"Some of them they just come to school to eat"

A minor field study about similarities and differences between the ways of teaching in two schools in Kenya

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A minor field study about similarities and differences between the ways of teaching in two schools in Kenya

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Abstract
This study focuses on connection between socioeconomic factors and the didactic choices in the English language teaching in lower primary school. The aim of the study is to examine if and how these choices differ between a charity-based school and a non-charity based (private) school in a slum area in Kenya, based on the reflections of teachers. Furthermore the aim is to investigate the motives or reasons behind the didactic choices, as expressed by the teachers during the interviews, and how these are possible to relate to the economic and social situation of the schools and the children.

The research questions for the study was what the similarities and the differences are in how the lower primary teachers in an informal school compared with a private school in a rural area in Kenya reflect on their didactic approach in the subject English. The second question is how their reflections and didactic choices can be understood in relation to the economic and social conditions that characterize each school.

The method used was a qualitative multi case study where the data collection was made by direct observations of four lessons and semi-structured interviews with four teachers, two in each school.

The theoretical perspective used was Maslow’s motivation theory about the hierarchy of basic needs (1970, 1987) and the frame factor theory through Löwing (2004) and Knutas (2008).

The main findings were that despite the two schools different economical resources and the children’s different socioeconomic backgrounds the overall didactic approach was very similar which partly can be explained with social and cultural norms that affect the way of teaching. Another finding was that the biggest obstacle for the language learning was small amount of pre-knowledge which was connected to poor or no use of English at home, and a lack of basic need. These factors were according to the teachers mostly found among the poor or in some way vulnerable children.

Key words: didactic approach, factors, background, English, needs
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1. Introduction

Which impact the relation between the childrens’ social and economic background and the resources in their school has on the pupils’ academic achievement is something that keeps coming back in to the debate about the equality in school in Sweden (von Greiff, 2009). It has been suggested that schools in so called disadvantaged areas should have a bigger part of the economic resources destined for the school (Jansson, Kornhall, Sundblad, 2014). But how should they be used and for what purpose? Different factors affect childrens’ understanding in different ways. For example what language you have as your first language and where you live are factors that are crucial for the childrens’ academic achievement, not least when it comes to the language learning. But how do these factors affect the teaching itself? And how is it related to the economic resources?

Another country also struggling with the same issue but where the differences are much bigger is Kenya. The country is located in the east of Africa with a population of 43, 2 million citizens. This population consists of more than 60 ethnic groups, speaking about 55 different languages. Due to the fact that Kenya was a British colony until 1963, English is together with Kiswahili the national language of the country. Kiswahili is the main language for communication between the ethnolinguistic groups and English is the official language used for administration and education. Thus, English is the language and the school subject which can make it possible for an individual change for the students.

Since 2003 education in public schools is both free and compulsory (Kenya Constitution, 2010, p 37). Despite that, according to Unesco’s Education for All Global Monitoring Report, ”one million children are still out of school in Kenya. While this is almost half of the number of children that was out of school in Kenya in 1999, it is still the ninth highest of any country in the world. (...) In 2008, in Nairobi, almost all children from rich households had studied in school, but in the North-East 55% of poor girls and 43% of poor boys in the region had never been to school” (2012, p 1). More than half of the 3 million citizens of Nairobi lives in the slum, where only a minority of the children can study, partly because the indirect costs (e.g. books, school uniforms) are too high (ibid). Despite this, the enrollment to the private schools (Bold, Kimenyi, Mwabu, Sandefur, 2013) and to the so called informal schools are growing (Oketch, Mutisya, Sagwe, 2011) which increase the combination of different factors with an influence
on the teaching and learning. And despite free and compulsory schools in a developing country like Kenya, children from the poorest homes do not have access to the school system.

With these factors in mind, one question is which impact the different situations in the different private schools have on the way of teaching. With all these different conditions for the teachers, both when it comes to the social and to the economic aspects of the schools, is it possible to have the same teaching approach, expectations and requirement on the poor children in a charity financed informal school as you have at the children in for example a private school? And is it even desirable? Is for example the lack of resources or the childrens’ background something that affects the teaching in the schools? And finally what can we in Sweden learn from this?

Aim of the Study
The aim of the study is to examine if and how the way of teaching English in lower primary school differs between a charity-based school and a non-charity based (private) school in Kenya based on the reflections of teachers and observations of their lessons. Furthermore I will investigate the motives or reasons behind the didactic choices, as expressed by the teachers during interviews and observations. I will also investigate how these are possible to relate to the economic and social situation of the schools and the children i.e. the connection between the didactic approach and the different factors that may be affecting the didactic possibilities.

I will focus my research on the teaching of the subject English, because it is the official language for administration and education in Kenya and therefore the key to success in the other subjects.

Research Questions
What are the similarities and the differences in how the lower primary teachers in an informal school compared with a private school in a rural area in Kenya reflect on their didactic approach in the subject English?

How can their reflections and didactic choices be understood in relation to the economic and social conditions that characterize each school?
Background
To understand the concept of teaching English in Kenya you have to understand the context of the Kenyan school in general and its objectives and qualifications in specific. Furthermore you also have to understand which methods that can be used in the teaching of second language. Therefore, this chapter provides a summary of the Kenyan school system, the national curriculum and the English syllabus followed by an introduction to the three different methods of language teaching. These methods are inspired of both theories of learning and language and have specific ideas about how language are learned. Situational language teaching, The Audiolingual Method and Communicative Language Teaching, are methods chosen because they were the most dominating methods found in the material in one way or another.

The education system in Kenya
The education system in Kenya has been marked by the British colonization during a long period of time but over the years it has become more independent if one looks at the structure and the curriculums. After the independence in 1963 several changes were made within the education system with focus on the country’s identity and unity. Education was to be a significant tool not only for social justice and rapid development, but also for the promotion of unity and "nationhood" (Wanjohi, 2011).

As mentioned before, Kenya’s primary school is compulsory and free since 2003, and the secondary school is free since 2008. The Primary school consists of 8 years of basic education starting at the age of 6 and the Secondary School consists of 4 years starting at the age of 14. Primary school is divided into lower (class 1-3), middle (class 4 & 5) and upper primary (class 6-8) (Clark, 2015).

At the end of primary school the students take an examination called KCPE (Kenya Certificate of Primary Education) in the subjects Kiswahili, English, mathematics, science, agriculture, and social studies, which decides if you will have admission to the national secondary school. The examination after the secondary school is called KCSE (Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education) and determines if you will have admission to the university (Clark, 2015).
The provision of the education is a partnership between the government and the private sector who runs the formal schools, partly religious organizations and non-governmental organizations who runs the informal schools. The formal education system is managed by the Ministry of Education. Similarities with the organization and administration of the Swedish school is the provision of national tests, inspections of the teachers and schools are administrated by The Inspectorate of Education, high work overload for teachers and learners spending too much time on written tests for assessments instead of actual learning through teaching (Unesco, 2010).

The national curriculum and the Primary School Syllabus

The curriculum which carries all the syllabuses are developed by the Kenyan Institute of Education. The current curriculum for primary school was implemented 2002 and is an improvement of the previous education system syllabus, the so called 8-4-4, which stands for 8 years in primary school, 4 years in secondary school and 4 years in university. In the introduction, the director of education at the Kenyan Institute of Education, Naomi W. Wangai explains that these improvements consist of clarifications of the general and the specific objectives of the education, a reduction and more explicit view of the subjects and content in the different subject areas with the intension to reduce the costs of education both for the households and for the government. A more general purpose with the reorganization of the curriculum is to ensure that the knowledge, skills and attitudes are required at the end of the primary cycle (Kenya Institute of Education, 2002, p 3).

Wangai also explains that suggestions for implementation of the curriculum are made for both resources, teaching methods and assessments in the syllabus for each of the subjects, and that the curriculum has incorporated vital emerging issues such as industrial transformation of the country, environmental education, health issues, gender issues, human / children’s rights, moral values and social responsibility (Kenyan Institute of Education, 2002, p 3).

The curriculum has eight national goals for the education, similar to the basic values in the Swedish curriculum. These goals are:

1. Foster nationalism, patriotism and promote national unity,

   And promote:
2. The social economic, technological and industrial needs for national development
3. Individual development and self-fulfillment
4. Sound moral and religious values
5. Social equality and responsibility
6. Respect for and development of Kenya’s rich and varied cultures
7. International consciousness and foster positive attitude towards other nation
8. Positive attitude towards good health and environmental protection

(Kenyan Institute of Education, 2002, p 4 – 5)

Furthermore the curriculum has 13 general objectives of the primary education in Kenya that demands that it should provide the learners with opportunities to:

1. Acquire literacy, numeracy, creativity and communication skills
2. Enjoy learning and develop desire to continue learning
3. Develop ability for critical thinking and logical judgment
4. Appreciate and respect the dignity of work
5. Develop desirable social standards, moral and religious values
6. Develop into a self-disciplined, physically fit and healthy person
7. Develop aesthetic values and appreciate own and other people’s cultures
8. Develop awareness and appreciation of the environment
9. Develop awareness of and appreciation for other nations and international community
10. Instill respect and love for own country and the need for harmonious co-existence
11. Develop individual talents
12. Promote social responsibility and make proper use of leisure time
13. Develop awareness and appreciate of the role of technology in national development

(Kenyan Institute of Education, 2002, p 4 – 6)

The English syllabus

The general objectives in the English syllabus for class 1 – 3 (Lower Primary) are that “by the end of the first three years, the learner should have acquired a sufficient command of vocabulary and language patterns, to be able to use English as a medium of instruction in upper primary” (Kenyan Institute of Education, 2002, p 13). Specifically they should possess the four skills listening, speaking, reading and writing. Suggestions for how these will be achieved are through
for example oral talks in the classroom, collaboration, handwriting and transition from preschool to standard 1 (ibid, p 11 - 12).

The specific objectives for standard 1 – 3 are having a thematic approach which are very explicit and detailed. The themes have descriptions of the specific objective, language pattern and vocabulary (Kenyan Institute of Education, 2002, p 14 ff) and according to Wangai “the themes are derived from things and situations that learners are likely to interact with in every day life” (2002, p 3).

Language teaching methods

Situational language teaching (SLT)
The oral approach or the situational language teaching was, according to Rickards and Rogers (1986), developed in Great Britain during the 1920s. The situational language teaching suggests that language teaching begin with spoken language and should be introduced and practiced orally and situationally. To ensure that the essential vocabulary is covered, a selection procedure is made. After the lexical and grammatical oral instruction reading and writing are introduced. It is a type of behaviourist habit-learning theory and according to Frisby it includes “receiving the knowledge or materials, fixing it in the memory by repetition, and using it in actual practice until it becomes a personal skill” (Richards, Rogers, 1986, p 36). Correct use of grammar and pronunciation is crucial and errors are therefore avoided by corrections from the beginning. The structure of the learning in a syllabus according to situational language teaching is arranged as a list of the basic sentence patterns and structures that are always learned in a sentence. The situational aspect in the approach is the use of concrete objects and pictures that together with gestures can demonstrate the meaning of what is being taught which constitute as examples to demonstrate new words (ibid, p 38).

The learner is supposed to listen and repeat, and respond to questions and commands. The function of the teacher is to serve as a model, be a skillful manipulator that uses different strategies to elicit correct sentences from the pupils and to correct errors. The textbook is important and should contain a lesson plan around the objectives in the syllabus which the teacher should carry out to the class. Other useful aids is charts and flash cards (Richards, Rogers, 1986, p 38 – 39). Common teaching activities are repeating examples of patterns or
words, choral imitation, using of cue words to make the pupils make new examples of the new pattern (ibid, 41).

**The Audiolingual Method**

According to Charles Fries, grammar, or structures is the starting point for learning a language which is identified through the basic sentence pattern by intensive oral drilling. He claims that the difficulties with learning a foreign language is the different structural systems (Richards and Rogers, 1986, p 46). Learning a language, according to this method, is to master these grammars and structures and learn the rules for how these structural elements are combined, as the phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases and sentences (ibid, p 49).

This learning method is based on the behaviouristic approach which claims that the human’s behaviours are dependent on three elements in learning. The first element is stimulus, in this case the element of the language being learned, which should elicit the behaviour of the language learner. The second element is response, in this case the learner’s reaction to the stimulus. The third element is reinforcement, which are the vital element of the learning process, because if it is positive it should occur again and be a habit, but if it is negative it should work in the opposite way (Richard, Rogers, 1986, p 50).

Similar to the SLT method, the audiolingual method also sees the language primary as oral and should therefore be taught by speech and then most effectively using the target language. Thus the order of teaching the skills are listening (to the teacher’s speech), speaking, and after that reading and writing, based on what they have learned to say. Foreign language learning is a process of habit formations, and are formed by making good responses. The primary method is to see a pattern in different contexts and not in isolated or written form (ibid).

In the classroom dialogues and drills represents the basic practices. According to Richard and Rodgers (1986, p 60) the purpose with the dialogue is several; it puts the language in a context, make example of situation for the use of the language and provides repetition and memorization.

**Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)**

The communicative language teaching approach “aims to (a) make communicative competence the goal of language teaching and (b) develop procedure of the teaching of the four language skills” (Richards, Rodgers, 1986, p 66). Communicative here means that at least two parts are
involved in a discussion where one of them have an intention and the other one expands or reacts on it (ibid). According to the authors CLT can be seen as an antistructural view which refers to “learning by doing” or “the experience approach” as well as a learner-centred view on second language learning (1986, p 68 - 69).

The typical significations for a CLT syllabus is content of everyday life (topics, situations, function and its vocabulary and grammar (Rodgers, Richards, 1986, p 72). The activities should therefore include real communication and meaningful tasks and language use, for example completing tasks involving information sharing, negotiation of meaning and interaction (ibid).

According to Littlewood (1981, through Rodgers, Richards, 1986, p 76) there are two types of CLT activities. The first one called “Functional communication activities” consists of activities where the language has to be used to solve a problem or a task, and the second one called “social

The role of the teacher is, according to Breen and Candlin (1980, through Rodgers, Richards, 1986) to facilitate the communication process and to act as an independent participant. Further one according to Rodgers and Richards the teacher should be updated about the individual learner’s style, assets and goals of the language learning through 1 to 1 sessions (Rodgers, Richards, 1986).

**Previous research**

The previous research which has been made upon this field is very extensive, both when it comes to learning and teaching strategies and other factors that has an impact on the learning of the English language in general. But a lot of research has also been made in the Kenyan context in particular. Some of them with focus on the English language being the language used in school. Others with focus on the free primary education that was introduced in 2003, and its impact on the school.

I will focus on the studies which primarily investigates the way of teaching the language itself, because they are being the ones most relevant to compare with and relate to my study. Furthermore, it is also necessary to have studies focusing on the aspect of development in general and the aspect of the country in specific in mind, because these aspects are a part of my aim of study as well.
English language learning in Kenya
In the article Early Primary Literacy Instruction in Kenya from 2012, the American researchers Margaret M. Dubcek, Matthew C. H. Jukes and George Okello has studied literacy instructions in lower primary schools in Kenya, with focus on “the ways literacy instruction is delivered and how that delivery aligns with practices understood to promote reading acquisition” (2012, p 48). They found prioritization of developing oral language skills, grouping of the students that enabled literacy instruction but also teachers actions as a hinder for the improvement of literacy instructions such as absenteeism, lack of parental support and language policies (ibid).

The English researchers Moses W. Ngware, Maurice Mutisya and Moses Oketch have also studied the way of teaching but with focus “on the patterns of teaching styles and active teaching across subjects and between low and high performing schools in an attempt to examine what accounts for differences in performance between schools which are within the same locality” (2012, p 35). English was one of the subjects being examined, and the study was made through observations and interviews. The study shows that the teaching styles in general do not promote critical thinking, and that the English subject in particular is dominated by recitation. The differences between teaching styles were so small that it may not be the reason for the differential performance in the compared schools (ibid).

The British pedagogues Caroline Pontefract and Frank Hardman article The discourse of classroom interaction in Kenyan primary schools research is about “the role of classroom discourse in supporting childrens’ learning in Kenyan primary schools” (2005, p 87). English is one of the subjects studied using the analysing method discourse analysis and collected data through survey questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. These research findings, similar to the one above, revealed a dominance of recitation with a focus on rote and repetition. Concerning the findings for improving the quality of classroom discourse, the authors implies that a need for further research with focus on the wider social order is influencing discourse practices in Kenyan primary schools should be taken into consideration (ibid).

Other studies about English language learning
A widely researched area is the teaching and learning for so called English Language Learners (ELL) which refers to students having another first language than the national language of the country they live in. The American pedagogue Gregory J. Merwin has in his thesis
Characteristics of effective pedagogy of third grade English learners in language art (2012) done research on the teaching of ELL’s in California, USA with the aim to identify pedagogical and non-pedagogical factors that affect the academic achievement of the pupils, made through a multiple case study with data collected from teacher observations, student test scores, teacher interviews, and teacher questionnaires. The study shows that the ELLs with the highest gains was given strategies that included critical thinking, scaffolded instruction, and high expectations, and that the parental involvement was essential for the student’s success, according to the teachers. The author suggests that these strategies should be included in the educational policy and that the parents should be informed in how they can maximize the help and support of their children (ibid).

In the article Teaching the Immigrant Child: Application of Child Development Theories from 2008, the American pedagogues Grace Onchwari, Jacqueline Ariri Onchwari and Jared Keengwe are investigating the needs of and challenges in the classroom for immigrant children in America using a range of development theories among them Maslow’s theory of the hierarchy of needs.

The target group in this article are children of different culture heritage being English language learners (ELL) i.e. they are learning to speak English while speaking several other languages including their native languages. Furthermore they are coming from poor families and homes where their parents have limited education (2008, p 267). This description of the children can be seen as similar to the children in my study with the difference that they are born in the country where they live but are having different ethnical heritage.

Through the analysis of the immigrant children in the classroom, using different perspectives of child development theories, the authors provide ideas and suggestions to help educators understand immigrant children such as talking with the children about the family needs and supporting the parents how they can satisfy these needs. They are also suggesting an intercultural awareness by learning about their different cultures which can explain their different behaviours. Furthermore they argue for the importance to have knowledge about theories about childrens’ development to understand the needs and behaviours of the pupils to be able to improve their performance in class and their academic achievement (Onchwari, Onchwari, Keengwe, 2008).
Theoretical Framework
In this chapter I will present the theoretical framework I used when analysing the material. To be able to compare the two schools and their differences and similarities in teaching approaches in relation to economic and material factors, I will use the Dahllöf’s frame factor theory (1967 through Knutas, 2008). This perspective gives me a useful theoretical concept and tools to analyse the conditions for the teaching. I will also use Maslow’s theory of the basic need (1970, 1987), as a tool to analyse the social factors in relation to the teaching from a development perspective.

The Basic Need Hierarchy
To understand the different factors connected to the children’s social and economic backgrounds which might affect the teaching, I will use Maslow’s theory of the hierarchy of needs.

According to Maslow (1987) this theory offers an optimistic view on the human motivation for her actions. Em Griffin explains that it is optimistic in the sense that negative behaviour like murder, stealing, lying and so on is not something that the human race is meant to do. These actions are just appearing when the basic needs are not fulfilled (Griffin, 2014, p 125). These needs are ordered hierarchically in five steps where each one must be satisfied before you can climb to the next step of the hierarchy. Furthermore these needs are universal and are not for example created by culture, but how we fulfil them is individual. According to Griffin, the geniality of Maslow’s theory is that he claims “that everyone has a proponent need, but the need will differ among individuals (…), a person’s proponent need is the lowest unmet need in the pyramid” (ibid, p 126).

The first need, that is the lowest and most basic needs for human, are the physiological drives. Griffin explains that these include liquid, food, oxygen, freedom of movement and moderate temperature. As long as the body feels a lack of some of these needs, all of its energy goes to satisfying them, which Maslow means are no different from the animals, but when a human has a regularly satisfaction of these physiological needs, they no longer motivates their actions (Griffin, 2014, p 127).
The second need is the need of safety and this is mainly psychological. Griffin explains that “once we’ve managed a certain level of physical comfort, we’ll seek to establish stability and consistency in a chaotic world” (2014, p 127). One of Maslow’s examples, which is relevant in this study, is the child’s need for predictability and certainty (Maslow, 1970, p 39). According to my experience, the satisfaction of this need is easy to find examples of in the primary school in general if you look at all the routines and scheduled activities that the structure is built on. Further Maslow claims that these needs are connected to the home, so to say the home as an environment free from different kind of violence, and in the case of a child it also includes the presence of a caretaker with the role to give protection, besides the role as food and love-giver. Religious preferences are, according to Maslow, also a safety need because it is mostly a way to make the world more ordered and understandable (Maslow, 1970, p 41 – 42).

The third need is the need of love or belongingness. The motivation to satisfy these needs activates after the safety and physiological needs (Maslow, 1970, p 43). Griffin explains that Maslow’s concept of belongingness is a combination of giving and receiving love (Griffin, 2014, p 128), in relation to a friend, a partner, a child etcetera. You feel a need to belong to someone, an individual or a group or family, and to build relations with people in general (Maslow, 1970, p 43). For a child the loss of this need can appear when moving too often, being without family, roots or friends or feeling like a newcomer (Maslow, 1970, p 44).

The fourth need is the one of esteem which are of two types. The first one is the desire for self-esteem which comes from competence or mastery of tasks and achievement and also desire for independence and freedom. The second is the desire for reputation or prestige which comes from attention and recognition from others. Satisfaction of these needs leads to self-confidence, worth, strength and of sense usefulness (Maslow, 1970, p 45).

The fifth and last need on the hierarchy is the need of self-actualization. Maslow describes it as “the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming” (1943, through Griffin, 2014, s 130). This motivation to maximize your potential appears when the other basic needs are satisfied. Griffin explains that this need can take many forms, depending on the individual. These variations may include the quest for knowledge, understanding, peace, self-fulfilment, meaning in life, or beauty (2014, p 130). Maslow explain this as a need for doing what you are fitted for and to find your own nature (Maslow, 1970, p 46).
In my study I will analyse the material in relation to the hierarchy of needs but with a focus on the first to the fourth need. However it is also important to take the fifth and last need in consideration because according to Griffin this is the ultimate goal (2014, p 130).

The Frame Factor Theory
The Frame factor theory is a part of the broader theoretical perspective Curriculum theory. In Edmund Knutas’s thesis *Between rhetoric and practise. A subject didactic and curriculum theory study of Swedish as a school subject and the teaching of four upper secondary teachers after the 1994 upper secondary school reform*, from 2008, he claims that all teaching and education is built on the idea that knowledge and understanding are something that are possible to organize so it can be taught (Knutas, 2008, p 85). Furthermore he states that to investigate what different factors and principles that control the knowledge being taught and how it is taught is one of the curriculum theory’s basic tasks (ibid). However he points out, with a reference to Lundgren (1984, p 70, through Knutas, 2004, p 87) that the frame factor theory cannot tell us anything about the result of the teaching, even though it can tell us about the limitations and the possibilities that can be found (Knutas, 2008, p 86 - 87).

The frame factor theory was introduced during the 1960s by Dahllöf who claims that you have to have certain factors in mind when comparing and analysing the pupil’s results and knowledge, for example compositions of pupils, time and teaching methods (Dahllöf, 1967 through Knutas, 2008, p 85 - 86). Madeleine Löwing explain in her thesis *The concrete formation of mathematics teaching*, how the frame factor theory is built upon four different factors, the goals, the frames, the process and the results of the teaching. When evaluating the result of the teaching the interaction between these factors are being studied (Löwing 2004, p 50). According to Dahllöf, in the frame factor theory it is a difference between the physical frames, for example the environment, the localisation and the equipment of the school, and the administrative frames, for example number of pupils in the class, the goals and purpose of the curriculum and the syllabus. (Dahllöf, 1976, through Löwing, 2004, p 50).

In this study I will also use Löwing’s definition of the frame factors, as something that tries to explain the way that teachers act, through investigating the motives or the reason for their actions. Löwing describes how these actions are directed by a number of factors so called frames, and when you evaluate these actions they must be understood through these frames (Löwing, 2004, p 56). She is also focusing on the definition of the factors themselves, as not
just something from outside, the so called fixed frames (fasta ramar, translation from Löwing), that affect the teaching, but also the local and social constructions, the so called inner or variable frames (rörliga ramar, translation from Löwing). These are the definitions of the frames that I will use in my analyse. The frames are divided into two different kinds. The first kind is fixed frames, which are the ones that you cannot affect, for example the syllabuses, the physical environment, the participants and the timetable (Löwing, 2004, p 70). The second kind are variable frames, which are the ones the teacher actually can affect before every particular lesson, for example the structure of the lesson, teaching styles and methods and materials (ibid, p 80). Finally, these frames can combine with each other and with the fixed frames to achieve different results (ibid, p 81).

Methods and tools
In this chapter I will present the methods and tools for the collection and analysis of the data. The chapter begins with a presentation of the methodological framework qualitative multi case study research and the tools for collecting the data being direct observation and semi-structured interviews. Furthermore I will present a selection of the data including a description of the schools being studied and the teachers being interviewed, and the reliability, validity and ethical considerations of the study.

Qualitative multi case study research
The methodology most suitable for this study was a qualitative research method because the aim of the study was to explore attitudes, behaviors and experiences. The qualitative way of performing research is to analyze experiences and the interactions of individuals and groups. The context and the case of the research is important for understanding an issue (Ahrne, Svensson, 2015, p 8-9).

Most important when choosing the methods for collecting your data is to be sure that they are relevant for your research questions and aim for the study (Yin, 2014, p 9–11). Robert K. Yin claims that a case study is relevant as a method if the research is about individuals, groups, organizations, social or political phenomena, which the school context is including in one way or another (Yin, 2014, p 4). Another criteria for finding case study research relevant, according to Yin, is that the research question contain “why” or “how” (Yin, 2014, p 10–11), where this study focuses on the latter, “how”. One can also define case study research as a method which
“tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what results” (Yin, 2014, p 15), which this study aimed to do.

Several sources of evidence makes the study more reliable and I was therefore using a triangulation which means that your result relies on several sources of evidence (Yin, 2014, p 119 – 120). In this study a triangulation was used both when combining interviews with observations, and also within these methods for collecting the sources of evidence, when doing several interviews and observations.

To know whether the way of teaching language in the charity based school differ from other schools (and vice versa) I had to make a case study at another school as well which made my study a Multiple-case study and also a comparative study (Yin, 2014, p 18.)

**Direct observations**

When studying a case in a real world setting the most suitable method for collecting the data is direct observation (Yin, 2014, p 113). In this case the way of teaching *i.e.* the didactic choices as they come to show in the daily work during the English language lessons, and therefore these lessons was the object for my observation.

I have chosen a formal type of observation where the data collection is delimited to a certain period of time in the field where you “try to assess the occurrence of certain types of behaviors” (Yin, 2014, p 113). I observed two lessons at each school. I didn’t want to observe less to make the quality high enough (see more below), but not more to make the volume of the material manageable. Another reason for doing all the observations in different classes was to exclude the possibility that the findings were just representative for one specific teacher. However, at the same time this limitation of material does not exclude the possibility that these observed lessons are not representative for one each of these observed teachers’ way of teaching.

At the private school the head teacher was responsible for my visit. During the meeting with him he was taking decisions about the time for the interviews and the observations and whom the informants were going to be. The Kenyan culture of hospitality and maybe also the fact that I was a guest from a university in a western country are something that probably has contributed to their cooperativeness to the process.
As I have mentioned before, to safeguard the quality of the research it is necessary to use several sources of evidence, a so called triangulation (Yin, 2014, p 119), and I will therefore combine the observational evidence with interviews.

**Semi-structured interviews**

The form of interview I used was the semi-structured. This form uses specific topics and questions in an interview guide, but how and when the questions are asked and answered is very flexible which more makes the interview a form of a dialog (Edwards, Holland, 2013).

A qualitative study, including mine, is “interested in the context and content of the interview, how the interviewee understands the topic(s) under discussion and what they want convey to the interviewer” (ibid, s 29). According to this, semi-structured interviews is suitable for my study because it gives the teachers the opportunity to explain the way of teaching I have noticed during my observation, and to reflect on their didactic choices. The interviews were also used as a way of handling that just one observation was made in every class by asking questions about if the lesson is representative for the teaching or how it differs from other types of lessons.

When the actual interviews were taking place I was once again giving them information about the study, how long the interview was going to be, that I was going to record it and that they and the school were going to be anonymous. At the private school the first interviews (with Hellen) was taking place in the head teacher’s office and the second one (with Peter) in the computer room. The issues with the second interview was that the location was very noisy, people came and went, mobile phones was ringing and so on.

In the informal school the interviews were taking place the week after the observations. Anyhow the teachers was able to reproduce the lesson I observed. The first teacher (here called Jane) was very different than the second teacher (here called Sofia) because Jane started the interview before I had asked the questions while Sofia seemed to be very uncomfortable and gave very short answers.

An issue with doing interviews in a second language is first that your vocabulary is more limited which for example makes it hard to reformulate the question when the informant has not understood. And second that Kenya, as mentioned before, has 60 different tribes which all have
different English accents. For these reason I have chosen to do grammatical corrections in the transcriptions because the errors may as well be because of my mishearing.

**Selection**

In this study I have been interviewing 4 teachers and made 4 observations, one in each of the teacher’s lesson. Because it is a comparative study, 2 observations with appurtenant interviews were made on each school.

I will now in more detail describe the selection of the material, how and why it was made, and also describe the schools and the teachers being interviewed.

**The informal school**

In one of this slums, a non-profit charity based informal school established to meet the needs of impoverished and vulnerable children and abandoned orphans. They don't use the curriculum of the government. Instead they have their own tailored curriculum to help these “vulnerable” children to deal with the specific pressures and problems they encounter in the slum.

The starting-point for the study was the so called informal school, which I got in contact with through the Swedish partners. The school is charity based, and the main part of the financing comes from charity donations from Sweden. The school has 55 pupils in 7 different levels with around 2 levels in every classroom. Therefore I decided to collect the data from materials from two different levels, class 1 and class 3, to have more than the material from just one class to draw my conclusions from. Another reason for choosing teachers from different classes was to be able to connect the interviews to the observations and therefore I wanted to interview the teachers I had been observing.

The school is located in the slum in a small town south of Nairobi. It consists of two buildings with four different classrooms and one kitchen. The kitchen is built of stone and the rest of the school is built of sheet metal. The school yard consists of a few trees and has a ground of hilly land. The classrooms contains of benches, where one was shared on two pupils, and a desk for the teacher with stacks of books, and on the wall you can find a chalk board and different charts, mainly in English, with themes like “meeting friends” or “the rain season”.

The school has four teachers and I interviewed two of them. The first one I will call Jane, She has been working on 3 different schools in total 11 years and is teaching in grade 3 – 5. Apart from that she is also the principal of the school. The other teacher I will call Sofia. She had just
graduated from college and has just been working at the school for three months. She is teaching in pre-primary and grade 1.

**The private school**
The private school was selected for several reasons. First, to exclude the geographic aspect of the comparison between the schools I selected a school in the same area. Second, to include the socioeconomic aspect because it had come to my knowledge that it is in the private schools you find the middle class children.

The school is located just around 50 meters from the informal school. The school has around 300 pupils in 9 different levels. It consists of 3 big stone houses and school yard with a ground of rubble. The classrooms are similar to the ones in the informal school with the same content of furnishing and material but of bigger sizes. The selection of the data was made in relation to the selection at the informal school, and therefore I selected two different grades, class 2 and class 3. In class 2 the teacher has been a teacher in this school in one and a half year. In this study I will call her Hellen. The teacher in class 3 I will call Peter has been teaching for 17 years in several different schools, both in public and private ones, located in the city and in the rural areas, but is now teaching in class 3 in this school.

**Validity and Reliability**
To measure the quality of the study you can judge if the reliability and validity is high enough. This quality includes trustworthiness, credibility, confirmability and data dependability (Yin, 2014, p 45). Yin explains that the measurement of the quality can be made by testing the validity and the reliability.

Construct validity concerns identifying if the correct measures for the concept of the study and if the study includes several sources of evidence, a so called triangulation (Yin, 2014, p 46). The internal validity can be tested through asking questions about the making of inferences. Are they correct? Have I considered all the explanations and possibilities (ibid, p 47)? External validity is about whether you can generalize from a case study, with one or a few cases. Yin’s answer to this is that “case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes” (2014, p 21), which means that the generalization is theoretical and not statistic. The last tests the reliability i.e. the errors and the biases in the study which practically means that if someone else performs the same study the
results will be the same. This is one of the reasons why documentation and transparency of the process is so important and also something that is shown within this text (ibid, p 48 – 49).

**Ethical considerations**

According to Yin (2014) there are two kinds of ethical considerations to be made within the study. The first one is called “research ethics”, which among other things concerns the objectivity and to avoiding possible bias. Yin claims that “case study researchers are especially prone to this problem because they must understand the issues beforehand” (Yin, 2014, p 76). This means, if you have an issue you want to investigate, the possibility is bigger that you will try to find evidence which supports your explanation of the issue, or the theories that aims to help you understand the phenomena for the study. To avoid this bias you have to be open to see and reflect over contrary evidence as well. “Research ethics” also includes not plagiarizing or giving false information and to follow the rules and standards for how to write an academic essay (ibid, p 76 – 77).

The second kind of ethical considerations concerns the involvement of humans and how you will protect them in your case study (Yin, 2014, p 77- 78). This care about and sensitivity concerning the participations can be summarized in the five ethical principles stated by the Swedish research council (Vetenskapsrådet).

The first principle is about giving all the necessary information needed to the participants in the study and its aim, and inform them about that the participation is being voluntary (Vetenskapsrådet, 1990, p 7). The informal school I got in contact with by email where I informed them about the study, but the contact with the private school was made through my contact person who advised me to take the first contact in person by just visiting the school. Once there, I had the opportunity to meet the director, the head teacher and the class teacher. They were all given the information about where I am from, the aim of the study and the extent of their participation.

The second principle is about gaining informed consent from the persons who are being a part of the study (ibid, p 9). This one was problematic in this study because I did not have the opportunity to ask the teachers myself. All the agreements has been made with the head teachers, who gives the information further to the teachers I was going to interview.

The third principle is about protecting the privacy and confidentiality of the participations (ibid, p 12). That was made by making the town, the schools, the teachers and the pupils anonymous.
Therefore the schools are just being called the informal and the private school and the teacher’s names are fictitious.

The fourth principle is about to only use the information about the participants in the use of the research (ibid, p 14). These two last principles are also a challenge to follow strictly because the charity based school needs all the attention they can get for their work to find new donators. As a private person I here find the dilemma that some of the information can be helpful for promoting the school, but as a researcher I found it not being possible according to the ethical principles above.

Analysing method
When analysing the data collected during my case studies I started to search for patterns in the material based on the aim of the study and my research questions, for example by juxtaposing the data from the different interviews which is recommended by Yin (2014, p 135 – 136). Further on these patterns was made into themes which materials I was trying to understand with help of the theoretical perspective and tools. Thereafter examples from the materials were chosen to represent the themes. These examples were then discussed throughout the research questions in relation to each other, using the theories and the previous research. Finally these themes were linked to each other to make a conclusion about the answers of the research questions.

Discussion
This chapter provides a discussion of the findings. In the material I found 5 different themes based on patterns that are related to the research questions and the aim of the study. The chapter is divided into parts from these themes and in each part I have analyzed the material using the theoretical perspective of Maslow’s motivation theory about the hierarchy of needs (1970, 1987) and Dahllöf’s frame factor theory through Knutas (2008) and Löwing (2004).

The social background
In all of the interviews with the four teachers they talked more or less about the childrens’ different background as a crucial factor that effects the teaching, and especially as a hinder for motivation of learning, which agrees with the findings in Merwin’s research (2012, p 91). Both the teachers at the informal school and the teachers at the private school took these factors into consideration, but at the same time different teachers associated this factor to different type of
schools. For example Peter, a teacher at the private school with experience from both public and private schools, said:

*Another one is, depending of the school we are talking about. Mostly in the public schools. Not like this one. This is private. But if we talk about public schools, people maybe suffering from hunger. You see? Maybe where they are from, they have not been eating well. Sometimes it can be hard for them to get food. So for the teacher to teach, it can be very hard. And I am saying this because I have taught in that kind of school. And it’s such a problem.*

This quote can be seen as an example of a lack of the lowest need within the hierarchy, the physiological need (1970, s 37). Maslow argues that if a person is lacking for all of the needs on the hierarchy, food would probably be what he or she would lack for most (ibid). Peter is associating this lack to the public schools, where the social background of the children is different from that at the private school, primarily because the public schools are free of charge.

Hellen on the other hand connected the lack of the basic needs to the private schools, she states:

*And some of them, because you see this is a private school, some of them don’t pay school fees. They stays home because of school fees, so when a learner doesn’t come to school for three days, you know, he or she has missed a lot in this three days. So when she or he comes back you have to repeat what have been taught, so they not are being left behind just because of that.*

Money itself is not a basic need, but something you need to satisfy them. So if you see money in the relation to the hierarchy of the basic needs, the priority is to buy food before paying school fees, which result in absence of these children which in turn hinder the learning.

Jane, one of the teachers at the informal school connected the lack of food and other needs that pertain to the physiological needs to informal schools when saying:

*Here they still don’t understand why they come to school. Some of them they just come to school to eat.*

This quote also makes another example of the physiological needs as a starting point for the motivation theory, as well as the school’s awareness of the priority of these needs, because Maslow claims that “if all the needs are unsatisfied, and the organism is then dominated by the
physiological needs, all the other needs may become simply non-existent or be pushed into the background” (1987, p 16). We can understand this as if the informal school provides these physiological needs of the children because you do not want these needs to stand in the way of the higher basic needs, for example esteem and self-actualisation.

If we compare the answers above from Peter and Hellen at the private school and Jane at the informal school we can find a hierarchy between the schools in relation to the physiological needs. The children at the private school don’t have any lack of the basic needs except from the absent ones Hellen was talking about, that we just can assume are being in a lack of the physiological needs. The public schools that Peter is talking about, on the other hand, is following the national curriculum which doesn’t have objectives saying that the school should satisfy other needs then the need for knowledge and education. Even though they, according to Peters answer, have children with similar background to the children Jane at the informal school is talking about, these children, as mentioned before, are provided with these needs but with the consequence that they see the school as a place where this provision is the major purpose.

Another similarity between the answers in the interviews connected to the social background is that both the teachers at the private school, and one of the teachers at the informal school talked about children living in unsafe home environments where they worry about their own or some other family member’s safety, which was occupying their thoughts during the lessons. For example Hellen was stating that:

There are parents who are very strict, who really beat their children. For example when that kid come to school, they think that you as a teacher are going to beat them, so they are shying away from you, because they are afraid of elder people because of how their parents are. And that’s a fear to them. So that is the main of the background. It is challenging because sometime when you are teaching, the learners are at home, and thinking: What are the parents doing right now? Are they fighting?

This quote can be seen as an example of how children from different backgrounds have a lack of different needs. This one can be related to the safety need, in relation to Maslow who states that “parental outbursts of rage or threats of punishment directed to the child, calling him names, speaking to him harshly, shaking him, handling him roughly, or actual physical punishment sometimes elicit such total panic and terror in the child that we must assume more is involved
than the physical pain alone” (Maslow, 1970, p 40). The teacher claims that the background of the child is connected to an unsafe home environment, and therefore this child is “shying away”, in a need of safety. Thus, in relation to Maslow, this lack of basic needs, in this case the safety need, can be seen as a hinder to the academic achievement.

Hellen claims that children from certain backgrounds have a lack of focus on the teaching. They are physically present but mentally at home when they are thinking of the safety of their parents, which in relation to Maslow can be understood as a lack of safety needs (1970, p 39). Maslow states that when the physiological needs are satisfied, “practically everything looks less important than safety, (even sometimes the physiological needs which being satisfied, are now underestimated)” (Maslow, 1970, p 39).

A difference found in the answers is the teacher’s way of handling these lacks of needs connected to the social and economic background. When I asked about how they counteracted these factors, both of the teachers at the private school explained that their strategy were to investigate or do research about what was bothering the child. Hellen said:

> It’s depending of the pupils. Some of them cannot open up and then I have to find out by myself, which is to investigate, you have to do even researches. Some of them are very open, others cannot talk. This has also to do whit personalities. You know everybody has their own personalities.

From the quote above we can understand that Hellen do not have a general strategy for how to find out if, and why the child has a lack of a basic need because the individual differences between the pupils are making the solutions different.

In the informal school, the way of handling the lack of basic needs are to integrate the satisfaction of the needs in the curriculum. Jane explained that:

> For example we were starting this school because the children were not getting food, were not getting clothes, they are not getting love from the parents. So we are providing food for them and love, we are like their parents now.

In relation to Maslow (1970) both the examples above shows an awareness about the physiological, safety, love and belongingness needs has to be fulfilled before you can get motivation to learn and to gain academic achievement, but with a different way of handling the
lack of the needs. This corresponds with the findings of Onchwari, Onchwari and Keengwe claiming that the lack of this basic needs is affecting the academic performance (2008, p 272).

According to all the four interviewed teachers, the knowledge of the English language was another factor connected to the background of the children which affected the way of teaching in the subject of English. For example Jane at the informal school said:

*The biggest difference is the understanding of English. The way the kids, in private formal school is... they know more English, they understand when you teach, you only have to teach once and they have understood. Vulnerable children in informal schools like ours, you have to repeat it several times for the children to understand cos most of them comes from environment that are not... they don’t speak Swahili or English, they only speak their mother tongue, but when you compare with the other kids, maybe they go home and speak Swahili and English so they understand more than the other kids, the vulnerable kids. So sometimes when you teach English you have to speak in Swahili, but in the other schools you don’t have to explain in another language. Because in the teaching practise they always tell you to use the language that is more understandable for the kids. So after you have taught in English you can explain more in the language that they understand. So you use Swahili so you can understand more. But in the other school you just teach in English.*

This can be seen as an example of one of the fixed frames, which the pre-knowledge, according to Löwing is (2004, p 77). Further she explains that the pre-knowledge of the pupils is in a longer perspective a variable frame, but when the teacher is going to teach the actual lesson she or he have planned, it is hard to affect in that moment. The pre-knowledge therefore works as a fixed frame you have to adjust your variable frames to.

Furthermore Löwing refers to Ausubel claiming that this frame is the one that has the biggest effect on the learning (1968 through Löwing, 2004, p 77). This statement corresponds with similarity in the interviews with all the teachers who claimed that this was the factor that had the biggest impact on the teaching. Moreover this finding shows the connection between social and economic background and the fixed frame pre-knowledge. From the quote above we understand that this fixed frame, the pre-knowledge of English, was affecting the way of teaching because the children at the informal school’s limited understanding of English regulate
the use of the language during the lessons, compared to the private school were both the teacher and the children strictly had to talk in English, which was confirmed by Hellen.

The social background decides which language you speak as a first language which in turn decides your pre-knowledge in English. According to all of the interviewed teachers the children from the rural areas or from the slum, primarily spoke their tribe language as their first language, Swahili as their second and English as their third while the main part of the pupils at the private school spoke English or Swahili as their first language. One conclusion is therefore that the first language of the majority decides the language of instruction when teaching in English. In the private school it therefore will be English. In the informal school they do not have a majority with a mutual first language, at least not mutual with the teachers’ first language, with also results in the use of English as the language of instruction, but with a mix of Kiswahili and in a slower tempo.

To sum up, in the private school the solutions of these problems are individual in that sense that when the teacher notice that a child has a lack of need that hinder the motivation, he or she is trying to find an individual solution of the problem. While the solution in the informal school is collective and preventive in the sense that the teachers are having an awareness about the childrens’ lack of need because it is one of the reasons why they are not enrolled in a formal school. These findings are similar to Onchwari, Onchwari and Keengwe’s article about how to handle the lack of the basic need of immigrant children. They are suggesting both an individual and a collective solution, so to say both teaching of the parents about satisfying of the needs and investigation of and showing interest in what the child need (2008, p 271).

Moreover, from the discussion about how the childrens’ background is affecting the childrens’ learning and the teachers teaching, a conclusion is that both the private and the informal school has children suffering from lacks of the basic needs, and especially the lower basic needs (the physiological and safety need) which often are connected to some kind of traumatization. The difference is that in the informal schools it is shown, in the way that the target group at this school is children with different lacks of lower basic needs, so called vulnerable children, which is something that links the pupils together and therefore affects the way of teaching. The children at the private school have different backgrounds, which makes the variation bigger between the lacks of basic needs and the reason for these eventual lack. The majority of the children in the private school have a socioeconomic background where the basic needs are
satisfied and the pre-knowledge is high. These factors in relation to the national curriculum and the English syllabus regulate the teacher to adjust the way of teaching tailored to the majority which has negative consequences for the minority. However the lack of need as a hinder of motivation is present despite the background of the child.

The presence of God
During my observations in the informal school, the presence of the (Christian) religion was something I noticed. For example the children were saying a grace before all the meals and in class 1, their way of showing appreciation when someone gave a correct answer was to say “shine, shine, shine, for Jesus every day”. In comparison with the private school where the religion was not present neither in the classroom, during the lessons or in the interviews with the teachers.

Furthermore Jane claimed that “mostly it’s not only about education we are also teaching about the ways of God, the ways of living”. This could be related to the safety need, when Maslow describes it as “the tendency to have some religion or world-philosophy that organizes the universe and the men in it into some sort of satisfactorily coherent, meaningful whole is also in part motivated by safety-seeking” (1970, p 41 - 42). The presence of the religion can therefore be understood as examples of a way of satisfying the childrens’ safety needs or a way to counteract the lack of them.

In relation to the theory of the hierarchy of need one way to understand the presence of the religion in the informal school as a way to satisfy the need for love and belongingness. In this stage you want to be part of a group (Maslow, 1970, p 43), which in childhood the family usually are, yet these children being without a family or having a dysfunctional family. Here, the Christianity and the church can provide belongingness for the child.

Griffin explains the last and highest of the needs, the self-actualization need as a feeling of a religious experience (2014, p 130). In a longer term, perhaps the faith can provide the child, if not with self-actualisation so at least with the feeling of it.

The presence of the religion could may be seen as a way to in the long perspective have the purpose to give the children both safety, love, belonging and esteem which the informal schools own curriculum lets them practice in school in other subjects then religion, in this case in the subject of English language.
Time in relation to understanding

“It is the slow learners, the ones who needs a lot of time to understand something. Because you have to dedicate more of your time. And you see, you have to cover the syllabus, you have to cover whatever you teaching. There is time that has been put aside for those learners who are very weak. You have to find time to repeat for them what you have taught. That is challenging. Because there is no time at all. The syllabus is wide. You have to cover it. The content is wide. You see. The slow learners”

The quote above from the interview with Hellen at the private school is an example of how time or rather the lack of time, as a phenomena could affect the way of teaching. The factor time in the material is partly a limitation of the didactic choices, partly something connected to the pupil’s individual understanding. According to Löwing (2008) time is a fixed frame factor that the teacher have to adjust to while planning the lesson. The teacher making the statement above is making an example of time as a factor connected to, and crucial for, the pupil’s individual understanding of the content. This can be understood as if the pupils understanding is not a matter of didactic choice, according to Löwing (2008) a so called variable frame factor, but rather a matter of the relation between the timetable and the syllabus, according to Löwing (ibid) two so called fixed frame factors. When the teacher Hellen said “It is the slow learners, the ones who needs a lot of time to understand something”, time is presented as a factor being the reason for their lack of understanding, because the slow or weak learners need more time to understand the content then the timetable can offer. Furthermore the same teacher was also stating in the quote that “you have to find time to repeat for them what you have taught. That is challenging. Because there is no time at all”, which also makes this factor the solution for how they are going to reach the objectives.

We follow the syllabus but more slower in school like this ones because of the understanding. In other schools they may finish the topics in head of us. Cos for us it take time, to understand and to write. They need more time.

Jane, teachers at the informal school, was also talking about the factor time as something crucial for the teaching, and as something connected to the pupil’s understanding. The difference that this teacher does not talk about how the understanding differed between the learners, but how it differed from other kinds of schools.
This opinion that students with lower language skills need and should have more time is also in line with previous research, for example Merwin suggests that the teacher should provide additional instructions and time for this students (2012, p 96).

Furthermore the national curriculum, which Löwing (2008) claims is a fixed frame factor, is used in different ways. At the private school, as mentioned before, the relation of what is being taught (the content of the English syllabus) and the time, mainly the length of the lesson is crucial. For example when I asked Hellen to describe the material conditions she first explained that she has all she needs in the classroom and then she explained:

*And also about the time. You know that lesson was just 40 minutes, when you going to take the learners to the road. When everybody is settled the time is already over. So I prefer the chalk board*. At least to save time.

She takes this lesson about positions and directions as an example to explains why she make the decision to stay in the classroom, Thus, this quote understood through the frame factor theory can be seen as an example of a fixed frame, the curriculum, that are regulating the length of the lesson and which in turn is regulating the variable frame, the didactic choices. In other words, the didactic choices (to be in the classroom, use the examples in the room, use the chalk board) i.e. a variable frame are adjusted to the time i.e. a fixed frame (Löwing, 2008, p 80).

By contrast at the informal school, Jane claims that:

*We also alter our timetable. In a private school the time table is always 45 minutes but for us you can see sometimes the lessons are one hour. You have to be more flexible.*

This can be understood as if the curriculum in the informal school is a variable frame, thus something that the teacher actually can affect. As mentioned before, time is according to Löwing something that counts as a fixed frame (2008, p 70). So to say something that the variable frames has to be adjust to. However, the quote above shows that the informal school are using the frame factor time as a variable frame. This means that the teacher at the informal

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school, instead of adjusting the factor didactic choice to the factor time, she is adjusting the
time to the pupil’s level of understanding in relation to the didactic choice and the design of the
lesson. This is something I also could notice during both of the observations in the informal
school. For example in class 3, the lesson is over when the pupils have finished their writing,
and not the opposite, in contrast to the private school where the pupils have to finish their
writing when the lesson is over. Furthermore, when it comes to the time effect on the didactic
choices during the observed lessons the focus in the private school was to have a tempo to be
able to keep up with the content planned for the lesson while in the informal school the focus
was to make sure the pupils had understood the content being introduced and produced correct
sentences using this content.

To summarize, the factor time is not something we can affect, but we can choose how we want
to use it. In the private school, the fixed frame the national curriculum (Löwing, 2008, p 70)
regulates the length of the lesson which decides how long time the teacher has to make the
pupils understand the content. If the majority of them understand the objective is achieved and
the rest, the “slow learners” has to be taught again, through a repetition of what they have been
taught, at some other time. A time that is very hard to find. Whereas the informal school lets
the childrens’ understanding decide the length of the lesson.

Choice of teaching methods and style
She draws examples on the black board and tell them to try to construct sentences
from the drawings. When it is correct she repeats the sentence and writes it under
the drawing and then tells the whole class to repeat the sentence several times.
Then she summarizes by saying: “the word in are used when a thing is inside
another thing. Are we getting?” then she explains the words under and on at the
same way

This observation in class 3 in the informal school exemplifies how the way of teaching usually
was practiced. The teaching practice that all teachers had in common was mainly a teacher
centred instruction where the teacher is introducing the content being taught using the black
board followed by both the teacher and the pupils repeating it several times. These findings
agree with several previous studies which found the same teaching style when they observed
the teaching in Kenyan schools (Dubeck et. al, 2012, p 55, Ngware et. al, 2012, p 47 – 48). The
communication in the lessons I observed was always between the teacher and the pupils, and
never between the pupils. The only way the teacher and pupil communicated was when the teacher was asking a question or giving them a task, and the pupils, individually or together gave an answer. These observations correspond with the findings in the research by Pontefract et. al (2005, p 93) and W. Ngware et al (2012) referring to previous studies in Kenya (Hardman et al, 2009, in W. Ngware et al, 2012, p 43) that found that communication was dominated by so called ‘cued elicitation’ questions where the teachers voice rises to prompt a response from the pupil or to repeat what the teacher just had said. Another similarity in the way of teaching is the corrections when something is incorrect, which are made from the beginning, and the showing of appreciation when something is correct.

The teaching methods that was found in both the interviews and the observations in both the private and the informal school is a mix of situational language teaching and the audiolingual method. According to both these methods language should be introduced orally, thus in the order listening, speaking and then reading and writing, which agrees with the didactic choices above but also the following findings. In all the observation made, the lesson started with the teacher introducing the content followed by the pupils repeating the content and in three of four observations, the lesson ended with the pupils writing down the content being taught. This order of language skills was not randomly chosen which was verified by the answers in the interviews where three of four teachers was confirming this order. For example Hellen at the private school explained:

You see, we have five days. Monday and Tuesday is oral work, you see we didn’t write anything. We just want them to speak English. Wednesday is reading. I bring a lot of books where the topic is position and direction, at least. Thursday and Friday is writing. For example you can ask questions.

Peter, the other teacher at the private school, teaching in class 3, answered the question: how is language learned? In following way:

Just listening. The learner is just capturing the words, and getting used to it. And now, when I have to learn you a language, back there at your home. Maybe the first time I am not getting it, maybe the second one. But after have listening to more than one student. Then the next thing to do is to learn how to write these words. First of all I am listening, then after I have internalized it – I start to speak it – then I learn how to write this words
The teaching method is also possible to relate to the basic needs, for example, the same teacher gave the following answer to why the pupils are clapping to some of the answers the pupils gave during the lesson:

*For appreciating. When they have given a correct answer, and you know, answers may be correct, but there are some that are very correct according to what you are doing.*

This is in line with Maslow’s (1970) definition of the esteem need. One part of this need is about self-esteem which he describes as “soundly based upon real capacity, achievement and respect from others (ibid). Furthermore, he explains that self-esteem also includes respect or esteem from other people, recognition, attention or appreciation (ibid). This was according to the observation in Peters and Susanne’s class something they deliberately wanted to achieve when telling the pupil giving a good answer to stand up and the rest of the class to clap for that pupil.

In summary, regardless of the teacher, length of the lesson, number of pupils, type of school and so on, the overall approach was the same in all the observations and in the descriptions in all the interviews. The teaching or didactic approach, according to Löwing (2008) is seen as a variable frame factor because it is something the teacher can adjust before every lesson, but with this pattern found in the material, with examples above, and the big similarities with the previous studies the didactic approach can also be seen as a fixed frame. For example was the teachers, as mentioned before, stating that the variation of the level of understanding among the pupils was a question of the use of the English language outside school i.e. in a real word setting which can be seen as more similar to the teaching method communicative language teaching approach. This method stands in contrast to the methods they were using i.e. situational language teaching and the audiolingual method, which are teacher-focused in contrast to the communicative language teaching approach which are learner-focused. Similar to the argumentation in Löwing’s thesis (2004, p 82), this can be understood as if the teachers is pressured from authorities and affected by pedagogical trends and social norms when choosing doing the methodological choices.

**Resources**

Another finding made from the material being analysed was the pattern in the teachers’ relation to, and the understanding of, the teaching material and aids. One similarity was the teachers’
opinion of which material or aids you need for an English language lesson. Even though the schools have very different economic and material conditions. For example, to the question “is there any resources you wish you had at your school and for your English lessons?” Hellen at the private school responded

Yes there are. But in English we have the materials that we need. We almost have like 90 percent of the materials. The ones that we don’t have, we improvise. For example if you are teaching about time and you don’t have that watch, we draw a watch on the blackboard.

This can be seen as an example of fixed frame in the form of the economic resources of the school, which according to Löwing can limit the way of teaching (Löwing, 2008, p 82), but according to Hellen, the economic resources were not a limitation for the material conditions, which in turn, Löwing counts as a variable frame (2008, p 80). This can be understood as even though the school in not limited by economical resources, the teachers in the private school think it is enough with the material and physical conditions they have. In a Swedish context, here it can be interesting to take into consideration that during my observations in the school, I noticed for example that they didn’t use electricity and for that reason they didn’t use any electronic equipment of any kind.

However, at the informal school with much more limited economic and material resources, Sofia responded to the same question in following way

That are many materials that I can use as a teacher. But I don’t have them all.

-Is there some materials that you miss?

Some extra textbooks. Some physical materials, there are so many.

From this example we understand that the economic resources is limiting the way of teaching which according to Knutas (2012, p 87) the frame factors mainly do. Though similarly to the private school, the teachers at the informal school talked about the same materials as they did at the private school i.e. books, charts and physical materials, which they already had but in a small number. Then you can say that a similarity between the schools relation to materials and aids is that they have the same understanding about what kind of materials you need to have. These ones they already have but in a small number and therefore they wished for more rather than other materials or equipment.
As mentioned before Löwing claims that the fixed frames are the factors the teachers cannot affect (2008, p 56). But even though they could wish for any resources, according to the material, no other resources is missing at the schools according to the teachers. For example neither the surroundings, the environmental conditions nor the sizes on the classes were something that spontaneously came up during the interviews.

Concluding discussion
The aim of this study was to investigate if and how the way of teaching English in Kenya differs between a charity-based school and a non-charity based (private) school, and to relate these ways of teaching to the social and economic situation at the schools. In the material that were analyzed five various themes were found that linked the schools together, either as a similarity or a difference between them. I will now relate these themes to each other to respond to the research questions.

The overall distinct factor in the material with the greatest impact on the teaching according to the interviewees was the social background of the children. Related to the theory about the hierarchy of the basic needs (Maslow, 1970, 1987) one conclusion being made is that all the teachers had an awareness about these needs and their influence on the childrens’ motivation, and in a longer perspective on their learning. Another similarity in the understanding of this factor was that all the teachers made a connection between the child’s social background and its understanding of English. The teachers at both schools explained that the children from homes in towns and with educated parents mainly going in private schools, were the ones having English as their first or second language or for other reasons was speaking English at home. Meanwhile the children from poor backgrounds, living in the slum or in rural areas and having their tribe language as the first language and English as their third language if they are speaking it at all, usually going in public or informal schools like one of the ones being studied. This, according to Löwing, is one of the factors which is most important to influence the learning (2004, p 77).

At the private school, according to the teachers I interviewed, the majority of the children had a good understanding of English and had satisfied basic needs because of their background, this “90 percent” are deciding when the objectives are achieved and can therefore be seen as the ones who were regulating the way of teaching. The children at the private school with either
lacks of basic needs or less pre-knowledge are being a minority and will therefore get an individual solution.

However, at the informal school, the way of relating to the childrens’ background was different, since the target group for the school was vulnerable children, which means, according to the teachers, that they were having a lack of basic needs and were coming from homes with little or no use of English. The way of handling this factor at the informal school was similar to the way at the private school with the difference that these children with this backgrounds made up the majority and are therefore regulated the way of teaching English.

Despite the differences in backgrounds of the children at the different schools the way of teaching and the didactic approach was very much the same. The method was a mix of situational language teaching and the audiolingual method. According to both these methods, language should be introduced orally and in the order listening, speaking and then reading and writing, which was the way the content was being taught in both of the schools. Other similarities was the way of communicating with the children, the lack of communication between the children and the way the children was responding to the teacher’s questions. Another finding connected to the similarities between the ways of teaching English was the using of materials, which mainly was represented of textbooks based on the syllabus and a chalk board, and the furnishing of the classroom, mainly represented of benches put in direction to the teacher.

The main difference in the way of teaching English between the schools was connected to the general forms and structures mainly regulated by the curriculum for example the design of the timetable and the overall objectives. The impact from this was the tempo of the teaching and the length of the lesson and the presence of God in material, graces and cheering which through the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1970, 1987) can be seen as a satisfaction of the childrens’ different needs.

With the findings of the similar didactic choices, despite the different economic and social preconditions at the schools, one conclusion can be that the way of teaching is more affected by cultural contexts and norms then by the individual teacher. This corresponds with the findings in the article by Pontefract et. al claiming that this teaching style is connected to the respect for authorities as well as the use of a second language as the language of instruction.
which both these factors are a heritage from the colonial era (2005, p 102 – 103). This can thus be seen as a connection between the way of teaching and a cultural factor.

Regarding the question about if the findings are possible to relate to economic or social factors, the limited economic resources at the school were clearly in general limiting the schools material and environmental conditions, for example the lack of school uniforms, proper classrooms and a school yard. In the subject of English language it is rather the social and economic background of the children than of the school itself that is possible to connect to the differences and similarities of the way of teaching.

Finally, to put these findings in a wider perspective to be able to understand what we can learn from these findings in a Swedish context, through the theoretical tools used in this study, is that the main factor affecting the teaching and learning of a language is not the equipment, environment or the schools location i.e. the fixed frames itself, but rather their relation to the variable frames and mainly in relation to the children background. In Kenya, as well as in Sweden, children are forced to get instructions in schools in their second language at the same time they are learning the same language as a subject in school. A communicative use of the langue in every day settings is crucial for the learning regardless of the context, as well as an awareness of what basic needs that are hindering the motivation of learning for the child. Every child is having basic need, but the lowest of the basic needs, which are often to be found among the vulnerable children, is the one having the biggest impact on the learning.
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Appendices

Interview guide
1) For how long have you been a teacher / been teaching?
2) Can you tell me about what you think is the function/role of the teacher?
3) What is the hardest / challenging part of teaching?
4) What do you expect from the children in the class during an English lesson?
5) Could you describe the last English lesson you had?
6) Was it an ordinary English lesson?
7) When I observed your lesson, I noticed that they ….. Is that common?
8) How would you describe the material conditions for your work?
9) What is the hardest / challenging part of teaching in the subject English?
10) What is the easy (easiest) part of teaching in the subject English?
11) Tell me about how you think language is learned?
12) What are the key components of an English language lesson?
13) What factors hinder the way of teaching and learning in your class in general and in the English lessons in particular?
14) How do you counteract these factors?
15) Is there any resources you wish you had at your school and for your lesson? Which ones?
16) How does the Kiswahili language effect the learning of English?
17) How do you relate to the national curriculum and the syllabus for English?
18) How do you assess the children?
19) Is there something more you want to add?