionalism among Kosovo teachers. Teachers emphasized their concerns over the demands of the profession and their capacity to perform.

> "Well, the biggest challenge for me, as may be the case of course for every teacher entering a new environment, was how I shall handle my teaching... Will students understand me..."(Teacher 3).

This feeling of "fear of the unknown" may be seen as being normal for beginner teachers. The extent to which the student teaching experience alleviates such fears is unknown and was not revealed during the interviews. The modalities of managing the student teaching placement, the criteria for assessing, and the exposure to the whole school life remain an important area of development in order to address such a fear.

> "For the first time, I started to teach here in a new municipality, so I did not know anyone, meaning working with new colleagues and new students. It was a challenge for me to adapt to the new environment and new students," (Teacher 7)

Such a feeling of uncertainty communicates a lack of teacher confidence in their ability to cope with the demands of the profession as well as the demands of becoming a member of the new organization. The 22 weeks long student teaching experience, which pre-service teacher education programs have embedded, seems unsuccessful in fully exposing students to specifics of school life and preparing them to face new school environments or groups of students. In addition, the phenomenon of teaching in a new municipality as a challenge emphasizes the cultural background of community linkages.

Teachers reflecting the principles of didactic orientation expressed their views on teaching as being a difficult task and managed to view the nature of teaching in more depth, within the domain of enacting teaching and meeting their basic teaching commitments. There were three major themes under this category. First, and most dominating, was teacher orientation, specifically on how to manage classroom activities. This involved the perception that a teachers role is to facilitate learning activities, attempting to use teaching methods, as well as designing learning activities for student learning. A second theme was instructional planning. This involved the need for teachers to plan classes as a positive development. On the other hand, the reflection that teachers should not follow a pre-arranged plan but demonstrate creativity reflected a more in-depth thinking towards the teaching task. Thirdly, teachers reflected on the aspects of professional development as closely linked to the way they or their colleagues behave in the profession. Such a link confirmed that teachers believed professional development was meant for helping teachers implement new things in class and manage daily tasks rather than broader reflections on teachers' roles beyond teaching enactment.

Professional relations

When talking about the broader aspects of teachers' work reality, teachers spoke of professional collaboration under the frame of autonomous professionalism. They reflect on this collaboration as a mean to solving teaching problems which restricts that type of collaboration as belonging to autonomous professionalism.

> "I exchange my experience with M. and I. Maybe because we are same age. There is some kind of division with the teachers who graduated from former Higher Pedagogical Schools and those with a University degree. We try to change teaching methods with the modern ones, but sometimes we do not find good cooperation grounds with other teachers in school," (Teacher 5).

This reality in schools can be explained in two dimensions. Firstly, it is speaks of generation differences. Teachers who graduated from Higher Pedagogical Schools (former 2 year Higher Education qualification for teachers) who have traditionally been treated as heroes of the education in Kosovo seem to hold a different status for themselves. They worked to uphold the education system during the period of 90s. Their status in society was quite high. And their mission was idealistic. On the other hand, it may also be the conflict of ideas and approaches to teaching and learning that people from a different background may value more. Teacher education in Kosovo in the last decade has undergone a series of fundamental changes in order to push the system towards a more learner-centred approach.

The cooperation between teachers coming from different backgrounds was raised as an issue also in relation to the new teachers trying new things in their professional practice.

> "When I first started here the cooperation with colleagues was not so good because I wanted to do some things differently. This was so because the system of Faculty of Education was different compared with Higher Pedagogical Schools. There were some areas we could cooperate but in general I had to rely on my own skills...," (Teacher 6).

There are however reflections and understanding that teacher collaboration can bring benefits to the professional learning and development of beginner teachers. But, it is obvious that is not something that exists in reality.

> "There are teachers who are experienced and there are novice teachers in the school. If we exchange visits in our classes, one teacher can learn from the other. We all have good relations but if we exchange our experiences it will be better. This is my personal opinion," (Teacher 7).

In some cases of autonomous professionalism, teacher collaboration is deemed as joint planning for solving technical problems of the teaching situations rather than whole school development approaches. In this context, such

collaboration is seen more as a needs-driven process and an individually-led process.

> "We come together, for example for grade 4, to plan together. We consult each other how to solve a problem," (Teacher 9).

In addition, teachers also speak of the specifics of their schools in relation to how teachers cooperate or see the need to cooperate with one another. It seems the willingness to cooperate with one another is solely dependent on the willingness of individual teachers and based on personal relationships rather than any organized attempt at school level.

> "There are some colleagues with whom I cooperate very well. But some others... for example I felt the need to observe some other classroom to see how colleagues are working, but there were cases when colleagues were reacting by saying that I don't need to do that as I will learn things on my own as I go on," (Teacher 13).

This kind of attitude raises two issues. Initially it speaks about the types of school culture that seems to be developing only informal professional relations. On the other hand, it speaks about how teachers perceive learning to teach - as something that you can develop by learning on your own.

5.1.3 Collegial professionalism

The domain of collegial professionalism was reflected much weaker compared to the ages of pre-professionalism and autonomous professionalism. Table 13 below provides a summary of the findings that emerged from the interviews as reflecting the features of collegial professionalism. Dominating themes that emerged within the age of collegial professionalism were professional collaboration among the colleagues and the collaboration outside school.

Table 13 Detailed findings for collegial professionalism

Category	Theme	Detailed finding
Collegial professionalism	Professional collaboration in school	Cooperate with other teachers needed Joint monthly staff meetings Planning together for supplementary classes Colleagues cooperative Useful coop with colleagues, professional bodies School working plan for monthly PD sessions Colleagues ready to help Teachers support each other Wonderful coop with colleagues Good cooperation with pedagogical staff Integrate lessons in school
	Cooperation outside school	Cooperate with stakeholders Cooperation with colleagues from other schools Coop with colleagues helped overcoming challenge of working with parents Staff training helps to implement a new program

Professional collaboration in school

Teachers referred to two types of cooperation under professional collaboration. Firstly they spoke about informal consultations and professional discussions that teachers have in different schools settings. On the other hand, there were teachers who spoke about the formal school culture in having teachers engage in various forms of collaborative planning and development. While only one teacher from the public schools spoke of a routine of joint planning sessions, the two teachers from the non-public school spoke highly of the joint planning culture of their school and reported it as internalized culture.

Though not a dominant trend, the non-public school system seemed to be developing a culture where teachers notice the benefits of joint collaboration and planning. One of those teachers that spoke about a more formal culture of school planning and development was working in a non-public school.

> "Our school has a working plan which envisages that professional groups once a month discuss about a topic, to encourage discuss difficulties they experience. For e.g., we had about one month ago to discuss a topic related to children behaviours," (Teacher 3).

The data clearly show that teachers are not used to strong collaborative environments. The professional collaboration that teachers have reported on is rather restricted to pair and small group collaboration rather than whole school development initiatives focussed around teaching and learning practices or changing student experiences in schools. The cases when such features of collaborative culture have been emphasized it was apparent that it occurred in a public school whose school director was reported by the teacher as very active and professional. On the other hand, the collaborative professional culture in the non-public school was emphasized a bit stronger among the two teachers involved and appeared to be embedded deeper in the school working culture.

Teachers also spoke of benefits that result from informal cooperation in schools.

> "There were different benefits that resulted from the cooperation between the colleagues who had their classes next to each other" (Teacher 4).

In addition, professional collaboration in school was also discussed by teachers in light of the need and relevance for supporting one another in developing teaching and learning. Thus, there was no obvious tendency of teachers involved in this study to think of professional collaboration in school as a tool for overall school development nor to think that professional collaboration should be a core mission in their school.

Cooperation outside school

Teachers referred to cooperation outside school when talking about linking professional development to school improvement, cooperation with colleagues from other schools as well cooperation with colleagues in school related to linking with school community.

> "Another challenge for me was cooperation with parents - maybe it was for me as I was a new teacher and had insufficient experience in working with parents. We have parents with different background and level so it was a challenge how to approach them. However, it was the cooperation with colleagues and school management that helped me overcome this challenge," (Teacher 3).

Regarding cooperation with the external community, some teachers refer to the lack of practical relevance of pre-service teacher education. Teacher 3 when talking about challenges of cooperating with parents during her early professional practice referred to

> "...maybe the Faculty of Education should provide courses on how to work with the parents during pre-service training...".

The teacher from the non-public school referred to a more embedded school culture of working together with colleagues in the form of formal workshops in order to manage situations such as cooperation with parents. Being a non-public school, it was evident that teachers feel more pressure to manage relationships with parents.

> "Handling parents is challenging. They phone any time they are free and they do not respect the appropriate timing for school to call. These are small things that we overcome collaboratively through small workshops," (Teacher 4).

5.1.4 The missing post-professionalism

As can be seen in Table 14, teachers demonstrated almost no reflection on the post-professional aspects of teachers' work. Those mentioned were of a general nature and did not reflect specific features of post-professionalism.

Table 14 The missing post-professionalism

Category	Theme	Detailed finding
Post-professionalism	Responding to demands	Wants to be equipped to respond to 21st century demands More links to classroom reality since change is very fast

There were only two statements made under this category which ascribed to the values and principles of the post-professionalism. These implied a rather general and superficial way of addressing the increasing demands on teaching jobs in the current century.

However, teachers did not demonstrate any thinking in terms of the developments in the education system and the pressure those developments place on teachers' work reality. The main policies such as the approval of the new Curriculum at national level and the introduction of teacher performance standards by the central authorities were not mentioned at all by teachers either directly or indirectly. In addition, there was no reflection by the teachers on the potential pressure that comes from the centralized testing regimes that have been increasing in the last decade.

5.2 The context and evolution of teachers' work reality

The evolution of the teachers' work reality and the context in which it has been placed has been examined through the second phase of the interviews - the expert teacher interviews - which provides from teacher's perspective a more elaborated picture of the evolving nature of teacher work reality. A number of themes were drawn from these data including (i) the changing values behind the teaching profession, (ii) the changing nature of teachers' work reality, (iii) unchallenging school culture and (iv) the distance between the policy and the teacher. They are elaborated below in more depth.

5.2.1 The changing values behind the teaching profession

The values behind and the image teachers had of the profession of the teacher and teachers used to be quite positive in the past. The first public University in Kosovo was established in 1970, and before that the so called Normal Schools, teacher education institutions at that time, were quite common. They were a type of education that would lead towards a particular employment, in addition to the values society was placing on education as such. Teacher 15 speaks of the image he had for the teacher at the time when he was a student. Though an authoritarian view, it still gives an image of how people valued the role of the teacher and the profession of teaching.

> "Back then, when I was a student, the teaching profession used to be regarded as something sacred. I very well remember when I was still at the elementary school, and I recall being impressed by the way teacher looked like, his stance, his neat and clean dressing as well as his elegance, or the way he expressed and behaved himself. All these made me develop some kind of love and fondness, regarding the teacher as someone divine. Basically not a human being. This is when I started developing my love and respect for this profession, wondering if I would ever be able to become one ..."(Teacher 15)

Teacher 16 on the other hand says the rationale behind choosing the teaching profession was the wish to contribute to the country.

> "I have chosen it deliberately, I simply wanted to one day be able to contribute to my country and I loved this profession" (Teacher 16).

In addition, from the perspective of what education meant for society, it is obvious schooling had strong values embedded within the families. Teacher 15 speaks of how his parent had seen the role of education and the encouragement provided for the choice in further education.

> "He used to be a construction worker, he has suffered and worked a lot during his lifetime. He was a hard worker and we were nine children in the family, and he always used to say please study in order to be able to make/earn for a good living. I want you to carry pencils in your hands, not construction tools. And he did his best to support me, so in a way his and mine wishes merged into one" (Teacher 15).

However, the image of teachers in the society seems to have changed. From a heroic duty and a 'divine' role in the 90s, the perception teachers presently of how others see them have changed. Teacher 15 speaks of lack of trust and respect from students and from parents.

> "I have a feeling the trust in the teacher has decreased. It is not as before, students but also parents are not as respectful of teachers as they used to be..."

In addition, the purpose of schooling is serving a slightly different purpose nowadays as compared to the 1990s when education was serving to keep the spirit of the nation alive and educating for social and political resistance. Nowadays, education is serving the seemingly competitive agenda of Kosovo as a new state catching up with European Union values and trends.

> "We are aiming for Europe and the global market of knowledge. If we are not able to be compatible with others, we will stagnate and there will be no progress. Kosovo's new curriculum has also done its part of the job. The main goal of the new curriculum or the new framework is to prepare generations that will be equal to children and pupils in Europe" (Teacher 16).

5.2.2 Changing nature of teachers' work reality

The teacher work reality in Kosovo has changed a lot in the last decades and it is linked to different developments and circumstances that were associated with those developments. Teacher 15 speaks of the work reality as having been good in the past in terms of the order and discipline. Such a situation was followed by a challenging and disordered circumstances of operating schools, however it also speaks of the perception of teaching and schooling before the period of the 1990s in Kosovo whereby discipline in class and in school was important.

> "Good work was done before the escalation of situation, there was discipline, there was order, smooth conduct of classroom, and respect for working hours..."(Teacher 15).

However, the political developments which led to education in Albanian language, as a majority population language, being banned by the Serbian government at the time, had a major impact on how schooling and teaching was perceived. Teacher 15 spoke of the radical changes in teachers' work reality which influenced the nature of professionalism and identity.

> "Later, as the situation escalated, we started developing parallel teaching system based on our own curricula. Teaching became rather exhausting, filled with sacrifice, with big number of students because we were expelled from schools, and we had to hold classes in private houses and sometimes even in religious buildings. Although we raised concerns about the quality of teaching we decided to accept every single student, as there was not much of a choice. Even though we would not be able to prepare them in the way that we should, we at least made sure they were not on the street, brought them into classroom and did our best. I want to say that despite all these obstacles, lack of textbooks, teaching aides, high number of students, lack of basic working conditions, as students had no tables and sometimes used to place notebooks on the back of students sitting in front of them to be able to write. For me this was unforgettable experience and feeling and a driving motive too, because we knew we were doing something very important, even though we were paid a symbolic amount (Teacher 15).

And, such efforts required commitment and energy from all those involved. It was a period about which people feel proud and nostalgic.

> We all mobilized, teachers and students, there was great feeling of sympathy and respect by all. I felt much better at that time, with that payment. Perhaps it was the cause, the resistance towards the occupation. And we had to reject Serbian curricula, which was not ours. We had our own language, identity, character and we needed our own programs. Perhaps that was what kept us going. I feel great nostalgia and pain, but also dignity for the work we have done" (Teacher 15).

Of similar nature was the reflection of Teacher 16. He too thought the nature and circumstances were rather difficult yet the commitment was also greater.

> "If we give a short overview of the 90s, we start with teacher funding in the then parallel schooling system. We had "Mother Theresa Association" which was responsible for financing teachers in Kosovo. It operated between 1991 and 1993. Every school had established its own finance committee. On a voluntary basis, they were supposed to collect funds to pay teachers of our schools. Despite difficult circumstances, the teaching went on, with much higher number of students than now, and I have a feeling that there was a high degree of commitment, too." (Teacher 16)

The year 1999 marked a major turnaround in the development of education in Kosovo. Following the military and political intervention of the western world, repression ended in Kosovo and people could return to the normality of life. Teacher 15 describes this situation, rightly, as chaotic:

> "The situation was quite chaotic, we lacked orientation, schools still burned down, there were limited number of textbooks. And we gradually started to work. I thought that this great number of countries had come to Kosovo to help out, with so much support and expert groups, in various areas. They took us and, as is the case with a single child, everyone wants to feed him, or dress him, put shoes on... and we were confused and could not find our way forward.

This increasing focus from donor partners has unavoidably led to several uncertainties and confusion. This was a big change from the reality that was being left behind and difficult for people to accommodate themselves into.

> "There was no plan, orientation, mapping or a needs assessment. We used to have people from the British Council coming with a great program, then the Danish Red Cross with another, or a totally third party doing something else. So you learn one thing, then another one. There was no system, order, or course of work. There has

> been a lack of clarity in the way things were done, sometimes they even overburdened everyone and we started undergoing many changes in many directions. And every party used to come up with its own programs. We liked everything they would present to us, and then in our effort to absorb all that information at the same time, the brain would simply not register it" (Teacher 15).

However, the chaotic situation, following a decade of reform and consolidation led to the enhancement of the situation. In the view of Teacher 15, teaching has now moved from information giving (transmission) to helping students learn how to learn (transformation). Though it is clear how much the perceptions of teachers' roles have changed in the present days, it still reflects a strong didactic focus and ignores the moral, pedagogical principles of teaching and learning nowadays.

> "The approach to teaching has changed, the lifestyle, we now have computers and internet. The way people communicate and move has changed. For example, in the 90ies, even if I had 90 students in the classroom, I was able to create a situation to have the attention of all students because I was the one giving the information, and I was the source of all information, I was at the centre of teaching. After 2000, and after my experience in Denmark, I saw some movements I found myself wondering why students would not listen. In the past I used to tell them 'I am here for you' but that did not turn out to be true, because they were not there for me. I thought I was there for them, I should be the one to think about them" (Teacher 15).

This changing situation was implying the change of the teacher behaviour and orientation to the task.

> "Then I wondered why they are not thinking that they need me, and I am the one giving them information and they should appreciate my efforts, This has also changed, I am not the one giving information, I'm not the centre or superior to students. These convictions are no longer valid or present. In the past we also used to seek or find an average among all students. There was one subject or topic that everyone had to learn. I no longer do this, because the teacher is no longer the source of information. The students have the opportunity to find information from various other sources be it internet, textbooks, magazines, anything. And the teacher should take the supportive role, the role of a facilitator. During the class, he needs to direct the student what and how to learn. We have cases when someone one complains I study all day but can get good marks while someone else does it with less effort, and I have told them you have to know how to learn. You have no work strategy. And right now I think that the teacher should think more about telling the student how to learn as opposed to what to learn" (Teacher 15).

It is mostly due to the restrictions that circumstances during the 1990s have imposed on the way teachers thought about their role or the way they could enact teaching. The shift from the situation before 1999 to current reality demonstrates a transition from the pre-professionalism to autonomous professionalism. Or, it demonstrates a shift from academic orientation towards a didactical orientation.

> "The defect I see from the current perspective is that the teaching was mainly based on the teacher's word. And the teacher felt that he had achieved his goal when many pupils managed to interpret (repeat) his words. In brief, the work was teaching from the front and individual; the teacher's word prevailed or he had the final say. There was no interaction between teacher and pupils, at least not to the extent we do today.

> There was no work in groups, teaching techniques and forms of work we apply nowadays in schools" (Teacher 16)

> "The teacher's approach and task has changed. But also the students' too. For example, in the past I used to pose yes and no question to students, I asked for definitions, which was rather simple activity and now the situation is different, because we have the possibility to work in groups. In the past we worked only from the front. All the students used to listen. They were passive. You (teacher) gave the information, and they were or were not able to give that information back, and that information was not related to daily life, to the real current situation, and was there just as an answer"(Teacher 15).

The changes in teacher professionalism and practice seem to have originated from a number of sources. Those include personal sources, the adoption of Curricula in 2001, the influence from the training, as well as the role of the theory in changing teachers' personal practical theory. Teacher 15 reflects on those changes and how those changes removed from a technical and academic orientation towards a more didactic approach. The connection to in-service professional development was implied by both Teacher 15 and Teacher 16.

> "There are many reasons. Curriculum has changed. We have undergone many trainings, offered by the Ministry of Education or various associations and organizations. We also have internet now and the resources we can find there. We also have access to different textbooks. And now it depends on the teacher where to find information. I personally think that, based on my experience so far, and the training I've been able to attend, based on information I was able to read on internet and what I learned in the Faculty of Education and the AKM (Upgrade of Qualification to Bachelor) program, but also now in this master's program we are attending one notices the need for change. And the change has taken place." (Teacher 15)

The new Curriculum introduced in 2011 provides a frame for moving teaching and learning in Kosovo towards a truly transformative pedagogic orientation. Teacher 15 sees the new Curriculum as holding true potential that it allows teachers the flexibility, avoid the highly prescribed nature, and the responsibility, being outcomes based, to shift the teaching practice towards the principles of pedagogical expert orientation.

> "In the past, the task of the teacher was to manage the classroom, the discipline, the work, to use the set textbooks, and to apply that set curricula. Therefore, our goal was there, we had the curricula, a textbook of 100 pages, you go through that textbook, and at the end you make an assessment based on the fact that you have implemented/gone through the curricula, regardless of the fact what results did you achieve, regardless of the fact how much students were able to understand the material, regardless of whether the material was proper or useful for the students. Because we had many cases when we had material/textbooks that were not useful. Now I think that the new curricula enables teachers to sit down and think what to do. How should I act? To know about the students as a starting point. What are their prospects/perspectives? What is their background? Their culture? Their economic and social status. Their needs and interests. And then based on them develop a plan, which allows both students and teacher an easier approach to come to more effective learning. And it is always easier for a teacher to work with or read something tangible/concrete, something that is interesting to you, something that you like. Or vice versa. Why should we come to a situation to have students with divergences and different knowledge in the classroom, a student who knows a certain topic perhaps better than me, and then have me present him that very topic? This will de-motivate him, or he will feel dissatisfied..."

5.2.3 Unchallenging school culture

It was evident throughout the interviews that there seems to be little or no evidence of school based development initiatives. Teachers are not encouraged to do things collaboratively and do not engage in more informal and collaborative initiatives with colleagues. The school-based initiatives seem to have, in fact, decreased when compared to the situation prior to 1990.

> "As a matter of fact the school building is new but in essence it resembles schools of the past. And this is a challenge for all: for the teacher, pupils, parents and the community. We lack proper organization (structure). I think that the directors, namely the managing staff of the school, need improvements too in order to be up to their duty. For example before the war the school I worked in, and was a student too, we used to have the drama group, the literary group, and other groups. Right now our schools lack them. There is need for more work. We constantly complain about lack of teaching aides, but you do not need them for a literary group. We could also secure funds for the music group. But our schools need to have genuine and even educated directors or managers in future" (Teacher 16).

Within the context of school culture, the professional collaboration in school culture seems to be very weak. It is evident that teachers work together when doing the planning at general level, monthly and yearly plans but there does not seem to be any professional level cooperation beyond that stage. Teachers seem to work behind the closed door and the school culture does not provide any mechanisms for a more collegial collaboration related to classroom practices. Both Teacher 15 and Teacher 16 spoke of poor collegial collaboration.

> "I can say that there is good cooperation, but not to a satisfactory level. There is still a wall that has persisted for years. If I ask you about an issue, you will judge me and perceive me as being less knowledgeable than you. There are still teachers who work 'behind closed doors'. They don't want others to know the way they teach or are reluctant to invite you to his/her class to monitor teaching, and discuss each-others work. These initiatives or forms of cooperation still lack. There is cooperation and teamwork in some classes, especially in lower ones, in which teachers join forces and develop joint plans but there are also teacher who focus on individual teaching. We would need more open and transparent cooperation, because two heads know better than one" (Teacher 15).

One important view is to look at how teachers collaborate from the perspective of whether the meetings are formal or informal. Both Teacher 15 and Teacher 16 spoke of the four meetings per year they need to have in school. This seems to be the maximum number of times school staff get together with the management to talk about school matters. Though there may occasionally be other meetings, the formality of collegial collaboration and lack of more ongoing professional collaboration culture seems to be evident. Teacher 15 explains it as:

> "In January for example, in the second semester, we had meetings to discuss the successes, student absentees, problems and results. We discuss forms to overcome possible problems. I forgot to mention good cooperation with teachers of same subject teaching at different grade level. From 20 August onwards we will have meetings on new school year preparation. The cooperation is not satisfactory though."

The number of meetings per year seems to be fixed, and the topics seem to be generic and usual. Teacher 15 says that:

> "We have meetings on topics same as above. We need to hold at least four meetings with the council of class and school."

The unchallenging school culture is also reflected in terms of lack of professional support teachers get from school, municipal or central authorities on continuous basis. Teacher 15 talks about occasional support visits from municipal authorities or occasional professional development that was organized by two of the colleagues. The occasional professional support does not seem to be provided in systematic way and it is up to the teachers to drawn on eventual opportunities or engage in self-learning activities.

> "Not much I would say. Once two of our colleagues who had attended a training course on assessment offered the same training to us. That was all I can recall. One might have asked for director's support in private. Occasionally the director comes to observe classrooms, and I have always asked for his/her feedback. I've never received it. There are also cases when people from municipal authorities come and bring materials but no further development came out of it. I now remember we were also given a lesson planning guide by the education directorate last year and the year before"

In such a context of professionally unchallenging school culture, the work reality is heavily teacher bound. It is up to the individual teachers to determine the way and to the extent to which they develop themselves. Despite occasional centrally driven workshops, there does not seem to be other opportunities or incentives for teachers to engage in change efforts. It is more their choice and reflexivity if they choose to engage. Teacher 15 talks about how he makes individual choices when engaging in reflexive practice when asked what is the main driving force for teachers to change:

> "....In my case, I would say that I have always been interested in new developments and have always strived to keep myself abreast of latest things, to see what happens in the world. And I was lucky because I also had the opportunity to work with young children. I have constantly challenged myself with various age groups. 1-3 grade, 6-9, high school, and have also given private classes / courses for people of different professions such as engineers, doctors, and so on. And this experience has helped me understand that I need to use different teaching approach with children and different one with the grown-ups. For example, I visited once a colleague during his class, and he asks a seven grade student "Are you married?" because the textbook he was using were designed for another age group. This is wrong."

5.2.4 Policy distanced from the teacher

Teacher 15 talks about the way other colleagues of a similar age, would be resistant to change and accept a different way of work. He separates himself from the others, though speaks of a culture that teachers choose how and what to translate in their classroom practices, still with the existing/old curriculum that has been in use from 2001.

> "I think that the old curriculum is still being implemented in many schools. It is a problem actually. I have some 'old' colleagues who refuse to accept the change. He or she says this is my way, the way I learned it, and there is no better way. And these things, in my opinion, are only an obstacle to teaching/learning process. Why should I divide students into groups? They will only make noise and will not work with each-other."

The same applies also in the case of the new Curriculum officially endorsed in 2011. Two years after the document has been made public in the website, following a massive media campaign, distribution of copies into municipalities and schools, teachers still seem to have not managed to connect to the new policy document very well. Though it is still a transition period and the 'old' curriculum will remain in use in the schools for a few more years, it is interesting to note that the centrally designed and publicized policies do not get wider school-based attention. When talking about the contacts with the new curriculum and its implications in classroom teaching:

> "The situation is not ideal, because there are many teachers who have not read the curricula. I do not know why or for what reasons. Maybe they simply did not have access to it. And I do not know if it is the responsibility of the (Municipal Education) Directorate or the Ministry, or they were not offered any training on this matter. I do not know how this issue should have been dealt with. But I personally see that that the curricula is changing. In the past, teaching was like a journey. You set off, without knowing how far or where you will get to. Now you know in advance where you are headed to. And it is the task of the teacher, after making some kilometres, to see how much effort was needed, and if the objective has been reached. Were there any advantages and challenges, and how to overcome them? This is the difference in my view, because the competencies or the anticipation of a certain goal or objective, of the learning outcome, to come to that outcome, you have a target and you see if you will get there, and if you have done so how did you do it, what were the obstacles, what were the advantages, what were the weaknesses and how will you tackle them. So it is also a matter of assessment."(Teacher 15)

Teacher 16 goes even further when referring to teacher relation to new curriculum:

> "It has come to us as a surprise. And we will need time to see embedded or to grow roots so to say"

The schools seem to have had access to the new policy documents, but there does not seem to exist any mechanism that translates those policies at school level practice. Teacher 15 says:

> "In our school we did and I have them, the curricula for 6-9 grades. I got them 3-4 months ago. I have gone through them. I have read the guide too. I am not aware about the way they were distributed, if they reached all schools, if they remained in directors' offices, if there is (vertical) cooperation between schools and municipal education directorate. That is a matter of will of the parties and their competencies."

There does not seem to be much interaction between the central policy making level and practice level. On the question, what other policy instructions in formal way you have received in school from municipality or ministry, Teacher 15 said:

"I can't recall any"

In a situation like that, more detailed discussions with teachers on detailed teacher education policies appeared to be unnecessary and impossible since it became evident that there was a disconnection between policy and classroom practice to the extent that further investigations would not lead to new information.

Summary of the findings

Currently, Kosovo education system trains teachers who are still highly oriented towards the ages of pre-professionalism and autonomous professionalism. When talking about their work and the context evolvement, teachers draw on personal, professional and contextual dimension when shaping their identity. These dimensions occur both individually or in combination. An important theme appeared to be the contextual dimension of teachers' work, which has evolved dynamically over the last two decades. On the other hand, teachers' work reality seems to be disconnected from the policy input. In other words, education policies that regulate teaching and learning do not shape the way teachers act and behave in the classroom. In addition, Kosovo school culture is very weak and the teacher professional collaboration almost non-existent.

The teacher work reality in Kosovo has evolved enormously in the last three decades. From a situation of what teachers perceived as stability before the 1990s, the circumstances of 1990s marked a major impact on the way teachers acted and perceived their role, or the way teachers were expected to act and behave. The situation nevertheless changed rapidly in 1999 when Kosovo started to organize education in normal circumstances with a significant donor support. This marked a move into what currently Kosovo education aspires as a vision for its schooling aiming to follow the European and global good practices and trends. With donor support pushing education towards certain targets, the system was still recovering from the losses of the 1990s and there was a lack of sufficient skills and capacities for enacting the desired reform. A discussion of this current situation and projected future will provide a better framework for understanding the potential for implementing educational change.

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 The socio-cultural perspectives of viewing professionalism and identity

The main features that characterize the current teacher professionalism in Kosovo include (i) didactic orientation, (ii) isolated professional, (iii) orientation to teaching and learning resources, and (iv) technical expert orientation. Though there has been much talk about changes in how teachers should behave in their role in the last decade, developing teacher professional identity and professionalism appears as a serious challenge for the projected school reforms. Kosovo education has obviously aimed to work towards reaching the stage of post-professionalism by introducing multiple reform inputs driven by centralized agendas. Unavoidably such efforts have led to the creation of the standardization culture in education development in one hand and creating situations characterized by lack of teacher interaction with education policies. In line with the socio-cultural perspective - which argues that learning and development occur first at the social level and then at the individual level (Vygotsky 1978, 57) - the development of teacher professionalism in Kosovo has been occurring under a weak collegial culture.

Earlier studies on identity have stressed the incompleteness, fragmentation, and contradictions of both individual and collective existence. As Calhoun (1994) suggests, we are distinct from each other and often strive to distinguish ourselves further. Yet each dimension of distinction also establishes commonality with a set of others similarly distinguished (Calhoun 1994, 9). As lived, identity is always a project not settled accomplishment though various external ascriptions or recognitions may be fixed and timeless (Calhoun 1994, 27). This may also apply to the development of teacher professionalism. The socio-cultural perspective advocates that collaboration opportunities would enable teachers to establish these commonalities of their shared conception of professionalism. The limited collaboration opportunities that teachers in this study referred to were connected to narrow classroom tasks. The opportunities for

beginner teachers to discuss didactical questions is an important working condition (Kelchtermans & Ballet 2002), however the expectation is that it moves beyond that stage towards school development and embedding the principles of new professionalism in school culture.

Prior research suggested that identity should be viewed, similarly to professionalism, from the perspective of post-modernism whereby identity and professionalism are not seen as a unified framework but rather being fragmented with multiple social worlds (Akkerman & Meijers 2011, 309). This study provides evidence suggesting that policy makers could benefit from viewing teacher identity from a dialogical perspective. Such a perspective implies that if teachers have operated in a context of isolation - isolation in relation to their own personal practical theory, the school professional community and the policy – their techno-rational orientation will unavoidably emerge. Teachers acts in certain way because their personal practical theory is deeply rooted into various past and present realities surrounding their work reality.

This raises the need to focus discussions on the dimension of how do teachers examine their own personal practical theory and professional practice. The movement of reflective practice opposes the tendencies of viewing teachers as technicians who basically carry out what others want them to do (Zeichner 1994). The notion of reflection and teachers as reflective practitioners has been introduced in education in many parts of the world much earlier, however discussion continues to date: how it happens, the form it takes, and how it connects to the other teachers in school and school organization (Zeichner 1994). Schon (1983) introduced the notion of reflecting before action, during action and after action. Ziechner (1994) differentiated between the reflection about teaching and the social conditions of teaching. He also emphasized reflection as a social practice and public activity involving communities of teachers. Teachers, who are viewed and represent themselves as isolated and technical experts, will be able to draw on both the practice of individual reflection and reflection as a social practice in order to change the views of themselves and how they are seen by others collectively.

Teachers will need to be asked to view themselves along two directions. Firstly, the traditional approach to having teachers view themselves as professionals and intellectuals should be continued. This implies the need for teachers to see themselves as intellectuals who combine their conception (knowledge, skills and values) and implementation (classroom reality) into shaping their personal practical theory. Secondly, in light of the socio-cultural perspectives, teachers need to see themselves as agents in developing a democratic culture of schooling and developing the school shared perception of new professionalism. On the other hand, the school needs to develop practices and structures that help teachers develop the appropriate shared understanding of the requirements. Teachers act based on the meaning they assign to the world around them, thus this is important in building professional communities that function effectively. The perceived gap between theory and practice, between what policy says and what teachers do - originates not so much from demonstrable mis-

matches between ideal and practice but from the experience of being held accountable (Elliot 1991, 47). Teachers in Kosovo have been living in a decade and a half of professional accountability and top down approach to educational change and this became clear by the fact that the level of responsibility teachers feel towards linking with policy demands and enacting change is very low.

Teachers need to be engaged in collegial collaboration to build a common understanding of the ways to bridge this gap. Collegial collaboration can lead to individual teachers believing in the mission and vision of the school for quality teaching or even better contributing to developing a shared vision. However, the collective cultures and collaboration should not be mistaken for a collection of individual actions of group of separate people as it contradicts the idea of collective efforts as a genetic point of departure in shaping individual person's consciousness (Davydov 1995). It is critically important that to this collective activity, every teacher makes a contribution (Davydov 1995) and school as an organization needs to ensure ways to make this happen. Lack of environment and professional circumstances for teacher socialization into school life lead to what is known as praxis shock (Kelchtermans & Ballet 2002). The praxis shock was evident not only for beginner teachers but also experienced teachers in Kosovo due to the ambitious reform underway and the ways they have experienced school life and education policy implementation.

The professional circumstances that help beginner teachers experience the school reality in Kosovo are closely connected to overall education context. Policy makers tend to ignore the fact that beginner teachers will need to be socialized not only into classroom tasks but also into the school as an organization where they are expected to contribute to but also gain from the shared understanding of new professionalism. Kosovo schools have not provided meaningful professional socialization for beginner teachers (to better understand the new professionalism) and experienced teachers (to create teachers as change agents) but in order to better understand the meaning of such a phenomenon it is important to view in more depth the (i) processes of transitioning from the current to desired reality of teacher practice, (ii) the examination of the context in which professionalism develops, and (iii) reflections on reconceptualising education policy.

6.2 Transitioning towards the new professionalism

The personal choices teachers make and the personal motivation behind the development of their profession indicate the link of personal and professional self. This is in line with the findings of Akkerman & Meijer (2011) that the difference between personal and professional self is indistinct. This study revealed that the self overlaps with the dimensions of professionalism on a continuous basis under the phenomenon of 'distancing self from other'. Similarly, as suggested by prior research, that teacher identity should be viewed as negotiation between different I-positions though maintaining some degree of continuity

(Akkerman & Meijer 2011). This research has confirmed that Kosovo teachers have maintained some sense of continuity of techno-rational orientation to teaching that was embedded in the school culture in the 1990s due to both the circumstances and the perception of teaching role at that time. However it can also be noticed that as part of negotiation and renegotiation of teacher identity in light of newly demanded professionalism and developing context, Kosovo teachers show tendencies of shifting their behaviours towards what can be considered as current trends - namely the collegial professionalism and post-professionalism. The transition of teacher identity has been carried along with the changing demands of teacher professionalism however, it remains an open matter as to how efficiently and effectively such a transition has occurred.

The transition and development of teacher identity and professionalism is to be examined against the need to see teachers as persons living and working in specific settings: settings with historical, social and cultural qualities which influence teaching, learning, professional development and their identity. The changing nature of a teachers' work context in Kosovo is a major determining factor in shaping teacher professionalism. Understanding professionalism needs to be seen in the frame of the roles teachers are expected to take in their workplace as well as the conditions and circumstances in which their work is embedded. The expected roles are otherwise qualified as demanded professionalism. Individuals are not only part of groups but they are defined by the groups they belong to (Haworth 2008). The feeling of belonging to a group was almost non-existent among the teachers involved in this study. It is rather a reliance on the resources than collegial collaboration as a resource to improve teaching practice.

Resources and infrastructures seem to have been assigned a particular meaning in Kosovo context to date thus policies of investment should be viewed from the perspective of educational reform. The new Curriculum, launched in 2011, represents a major policy input for the present realities of school reform. As such it is seen as a driving force for developing teachers and classroom teaching. Given that curriculum reform in Kosovo anticipates major shift from content-oriented to learning outcomes curriculum, it is particularly important to address the aspects of teachers' work that need to be examined in light of the skills and nature of activities that teachers need in order to implement reforms. In other words, what is the demanded professional behaviour that is required of teachers to implement the reform? This is the question that needs to be answered instead of focusing on providing the necessary infrastructure and resources.

The new 2011 Kosovo Curriculum implies the need for teaching, schools and system overall to consider the impact its implementation will have in the way teachers behave, schools operate and overall system functions. Table 15 below provides a comparison of the current reality and the demands that new 2011 Curriculum represents for individual teachers in the fields of increasing own responsibility for self-learning and development, school directors and schools to create a professional collaboration culture within school and lastly

the system to ensure prospective teachers are capable to master the concepts of the new curriculum reform.

Table 15 The demanded versus enacted professionalism

Demanded professional behaviour in light of school reform based on 2011 Curriculum	The current reality
Teachers sharing with each other and asking support from one another;	Teachers reflect some level of collegial collaboration on task management; There is no school-based development culture reflected by teachers.
Teachers seeking support of their school directors in developing differentiated learning activities	Teachers view school director role as supportive but there is no evidence of reflection as to school director being a resource for development and professional advice.
Teachers gathering new teaching and learning materials to support learning activities	Teachers look at resources as something that is made available; Teachers rely on resource availability and consider it as important factor in their work.
Teachers engaging in professional development and are collegial	School culture does not reflect collegial collaboration; There is no legal or practical obstacles to developing such cultures - school directors are legally expected to support such functions.
Teachers mastering outcomes-based teaching strategies	University curricula discipline oriented and didactic perspectives.
Teachers mastering outcomes based assessment strategies	University curricula discipline oriented and didactic perspectives.

In addition, the teacher performance standards (See Figure 11) are meant to provide teacher guidance on developing towards meeting the requirements of new professionalism that is being introduced in schools. However, in the Kosovo education system, the question remains: what is the mechanism available to help teachers move towards performing up to these standards? Teachers in Kosovo have been confronted with similar teacher performance standards in the past (See MEST 2004) and the current 2013 performance standards were built on such policies from the past.

The standards address both personal and professional dimensions of teacher identity however they should not be seen as addressed to individual teachers but rather communities of teachers.

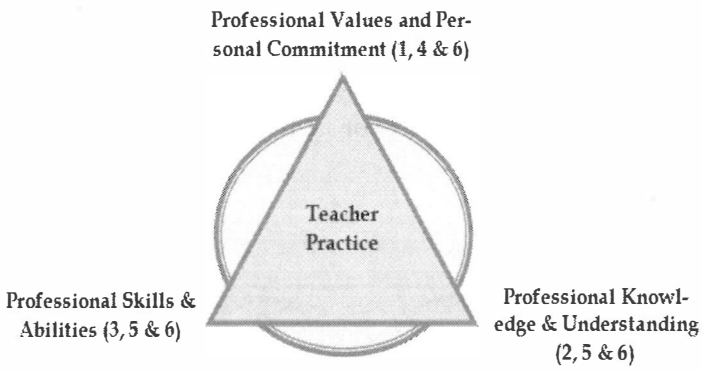

Figure 11 The triangle of Kosovo teacher professional standards

When professional standards for teaching are embedded in the school culture they hold chances to be driving the development of teacher practice. Beginner teachers involved in this study proved that experience of school culture does not influence strongly and quickly the way teachers behave in the profession. A weak school culture, in which teacher actions and professional behaviours are rather teacher bound, can be considered as the cause for the lack of teacher experience of school culture. However, the development of a collegial reflective culture does not happen spontaneously. Teachers need to develop their action plans (Zehm & Kottler 1993), while schools need to provide for conditions, motivation and support for collegial reflection. Individual planning and collegial collaboration around shared perceptions and vision for the professionalism need to reach a common point.

Similarly, the perceptions of the school director position are equally important in view of developing a change-oriented school culture. The perception of school director position in Kosovo has not changed much in the last decade. Directors are viewed as administrators and no impetus for moving towards more leadership and change oriented initiatives. Ballet and Keltchermans (2008) suggest the local autonomy and professionalism of school teams play a crucial role in the process of changing professionalism. It is critical that school directors not only are trained at an appropriate level, but also act as mentors for teachers and actors in staff development. This is a precondition for moving towards the elements of collegial professionalism and development culture. According to Leithwood (1992, 10) maintaining a collaborative culture, fostering teacher development, and improving group problem solving are tasks of the transformative leaders. Kosovo teachers did not speak of any such reflections of transformational leadership practices when referring to school culture dimensions.

The development of supportive school culture is closely linked with the development of collegial collaboration. Collaborating with colleagues is usually deemed a positive and reinforcing element for teachers. Teachers involved in this study declared in most of the cases that collaboration with colleagues is

either hindering or unsupportive. Furthermore, they do not reflect deeply on the possibilities that can be utilized under current circumstances to support each other in joint efforts. These teachers view professional collaboration more as something that should be encouraged and developed by others, whereas teachers are seen only as beneficiaries of such cooperation.

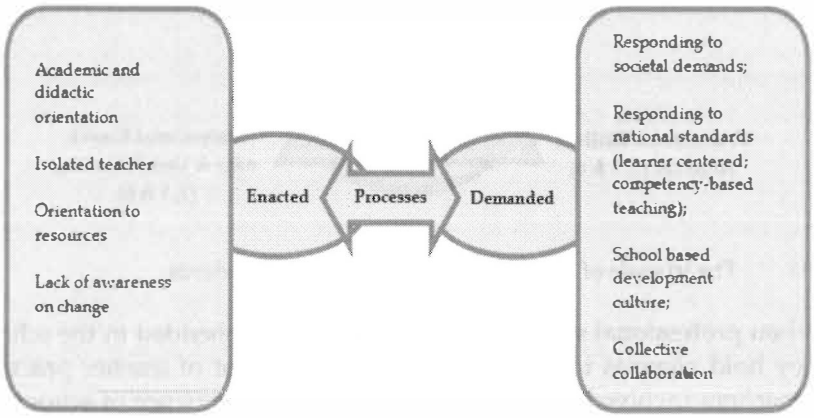

Figure 12 Shifting from reality to desired professionalism

It appears that the development of teacher professionalism in Kosovo is not straightforward but consists of more complex combination of both internal and external factors that have different influences over time. These factors are mingled and reflected through various processes that take place between the desired professionalism and the reality (See Figure 12 above). In light of viewing teacher development from the perspective of adopting standards, policies and development trends from elsewhere, teacher development processes should be seen against the demands that have been placed on teachers in their particular work reality as well as support and control processes they are exposed to. External demands are always filtered, interpreted and negotiated (Ballet and Kelchtermans 2008, 48). What comes out is the enacted professionalism and this is what truly matters in education transformation.

The external demands placed on Kosovo teachers through policy input have been numerous and – to a degree - inconsistent to date. The adoption of the 2011 curriculum without building on the challenges of implementing the 2001 Curriculum reflects such principles of inconsistency. Even the model of building on the existing should be considered with slight care. Adding pieces and parts on top of the other does not guarantee synergy and coherence. This is what happened in the current education policy making in Kosovo in the teacher development sub-sector and curriculum policy. The 2011 Curriculum differs substantially from the 2001 and there is no evidence of the links and transitioning practices towards such transformation. In addition, it is difficult to identify the links of curriculum development, assessment and teacher development processes in the current policy context. The concept of development implies that whatever is new should be integrated with whatever is there in a coherent way.

This will be more likely to lead to growth (McIntyre & Hagger 1992, 271), holding thus a potential for sustainable change. It is thus critical that in the efforts to develop teacher professionalism, such a continuation and consistency gains the necessary attention.

Therefore, we come to viewing teacher professionalism as a unified perception that comprises the elements of past, present, and future perspective of teachers' roles. The past is referred to the values teachers have held, while the present refers to the current demands that are placed on teacher professionalism and role expectations which are created as a negotiation between the national standards and teacher capacities and beliefs about their role. The future perspective implies the need for communication between the policy and standards expectations and the teacher role and performance on the one hand, and the ways teachers react to the external demands and pressure imposed on teachers work, on the other. The way teachers handle such demands and pressure is reliant on the capacities they have and the work context.

Any educational reform, regardless of the fact that necessary financing and support may have been secured, results in increased workload for teachers and a need for changing the way they have been acting. In cases when reform efforts are consisted of numerous initiatives, very often those initiatives clog themselves in a *bottleneck* (Cheng 2009). The bottleneck effect is quite context specific. Some of the common issues that cause the bottleneck effect are large class sizes, lack of time, and lack of teaching resources. The bottleneck in Kosovo teacher development context is presented in Figure 13 whereby the demanding and ambitious reform initiatives are not faced with a situation that is supportive of the desired results.

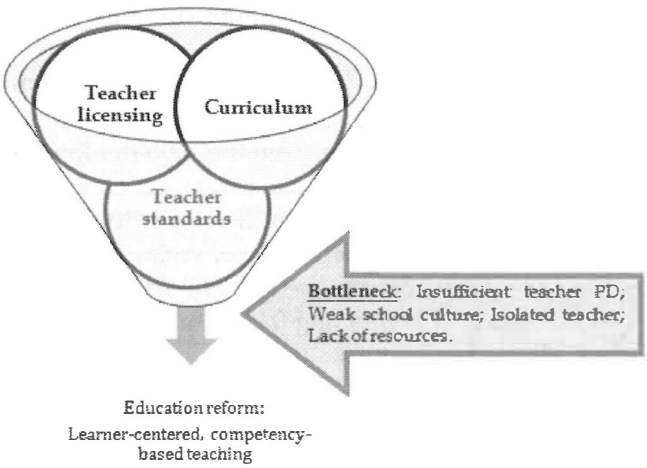

Figure 13 The bottleneck effect in changing teaching practice (adapted from Cheng 2009)

As was elaborated earlier, education policies in Kosovo have either been adopted from international good practices or have been developed with signifi-

cant external expertise. Policies, such as the 2011 Curriculum, the teacher performance standards, do not match the contexts in which they are embedded and thus run into a bottleneck. Combining the circumstances of their work – such as lack of resources and large class size – with the restricting features of teacher identity, will impose serious challenges in moving towards the desired goal. Therefore, a broader view of the context and the ways change can be addressed are critical preconditions for successful school reform.

6.3 Giving context the necessary attention

It can be rightly concluded that context, culture, and biographical factors are crucial to shaping professional identity and dispositions towards work and career (Flores & Day, 2006). Historical and cultural backgrounds prove to be important in the context of transition such as Kosovo's. The context of the past should not be considered an obstacle – and be ignored as such –rather it should be seen as a resource to build on (Hargreaves 2007, p 226). The historical context in which the Kosovo education system developed is still reflected in the present realities and as such it should be a critical consideration when planning educational change. The education of teachers has traditionally had an academic orientation in, and not only, Kosovo. Teacher education during a decade in the 1990s has been conducted in difficult circumstances thus disabling a quality provision. Similarly, teaching has also occurred in highly difficult circumstances and conditions so that it would have been beyond expectations to reflect features of collegial and postmodern professionalism.

Kosovo has lived in a communist country for almost five decades following World War II. Whereas, the decade of the 1990s was a period characterized by systemic violence and suppression against the majority Albanian population resulting in civil disobedience and resistance. There was no pressure for change in teachers' professional roles coming from the stakeholders such as community and Kosovo Albanian authorities. Teachers were the main actors in keeping the education running in very tense political and security situation. On the other hand this led towards developing a culture of seeing the role of teachers as autonomous in a way that teachers are doing more than expected and released the normally expected situation of pressing for continuous quality change.

A number of observations can be made against the context of viewing teacher professionalism. Firstly, historical and cultural backgrounds are closely connected and influence one another. Secondly, together they hold an influencing power on the development of teacher professionalism. Thirdly, at a different level, the framework (Figure 14) emphasizes the need for coherence when addressing teacher professionalism. Educational change that has only the present and the future does not hold potential for sustainability. Sustainable development respects, protects, preserves, and renews all that is valuable in the past and learns from it in order to build a better future (Hargreaves 2007, 226). This better future is usually projected through the policies determining the desired

professionalism while negotiation with the current realities and contextual background determines the potential for lasting change.

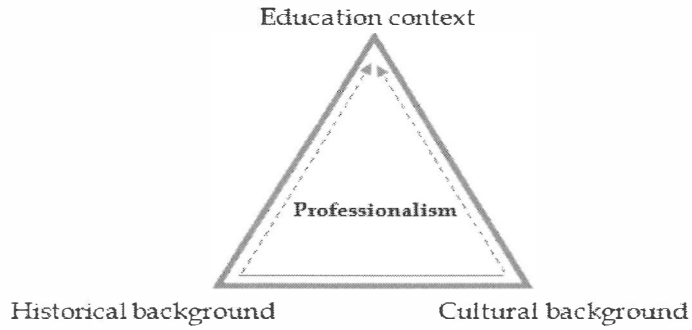

Figure 14 The broad context of teacher professionalism

The cultural background is important for the development of Kosovo education system in a particular way. The lack of ownership over development processes, the 'resistance culture' and dependence on others, externally to their work reality, needs to be considered as a major cultural feature that Kosovo teachers naturally have experienced. It has been reflected in the system all throughout the last decades and continues to be present nowadays too. In the light of developing teacher professionalism, the Kosovo education system received significant donor support due to the post-war societal development needs as well as in the light of its European integration processes. A large part of the donor funding has been aimed at developing teacher professionalism that leads towards shifting teaching culture towards a student-centred approach. Nearly all donor support, partly unintentionally, has not paid sufficient attention to the elements of historical and cultural backgrounds as well as implications it may have on changing teaching practice. It may, partly, be related to the readiness and receptiveness of the local context to process the donor support initiatives in the local context.

Generally, projects addressing teaching competence have provided insights into how classes are organized for a specific purpose and have provided instruction on how to manage different classroom situations in addition to 'transporting' much of the policy design and standard-setting processes (Saqipi 2012). Very often, teacher professional development programmes limited their intervention to the mastering of certain teaching techniques. Such a techno-rational view of the teaching profession did not push teachers towards understanding their personal practical theory. The challenge of policy makers in implementing change does not lie in the need to respect the past, but rather to understand its meaning and particularly the importance it has for the key actors in the change process. Therefore, education policy makers and school level actors are challenged with the need to make the balance between the local contextual features and the inputs that derive from following European trends and best

international practices in the quest of joining the European and international structures and associations.

Attempts to develop teacher professionalism should in such situations be addressed towards enabling teachers to understand themselves as teachers, and understanding their role expectations. These processes will happen in a situation where teachers hold strong beliefs about the traditional role that they have had and cultural features that they reflect. If the notion of "professionalism" is socially constructed, then teachers are potentially key players in that construction, accepting or resisting external control and asserting or denying their autonomy (Helsby 1995, 320). This implies the need to empowering teachers and placing communities of teachers at the focus of school development.

Teacher empowerment becomes of critical importance in the sense that teachers are seen as those determining the shape of teacher practice. Figure 15 indicates the relation between what teachers currently think and are able to do - the realization area - the processes and inputs teachers are exposed to - transformation area – and the dimensions which can be considered as tools in shaping current teacher practices and beliefs. The historical and cultural dimensions represent the broader outward contextual factors, which in the Kosovo context are also resources teachers are drawing from when constructing their professional identity.

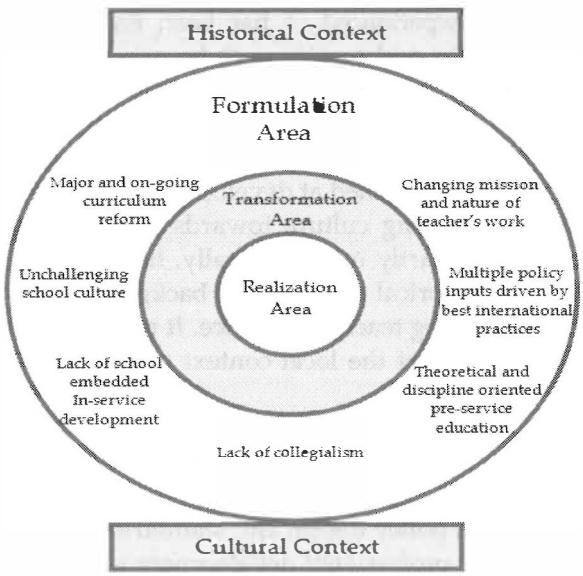

Figure 15 Links of influencing factors with the reality

The framework elaborated in Figure 15 calls for caution when attempting to assign weight and power to the different factors which influence the change of teacher thinking and behaviour (Laursen 1994). Professionals act and reflect in certain organizational settings and broader context, and those determine the realization area (Lundgren 1972). Based on the perspective of Keltchermans &

Ballet (2002), the framing factors in the Kosovo teachers' work-reality appear to be of *organization interest, cultural-ideological interest, professional interest, and micro-political interest.* Similar to the organizational settings and broader contexts that are specific, the transformation processes too are context specific even though some generalization across systems can be made such as the professional development opportunities that are available to teachers and other processes that make teachers cooperate with one another within school towards improved performance. It can be argued that transformation area for teacher community has been very weak in Kosovo education context and remains a target for development in future. In addition, the transformation processes in Kosovo include the availability or lack of mechanisms to help translating education policy into classroom realities, including the proper functioning of the re-organized power relations between various levels of education management.

6.4 Reconceptualising education policy in developing teacher professionalism

6.4.1 New model of power relations

Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, the teaching profession internationally has been subject to increased control from outside the profession itself – most notably from governments (See Chapter 2). The influence has spread across some countries, with slight delay in others. This, indeed, was the catalyst for the evolution or imposition of what has been presented as, variously, prescriptions or descriptions of new professionalisms, particularly in relation to the teaching profession. Such tendencies have been obvious in the education system in Kosovo in the post-1999 period and continues to date. The policy focus in the post-1999 period centred around educational prescription and standardized testing.

The national standardized assessments gained too much weight and focus despite criticism that standardized tests measure only one, or, at the best, few of the schooling outputs (See Chapter 2). The rationale behind such a policy focus in Kosovo education system was the need to energize the teaching community towards embracing the need for classroom changes. In light of the evolving nature of their work and increasing demands placed on them through curriculum innovations, teachers in Kosovo are being asked to do more on continuous basis. Similar to the universal tendencies of educational developments, the purpose of schooling in Kosovo has been changing and moving beyond producing children who are literate in math and reading. Teachers are nowadays required to develop a broad range of skills and values in the students they work with (Winters 2012) and this is certainly the aim within the Kosovo school system with the introduction of curriculum reform.

A coherent policy system is dependent on the clear division of roles and responsibilities between different levels of education management. Competen-

cies that are decentralized to lower levels should be supported and steered with proper guidance and clear and consistent instructions in order to provide the basis for grass-roots development initiatives. The transition towards a new model of power division in Kosovo has certainly proven difficult. Schools and municipalities have not yet started their own development initiatives while central authorities seem to find it difficult to leave a gap in steering the development processes. Giving up central power on teacher development and devolving more curriculum development responsibilities is proving difficult to realize it in practice.

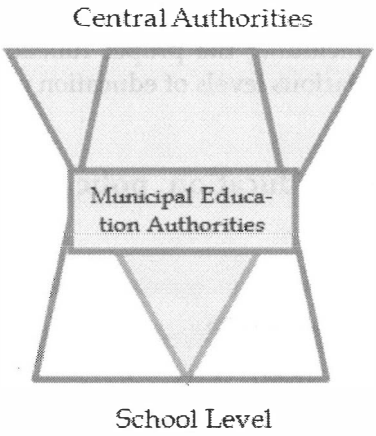

Figure 16 The changing roles in a developing system

The role of the central government and its ability and willingness to shift autonomy for action and funding is a challenge of many countries in transition. One of the key issues of implementing school reform is creating conditions for shifting the knowledge and power of the reform from external actors to teachers and schools (Coburn 2003, 7). Reform must transition from an externally understood and supported theory to internally understood and supported theory-based practice (Stokes at al. 1997). In the Kosovo education system, the role of the central authorities has changed significantly in the last 10 years. From an authority that plans, design, implements and monitors policy, it has shifted towards a more policy development and quality monitoring mechanism, broadening thus the scope of actions and initiatives at school level. This transition is still to be completed and will eventually result in schools taking over more of the development responsibilities over themselves as organizations. The central authorities have undertaken a difficult task of transitioning from a broad scope of responsibility towards a rather narrow scope of action as a policy planning and monitoring authority. But that too, requires capacities in one hand and the need to ensure consistency and coherence in policy making and implementation process on the other hand.

As Fullan (2007) explains, the loss of power and changing role can lead to raising tensions and emotions and certainly it can also lead to the delays in re-

defining power relations and ensuring coherence in policy implementation. The transition from an authority which centrally managed development activities, in addition to policy design, has been difficult for the Kosovo education system overall. Central education authorities are now led to focus own actions more narrowly, and turn the policy development and quality monitoring role into a stronger development instrument. The role of the central authorities remains to ensure the development of processes that lead schools towards being empowered as organizations.

Schools have to recognize a new reality in sharing the responsibilities and powers in educational development. Firstly, teachers within the schools need to develop their responsibility and awareness to a level that would lead them to perceive their role beyond the classroom enactment responsibilities and moving towards more collegial collaboration cultures. While schools as organizations will need to enhance their development potential from within the school rather than waiting for it to come from outside. Secondly, teachers need to be active members in the professional learning communities that school based development initiatives require. Their role in school should be extended beyond the narrow classroom tasks to project development as well as overall school development.

The development of collegiality should not be viewed as a technical one-dimensional activity. It is a rather complex matter and closely related to the approaches and practices available in schools leading towards the development of collegial collaboration. Such collaboration can be of *'Balkanization'* nature whereby certain teacher groups operate separately and very often in competition with one another (Hargreaves 1996; Hargreaves & Fullan 2012). It can also be a *contrived collegiality* - characterized by a set of formal, specific and bureaucratic procedures to increase the attention being given to collegial activities such as joint planning and consultation (Hargreaves 1996). The Kosovo teachers in this study reflected principles of both these types of collaboration, though they were of very weak nature.

A true collegial culture implies committed school teams that are engaged in ongoing professional support. This type of collegial collaboration is elsewhere known as a *collaborative culture* (Hargreaves 1996; Hargreaves & Fullan 2012). It is less formal and bureaucratic in nature and is based on the principle that no one is an expert but rather colleagues and everyone provides professional support and invites it on continuous and informal basis (Niemi 1996). This is truly the type of collaborative culture that professional learning communities should adopt in Kosovo. The risk is that a top down oriented system and a system that is focussed on policy design rather than teacher empowerment can run the risk of developing *contrived collegiality*. But, in a context where teacher collaboration is non-existent or minimal aiming for such a contrived collegial collaboration can be indeed a good starting point but certainly not a desired end in itself.

6.4.2 Balance between policy focus and teacher empowerment

Tell me and I will forget
Show me and I will remember
Involve me and I will understand
Step back and I will act

(Chinese proverb cited in Kjersdam and Enemark 1994)

The changes in Kosovo education policy making have not been monitored systematically. Such changes have often been driven by politically motivated agendas such as the decentralization of education competencies (MEST 2008), in an attempt to provide ethnic communities with opportunities to have a bigger say in managing the provision of education at local level.

Figure 17 outlines the orientations and choices of education development which Kosovo education system has tended to follow. Following a survival mode that education in general and teacher professionalism in particular were engaged in during the decade of 1990s, education in Kosovo has already passed through revival mode and moved into the adaptation mode. Major transformations have been launched. As Figure 17 can suggest, the predominant focus in the last years has been on education policy and reform efforts were steered by the central authorities. New standards on teaching were imposed, new curricula developed, numerous regulations and policies launched aiming to shape the way teachers organize their work and promote the type of professionalism that is aimed. This approach is known as performativity agenda or managerialism (Drudy 2008) and in the Kosovo case, such an agenda was aimed at ensuring a move towards school and classroom reality changes following a long status quo condition. On the other hand, possibilities for initiating development activities at school level were very limited while the expectations for something like that to happen were also low. The adoption of standards and policies was not sufficient and things need to move further.

In a situation with limited support available for school based development and small expectations for school based initiatives, the policy focus is justified as a tool to enable the shift from a routine situation. Now, Kosovo school development will be faced with the challenges of adaptation into the new power relation context and new expectations from teachers and schools. This stage aims at accommodating teachers in the new system and instilling the new professionalism and development of a supportive school culture. This however requires the change of the audit culture (Apple 2005) and focussing on school level developments nurturing the increased autonomy that legislation is currently enabling. The Kosovo education system has been obviously working on embracing the principles of "post-modern professionalism" in search for enhancing teacher professionalism despite the fact that international research has been critical of the impact the externally driven agenda and standardization has on the teacher

identity and teacher professionalism (See the Chapter 2 for such criticism). The move towards the 'post-professionalism' is certainly an indication and reflection of the 'revival mode' in which education was operating in recent years. Adopting international standards and lessons from elsewhere is certainly a good way to initiate change and as such justifiable.

Being at the adaptation stage currently, teachers will require support for developing their self-reflective skills and behaviour, extending their self-knowledge (knowledge about their identity and practice) and will need to be supported in developing a collegial culture in an organization that is oriented to change. Ketelaar et al. (2012) calls this an *assimilation sense-making stage* whereby teachers use their own frame in order to adapt the new ideas so that they fit the existing frame (p. 274). This will take them to the stage of 'development', as a desired stage of *policy–praxis* axis. At the next development stage, the education system needs to re-shift the focus at empowering teacher role in parallel to the policy design efforts. Policy makers thus need to recognize the fact that schools can be no better than the teachers and administrators who work within them (Guskey 2002, 381). This raises the need to orient policy efforts towards installing the accountability and support mechanisms to enable teacher empowerment and making them change agents within learning organization.

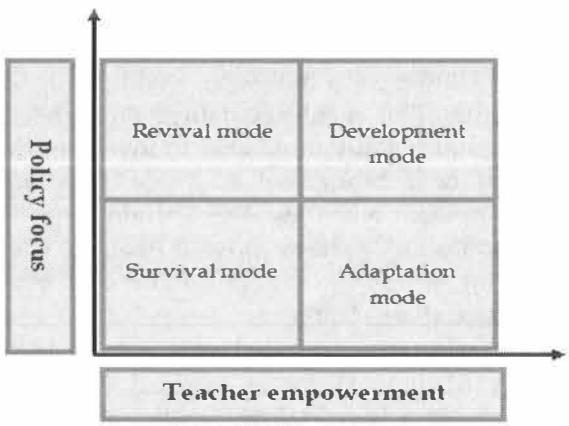

Figure 17 The interchange between policy focus and teacher empowerment

Sloan (2006) qualifies the focus on policy, administrative structures and managerial aspects of the education and schooling as *systemworld* of schools, whereas the opposing view is qualified as *lifeworld* of schools (p. 121). The systemworld of schools is focussed on the systems, procedures and structures whereas the lifeworld of schools is oriented towards people. This present research confirms that reaching the development stage, Kosovo education needs to balance between the two approaches given the resources available and the innovations launched. It is true that professionals in any area need to be regulated and held accountable but in the end what counts is the trust that the learner has in the teacher preparing them for the future world (Davies 2013, 69).

This explains why the focus on teachers is instrumental for a system. In developing societies, there is a certain degree of vulnerability in trust. But, if trust is built solidly in the way teachers are trained, the possibilities for abrogation of it are minimized. (Davies 2013, 69). Thus, reconsidering the conceptualizing and implementing the teacher development system becomes critical.

6.4.3 Paradigm shift in the teacher development system

Professional development activities are usually what people refer to when talking about teacher change. Various stakeholders perceive teacher professional development as a means of fostering and enacting educational change (Butler & Schnellert 2012, 1206) or as a tool for providing teachers with ongoing opportunities for counteracting issues facing the profession (Graham & Phelps 2003, 2). Various stakeholders have different views as to where the accountability for professional development is placed, as well as what is the role of professional development in implementing effective change. Butler and Schnellart (2012) provide a framework of viewing the professional development within the context of collaborative inquiry and emphasizes that teacher professional development serves the purposes of students learning, examining the practice and strategies applied as well as the own teacher learning. Time, resources and structured collaboration are critical for this to happen (Butler & Schnellart 2012, 1216).

Education systems undergoing transition need to understand that a strong teaching profession is one that is self-regulating, one where teachers are not extrinsically but rather intrinsically motivated to investing time and energy in their own development, be it through self-study, or being engaged in continuing professional development activities. This certainly needs to happen in a context where education policy makers provide financial support for continuous professional learning of teachers to support and sustain a robust and competent teaching profession (Sachs 2007).

In the Kosovo school system, teachers' work is embedded in a context that has been oriented towards external forces, external to the teacher and school. Identifying teachers' agendas is crucial to learning and change while teacher learning needs to be inquiry-based, personal and sustained, individual and collaborative, on and off site. On the other hand, the perception of teacher professional development needs to change from ad hoc workshop culture into continuous professional development involving a range of learning opportunities appropriate to needs and purposes. Such professional development is possible only when it is supported by school cultures of inquiry and be evidence based, where evidence is collected and interrogated which acknowledges the complex worlds of teaching and learning, teachers and learners; and, that if it is to be effective its direct and indirect results need to be systematically evaluated (Day and Sachs 2004, 26).

It is pivotal for educational systems, particularly, the ones undergoing major transformations, how they go about school reform when translating the external influences and global developments in education reform. In the midst of

current trends in adopting international best practices and policy lending, it is critical that the focus is placed on how national policy agendas are projected into the so-called international standards. The external standards and pressures should be defined based on the context and system in which they are employed (Steiner-Khamsi 2012). It is critical that reforms focusing on policy design do not suppress teacher creativity, motivation, commitment to a self-regulated professionalism dedicated to ongoing self-learning and collaborative work at schools. As an alternative to the GERM approach, education systems would rather look at the opportunities for school improvement that grows from the bottom, is steered from the top and provides support and pressure from the sides (Sahlberg 2011, 183).

Teacher development does not only have direct links with the way teachers feel in school but rather with the development of a school system that exposes teachers to the possibilities and challenges of examining their own practice and beliefs in light of what are the school aspirations for the student learning (See Figure 18 below).

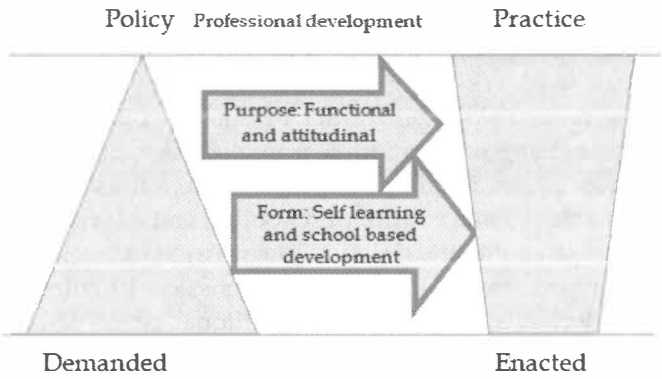

Figure 18 Re-designing purpose and function of teacher professional development

Teacher development initiatives will need to be closely tied to the policy requirements which shape the newly demanded professionalism. Professional development programs that fail to address the day-to-day operation of the classrooms are less likely to succeed (Guskey 2002, 382). Among those policies and day-to-day management of classroom teaching in the Kosovo education system are the new competency-based curriculum and performance standards. The enactment of such a curriculum requires an understanding and skills for delivering outcomes-based education. Professional development needs to clarify for the teachers the goals of the innovations, otherwise teachers do not know how to put them into practice (Fullan 2007). The failure of the teacher professional development system to play this function, leads to over-simplification of the innovation or teacher thinking (Fullan 2007). Simplification of educational innovation characterized the teacher professional development system outcomes to date in Kosovo.

The imposition of the national performance standards for teachers perhaps would be seen as a wise policy action at this stage of development in Kosovo education system. Standards should not be taken as an end in themselves. Teachers need to view their role and expectations in much broader terms by engaging in processes that translate standards into classroom realities. While standards seek to prescribe the professional role that teachers play, teachers work reality and their identities are much more complex and are situated within lived experiences (O'Connor 2008, 126). This explains why the centrally prescribed performance standards have not appeared to have influenced teacher professional practice in Kosovo to date despite the fact that teacher performance standards in Kosovo education existed as of 2004.

This research emphasises that it is critical that both formal in-service teacher development activities as well as self-learning and development initiatives are introduced and target the functional development and also attitudinal development of targeted teachers. In other words, it is important that in addition to addressing skills and competencies to perform basic teaching functions, effective professional development should also address the change of teacher beliefs and values with an attempt to lead towards sustained commitment of teachers for improved performance. Teachers will change only when their beliefs about their work are changed and change of beliefs does not happen only by developing certain skills but rather by seeing your improved performance leads to concrete changes in student learning (Guskey 2002, 383).

The teacher professional development system thus should be projected as a mechanism to change the culture of schooling and education whereby policies are rather visions to guide the practice. The mission of teacher education should be reconceptualised from knowledge transmission to cultural transformation (Ballet & Kechtermans 2008, 257). A traditional centrally-oriented education system will require some time to be able to shift towards a teacher focussed model. Effective professional development will need to be based on the principles that (i) changing teachers is a gradual and difficult process, (ii) teachers require regular feedback on student progress linked with the completed professional development, and (iii) the system should provide a continued follow-up, support and pressure (Guskey 2002) in light of the demanded professionalism.

In the context where teachers are driven by centrally prescribed standards and agendas of standardization, teachers naturally feel that national test scores are what matters rather than focus on self-development agenda and child-centered pedagogy. Such systems produce models of 'one size fits all' professional development and reduce teacher's expertise to a checklist of skills and behaviours (Rodgers & Raider-Roth 2006, 283). The Kosovo education professional development system will need to move away from such type of professional development model of the past and shift towards a teacher centred model which enables teachers to view their practice from the angle of broader pedagogical goals and self-development perspective. Furthermore the teacher development system should be viewed as a continuum of pre-service education, induction and in-service development (See table 16 below), as the only way to

guarantee continuous, systematic and coherent teacher development. Furthermore, the introduction of a teacher induction system in Kosovo will lead towards coherence and consistency of teacher development continuum and linking pre-service and in-service teacher development.

Table 16 The continuum of developing teachers (adapted from Cheng 2009)

Developing teachers		
Attracting teachers	*Developing teachers*	*Empowering teachers*
Important dimensions: Values of aspiring teachers; Social status of teachers; Salary system; Teaching as attractive career	Important dimensions: Knowledge, skills and values developed by quality research-based pre-service education, Possibilities of engaging in collegial and individual reflective processes during in-service development;	Important dimensions: School culture that challenges and supports individual teachers and teachers collectively; Professional school management that nurtures school autonomy within the context;

Within a framework of teacher development continuum, attracting new teachers with positive values such as intrinsic motivation into the profession of teaching gains more relevance in light of the current professionalism and identity features among the beginner teachers in Kosovo. This is how the concept known as *cultural capital* gains more importance in systems which are about to develop an agenda of professionalizing the role of the teacher. Bourdieu (1986) speaks about cultural capital as a form of long standing disposition in the mind and body of the individual. However, cultural capital can be acquired depending on the period, the society and the social class. Bourdieu (1986) suggests this acquiring occurs in an unconscious manner. Therefore individual characteristics of teachers interact with the learning opportunities provided to teachers. On the other hand, these teacher learning opportunities are influenced by policy, cultural and social assumptions of what it takes to become a good teacher and are expected to have an important influence on the teachers' knowledge and practices. Pre-service education, induction and in-service experiences (including the experiences of school culture) are meant to enrich the value side of becoming teachers in addition and in parallel to developing the knowledge and skills needed for the classroom teaching. Certainly, targeting development of teacher skills has proven insufficient in Kosovo context and targeting the development of commitment and motivation is to be made a target of teacher development in parallel to developing the skills required for the reform implementation.

6.4.4 Redefining role of pre-service teacher education

This research suggested pre-service teacher education being a strong source of influence on how teachers behave and think, particularly so at the beginning stages of their career. Kansanen (2011) suggests there is strong links between teacher education and teacher thinking. Almost all teachers are educated at the basic level of mastering the skills to perform the everyday duties. It is true for Kosovo teacher education as well. Teachers are all exposed to the basic provisions of planning and implementing lessons. Implementing new curriculum requires a more conceptual level of teacher education such as involving self-reflection, metacognition, problem solving, decision making and right pedagogical thinking. Research-based teacher education is thus more than necessary in the current developments of teacher education (Kansanen 2011; Zgaga 2013).

When beginner teachers talked about the relevance of pre-service education for their professional practice, they restricted their reflection to the ways pre-service training courses supported day-to-day management of the work or the delivery of the school curriculum. Teachers spoke of courses that linked directly to school curriculum being the ones that they preferred. On the other hand, the tradition of academic teacher education (Pupovci 2002; Saqipi 2008) has also influenced the overall thinking of the school community in relation to the values of teacher orientation. The debate of how much influence pre-service training should have on developing teaching skills and readiness for classroom reality is ongoing at the policy level. Research does not deny the importance and level of influence pre-service teacher education has on teacher professional identity (Ruohotie-Lyhty 2013, 127) and professionalism. It is clear that teacher education and educators hold the idealistic image of classroom reality when planning and delivering teacher education. But lack of research based teacher education in Kosovo leads to highly theoretical teacher education which finds limited translation into broader realities of school life (Vula et al. 2012). The efforts of Kosovo teacher education system to move towards research-based orientation holds potential for addressing some of the challenges in training teachers for the new professionalism.

The influence pre-service teacher education has on teacher preparation and professionalism in Kosovo can be elaborated in two dimensions. Firstly, it is the nature, focus and quality of the program and training received in terms of basic skills that are required for the work. Second, pre-service training needs to focus its efforts on the construction of teacher identity in the light of the demanded professionalism. Research emphasizes that development of student teachers' identity targets more the elements of the person (Izadinia 2013, 708). Student teachers are usually tempted to look at the narrow side of professional practice - day to day management of the classroom - thus developing an identity that is ascribed to self-development and reflection in order to manage the anxiety of early professional practice is a path to pursue. It became obvious that developing teacher professionalism requires a closer partnership between Uni-

versity and schools and between the theoretical training and school practical training.

The new philosophy of teacher education does not focus only on teaching teachers "to know" a lot about teaching, but also helps them become 'good' teachers who understand themselves as teachers involving the personal and professional side (Schepens et al. 2009, 362). In the last decades, teacher educators have embraced the concepts of "reflective teaching", "inquiry oriented", and "research-based" (Zeichner 1994). Pre-service teacher education in Kosovo should embrace these trends in order to identify ways to ensure the elements of teachers 'self', 'professional self' and 'professionalism' are effectively addressed in light of the demanded professionalism and local school context. This would imply abandoning the traditional focus on core skills that teachers need to perform their job as well as foundational theory that all teacher education programmes normally address.

6.5 Summary of discussion

In summary, the development of teachers needs to be broadened abandoning past views of teacher development leading to skills development and focussing on developing teacher self-knowledge as a starting point and awareness of new professionalism requirements, which will be best achieved through collaboration with peers. Teacher education continuum, in parallel to developing competencies determined at national level, should be considered from the point of view of giving identity development a more overt attention (Ruohotie-Lyhty 2013, 127).

Addressing teacher professionalism should be viewed as a function of the system. The tendency of a standardization culture in education if retained, should be carefully examined in light of how best to ensure policies and national requirements are implemented and are giving results. Teacher development policies applicable in the Kosovo education context should be seen as documents that serve the policy implementation rather than a framework of thinking and acting. Such documents should become tools that link all parties involved in teacher development and centre them around the relevant issues of developing teachers that schools need.

One of the potential answers to the way teacher thinking and reflexivity improves is by providing research-based teacher education. This helps teachers justify their practice with factual arguments, and better quality of justifying the instructional decisions (Kansanen et al. 2000, 4). Currently, pre-service teacher education in Kosovo is educating teachers to the level of mastering the basics of what it takes to teach, leaving qualification for research activities to the specializations at the Master's and Doctoral levels. This research confirmed that in general teachers held such a basic perception for the role of pre-service teacher education. However, the efforts of the national authorities in Kosovo to increase the qualification requirements for prospective teachers at Master level should

be seen as an opportunity for pushing teachers towards reflexive and inquiry practice.

This research emphasizes that developing teacher professionalism and identity cannot remain an isolated activity for the teacher education departments in Universities. It is critical that the *praxis shock* of teachers (Korthagen 2004) is addressed meaningfully and to the fullest raising thus the need for a school culture that fosters professional collaboration between teams of teachers and empowers the role of teachers in school development initiatives and efforts. On the other hand, despite the major progress made in planning the new culture of schooling and re-writing education policies, the focus on policy design and implementation in the last decade and a half did not seem to suffice and it requires reconsiderations in the approach in order to ensure the transition process is smoother, quicker and efficient. Teacher empowerment is to become development target. Furthermore, considerable care is needed in managing the process of adopting international practices and lessons in local standard setting and policy design. Learning from international practices and trends can certainly support local developments to move towards improvement but various processes should be developed and managed to ensure consistency, coherence and systematic development of local context. Some conclusions on how this could happen follow.

7 CONCLUSIONS

"Teachers are nowadays to invest in own development and development of their colleagues, for their own good and the good of the profession" (Hargreaves & Fullan 2012).

7.1 Reconceptualising professional identity and professionalism

Educational change depends on what teachers do and think (Fullan 2007). Equally important is the professional relations that teachers build and micropolitics within the school (Kelchtermans & Ballet 2002). With this, we turn to how teachers in Kosovo context fit into this framework. It is evident from this research that Kosovo has made significant progress in preparing schools for enacting new professionalism in its way to European integration. Shifting from a situation 'revival of education' to a situation of 'accommodating teachers' into new realities marks a significant progress. The ambitious reform remains though a challenge for the future if the target remains introducing the new professionalism in every school to the full as a reflection of 'development stage'.

Viewing identity and professionalism work in the context of large-scale reform requires us to reflect on the dimensions of teachers' personal practical theory (knowledge skills and values), the practice (the encounter with the classroom and school reality) as well as the broader contextual frame (the values behind teaching profession, the historical and cultural dimensions where teachers' work is embedded). These resources can also be otherwise classified as personal, professional, and contextual dimensions. Similarly, as Watson (2006) concludes, the interplay between these different factors is clearly evident, while in some respects these resources cause tensions.

At the personal level, the changing values behind education and behind the profession of teaching seem to be causing conflicting views as to what is expected of education and the motivation to enter teaching profession. At the professional level, the lack of responsibility, awareness, and encouragement to engage in reflection activities first at the professional community level and then

at the deeper individual level seem to be hidden under the long tradition of the externally led workshop type professional development and non-existent professional collaboration among staff. This can be explained in part through understanding the lack of teacher opportunities to date to engage with education policy when examining their personal practical theory against the task requirements.

It is true that in the midst of major education reform teacher work reality appears as teacher bound. Beginner teachers in Kosovo appear to experience a praxis shock while socialization into school culture and organization seems to be spontaneous rather than planned. Inducting beginner teachers into the professional and organization setting will lead towards a flexible and informed response to the socially constructed world of schooling in the post-modern reality (Goodson 2010). In addition, school setting must develop coaching and advising structures and processes that provide teachers with a platform for personal and collegial sense-making (See also Geijsel & Meijers 2005). Identities are often personal and political projects in which we participate, empowered to greater or lower extent by resources of experience and ability, culture or social organization (Colhoun 1994, 28). As we have seen, teachers' experience of school reform advocated by centrally designed policies appears as weak. This perspective of pressure for change will be best elaborated in light of the dimensions of time, space and relationality of teacher thinking (Calhoun 1994, 41).

The time and space dimensions of teaching and teacher thinking imply a "where" and a "when" The developments in teacher careers and lives always happen in a certain period of time, meaning a certain period of their career and life, and in certain school and education context (Kelchtermans 2005). The relationality aspect refers to the possibilities of teachers to relate and appropriately socialize into the education policies, relate to the school professional community and school culture. This is why teacher development should be placed within a particular historical, political and educational tradition and context. Teachers do not work and reflect in a social vacuum. They act within institutions, structures and processes, which have a past and a social momentum (Carr & Hartnett 1996).

The postmodern argument that there are no universal truths to be discovered and that all accounts are necessarily partial, local, historically and culturally grounded (Coffey 2001) has affected the ways we conceptualize the development of teacher professionalism. In particular - in contexts such as Kosovo's where resources are scarce - skills and values will require re-orientation while teacher responsibility needs to be increased to lead into self-development and development of colleagues. With that view in mind, teacher professional identity is typically viewed as interactional and relational, implying the need to move away from studying teacher work realities from the position of policy-planning and development but rather focussing on ensuring teacher reflexivity scrutinizing own world and life of work. In addition, the practice of studying teacher work reality as teacher bound is also impractical and leads to unexamined perceptions.

Reflecting on the practicality of perceiving teacher professionalism as having passed through certain historical phases characterized by certain features, various dilemmas can be raised in light of difficulties in ensuring uniformity and context-free perception of developing teacher professionalism and identity. Kosovo teacher professionalism has made the initial steps towards reflecting the features of collegial and post-professionalism. In a period of decade and a half efforts of educational transformation, the slow progress can be attributed to the heavy focus on education policy design in the post 1999 period which has not been effective in changing classroom practice as projected. Though external influences and learning from good practices bring added values, teacher work realities and teachers as professionals need to be studied in relation to the ways they connect and interact with the education policy, teacher professional community, school managers, education context and broader education values. Therefore, it is impractical and unrealistic to project development of teacher professionalism solely on certain international standards and trends. Otherwise, the bottleneck effect in education reform will appear as a serious obstacle to successful change of classroom practice.

The perception of teacher change as a process of guiding from the top and instructing through policy will obviously reach teacher's desk but likely not their personal practical theory. Managerialist agendas of change do not provide an instrument to fully penetrate teacher work realities and perceptions. The pressure for change prevents change (Korthagen 2001, 70) if it only comes as a top down instruction. It should not then come as a surprise that it is difficult for centrally driven education policy to change the classroom practice when dealing with fundamental changes in teaching and learning practices such as the case of Kosovo whereby teachers are asked to teach in ways they were not trained to initially nor supported for at a later stage.

In a process of transforming teaching practice as a result of large-scale reform, particular attention should be paid to the ways schools as organizations react to change rather than how individuals interpret, experience and enact the new demands.

7.2 Changing professionalism for changing schools

The school culture of organizational learning and professional collaboration is often seen as the most powerful instrument of ensuring education reform is implemented at the depth and breadth projected. As teacher identity is not static (is ever-changing and is negotiated), it is increasingly viewed as dynamic, fluid, multiple and subject to constant flux and change (Coffey 2001; Goodson 1997). Teachers alone cannot do much. Under-resourced education systems at this time of rapid development, such as Kosovo's, cannot manage the support for individual teachers. Looking at the teaching development from a collegial perspective holds more chances to achieve the depth and spread of the reform implementation much quicker. As a true reflection of post-modern professional-

ism orientation, changes have been occurring too often and too quickly in Kosovo context to be able to manage them at the level of individual teachers. Teaching workforce does not reflect, though, similar post-modern professionalism orientation which causes a reality of teachers being distanced from policy.

Kosovo schools appear to have been in the position, over the last decade and a half, of receiving reform instructions and then being held accountable for them happening in school reality. This brings us to the point that the links between the institutional framework and teaching practice must be emphasized (Laursen 1994). The reform of the institutional setting often proves to be the prerequisite for change (Laursen 1994) and this proves to be the case for Kosovo school context. The efforts to develop new professionalism in school reality in Kosovo lies at strengthening the concept of school as an organization which is dependent on the nurturing of the professional collaborative cultures among the school staff. The diagram below (Figure 19) elaborates the interaction of the level of individual teacher, groups of teachers and school culture with the aim of developing teachers as reflective activists, professional learning communities and the school as a learning organization. In parallel, this will yield results in enabling the development of the skills and knowledge necessary for the reform, teachers understanding the work context and the development of shared vision and values at school level. Change is thus a multifaceted process and requires actions in more than one dimension in a coordinated and coherent manner.

The concept of reflective activist results as a merger of the concept of reflective practitioners (Schon 1983) and activist professional (Sachs 2000). The concept of reflection differs fundamentally from the concept of critical reflection (Reynolds 1998). While the concept of experiential reflection is based on looking at the concept or immediate task, the critical reflection is more focussed on the looking at the meaning of practice in social, historical, contextual and institutional relationship (Reynolds 1998). The reflective activist is a type of professional that is needed in changing schools that are strongly embedded in contextual, historical and cultural backgrounds. True reflection is the one that goes beyond the individual level and moves at the level of interaction and organizational level (Hoyrup 2004). This research revealed that both beginner and experienced teachers need to be involved in critical type of reflection in order to reflect on broader social and cultural dimensions of their work reality.

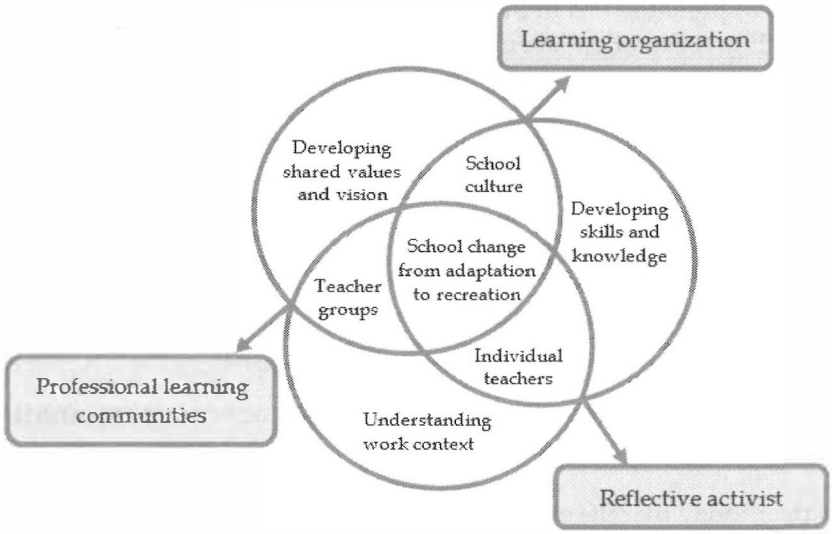

Figure 19 The school change for changing professionalism

Though it is evident that Kosovo teachers will need to develop the three dimensions of reflections – individual, interactional and organizational - the socio-cultural perspective advocates that developments should be oriented towards groups of teachers, leading into individuals internalizing what will be agreed as shared vision, in one hand, and lead towards developing a change oriented school culture. Kosovo schools need to create own structures that can push the individual teachers – reflective activists - towards the collegial collaboration and reflective practices. Soon after, change can draw on the other dimensions of this framework aiming for accommodation into a new professionalism. In the contexts of change that require changing teacher practices, teachers need to be provided with possibilities to, as part of the collegial interaction and reflection, 'unfreeze' the current behaviour and thinking. Until this happens it is unlikely that they will 'freeze' into new behaviours (Holbeche 2006).

Therefore the way schools react to changes advocated from central level is critical. This research revealed that central policy interventions had a weak influence on the way schools and school community have been acting. Furthermore it leads us to conclude that Kosovo school reaction to change has been reactive rather than anticipatory in light of the new reforms introduced in the last decade. The reactive mood of Kosovo schools to educational change has proven to be very slow and under no pressure to move towards certain targets of the reform. Reaction to change has been individually bound and dependant on the motivation and commitment of individual teachers.

The development of such professionalism as projected currently in the policy documents, such as curriculum framework and teacher performance standards, requires fundamental school change. This implies that among other things schools need to re-examine their strategy and structures as well as values held about teaching and learning in order to react to the demanded profession-

alism. The potential lies in building professional learning communities, or else developing collegial collaboration, which will then contribute to the development of a school culture that anticipates the reform rather than react to the external instructions coming from the top. It is understandable that at the initial stages, school change can adopt a mode of adaptation in order to ensure teachers have managed to socialize into new requirements and re-professionalize (Davies 2013). The adaptation mode however will need to lead towards the stage of stage recreation requiring second order changes in schools (Leithwood et al. 1999). In other words, change of the school culture and turning schools into a learning organization is paramount.

7.3 Change management in developing new professionalism

It is clear today that the emphasis of schooling must be less narrowly conceived. It is equally clear that teaching and learning will need to be conceptualized and enacted as more complex, personalized, and differentiated action geared towards addressing cognitive, emotional and social development of the needs of pupils. Perceptions about teaching and teacher professionalism are in many cases too narrow and education systems aiming for large-scale reforms, particularly countries in transition, need to develop more comprehensive frameworks for viewing them. Fullan (2007) suggests that in order to sustain educational change the entire education system requires attention including student, teacher school administrator, school as an organization, district and beyond. Kosovo education system needs to adopt a more comprehensive approach to school reform by connecting the education policy, pre-service teacher education and teacher in-service development and experiences of school culture.

The importance of context is emphasized in relation to the discussions for changing education as a result of external inputs or influences. Many researchers have supported the thesis of borrowing global ideas to push the developments into local context (Schriewer 1992; Cowen 2002; Steiner Khamsi 2002 as quoted by Teresa-Tatto 2007, 70), as a normal reaction to the globalization trends, aligning education systems with the European Union policies and global trends. However, such global ideas require a careful examination in terms of the local processes and support teachers, managers and schools require to push the reform implementation forward. The well-known phrase *think globally, act locally* could be changed into *think locally, act globally* when dealing with fundamental changes such as moving towards student-centered pedagogy in a developing country. Therefore, change should be examined in light of the potential for change and the barriers that occur at different levels within a particular education system. As Cohen and Ball (2001) emphasize, introducing innovation requires more comprehensive efforts than injecting an innovation in school system and expecting the change to happen.

Such an approach calls for adopting the *'comparison over time'* approach to education policy making in Kosovo. In line with the conclusions of Steiner-

Khamsi (2013) that *'comparisons over time'* are more context sensitive approaches, this research suggests that developing countries will need to adopt an approach that allows for more contextualized examination of the lessons learned from elsewhere and their applicability in the local context and targeted reforms. Through the support of various international donors and in light of the orientation to keep up with the international trends (such as announced participation in 2015 Programme for International Student Assessment organized by OECD), Kosovo education policy making has demonstrated the inclination to adopt *'standardized comparisons"* model of policy making. It is therefore the time to shift the focus more towards 'what went right' elsewhere and what works here. This is important in relation to the desired professionalism that has already been projected in various policy documents. The need to reconsider the orientation to education policy making in Kosovo does not mean to revert the policy design process to point zero but rather re-examine the policy implementation approaches and design the appropriate transformation processes that lead to new professionalism fully embedded in schools.

In order to facilitate the negotiation process between the desired professionalism and current reality, educational change process should be phased through a 'zone of proximal development' to bridge the policy praxis gap. The zone should entail scaffolding mechanisms to support teachers and community of teachers through the transitioning process. This zone should not be targeted as a point in time but rather a process where meaningful interactions occur in a systematic manner and all actors are actively involved in developing for changing classroom reality. It is a transition to the desired future.

The framework for analysing teacher related policy should in essence be seen as multi-dimensional and dynamic (See Figure 6) and it must be extended by adding questions about: the changing nature of knowledge, teaching and learning in the globalization era; the nature of education system's governance; and the education systems' expected outcomes in the face of increasing global competiveness. Within such a framework, the components of knowledge, autonomy and responsibility (Furlong et al. 2000, 4) have to be made the instrument to drive forward the development of teacher professional identity and professionalism in Kosovo. Figure 20 is an attempt to model change management in developing teacher professionalism in a developing country - that is aspiring towards high European standards - by moving away from uniform models adopted from various international trends or research applied in different contexts. The model anticipates that external influences, standards and trends will be channelled through this model rather than become part of it.

This model suggests that teacher ***knowledge*** should develop in multiple ways since the concept of knowledge is changing. But as some researchers have noted, teacher needs a meta-knowledge of learning processes and developments (Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi 2006, 42). It is the knowledge of didactics that new professionalism requires as well as the knowledge of pedagogical roles of teachers in view of more learner-centered approaches targeted. Furthermore, the conception of knowledge, skills and values is closely related to the actual

encounter with the classroom reality that produces a conception of teacher personal practical theory. Thus, a starting point for teachers to engage in development activities is by extending and deepening their views of knowledge. In order to move the professionalism further, teachers need to think of the subject matter they teach in a much broader context including reflections on the social purposes of education as well as the new functions of schooling - academic, social, civic and personal as also argued by Darling-Hammond & Bransford (2005). The perception of Kosovo teachers of curriculum should change. The instructions and materials they receive from the top should not be their curriculum. Teachers need to develop their curriculum regardless of the level of prescriptions they receive from the top (Darling-Hammond & Bransford 2005).

Developing teachers that approach teaching their subject in that spirit requires teachers who take ***responsibility*** for the development of their professional practice, their own development as professionals and the development of school. Life-long learning provision through the in-service development system in Kosovo could certainly enable the development of the responsibility as a culture within Kosovo teaching force given the context and stage of development teachers are caught into currently. Teachers will have a future if they anticipate one and the roles they are given and support they receive will have an impact on this (Niemi 1996). This is closely connected to increasing teacher responsibility, which is a necessary to happen to lead towards better chances of transitioning towards new professionalism.

When talking about the responsibility to themselves as teachers, the issue of autonomy is unavoidable raised. Teacher ***autonomy*** in Kosovo seems to have been influenced predominantly by the education policy culture. A decade and half long tradition of centrally driven and prescribed policies and a decade long operation under a 'survival mode' during the 1990s 'parallel education system', has unavoidably reduced teacher autonomy and ability to undertake developments in their work (See also Thrupp 2006; Drudy 2008). Teacher education and school administration are important in empowering teachers, while teachers' potential will be utilized only if teachers are supported in developing their autonomy and take a participatory role in school and education development (Niemi 1996). However, it does not only depend on teachers to determine whether they are seen and act as autonomous professionals. The teaching profession needs administrative and organizational structures which facilitate teachers' willingness and ability to take their freedom seriously (Niemi 1996). This research indicates that Kosovo education system has not made efforts to establish such structures and processes to nurture teacher autonomy as a tool for developing teaching.

Future developments in the education system in Kosovo should change the perceptions of the use and purpose of education policy. The concept of trust is now given an importance in understanding teachers' work reality (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy 2000). Trust of teachers' work is a key value that education policy in Kosovo should embody in itself underneath its provisions. This implies the move from a centrally driven and prescribed agenda towards empow-

ering the school level development and teacher responsibility and initiative taking for the development of themselves and their schools. The continuation of distrust in teachers will continue to cause anxiety and insecurity (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy 2000). Insecurity and lack of understanding of own responsibility for educational change that was evident among Kosovo teachers should be addressed through transformation processes in the zone of proximal development.

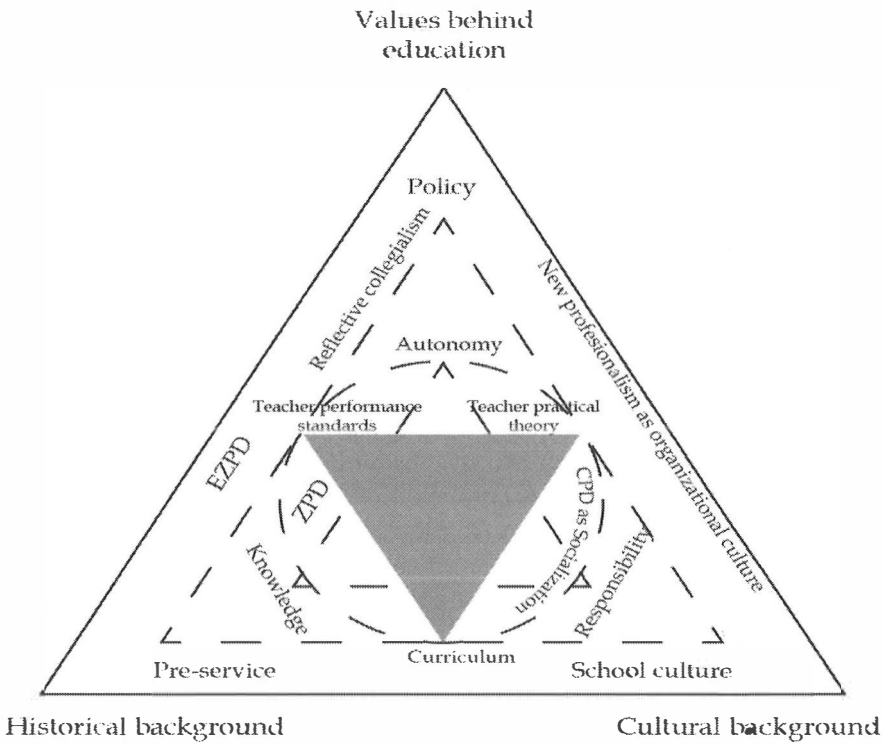

Figure 20 Change management in developing teacher professionalism and identity

The aim of the change processes need to aim at enabling transformation processes that support teachers to move from the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) into the Extended Zone of Proximal Development (EZPD). The target in the ZPD will be the development of *Trust* into teachers' work. In addition, the ZPD will also target the development of the pedagogical orientation of teachers to their work as a new policy requirement in Kosovo and a reality that teachers need to accommodate themselves into.

The reality of teachers' work in Kosovo has been faced with multidimensional demands and pressure - targeted transformation of classroom teaching and globalization agendas - and teachers need to be supported in their identity formation during their pre-service training and in-service experiences (Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi 2006). Pre-service training in Kosovo will also need to reconsider its role in the sense that in parallel to issues of teacher identity and

skills it also addresses the micro politics, social dimensions as well as organizational settings in which teachers' work is embedded. Similarly, in-service teacher education needs to be redefined. For the most part, teacher development has traditionally meant teacher training, in other words 'something that is done to the teachers'. Though Continuous Professional Development (CPD) has been traditionally viewed as a tool to bridge the gap between theory and practice (Day and Gu 2010), or policy and practice, it is critical that the perception of teacher development gives way to more agentive view of development - teachers learning in their 'zone of proximal development', constructing their understanding of the art of teaching through reflective practice and drawing on the support and assistance that is made available (Well 1999, 329).

This though requires changing of the role of CPD into a 'socialization role', a scaffolding mechanism for teachers to enable shift from the current ability zone, and targeting developing pedagogically oriented teaching philosophy. As part of engaging in this process, teachers will socialize into their personal practical theory, the teacher performance standards and the new curriculum requirements. They together need to take an active role in raising questions on what to teach (academic), how to teach (didactic) and to what larger goals their teaching should strive (Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi 2006). The relevance of viewing this process through the socio-cultural lens lies in the fact that teachers will be able to support each other during the process. An individual teacher cannot change the school (Niemi 1996). The belief that changing schools can happen by focussing on individual teachers should cease to exist in the Kosovo teacher development system as many of the reform attempts were conceptualized in that spirit to date. Teacher development should not stop at the socialization level though, that is only the starting point. In the EZPD more targeted professional development, addressing functional and attitudinal dimensions of teachers' work, associated with mentoring practices will need to happen to lead to the creation of reflective collegiality.

Teacher professionalism for a changing system requires a reflective collegial culture that is ready to counteract the increasing demands on teachers' work and ongoing reforms. In cases when teacher pedagogical reflection is superficial and education reform ambitious, school system should not aim to develop reflective collegiality as a first step as it may lead to superficiality. Developing such practitioners should be targeted within the extended zone of proximal development. Reflection should be introspective about the phenomena that take place within teachers' internal world and the world around them (Zehm & Kottler 1993). The CPD socialization process leading to the achievement of trust, pedagogical orientation to work and collegial culture in school are indeed the true reflection of setting the foundation for a true and sustainable change in teacher practice. Only then will teachers be able to engage in ongoing development of their personal practical theory and responding to the demands placed on their professional practice.

Bringing the discussion to the system level, the implementation of school reform does not imply that reform initiatives are spread in as many as schools

and classrooms as possible but rather the principles of reform are embedded in school culture (Coburn 2003, 7). Reform will be implemented when teachers draw on the initiatives beyond the narrow reform agenda, thereby making the school functioning dimension a very important one (McLaughlin & Mitra 2001). Coburn (2003) calls for attention to be paid to the scale of the reform and it should not be limited to the spread of the reform. The deep change is such a change that goes beyond interventions in surface structures moving into addressing school culture and teacher beliefs aspects. All these issues will come as a challenge in the Kosovo school reform path.

Therefore, planning education development beyond the scope of the 'zone of proximal development' aims at developing teachers that are able to interpret any reform regardless of ambitiousness, the professional support and time made available. Rather than waiting for the centrally developed guidelines and interpretations, teachers should be engaged with the projected reform by internalizing it and translating into daily practice through, first, collegial reflection and then follow-up internally as individual teachers. School reform should be supported by the development of collaborative cultures among school staff (Hargreaves 1996). Only then is there the chance that school reform will reach the full breadth and depth of its target. On the other hand, implementing large-scale system reform like the one Kosovo aims to achieve, both the spread and depth of reform should be addressed. The transformation will not happen if only islands of reform are created. So school reform needs to be assessed at both system and school level. While innovations in teaching and learning, whether they have been initiated locally or owing to external influence, need to be in harmony with the realities of teacher's work - namely the identity, capacities and motivation that derives from school setting.

An important aim of large-scale reform is to create opportunities for change at the local level and thus to contribute to the innovative capacities of schools (See also Geijsel et al. 2001). The attempts to move from the ability zone - current reality - to the desired or prescribed stage, without the transition through the zone of proximal development lead to surface and unsustainable change. Failing to respond to the ambitiousness of the reform demands and due to failure to operationalize the 'zone of proximal development', countries in transition engage in the '*modernization myth*'. '*Modernization myth*' leads to over-simplification of the education innovation targeted. The Kosovo education system is faced with the need to avoid the practice of adopting the international trends in teaching and learning by trying to translate those into the local context without examining the historical, cultural and education context where the reform is to be implemented. Kosovo school reform will need to reconsider the past approaches of multiple reform inputs, expectations of doing more with less, continuous and ambitious standards raising, operation of audit culture of schooling by placing the school and teacher communities at the centre of the reform. This will need to be associated with the attempts to properly determine the necessary transformation processes and a distinct line between the ZPD and EZPD.

School change able to engage teacher community in transformation processes – taking them through the zone of proximal development - is the one that will develop teacher professionalism and identity that responds to the current and ever increasing pressure on teachers' professional practice in the midst of social and educational change that derives from the globalization and integration trends. Holding schools accountable for failing to meet centrally designed standards and agendas will not suffice to ensure transformation of education systems in developing countries.

8 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

The chapter recognizes some of the limitations that were faced during this study and outlines the future possibilities and opportunities for researching complimentarily the issues related to this study.

8.1 Limitations

This research has evolved from its initial stage design. The initial planning was not meant to address studying teacher professionalism and professional identity in light of education change and policy culture but the need to do so was raised in order to better understand the evolving professionalism and its nature. Thus, this research does not include the view of policy makers to try to understand the rationale for policy focus or the way policy makers have projected the translation of policies into classroom practice or the support and processes made available to ensure this link. In addition, data collection has not examined teacher views of the past, current or future educational change initiatives and developments. It was rather a baseline study of the Kosovo reality since there was hardly any prior empirical basis to ground this work. The data gathering process, particularly at the beginning stage of this research, proved that beginner teachers could not connect to the broader realities of school life or education policy related issues. Thus, teacher reflections on these matters remained rather general. It was obvious as a researcher I had idealistic images of teachers.

Another limitation to this study is related to the generalizability of the findings across the whole teacher population. Despite the efforts to draw the teacher sample from the categories that would allow for generalizability elements, a closer survey of the specifics of the school contexts and the variety of teacher profiles that are currently working in the Kosovo schooling system, including the vocational education sector, would perhaps provide a more vivid picture of the possible varying realities of Kosovo schools in urban and rural areas.

8.2 Future possibilities

This study provides a good ground to continue further investigations in developing teachers and enacting change in Kosovo school system or similar developing contexts. In order to determine the effectiveness and impact of developing teacher professionalism and identity it is important that future research will be of longitudinal and multi-method nature. Closer surveying of the realities of bigger samples of teachers would be an added value. This implies the need for mixed method research studies in future to be able to determine the scope of the study much easier. Furthermore, it is necessary to complement the current research with the actual realities of the classroom in order to examine in more depth the realities of personal and professional self of teachers and the way these interact in light of classroom and contextual realities. The views of education policy makers and transformation processes that are deemed effective in developing desired professionalism are critical.

In addition, it is also important to examine in depth the dynamics and nature of professional collaboration and school culture specifics in light of enacting change and introducing innovations in schools. This would provide a more solid ground to determine teacher commitment and obstacles in developing the type of professionalism and school culture that is desired. In addition, more action type research projects are necessary to understand the specifics of the new professionalism that is aimed at through introduction of innovations such as the ones on introducing new curricula, inducting teachers and professionally supporting teachers in understanding and implementing school reform. Lastly, this study raises the need for further investigation of identifying new theoretical approaches to studying the concept of "policy transfer" in the contexts of developing educational systems and countries.

YHTEENVETO

Opettajan ammatillisuuden ja identiteetin kehittyminen keskellä suurta koulutuksellista muutosta – tapaustutkimus Kosovosta

Johdanto ja tausta

Tämä väitöskirjatutkimus tutkii opettajan ammatti-identiteettiä ja ammatillista kehittymistä sosiokulttuurisen teorian (Vygotsky 1978, 1979) ja tämän alueen aikaisempien tutkimusten pohjalta. Tutkimus lähestyy koulutuksellista muutosta ennemmin opettajien, kuin politiikan tai järjestelmän näkökulmasta. Tämän tutkimuksen merkitys on ennen kaikkea siinä, että opettajan ammatillista kehittymistä ja ammatti-identiteettiä tarkastellaan uuden, kehittyvän maan, Kosovon tasavallan, kontekstissa, taustana viimeaikaiset opetusalan kansainväliset uudistukset ja käytänteet

Kosovon koulutusjärjestelmä toimi hyvin vaikeissa olosuhteissa 1990-luvulla. Silloinen Serbian hallitus oli kieltänyt albanialaiselta enemmistöltä mahdollisuuden käyttää äidinkieltä opetuksessa. Kansalaisten vastalauseena Kosovon albaniankielinen väestö organisoi rinnakkaisen koulutuksen, jonka suppea rahoitus saatiin Länsi-Eurooppaan muuttaneilta Kosovon albaaneilta. Rinnakkainen koulutusjärjestelmä toimi vuodesta 1991 vuoteen 1999 ja tänä aikana opettajilla oli sankarillinen rooli heidän pitäessään yllä koulutusjärjestelmää niukalla tai olemattomalla korvauksella. Kuitenkin niissä vaikeissa olosuhteissa ja olemattomin varoin – rinnakkainen koulutusjärjestelmä toimi yksityiskodeissa – opetuksen ja oppimisen laatu kärsi huomattavasti.

Olosuhteet muuttuivat radikaalisti vuonna 1999 kun NATO- joukot auttoivat vakiinnuttamaan turvallisuuden ja järjestyksen. Ihmiset palasivat normaaliin elämään ja kansainvälinen yhteisö antoi tukensa kunnollisen koulutuk-

sen perustamisessa. Kosovo on pyrkinyt liittymään Euroopan Unioniin ja monia kehitystyön tuloksia asetettiin eurooppalaisien standardien ja suuntausten mukaisiksi, samaan aikaan kun kansainvälisen koulutuspolitiikan muutokset (kts Steiner-Khamsi 2012) olivat läsnä Kosovon vuoden 1999 jälkeisessä koulutuksen kehittämisessä. Ulkoinen tuki ja asiantuntemus ohjasivat opetussuunnitelmien uudistusta, opettajat pääsivät mukaan moninaisiin lahjoittajaorganisaatioiden johtamiin kehittämistehtäviin ja uusia normeja ja menettelytapoja kehitettiin säätelemään opettamista ja oppimista. Kuitenkin, koska alan tutkimusta ei juurikaan ollut tehty, jäi epäselväksi, oliko opetuksen ja oppimisen siirtyminen kohti oppijakeskeisyyttä onnistunut ja oliko hallinnon muutos kunnollinen.

Metodologia ja tutkimuskysymykset

Tämä tutkimus lähestyy opettajan ammatillisen kehittymisen tutkimista siitä näkökulmasta, miten opettajuus liittyy koulu-uudistukseen vuorovaikutuksessa laajempaan kasvatukselliseen, kulttuuriseen ja historialliseen kontekstiin. Tutkimuksen tärkein tutkimuskysymys on:

- Kuinka opettajan ammatillisuus ja ammatti-identiteetti ilmenevät koulutuksellisen muutoksen keskellä?

Pääkysymyksestä johdetut alakysymykset ovat:

- Mitkä ovat nykyisten Kosovon opettajien ammatillisuuden ja identiteetin erityispiirteet?
- Miten kontekstuaaliset tekijät vaikuttavat opettajien ammatillisuuteen ja identiteettiin Kosovossa?
- Minkä toteuttamiskelpoisen mallin avulla voitaisiin opettajien ammatillisuutta Kosovossa kehittää?

Tässä tutkimuksessa käytettiin kahdenlaista aineistoa. Alun perin 14 noviisiopettajaa pyydettiin haastattelussa puhumaan aloittelevan opettajan työn realiteeteista. Jatkohaastatteluissa tutkittiin kahden kokeneen opettajan kanssa opettajan käytäntöjä ja kouluelämää laajemmassa viitekehyksessä. Nämä opettajat olivat kokeneet koulutusjärjestelmän ennen rinnakkaista koulutussysteemiä, sen aikana ja nyt, vuoden 1999 sodan jälkeen, joten heidän haastattelunsa olivat luonteeltaan narratiivisia.

Aloittelevien opettajien haastattelut analysoitiin sisällönanalyysin menetelmällä suunnittelemalla koodaussysteemi, joka perustui Hargreavesin (2000) esittämään malliin opettajuuden kehittymisen neljästä vaiheesta. Nämä neljä ammatillisen kehittymisen vaihetta ovat: esiammatillinen kausi (opettaminen massaluentona, opettaja hallitsee alueensa hyvin), autonominen ammatillisuuden kausi (opettaja päättää itsenäisesti, mitä olisi parasta opettaa), yhteisöllisen ammatillisen kehittymisen kausi (organisaatiossa neuvotellaan yhdessä ja työskennellään yhteistyössä opetuksen parissa) ja jälki-ammatillinen kausi (vanhemmat ja ympäröivä yhteisö laajemminkin osallistuvat vastavoimana keskitetylle opetussuunnitelmalle, testausjärjestelmälle ja ulkoiselle valvonnalle). Kokeneiden opettajien haastatteluaineistoa tutkimalla etsittiin teemoja, jotka nousevat esiin Kosovon opettajien työn sisällöistä ja työnkuvan kehittämisestä.

Havainnot

Aloittelevilta opettajilta saadusta aineistosta oli tarkoitus tutkia opettajien tämän hetkistä ammatti-identiteettiä ja ammatillista kehittymistä. Tutkimus osoittaa, että aloittelevien opettajien hallitseviksi ominaisuuksiksi voidaan mainita (i) resurssisuuntautuneisuus, (ii) didaktinen näkökulma opettajan työhön ja tehtäviin, sekä (iii) tunne ammatillisesta eristäytyneisyydestä. Toisen vaiheen aineistoa tutkittiin narratiivisen analyysin menetelmillä tunnistamalla aineistosta teemoja, jotka tarkemmin kuvaavat opettajan työn laajempaa kontekstia. Tärkeimmiksi teemoiksi nousivat aineistoista (i) kasvatuksen muuttuvat arvot, (ii) opettajien käytännön työn muuttuva luonne, (iii) ei-haastava koulukulttuuri ja (iv) opettajan käytännöistä loitontunut koulutuspolitiikka.

Tämän väitöstutkimuksen mukaan opettajan ammatillisuuden ymmärtämiseksi se pitäisi asettaa laajempaan kehittymisen kontekstiin, tarkemmin ottaen opettajan työnkuvan jatkumoon menneisyydessä, nykyisyydessä ja tulevaisuudessa, eikä vain luoda ei-kontekstuaalisia näkemyksiä, jotka perustuvat nykytodellisuuteen ja tämän todellisuuden vertaamiseen kansainvälisiin normeihin ja suuntauksiin. Opettajat hyödyntävät identiteettiään muodostaessaan henkilökohtaista, ammatillista ja kontekstuaalista ulottuvuutta. Nämä ulottuvuudet näyttäytyvät erillisinä tai yhdistelminä. On vaarana, että suurten muutosten yhteydessä kasvatusjärjestelmät luovat kulttuurin, jossa opettajien ja politiikan suunnan välillä ei ole yhteyttä. Toisin sanoen, opetusta ja oppimista säätelevä kasvatuspolitiikka ei vaikuta siihen, miten opettajat toimivat ja käyttäytyvät luokissa, jos käytössä ei ole kehittämisprosesseja, joissa opettajat ovat osallisina. Heikko koulukulttuuri ja opettajien ammatillisen yhteistyön puute näyttävät lisäksi olevan perustavanlaatuisia tekijöitä opettamisen ja oppimisen realiteettien määräytymisessä.

Opettajan työn konteksti on kehittynyt valtavasti kolmen viimeisen vuosikymmenen aikana Kosovossa, ja se on yksi voimakkaimmin opettajan käytäntöä muovaavista tekijöistä. Vuodet ennen 1990-lukua opettajat kokivat vakauden ajaksi, mutta olosuhteet 1990-luvulla muuttivat merkittävästi opettajien toimintaa ja koettua roolia, eli tapaa, jolla opettajien oletettiin toimivan ja käyttäytyvän. Konfliktin jälkeisessä tilanteessa opetusjärjestelmää kohtasi ns. "muutossyndrooma", mikä teki opettajista passiivisia toimijoita, jotka eivät kuvasta jälkiammatillista vaihetta vastaamalla toisaalta koulutuspolitiikan vaatimuksiin ja toisaalta pedagogisemman suuntauksen trendiin.

Pohdinta ja yhteenveto

Tämä väitöskirja kehottaa laajentamaan opettajan ammatillisuuden tarkastelukulmaa vastaamaan kehittyvien maiden erityistä kontekstia. Identiteetin ja ammatillisuuden tarkasteleminen laajan muutoksen tilassa vaatii pohtimaan opettajien henkilökohtaisia käyttöteorioita (tietoja, taitoja ja arvoja), käytännön toimintaa (luokan kohtaamista ja koulun todellisuutta) sekä laajempaa kontekstuaalista tarkastelutapaa (opettajan ammatin arvoja, historiallisia ja kulttuurisia

ulottuvuuksia, joihin opettajien työ sisältyy). Sosiokulttuurinen teoria vaatii kehittämään opettajan ammatillisuutta kohteena ennemmin opettajien yhteisöt kuin yksittäiset opettajat. Vain tällä tavalla luodaan edellytykset koulujen voimauttamiselle, kun taas opetusjärjestelmän pitäisi tehdä kouluista muutosyksiköitä, tavoitteena juurruttaa uusi ammatillisuus organisatoriseksi kulttuuriksi.

Yhtenäisiä malleja opettajien ammatillisuuden kehittämiselle pitäisi vielä tarkkaan harkita – vaikka kansainvälisistä hyvistä käytänteistä ja kehityssuunnista voidaankin saada arvokasta kehityspanosta. Globalisaation aikakaudella opetusjärjestelmien on hallittava ulkoisia vaikutuksia varmistamalla tasapaino poliittisen järjestelmän määrittämän standardisoinnin ja opettajien ja koulun voimaantumisen välillä käyttämällä muutosprosesseja, jotka johtavat kasvatuspolitiikan soveltamiseen koulun käytännön toiminnassa.

Tutkimuksen tuloksena esitetään malli opettajien ammatillisen kehittämisen prosessille. Sen mukaan siirtyminen nykyisestä haluttuun opettajuuteen hallitaan parhaiten vaiheittaisella lähestymisellä, jossa tarvitaan lähikehityksen vyöhykkeen (ZPD) luomista siirtymänä kohti haluttua kehitystä. ZPD:n käyttöönotto siirtymävaiheen työvälineenä edellyttää opettajuuden kehittymisen luonteen ja tarkoituksen uudelleen käsitteellistämistä. Muodollisten työpajojen kulttuurista pitäisi päästä opettajuuden kehittämisessä tilanteeseen, jossa opettajille on mahdollista yhdistää omaa henkilökohtaista käyttöteoriaansa, uuden opetussuunnitelman vaatimuksia ja suoritusnormeja. Lähikehitysvyöhykkeen kautta suoritettujen siirtymäprosessien tulisi johtaa laajennettuun lähikehitysvyöhykkeeseen – minkä mukaan haluttua opettajuutta kuvaa reflektiivinen yhteisöllisyys ja koulujen toiminta oppivina organisaatioina.

Tutkimus korostaa, että kehittyvien koulutusjärjestelmien ei pitäisi nähdä koulun vastuuvelvollisuusmekanismeja ainoana kehittämisvälineenä, vaan koulut ja opettajayhteisöt pitäisi asettaa koulun ja kasvatuksen kehittämisen keskiöön. Koulut, jotka onnistuvat pääsemään lähikehitysvyöhykkeen kautta laajennetulle lähikehitysvyöhykkeelle, omaavat mahdollisuudet kestävään kehitykseen kohti uuden ammatillisuuden täyttä toteuttamista.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1
Example of the open coding of data in the first phase

Interview transcript	Codes and descriptions
Teacher 1 L/DR/BM	
BL: Let start with the interview, if you could introduce yourself before we start, such as who are you, where do you work, where are you from - - some general information about yourself. IW: I am BM, teacher of English Language. Since 2011 (last year), I have been teaching at the primary school "R, K." as a regular teacher. BL: If you can think about the time when you first started teaching – what were the main challenges you faced. What were the challenges since you graduated and on, what do you remember from those times. What was the most difficult thing since you first started teaching. IW: When I started teaching, I was still young. So the age between me and my students was not so much different since I was at that time 20/21 years old. I can recall of other problems/difficulties such as school atmosphere. We shared the same space with senior teachers who used to be my teachers when I was a student in secondary school. So I was very young. But within a short time, such as within about two months I got used with that environment, and moved to next stage challenges. I found teaching very interesting. My parents used to teach – my sister as well. So I loved always education in general, and teaching in particular. BL: OK, if you describe yourself as a teacher, how do you see the role of a teacher, what is its role in classroom in relation to students, in relation to school? IW: A teacher should always be tolerant in the classroom. He should be a good manager of his/her classes since there are different levels of students, different classes– sometimes we refer as poor and rich students – but it isn't	Teacher as manager - 1

always so. We have to look for a middle level. The role of the teacher is to always cooperate with students regardless of their problems, for e.g. some students may have family problems and that be reflected in the classroom. The teacher should consider and behave well with all. He should engage all regardless of students own engagement. He/she should cooperate also with other stakeholders, such as parents, with other teachers, with the school directorship. The outside look should be what a teacher should be. So the role of the teacher is always important. His/her role is to have the student in the center.	Cooperate with students regardless of their problems - 2 Cooperate with stakeholders -3
BL: What kind of teacher do Kosova's schools need? As a teacher, what do you think of this when you look at the situation in schooling here?	
IW: Now in 2012, in the 21st century, the school should be equipped with technical equipment, such as internet, computers, so that we can use slides in classes so that they are more attractive – so that we move beyond the traditional from board and chalk practice to more conversation with students, so that their communication skills are developed, so that they can express themselves regardless of their mistakes; so that they can engage with other schools through internet to do some quizzes, etc.	Wants to be equipped to respond to 21st century demands - 4
BL: How do you describe your own teaching. What are the approaches you use most; what methodologies you use; how do you organize teaching – how would you briefly describe your orientation as a teacher.	
IW: It depends on the groups. In some classrooms I am given the possibility to work with students in groups because most of the students are good in English so I can freely work with them in groups. With some other classrooms/ grades I also work individually; but to tell the truth it is quite difficult sometimes due to the lack of technical equipment I mentioned earlier, such as a TV, a Lab to listen to a CD or DVD. However, I focus mainly in free communication with students, we discuss some stories, what was the story about, what was the message; we do analysis of some reading text so that we can express ourselves in English. And I think that it is a good approach when you talk directly with your students in English.	Lack of equipment makes work difficult - 2
BL: According to your opinion, what is a successful teach-	

ing?	
IW: I believe that a successful teaching is if a teacher knows how to manage his/her class, knows to provide good explanation, knows to do a good introduction, knows to develop teaching in cooperation with his/her students. If a teacher lacks some of these, he/she will not be able to have a good class, and there may be some negative elements. A teacher should know what a class is and know to discuss with his/her students about the topic being developed.	Teacher as manager of class - 1 Teacher provides good explanation - 1 Teacher know what a class is - 1
BL: In the school context, how is it to be a school teacher, the environment?	
IW: It is a great responsibility. It is, what in the popular sense it is called, a second parent to students because children pass most of the time in school. To be a teacher is quite difficult also, since you have to transmit all your knowledge to students having in mind that students will learn based on that knowledge, learn their behaviors, their future health and so on.	Being a teacher is quite difficult - 2 Teacher transmitter of knowledge – 1
BL: What are three things that you like in your school and what are some that you dislike? What are some issues that you like or dislike in the school context in your work.	
IW: I start with positive side: teachers in general are qualified. So it is a good environment in terms of teacher qualification; the second one is that students attend regularly the school and the third one is that quizzes are organized quite often, sport activities and others in school level. From the negative side, even we are in 2012 we lack some technical equipment as mentioned earlier, labs, etc. then the environment not so suitable due to the age of the building.	School organizes quizzes often - 1 Lack of equipment challenge - 1
BL: From the human aspect, what does it help you, such as rapports with teachers, director, parents?	
IW: Relation with teachers and school management are good. There is a lack of cooperation within professional bodies since there is some jealousy among individual in those professional bodies, such as why he is better, why does he/work more, etc. I have noticed this in my school, and it may be happening in other schools as well.	Lack of cooperation within professional learning communities - 2

BL: Since you started working, is there any pressure to the teachers to change, is there any need that make teachers think they should change; that they should change their way of working from what they are used to do; and what do you think are those forces that push for such changes?	
IW: Positive or negative pressure are more evident towards the end of the school year, for e.g. in relation to students' marking where there are interventions both from students and parents, which are negative; but there are interventions or changes in marking by teachers themselves. I support the thesis that students must not be supported in this way since this form will only deceive students that they have succeeded.	Interventions in teacher grading students inappropriate - 2
BL: But in the sense of how you have been teaching so far, and are there any circumstances/needs that make me change that approach? Or especially during the last years, is there any pressure that make you change the way your organize your own teaching?	
IW: This happens especially with the teachers who attend different types of trainings in teaching methodologies. There are positive changes, they try to do things differently; however there are teachers that have not attended trainings and thus continue with their old/traditional ways of teaching throughout 30 or 40 years of teaching experience. Regarding to myself and to some of my colleagues we try to teach and use contemporary methods.	Teacher who attend trainings trying new things - 2 Non-trained teachers continue with their old way – 2 Try to use contemporary methods - 2
BL: If you could, remind us, when did you graduate?	
IW: In 2010.	
BL: If you could talk a little about your education in the faculty of education? If you look at the program you took during your studies, what is your assessment; what are your impressions of it?	
IW: Yes, since I enrolled in the Faculty in 2006 to 2010, a four year study period; every year we had internships [student teaching], in the first year - 2 weeks, second year – 1 months, 3rd year – 6 weeks; 4th year – 2 months. We had good experiences since the first year. I went to differ-	Learned how to organize

ent schools in Prishtina. I learnt from their teacher/s how they organized their classes, how they organized their teaching; problems, challenges, successes. So ever year, it was a construction of my profession. The internship in the second year is different from the first year, since we had more possibilities to be involved in activities.	classes at University - 2 .....

Appendix 2

Example of thematic coding of the data from first phase of data collection

Pre-professional age – 1	
Open coding	**Themes**
Teacher as manager – 1	Technical expert
Teacher as manager of class - 1	Technical expert
Teacher provides good explanation - 1	Technical expert
Teacher know what a class is - 1	Technical expert
Teacher transmitter of knowledge – 1	Technical expert
School organizes quizzes often - 1	Technical expert
lack of equipment challenge – 1	Technical expert
Not sure how manage, organize class at beginning- 1	Technical expert
parents not interested - 1	Isolated teacher
grade 3 do not hold pencils - 1	Technical expert
Teacher directing a child – 1	Technical expert
Communication with parents difficult - 1	Isolated teacher
Noisy students a challenge - 1	Isolated teacher
I tried for 2 years to work with special needs student (not we) - 1	Isolated teacher
Teacher attempts to have student achievement -1	Technical expert
Teacher talks about managing to have students read and write - 1	Technical expert
Teacher talks about importance of discipline - 1	Technical expert
Repetition used in class - 1	Technical expert
Teacher should be prepared, quiet, behave - 1	Technical expert
Teachers take examples to help understanding … -1	Technical expert
Teacher talks about importance of clear lectures - 1	Technical expert
Parents not helping understand who students are - 1	Isolated teacher
Know whether students are learning important - 1	Technical expert
Cooperation, communication with students important - 1	Technical expert
jealousy amongst teachers - 1	Isolated teacher
no difficulties in work- 1	Technical expert
Achieving set objectives important - 1	Technical expert
To educate children primary role - 1	Technical expert
lack labs weakness of school - 1	Lack Basic Resources
lack coop with teachers - 1	Isolated Teacher
talk of text books only - 1	Lack Basic Resources
.....	.....

Autonomous professional age	
Open coding	**Themes**
cooperate with students regardless of their problems - 2	Didactical orientation
Learned how to organize classes at University - 2	Didactical orientation
try to use contemporary methods - 2	Didactical orientation
Being a teacher is quite difficult - 2	Didactical orientation
Interventions in teacher grading sts inappropriate - 2	Didactical orientation
teacher who attend trainings trying new things - 2	Didactical orientation
Non-trained teachers continue with their old way – 2	Life long learning
lack of cooperation within prof - 2	Professional relationships
lack of equipment makes work difficult - 2	Basic resources for teaching
lack of organizing activities - 2	Didactical orientation
Cooperate with school director positive- 2	Professional relations
Teachers should learn continuously - 2	Life long learning
Teachers should be creative - 2	Didactical orientation
Teacher plan classes at home-2	Didactical orientation
.....	.....

Appendix 3

Example of categorizing the narrative data into themes in the second phase

Interview transcript	Initial thematic coding (to be grouped into broader themes)
BS: Can you tell us the reasons that made you chose this profession?	
Teacher 15: Back then, when I was man, the profession of teacher used to be regarded as something sacred. I very well remember when I was still at the elementary school, and I recall being impressed by the way teacher looked like, his stance, his neat and clean dressing as well as his elegance, or the way he expressed and behaved himself. All these made me develop some kind of love and fondness, regarding the teacher as someone divine. Basically not a human being. This is when I started developing my love and respect for this profession, wondering if I would ever be able to become one - even though teachers used to address us in many occasions that we will be the future or leaders teachers - and I remember us students laughing at those remarks. But there was another element; a request from my father. He used to be a construction worker, he has suffered and worked a lot during his lifetime. He was a hard worker and we were nine children in the family, and he always used to say please study in order to be able to make/earn for a good living. I want you to carry pencils in your hands, not construction tools. And he did his best to support me, so in a way his and mine wish merged into one. Then I decided to study English	Values behind education

language, because I liked this subject from the very beginning. I may also say that I was influenced by my English language teacher, too. He was very good teacher, and he had started using some new methods. I was also a good student, an extinguished one I would say, so I decided to remain in this subject area when I enrolled myself in the higher pedagogical school in Prizren. ..... BS: How do you describe your work career during the 90ies? RV: In 1990 I started working in 'Bashkimi' School in Drenas. It was a good school, with perspective and with well-prepared / graduated teachers. Good work was done before the escalation of situation, there was discipline, there was order, smooth conduct of classroom, and respect for working hours. I remember some textbooks that were published in Belgrade (Serbia) and translated into Albanian, but the majority of texts were politically motivated, especially when it comes to history. We did not want the students to get the distorted picture of events or wrong information so we avoided them. Later, as the situation escalated, we started developing parallel teaching system based on our own curricula. Teaching became rather exhausting, filled with sacrifice, with big number of students because we were expelled from schools, and we had to hold classes in private houses and sometimes even in religious buildings. Although we raised concerns about the quality of teaching we decided to accept every single student, as there was not much of a	The nature of teachers work

choice. Even though we would not be able to prepare them the way we should, we at least made sure they were not on the street, brought them into classroom and did our best. I want to say that despite all these obstacles, lack of textbooks, teaching aides, high number of students, lack of basic working conditions, as students had no tables and sometimes used to place notebooks on the back of students sitting in front of them to be able to write. For me this was unforgettable experience and feeling and a driving motive too, because we knew we were doing something very important, even though we were paid a symbolic amount. We all mobilized, teachers and students, there was great feeling of sympathy and respect by all. I felt much better at that time, with that payment. Perhaps it was the cause, the resistance towards the occupation. And we had to reject Serbian curricula, which was not ours. We had our own language, identity, character and we needed our own programs. Perhaps that was what kept us going. I feel great nostalgia and pain, but also dignity for the work we have done.	

Appendix 4

Interview protocol with beginner teachers – first phase

I. Biographical data (indicate gender when they present themselves):

Tell me about yourself as a teacher:

a. Where do you work/location/level?
b. What subject/s you teach?
c. In which school?
d. How long have you been teaching?

II. The contextual data

1. What were the main challenges in the first years of teaching? (Please elaborate)

2. Please describe the major developments/changes/shifts in the last 2 -5 years of your work in school
Where did those changes derive from?

III. The values and orientation of teachers in a transitional context

1. How do you see yourself as teacher? What do you think your role is:
   - In the classroom in relation to students and their learning?
   - In relation to school work/functioning overall?

2. What do you think is the most important feature/characteristic of a good teacher for Kosovo schools nowadays?

IV. The influence of school and job related factors in teacher professional identity

1. Tell me about how it is to be a teacher in (your) school?

a. What are the 3 things that you like most about your school/workplace?
b. What are the 3 things that you would change in your school? And Why?

V. The influence of pre-service training in the development of professional identity

1. Tell me about your education background/training:

a. When did you obtain your teaching degree?
b. From which institution/department?
c. How would you assess the education/training you obtained?
- How useful were the theoretical courses?
- How useful was the practicum?

2. What would you change in the pre-service training so that it helps new teachers better face the realities of the school context and teaching profession?

2. Is there anything else you wanted to add in relation to the experience of being a teacher in Kosovo nowadays?

Thank you very much for the participation in this research!

Appendix 5

Interview scenario with expert teachers – second phase

1. Introduce yourself please

2. Why did you choose the profession of the teacher?

3. How do you feel as a teacher?

4. Tell me about your career in teaching? Reflect the changes that occurred during different stages of your career.

5. What are the main policies that guide your work?
Laws? New Curriculum? Standards?

6. Tell us how does your school operate?

Appendix 6

Classrooms during parallel education system in Kosovo (taken from Shatri 2010)